



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Bn 9876.12.5

Bn 9876.12.5

Harvard College Library



FROM THE GIFT OF

WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.

Br 9876.12.5



1871

1872

PROPOSALS

FOR PUBLISHING, BY SUBSCRIPTION,

In one volume 12mo, price 4s. 6d. done up in cloth,

(UNIFORM WITH THE HISTORY OF DUNBAR,)

THE

HISTORY OF HADDINGTON,

FROM THE

EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT PERIOD,

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOST

REMARKABLE PLACES IN THE ADJACENT PARISHES.

For here, the dewy lens among,
The bard wad breathe his heaven-taught sang;
And here, frae 'midst the rural thrang,
A Douglas rose,
Whan "woods and wilds," green-waving rang
Wi' Randolph's woe.

GALL.

THE only history of Haddington extant, is that which was drawn up by the Rev. Dr Barclay, one of the ministers of the parish, and communicated to the Society of Scottish Antiquaries in 1785. This article possesses great merit, and is treated in a more systematic manner than the generality of the statistical details; but notwithstanding the research it displays, a vast fund of information regarding the ancient affairs of the burgh has escaped the author's notice. It will be our endeavour, therefore, to supply this deficiency; and, as the best excuse for the attempt, we shall only recapitulate what we stated in our prospectus regarding the History of Dunbar, "that, as the high price of books on antiquarian subjects, places them beyond the pale of ordinary readers, there is still a vacuum in regard to the minutiae of Scot-

tish history, which these provincial descriptions, mixed up with details of a light and amusing nature, alone can supply.

" There is also much of a civil and domestic nature, which has lived its little day and been forgotten, that has acquired an importance from the lapse of time; and there are not a few incidents of a more recent date, connected with the history of the town, which are worthy of being rescued from oblivion."

To render the volume more generally interesting, it will contain several particulars regarding the county at large, which may be very properly introduced along with the history of the shire-town.

SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED BY W. MILLER, DUNBAR,
AND BY
J. MILLER, AND G. NEILL, HADDINGTON.

Lately published, and sold as above,

Price 10s. 6d. Boards,

ST BALDRED OF THE BASS,

WITH OTHER

POEMS AND BALLADS,

FOUNDED ON THE TRADITIONS OF EAST LoTHIAN
AND BERWICKSHIRE.

BY JAMES MILLER.

For a favourable notice of this volume, see the *New Monthly Magazine* for 1835,
the *London Monthly Magazine*, *Literary Chronicle*, &c.

3

100

100

1. The first of these is the

second of these is the

third of these is the

fourth of these is the

fifth of these is the

sixth of these is the

seventh of these is the

eighth of these is the

ninth of these is the

tenth of these is the

eleventh of these is the

twelfth of these is the

thirteenth of these is the

fourteenth of these is the

fifteenth of these is the

sixteenth of these is the

seventeenth of these is the

eighteenth of these is the

nineteenth of these is the

twentieth of these is the

twenty-first of these is the

twenty-second of these is the

twenty-third of these is the

twenty-fourth of these is the

twenty-fifth of these is the

twenty-sixth of these is the

twenty-seventh of these is the

twenty-eighth of these is the

twenty-ninth of these is the

thirtieth of these is the

thirty-first of these is the

thirty-second of these is the

thirty-third of these is the

thirty-fourth of these is the

thirty-fifth of these is the

thirty-sixth of these is the

thirty-seventh of these is the

thirty-eighth of these is the

thirty-ninth of these is the

fortieth of these is the

forty-first of these is the

forty-second of these is the

forty-third of these is the

forty-fourth of these is the

forty-fifth of these is the

forty-sixth of these is the

forty-seventh of these is the

forty-eighth of these is the

forty-ninth of these is the

fiftieth of these is the

THE
HISTORY OF DUNBAR.



J. Mason del.

W. Miller

DUNBAR CASTLE.

Dunbar:

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM MILLER.

1850.



THE
HISTORY OF DUNBAR,

FROM THE
EARLIEST RECORDS TO THE PRESENT PERIOD;

WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE
ANCIENT CASTLES
AND
Picturesque Scenery

ON THE BORDERS OF EAST LoTHIAN.

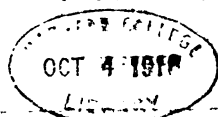
BY JAMES MILLER,
AUTHOR OF ST BALDRED OF THE BASS.

There watching high the least alarms,
Thy rough, rude fortress gleams afar,
Like some bold veteran grey in arms,
And mark'd with many a scamy scar;
The ponderous wall and massy bar,
Grim rising o'er the rugged rock,
Have oft withstood assailing war,
And oft repelled the invader's stroke.
BURNS.

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM MILLER, DUNBAR,
AND SOLD BY J. MILLER, AND G. NEILL, HADDINGTON.

1830.

Br 9876.12.5



*Gift of
William Endicott, Jr.*

CONTENTS.

PART I.—MILITARY ANNALS.

	PAGE
CHAP. I.—The Castle—Description of its Ruins—Origin of the family of Dunbar,	3
CHAP. II.—The Earls of Dunbar—History of Cospatrick, the first Earl—The second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth Earls,	9
CHAP. III.—History of Patrick, seventh Earl of Dunbar—Thomas the Rhymer—The prophecy,	19
CHAP. IV.—History of Patrick, eighth Earl of Dunbar and March—Blockade of the Castle—Edward I.—Battle of Dunbar—Earl of Dunbar's combat with Wallace,	25
CHAP. V.—History of Patrick, ninth Earl of Dunbar—Bennockburn—Edward II.'s escape to Dunbar,	35
CHAP. VI.—Grand siege of the Castle—Black Agnes—Winton's account of the siege,	44
CHAP. VII.—History of George, tenth Earl of Dunbar—The Border Forays—Hotspur—Death of Douglas,	61
CHAP. VIII.—Lady Elizabeth Dunbar—Betrothed to the Duke of Rothsay—Dunbar garrisoned by Douglas,	71
CHAP. IX.—History of George, eleventh Earl of Dunbar—The last of the Earls,	84
CHAP. X.—The Duke of Albany—Dunbar taken by the English—Sir Andrew Wood of Largo—Sea-fight—The Castle garrisoned by the French,	90
CHAP. XI.—Queen Mary—Flight to Dunbar with Bothwell—Demolition of the Castle,	103
NOTES—Proclamations—Spanish Armada,	128
CHAP. XII.—Oliver Cromwell—Battle of Doonhill,	139
NOTES—Cromwell's official despatch—Letters from General Monk to the magistrates of Dunbar,	141

	PAGE
CHAP. XIII.—The Rebellion—Sir John Cope—Paul Jones —Captain Fall,	153
CHAP. XIV.—The Volunteers—The Camp—The Barracks —The False Alarm,	168
NOTE—General Don's instructions to the volunteer corps in the event of an invasion,	178

PART II.—ECCLESIASTICAL.

CHAP. I.—Monastic Antiquities—The Collegiate Church— The new Church—The Monument,	183
CHAP. II.—The Ministers of Dunbar—Rev. James Kirk- wood—The Schools—Bursaries—Extracts from the Ses- sion Records,	190

PART III.—CIVIL AND DOMESTIC.

CHAP. I.—The Parish—Face of the country—Rivulets—Agriculture—Table of Population,	210
CHAP. II.—The Town—The Port—Fisheries—The Harbour —Shipping—Exports and imports—Shipwrecks—Dallies and Nymph—The Life-boat,	229
CHAP. III.—Public Institutions—Friendly Societies—Public Charities—Eminent men—Roads—Villages—Gentle- men's Seats—Pressmennan Lake,	253

ANCIENT CASTLES AND PICTURESQUE SCENERY.

The Pease Bridge,	267
Dunglas Castle,	270
Innerwick and Thornton Castles,	274
Cockburnspath Tower,	279
Fast Castle,	280
The Bass Rock,	285
The Isle of May,	291

THE
HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

PART I.

Military Annals.

1911

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR LENOX TILDEN FOUNDATION

500 N. 5TH ST. NEW YORK, N. Y.

THE HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

PART I. MILITARY ANNALS.

CHAPTER I.

There was a day when thou wert young and proud,
Banners on high and battles pass'd below;
But they who fought are in a bloody shroud,
And those which waved are chieftless dust ere now,
And thy bleak battlements shall bear no future blow.

BYRON.

The Castle.

DUNBAR Castle stands a short distance north from the town in a situation peculiarly wild and romantic. It is founded upon a reef of rocks that project into the sea; and which, in many places, rise like bastions thrown up by nature to guard these stern remains of feudal grandeur against the power of the waves, that yet force their way through rugged caverns and fissures in the stone, and, with a thundering noise, wash its dark foundations.

The body of the buildings measures about one hundred and sixty-five feet from east to west; and, in some places, two hundred and seven feet from north to south. The south battery, which Grose supposes

to have been the citadel or keep, is situated on a detached perpendicular rock, only accessible on one side, seventy-two feet high, and is connected to the main part of the castle by a passage of masonry, measuring sixty-nine feet. The interior of the citadel measures fifty-four feet by sixty within the walls. Its shape is octagonal. Five of the gun-ports remain, which are called "the arrow-holes." They measure four feet at the mouth, and only sixteen inches at the other end. The buildings are arched, and extend eight feet from the outer walls, and look into an open court, whence they derive their light.

About the middle of the fortress, part of a wall remains, through which there is a gateway, surmounted with armorial bearings. This gate seems to have led to the principal apartments. In the centre, are the arms of George, eleventh earl of Dunbar, who succeeded his father in 1369; and who, besides the earldom of Dunbar and March, inherited the lordship of Annandale and the Isle of Man from his heroic mother. These must have been placed there after his succeeding to those estates, as he was the first who assumed the arms sculptured over the centre of the gate; viz. a large triangular shield, and thereon a lion *rampant*, within a border charged with eight roses. This shield is adorned with a helmet, and for crest a horse's head bridled. On the right are the arms of the Bruces, and on the left those of the Isle of Man. Grose also notices the arms of Scotland; but many of the coats are defaced by time and the storm.

The towers had communication with the sea, and

dip low in many places. North-east from the front of the castle is a large natural cavern, chiefly of black stone, which, in the mind's eye, looks like the mouth of Acheron,—a place that leads to melancholy streams. This spot is supposed to have formed part of the dungeon where prisoners were confined;* which, Pennant observes, “the assistance of a little art had rendered a secure but infernal prison;” but as it has a communication with a rocky inlet from the sea on the west, it is more likely that it is the dark postern through which Sir Alexander Ramsay and his brave followers entered with a supply of provisions to the besieged in 1338; a place also well suited for securing the boats belonging to the garrison.

That the castle was invulnerable as a place of strength, is proved from the various sieges that it sustained; that it was also distinguished as a place of security, is established from the following fact: In 1497, Ferquhard Macintosh of that Ilk, a bold and daring man, and the chief of a powerful clan, who, along with Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, had been guilty of some lawless practices in his neighbourhood, was apprehended at Inverness, by order of James IV., and

* Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, probably conceived his description of the allegorical poem of *King Hart's Castle*, when a prisoner in this dreary place in 1515.

“ So strong this king him thought his castel stude,
With mony toure and turrat crounit hie;
About the wall their ran ane water-voud,
Blak, stinkand, sour, and salt as is the sey;
That on the wallis wisht, gre by gre,
Rolding to ryis the castell to confound:
Bot thai within maid sa grit melodie,
That for thair reird thair micht not heir the sound.”

sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, whence he effected his escape. Being retaken in the Torwood, in Stirlingshire, he was sent to Dunbar, where he remained confined till after the battle of Flodden in 1513, and died in the year following; evincing, that though, "rings o' airn, and bolts o' steel," might be broken, that the fastnesses of this stronghold were not so easily overcome.*

The castle is built with a red stone, similar to what is found in the quarries of the neighbourhood. Large masses of the walls, which have fallen beneath the weight of time, appear to be vitrified or run together.

The rocks on which the castle is situated, are of a darkish colour, intersected with red and white veins, similar to Lammer Crag and the isle on which Dunbar Battery is built. Part of the foundation of a fort, which was begun in 1560, for the purpose of accommodating a French garrison, may be traced, extending one hundred and thirty-six feet in front of the castle. The building was, however, interrupted in its progress, and demolished by act of parliament.

In the north-west part of the ruins, is an apartment, about twelve feet square, and nearly inaccessible, which tradition denominates the apartment of Queen Mary.

In 1801, the workmen in levelling some ground in front of the Earl of Lauderdale's house, discovered a cemetery or burial ground, containing a quantity of human bones of various ages, and a number of stone balls of different sizes, some of them as large as the shot used

* It was probably during his imprisonment, that Macintosh wrote a genealogical history of his family, tracing their descent from the earl of Fife down to 1496.

for twenty-four pounders; and, lately, four iron balls were found, as large as that used for thirty-six pounders, in an apartment on the south-east side of the castle.

The time of the erection of Dunbar Castle cannot be precisely ascertained, but it was evidently built by the Picts at an early period of the Christian era. When these adventurers emigrated from Germany, they fixed their dominion in the Lothians, from which the latter acquired the appellation of Pictland. While the Scots delighted in hunting and war, the Picts, skilled in the arts which have contributed to the comforts of life, began to build houses and cultivate the ground. As a matter of necessity, their first consideration would be, to build fortresses, to defend them from the aggressions of the Scots, Saxons and Britons; and as Dunbar was stamped by nature a place of strength, and hung on the borders of the hostile country of the Saxons in Berwickshire, it is probable that a fort was built here in the fifth century, if not at a still earlier period.

Between the years 835-9, Kenneth I. of Scotland, having totally defeated the Picts in a pitched battle, extirpated the inhabitants, and seizing the country, divided it amongst his nobles. The fortress, now styled the Castle of Dunbar, was awarded to *Bar*, a valiant captain of the Scots, whose counsel and service had materially assisted in the subjugation of the conquered nation: hence, according to Holinshed, it was called Dunbar; *i. e.* the Castle of *Bar*.*

* Chalmers, the learned author of *Caledonia*, supposes Dunbar in the British, and Dunbar in the Gaelic, to signify the fort on the height, top, or extremity; and Lord Hailes translates it, the *top-cliff*.

Bar was a person of considerable consequence in the army. Before acquiring the Pictish castle of Dunbar, he led the advanced division at the battle of Scoon, when Drusken, king of the Picts, was slain, and his followers nearly extirpated.

The next act of Kenneth, after destroying the Pictish people, and partitioning the country, was to change the names of the places; so that were we even in possession of records anterior to 835, it would not be easy to recognise the features of Dunbar before that period.

Holinshed further informs us, on the authority of Boece, that a noble house or family had descended from this officer, and bore his local appellation; accordingly, in 961, we find the men of Lothian, under the captains Dunbar and Græme, discomfiting the Danes on the fields of Cullen; and, in 1005, we meet with Patrick de Dunbar, under Malcolm II. engaged against the Danish invaders in the north, at Murthlake, a town of Mar, where, in the brunt of the battle, along with Kenneth, thane of the Isles, and Grim, thane of Strathern, he was slain.

Here closes all that we have been able to glean of the history of the first family of the surname of Dunbar. It appears that Patrick, Thane of Lothian, had no issue, for Malcolm III. bestowed the manor of Dunbar, &c. on Cospatrick,* the expatriated earl of Northumberland, as will be noticed in the following chapter.

* Cospatrick, or, as he is sometimes styled, Gospatrick, seems a contraction of Comes Patricius.—*Sir W. Scott.*

CHAPTER II.

Into the kinrick of Benlun,
There winn'd a lord of that realm;
He was the greatest of renown,
Except the king that wore the crown.

HIST. OF SIR GREY-STEEL.

The Earls of Dunbar.

COSPATRICK, the father of the noble family of Dunbar, was the son of Maldred, the son of Crinan, by Algatha, daughter and heiress of Uthred prince of Northumberland, by Elgiva, daughter of Ethelrid king of England.

After the conquest of England by William the Norman, in 1066, Cospatrick and Merleswain, with other nobles of the highest rank in the north of England, consulting their own liberty and safety, fled to Scotland, carrying with them Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Saxon line, his mother Algatha, with his sisters Margaret and Christina, and sheltered themselves under the hospitality of Malcolm III.

In 1069, Cospatrick accompanied Edgar into England, and, assisted by the Danes, joined by forces from Scotland, took the city and castle of York, and put the garrison to the sword; but the same year, after being deserted by the Danes, and the resources of the Scots exhausted, he submitted to the English. William incensed, however, at the repeated insurrec-

tions of the fierce hordes of the north, seized the sword and the brand, and laid waste their country from York to Durham.* But scarcely had the conqueror retired from the Northumbrian territories, when Malcolm entering England by way of Cumberland, made great devastations along the course of the Tees; and while Malcolm was thus employed, Cospatrick ravaged Cumberland; and, returning with great spoils, shut himself up in Bamborough's "towers, that shade the wave-worn steep."

Cospatrick now claimed the earldom of Northumberland in right of his ancestors; and purchased the king's confirmation of his title with a great sum of money. But in 1072, William, after his return from

* In a legend, which Simeon of Durham, or Turgot, relates on this occasion, Cospatrick is charged with having advised the flight of the bishop and his clergy, and with having taken advantage of their absence by carrying off the precious ornaments of their church. An ancient priest of Durham, one of the company who fled to Holy Island, told Turgot a dream, in which he beheld a great Northumbrian baron, who had maltreated bishop Egelwin and his company in their flight, suffering the torments of hell; and, in the same dream, he had heard St Cuthbert denouncing woe against the earl for his sacrilege on the church. The inspiration of this dream was read, by the sudden death of the person who was seen in the fiery abyss; and when Turgot related this story to Cospatrick, after his retreat to Scotland, the earl was seized with such horror, that he immediately set out on a pilgrimage, on his naked feet, to the Holy Isle; seeking forgiveness from the saint by prayers and gifts. Turgot adds, that Cospatrick, after his impious conduct, was never in the same honourable state as before: but was expelled from his earldom, and, during the rest of his life, underwent other privations.

an expedition against Scotland, deprived Cospatrick of his earldom, under pretence that he had instigated and assisted the murderers of Cuning, the former governor, as also those who had destroyed the Normans at York. The expatriated earl again sought refuge in Scotland; but as peace had just been concluded with England, he was necessitated to repair to Flanders. On his return, which soon took place, Malcolm Canmore bestowed on him the manor of Dunbar, and many fair lands in the Merse and Lothian.

Cospatrick next signalised himself in an expedition against a formidable banditti, that infested the south-east borders of Scotland. Having attacked them, he slew six hundred, hanged eighty, and presented the head of their commander to the king; who, to reward his valour created him earl of the Merse, or March; and the lands of Cockburnspath were bestowed on him, by the singular tenure, of clearing East Lothian and the Merse of robbers, and on his bearing a banner whereon a bloody head of a felon was painted.*

Besides these lands of the Merse and Lothian, his posterity possessed the barony of Bengtley in Northumberland, "on the service of being in-borough and out-borough between England and Scotland," with Camden; or to observe the ingress or egress of those who travelled between the two kingdoms.

* Grosse's Scots Ant. i. Lord Hailes considers this to be a fiction.

This illustrious person died towards the conclusion of the eleventh century ; and was buried in the church of Norham, which his posterity were bound to secure. He had three sons, Dolfyn, Cospatrick, and Waldeve.

Cospatrick, second son to the foregoing, succeeded his father in his Scottish property, while his brothers were provided for in Cumberland ; and is only noted as enjoying the favour of the court. He witnessed the foundation charter of Scone by Alexander I. in 1115 ; and, in 1116, the inquisition made by David, prince of Cumberland, into the possessions of the church of Glasgow, had among other witnesses, Cospatricius, frater Dolphini, and Waldef, frater suus. He also witnessed the foundation charter of Holyroodhouse by David I. in 1128. His rank of earl is now ascertained ; for in 1130, in a donation granted to the prior and convent of Durham, and to the monks of Coldingham, of the church and town of Edreham and town of Nisbet, he is designed, Cospatricius Comes, frater Dulfun. The donation to Coldingham was confirmed by David on the 16th August 1139, on which day Earl Cospatrick died.*

Cospatrick, second earl of Dunbar, on succeeding his father, confirmed his liberalities ; but having neglected to endow the monks of Melrose, they withheld that immortality which the notice of their chronicle was supposed to confer.

* See Chalmers's Cal. ii. 499, and Wood's Doug. Peer. ii. 161.

Under the designation of Cospatricius Comes, filius Cospatricii, this earl witnessed a charter of David I. to the monastery of Newbottle, in 1140. To the monastery of Kelso he gave the patronage of the churches of Home, Lambden, and Greenlaw; and to the church of St. Nicholas of Home, he gave the donation of a carucate of land. He died in 1147, leaving four sons; viz. Cospatrick, Edward, Edgar; and Uchtred, the supposed ancestor of the family of Dundas.

Cospatrick, third earl of Dunbar, was still more munificent to the church than his father. He founded two Cistercian nunneries; first, the nunnery of Coldstream, to which he gave half of the church of Layvel, and some lands in Layvel and Birghame; and, secondly, a nunnery at Eccles, which he largely endowed. Besides these he confirmed to the nunnery of Coldstream, the church of Hirsell, with a carucate of land, that had been given to it by Derder his countess. He had two sons: Waldeve, his successor, and Patrick, who inherited the manor of Greenlaw, and was ancestor of the earls of Home.

Waldeve, fourth earl of Dunbar, succeeded his father in 1166, when he confirmed the donations of the churches of Layvel and Whitechester to the nuns; and on the Scottish nobility and clergy, with a loyalty unbecoming their dignity, agreeing to purchase the king's liberation at the expense of the independency of the nation, he was engaged with other Scottish nobles as a hostage. He died in 1182, leaving by Alina, his countess, Patrick and Constantine;

the latter of whom is mentioned with his brother in a donation to the monastery of Coldingham.

To him succeeded Patrick, fifth earl of Dunbar, on whom William I., in 1184, perhaps in gratitude for the services of his father, bestowed Ada, one of his natural daughters, in marriage. About the end of the twelfth century, he held the offices of justiciary of Lothian and keeper of Berwick;* and, in 1200, he attended William the Lion to Lincoln, when he did homage† to John for his lands in England; but, in 1214, the castle of Dunbar with the rest of the kingdom incurred the vengeance of the English prince. To retaliate the inroads made by Alexander into England, Henry III. invaded Scotland with a powerful army, and took the town and castle of Berwick. His next attempt was on the fortress of Dunbar; but finding it impregnable, he laid waste the country to the walls of Haddington, and returned homewards.

In 1218, Earl Patrick founded a monastery of Red Friars in Dunbar, which is more particularly noticed in our ecclesiastical department; while Ada, his countess, founded a Cistercian nunnery at St. Bothena. He also granted to the monks of Kelso the chapel of Halyburton, and a curate of land in Bothkilsheale.

* Chal. Cal. ii. 240. In 1199, when the bridge of Berwick was carried away by a flood, King William directed a precept to the earl of Dunbar, his justis of Berwick, to rebuild it.

† The right of homage, by the feudal custom, was, that the vassal should throw himself on his knees; should put his joined hands between those of his superior; and, in that posture, swear fealty to him.—Hume's Eng. i.

with common pasture between that place and the Sealingus (mountain pasture) of his men of Pinkerton;—to the monks of Melrose,* he gave all the arable land of Sorrowfield on the Lander; and to the canons of Dryburgh the lands of Elvinsley, and two bovates of land in Ersildun.†

When the papal legate had settled the controversies subsisting between Alexander and Henry, the former received in marriage Joan, sister to the latter, on which occasion Patrick accompanied the king to York as a witness to the matrimonial contract. This took place in 1241. And, in 1251, when this magnificent nobleman was stricken in years, with a view to part with the world in good fellowship, he invited his children, relations, and neighbours, to spend the festivities of Christmas at the castle of Dunbar. On the expiry of four days, he sent for his relation the Abbot of Melrose; and, having bade his guests and the world a last adieu, received extreme unction agreeably to the forms of the Romish church, after which he assumed the monastic habit.

This venerable person enjoyed the earldom fifty years, and died in 1232; when he was buried among the nuns in the convent church of Ekeles, which his grandfather had founded.‡ By his countess, Ada, who died in 1200, he had two sons and a daughter;

* "The monks of Melrose loved gude kail
On Friday, when they fasted;
Nor wanted they gude beef and ale
As lang as their neighbours lasted."—Old Ballad.

† Chal. Cal. ii. 240.

‡ Ibid, 241.

viz. Patrick, who succeeded him, and William,* designed filius Comitis Patricii, in a donation to the monastery of Kelso, in 1241, who died in 1253; and Ada, who got from her father the lands of Home, and was married, first, to a gentleman of the name of Courtenay, by whom she had no issue; and, secondly, to her cousin, William, son of Patrick, before mentioned, who, assuming the name of Home from his wife's estate, laid the foundation of that border clan.†

Patrick, sixth earl of Dunbar, succeeded his father in 1281, at the age of forty-six. Like his predecessors he courted the favour of the church, and granted a messuage in the burgh of Dunbar to the monks of Dryburgh; and to the canons of the same place, an annuity of a mark of silver in support of their church, on condition that they offered prayers for the safety of the souls of King William, of his own father and mother, and of his wife; while to the monks of Melrose, he renounced his claim to some disputed marches in lower Lauderdale.‡

In 1285, Patrick took the field in an expedition

* In 1240; the bones of the abbots of Melrose, that lay in the entrance of the chapter-house, were taken up and more decently buried in the eastern part of the chapter house; all, excepting the bones of St Walter, whose sepulchre was opened, and his body found crumbled to dust. Those who were present carried off some of the small bones. One of the company was William, son to the earl of Dunbar, and nephew to the king, a knight of great fame. He begged and obtained one of the saint's teeth, by which he is said to have wrought many cures!—Grose's Scots Ant. i. 122.

† Wood's Doug. Peer. ii. 168.

‡ An extensive forest anciently occupied the whole country lying

against the Galwegians. The Scottish army, under the command of Patrick, earl of Dunbar, together with Adam, abbot of Melrose, and Gilbert, a monk of that convent, (lately made bishop of Galloway,) routed the rebellious Galwegians with great slaughter, by which tranquillity was restored to the kingdom, and the daughters of Alan to their father's domains.*

The earl of Dunbar accompanied Alexander II. to York, and was a witness and guarantee of his treaty with Henry II.† in 1237. In 1242, an unfortunate occurrence took place, upon which the earl of Dunbar and other noblemen demanded justice of their prince. At a royal tournament held at Haddington, the young earl of Athol, overthrew Walter, the chief of the family of the Bissets. To revenge this affront, the same night the lodgings of the earl were set on fire, and he, with several of his friends, was either slain or burnt to death. The king endeavoured in vain to bring this atrocious assault to a regular trial. The combination of the Cumings and other nobles against the Bissets was so strong, that the latter were obliged to abandon their country. On this occasion, the earl of Dunbar, (whom Lord Hailes calls the most powerful baron of the southern districts,) put himself at the head of the nobles who demanded retribution.‡

Shortly after this affair the earl of Dunbar was sent to subdue the rebellious Thane of Argyle, who an-

northward of the Tweed, between the rivers Gala and Leader. The ancient domains of the earls of Dunbar and March, lay on the east of this wild object of frequent conquest.—Chal. Cal. ii. 124.

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. † Holinshed. ‡ Chal. Cal. ii. 242.

noyed the people on the borders of his territories. Patrick reduced the thane to such extremity, that he was glad to sue for forgiveness from his prince, with a cord tied round his neck, in token of submission.*

The earl of Dunbar held the first rank among the twenty-four barons who guaranteed the treaty of peace with England in 1244.† But he had not long enjoyed his peerage, when he was destined to fall a martyr to one of the fanatical expeditions of that age: At the council of Lyons, held by Innocent IV., for the purpose of excommunicating Ferdinand II. from the crown of Sicily, a crusade was decreed, for the quixotic purpose of recovering the Holy Land from the infidels, to be headed by Louis IX. of France: Alexander sent several chosen bands to assist his ally in this mad adventure, under the command of the earl of Dunbar, Lindsay of Glenesk, and Stewart of Dundonald, whom Holinshed characterizes as captains of great wisdom, and of perfect experience in feats of chivalry. Patrick, however, was not destined to return; for he died in 1248, at the siege of Damietta in Egypt.‡

On his marriage with Euphemia, daughter of Walter, high steward of Scotland, he got the lands of Birkenside in Lauderdale.

* Holinshed's Chron.

† Chal. Cal. ii. 242.

‡ Previous to his departure, in 1247, it is said, that he sold his equicum or stud, which he kept in the Leader haughs, to the monks of Melrose, to defray the expense of his journey; but as his opulence is unquestionable, it is evident, that he sold his stud, to avoid keeping an unnecessary establishment in his absence.

CHAPTER III.

The king of Nosse, in summer tyde,
Puft up with power and micht,
Landed in fair Scotland the yle,
With mony a hardy knicht.
The tydings to our gude Scots king
Came as he sat at dyne,
With noble chiefs in braif array,
Drinking the blude-reid wine.

HARDYKNUTE.

Thomas the Rhymer.—The Prophecy.

PATRICK, seventh earl of Dunbar, succeeded his father in 1248. In 1249, he did homage for his lands in England to Henry III.; and during the turbulent minority of Alexander III. he was one of the chiefs of the English faction. The youth of the prince, (who, on his accession to the crown, was only nine years of age,) afforded room for intrigue among those nobles who contended for the mastery. The Cumings were at the head of a powerful party, with their friends Ross and Baliol as nominal regents, while the earls of Dunbar, Strathern and Carrick, were at the head of the English faction. To propitiate Henry, the marriage betwixt the Scottish prince and his daughter was soon consolidated; but new grievances arose. The young queen especially, complained of her solitary confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, where

she was debarred the embraces of her husband. Henry, who wished if possible to reconcile parties, and to obtain milder treatment for his daughter, despatched ambassadors to the Scottish court; but while the regents with their associates, the Cumings, prepared to hold a parliament at Stirling, the earl of Dunbar suddenly surprised the castle of Edinburgh, and delivered the royal pair from their confinement. The obnoxious party was now removed from their offices in the state, and the earl of Dunbar and his confederates were constituted regents of the kingdom, and guardians of their youthful sovereigns.*

This regency was however dissolved in 1253, and the Cumings again got possession of the king and queen. In the new regency the earl of Dunbar had no place; but, in 1260, he was one of the Scottish nobles who demanded, and received security of Henry, to deliver the Scottish queen and her infant at her father's court.†

In 1268, earl Patrick, who had hitherto been actively employed in the field of politics, was seized with the pious spirit of his predecessors, and founded a monastery for Carmelites or White Friars in Dunbar, which we will have occasion to notice in the ecclesiastical portion of this volume.

The same year, the Danes and Norwegians, taking advantage of a famine in England and Scotland, arrived before the town of Ayr, on the first of August, with a fleet of a hundred and sixty ships. Having

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 145.

† Chal. Cal. ii. 243.

subdued the isles of Arran and Bute, they took the castle of Ayr, and proceeded on their victorious march, when Alexander, with an army of 40,000 men, opposed their progress in the vicinity of Largs. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the invaders were completely routed. The left division, consisting of the men of Lothian, Fife, the Merse, Berwick and Stirling, was led on by the earl of Dunbar, who was severely wounded in the encounter.* So decisive was this victory, that it was the last time that those Gauls of the thirteenth century disturbed our "chiefs in braif array, drinking the blude-red wine." Patrick next accompanied the earls of Athol and Carrick to subdue the Western Isles to the allegiance of the crown; and, in 1266, when Magnus of Norway ceded the Isle of Man and the Hebrides to the Scottish king, he had the honour to append his seal to the treaty; and, further, in 1281, when, in consequence of a diminution of the royal family of Scotland, a marriage was concluded between the infants Margaret of Scotland and Eric of Norway, he, with his son, was amongst the nobles, who swore that the marriage-contract should be fulfilled;† and, in 1284, the earl of Dunbar was second in the list of thirteen earls, who signed a requisition on the marriage of Alexander III.

Thomas Lermont of Ersildun, the celebrated bard and prophet, (commonly called The Rhymer), visited

* Holinshed. Maitland's Hist. i. 392.

† Chalmers' Cal. ii. 243.

Dunbar in 1285, and foretold to the earl, the sudden death of Alexander III., who was killed by a fall from his horse on the sands of Kinghorn.

We are circumstantially informed by Bower,* that, on the night preceding the king's death, Thomas, having arrived at the castle of Dunbar, was interrogated by the earl, in the jocular manner he was wont to assume with the prophet, if to-morrow should produce any remarkable event, to which the bard, while coming events cast their shadows before, replied, in the mystical language of prophecy: "Alas for to-morrow, a day of calamity and misery! Before the twelfth hour, shall be heard a blast so vehement, that it shall exceed those of every former period. A blast which shall strike the nations with amazement, shall reduce those who hear it to a state of inseparability; shall humble what is proud, and what is fierce shall level with the ground! The sorest wind and tempest that ever was heard of in Scotland." After this prediction, which was left to be fulfilled either by accident or the weather, Thomas retired. Next day, the earl and his companions, having continued in watch till the ninth hour, without discovering any unusual appearance in the elements, began to doubt the prescient powers of the soothsayer, to whom "the sunset of life had given mystical lore," and having ordered him into their presence, upbraided him as an impostor, and hastened to enjoy their

* Walter Bower, abbot of St Colm, was born at Haddington, in 1385. He was continuator of Fordun, as writer of the *Scotichronicon*.

wanted repeat; but his lordship had scarcely placed himself at table, and the hand of the dial pointed to the hour of noon, when an express, covered with foam, appeared at the castle-gate, demanding an audience. On being interrogated, he exclaimed: "I do indeed bring news; but of a lamentable kind, to be deplored by the whole realm of Scotland! Alas, our renowned king, has ended his fair life at Kinghorn." "This," cried the prophet, gathering himself up in the spirit of conscious veracity, "this is the southful wind and dreadful tempest, which shall blow such a calamity and trouble to the whole state of the whole realm of Scotland." The messenger paused, while the earl and his companions, rousing themselves as from a dream, beat their breasts in the agony of despair, and acknowledged that the prediction of the Rhymer had been too fatally verified.*

* Holinshed. Irving's Lives Scots Poets, i. 229.

The earls of Dunbar were principal proprietors of *Esildun*, (now called *Earlston*,) a village near *Melrose*, from the twelfth century till 1435. These opulent barons granted various portions of their domain of *Esildun* to several tenants in fee, amongst the most remarkable of which was *Thomas the Rhymer*.—*Chal. Cal.* ii. 222.

The following prophecy Mr *Pinkerton* supposes to have been delivered to *Black Agnes* by *Thomas the Rhymer*; but *Sir Walter Scott* proves, that the *Rhymer* was dead when the heroic countess held her castle with so much glory. It might, however, have been delivered to her predecessor, when the bard visited Dunbar.

La Countesse de Donbar demande a Thomas de Esildunne, quant la guerre d'Escocce prendroit fin. Et y l'a repaundy, et dyt,

"When man is made a kyng of a capped man.

When man is lever other menes thyng than his owen.

When lond is forest, and forest is field.

On the unfortunate death of Alexander, it was found necessary that the administration of public affairs should be vested in six guardians while Margaret remained in Norway, or until the queen dowager, who was then pregnant, should be delivered of an heir to the crown. The latter hope failed; upon which, the infant daughter of Eric was hailed queen of Scotland. A powerful party of the nobles were, however, averse to a female administration; and as the earl of Dunbar had married the daughter of the competitor Bruce, we need not be surprised that, with his three sons, he associated himself to support that interest. He did not live to witness the desolating scenes that were destined to fall on his devoted country, but departed this life about the advanced age of seventy-six years, in 1289.

By Christian, only daughter of Robert Bruce, he had three sons, Patrick, John and Alexander.*

When hares kendles o' the he? ston.
 When Wyte and Willie weres togeders.
 When men makes stables of kyrkes; and steles castles with styes.
 When Rokesboroughe nys no burgh, and market is at Forwyleye.
 When the alde is gan, ant the newe is come that done noht.
 When Bambourne is donged with dede men.
 When men ledes men in ropes to buyen and to sellen.
 When a quarter of whaty whete is chaunged for a colt of ten markes.
 When prude prikes, and pees is leyd in prisoun.
 When a Scot ne may hym hilde ase hare in forme, that the English ne
 shall hym fynde.
 When rycht and wronge astente the togeders.
 When laddes weddeth lovedies.
 When Scottes fleu so faste, that, for faute of ship, by drowneth himselve.
 When shall this be?
 Nouthir in thine tyme ne in mine;
 Ah comen, ant gone,
 Within twenty winter ant one."

Finkerton's Ant. Scots Poems, who quotes MS. Harleian Lib.

* Wood's Doug. Peer. ii. 169.

CHAPTER IV.

A counsaill cryit, yaim' thoct' it was ye best,
 In Sanct Jhonstoun yat it suld baldyn be,
 Assemblit yar Clerk, Barown, and Bowrugie,
 Bot Corspatsik wald nocht cum at yair call,
 Bald in Dunbar, and maid scorn at yaim all.

HENRY THE MINSTREL, Book viii.

Edward I.—Battle of Dunbar.—Wallace.

PATRICK, eighth earl of Dunbar and March, (surnamed Black-beard,) succeeded to the honours and possessions of his father at the mature age of forty-seven. He was immediately called into public exertion; and appeared at the parliament at Brigham in 1290, for the purpose of betrothing the princess Margaret to the son of Edward I.; where he is called Comes de Marchia, being the first time the earls of Dunbar are designated by that title. But their hopes were disappointed by the death of the young queen on her voyage to Scotland. No sooner had the news reached that country than several competitors laid claim to the crown; amongst whom was the earl of Dunbar, as the great grandson of Ada, daughter of William the Lion. The others were, Eric, king of Norway, (as heir to his daughter the late infant queen); Florence, earl of Holland, William de Vessey, Robert de Pynkeny, Nicholas de Soules, Patrick Galythly, Roger de Mandeville, John Hastings,

William de Ros, John Comyn, John Baliol, Robert Bruce; and Edward I. of England.* The competitors submitted their respective claims to the English monarch, and bowed to his decision. He awarded the disputed sceptre to Baliol, whom he doubtless considered the most convenient tool.

In 1294, Edward having summoned the earl of Dunbar, and other Scottish nobles, who had estates in England, to assist him in the recovery of Gascony from Philip, Baliol, on this occasion, seemed inclined to conciliate the wishes of the nation, and evaded the demands of the English monarch; but the earls of Dunbar and Angus, Robert Bruce the elder, and Bruce, earl of Carrick, swayed by private revenge rather than their country's weal, swore fealty to Edward at Werk, on the 25th March, 1296. On this occasion the earl of Dunbar had his forfeited lands and tenements in England restored.

Edward, with a powerful army, proceeded to Scotland, and the town and castle of Berwick speedily surrendered to his arms. But while the earl of Dunbar, with the Bruces and their adherents, aided the English, his heroic countess, as wishing to play a double game, still retained the castle of Dunbar, and delivered it to the leaders of the Scottish army. On the approach of the enemy, they exultingly spread their banners, and, in illusion to the dress of the English, exclaimed: "Come hither, ye long-tailed hounds, and we will cut off your tails for you!" This brava-

* Maitland's *HB.* 414.

do, however, was unhappily changed on the defeat of their countrymen.

Edward despatched the earl of Warrene with 12,000 men to lay siege to Dunbar, which was defended by the flower of the Scottish nobility.* But the garrison were so much reduced, that they begged a cessation of hostilities for three days, in order that they might have time to inform Baliol of their situation.

The Scots, sensible of the importance of this fortress, which, if taken, laid their country open to the enemy, advanced with their main army, under the command of the earls of Buchan, Lennox, and Mar, to its relief. This formidable army which consisted of 40,000 men, was seen the third day after the message was sent to Baliol, "clad in burning arms," descending from the high ridges of the Lammermoors, near Dunbar.†

Warrene, undaunted by the superior numbers of the Scots, left part of his army to blockade the castle, while he hastened to meet them. The English having to descend into a valley, (probably Oswaldean, a glen near Spot,) before they could reach the Scots, the latter set up a loud shout of exultation, and caused their horns to be sounded; but when Warrene emerged from the glen, and advanced undismayed against their formidable front, the undisciplined troops fled before him, and were pursued with

* Hume's Eng. H.

† One of the MSS. of Fordun says, that this battle was fought near Spot.—Ridpath.

great slaughter as far as Selkirk forest. The loss of the Scots on this occasion was estimated at no less than 20,000 men, of which 10,000 were slain.* To account for this unusual slaughter, it was thought that the earls of Athol and Mar, who were of the Brucian party, purposely abandoned the field to Edward, while it was reported that Bruce, in consequence of a secret conference before the battle, had influenced his friends in the Scottish army to flee on their closing with the enemy; by which means their brethren were so disconcerted, that they threw away their weapons, and were easily vanquished.†

Next day, Edward, with the main body of the English army, reached Dunbar, and compelled the garrison to surrender. Among the prisoners taken in the castle, were the earls of Ross, Athol, and Monteith; the barons John Cumyn, William St Clair, Richard Seward and John Mowbray; besides these, thirty-one knights, one hundred esquires, and the two clerks, John de Somerville and William de St Clair, were also taken, and sent into close confinement to different castles in England.‡

Edward pursued his victorious march, and, having

* Sir Patrick Grahame of Kincardine fell in this battle, 28th April 1296, where he maintained his station, and died applauded by his enemies, a goodly knight, all dressed in harness meet.—Dalrymple's Ann. i. 261.

‡ Sir David Graham of Dundaff, his father, witnessed a donation of Patrick, earl of March, to the monastery of Coldingham, in 1260.

† Holinshed, i.

‡ Fordun says, that many knights and barons fled from the bat-

crossed the Forth, the town of Perth, and the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin and Montrose, speedily surrendered to his arms. Terrified into submission by this rapid success, Baliol, with the nobles attached to him, hastened to appease the wrath of the English despot; and, a few days afterwards, at Kincardine, made an absolute surrender of the crown and kingdom which he so unworthily held.

Happily, at this critical period, when monarchy seemed extinguished in Scotland, a spark rising slowly in the vale of Ellerslie, grew brighter and brighter, till it roused, like a flash from heaven, the expiring embers of the country's liberty. The fire of freedom expanded in the breast of Wallace, who took up arms to vindicate his country's honour and redress its wrongs, and after some partial successes, he was elected warden by a majority of his countrymen. But it was reserved for posterity to appreciate his character. Those in the Brucian interest watched the motions of Wallace with suspicion, and the earl of Dunbar absolutely refused to attend a meeting of the estates at St Johnston. Notwithstanding the estates promised to forgive what was past, on the interference of Wallace, it is said of the earl, that

" Lightly he leuch, in scorn as it had been,
And said he had sic message seldom seen,

tle to the castle of Dunbar, but were delivered by the treachery of Richard Seward, the keeper, to slaughter. He adds, that Edward caused them all immediately to be put to different kinds of deaths. But this last circumstance is extremely improbable, and does not agree with what the same author elsewhere states in his verses on the battle, (vol. ii. 166.) where he says, the captives were imprisoned.—Ridpath, 199.

That Wallace now as Governour sall ryng,
 Here is gret faute of a gude prince or king;
 That King of Kyll I can nocht understand,
 Of him I held never a fuf of land;
 That Bachiller Trowis, for fortoun schawis her quheill,
 Tharwith to lest, it sall nocht lang be weill;
 Bot to you, lords, and ye will understand,
 I make you wyss, I aw to mak na band,
 Als fre, I am in this regioun to ryng
 Lord of mine awne, as ever was prince or king;
 In Ingland als gret part of land I haif,
 Ma rent thair of thair will no man me craif.
 What will you mair, I warn you I am free,
 For your sumounds ye get na mair of me."

HENRY'S WALLACE, Book viii.*

The patriot-hero could not brook the taunting epithet of King of Kyle, and, as Dunbar had despised his friendship, he vowed that one of the two should die; and, therefore, with two hundred men went in pursuit of the haughty baron. Wallace was joined by Robert Lauder at Musselburgh, and afterwards by Crystal of Seton. They were met at Linton by Squire Lyle, who informed them, that the earl had made his gathering at Cockburnspath, and was on his march to Dunbar. Lauder was in a hurry to get thither; but Wallace, with all the diffidence of a great man, thus compliments Patrick:

"We may at laysar ride,
 With yone power he thinkis bargane to bide;
 And of a thing ye sall weill understand
 A hardier lord is nocht into Scotland;
 Micht he be made trew stedfast till a king,

* This history, the Scottish historians generally follow, but do not quote, says the author of Caledonia.

Be wit and force he can do maikill thing :
Bot wilfully he likis to tyne himsell."

Wallace encountered Patrick in a field near Innerwick, where the latter had assembled nine hundred men. The patriot-hero with half that number, compelled the earl, after a terrible conflict, to retreat to Cockburnspath, while he fell back on Dunbar; but finding the castle without provisions, and the garrison wede away with their lord, he gave it in charge to Crystal of Seton, and went in pursuit of the fugitives.

In the mean time the earl of Dunbar had gone to Northumberland, to solicit the aid of the bishop of Durham; but his ostensible reason, says the Minstrel, was "to bring the Bruce free till his land." Vessels were immediately sent from the Northumbrian Tyne to blockade Dunbar, and cut off supplies from the followers of Wallace, while the earl, with 20,000 men, hastened to retake his fortress.

In the interim the champion of Scotland had repaired to the west in quest of succour, and returning by Yester, he was joined by Hay and his chosen cavalry. With 5,000 men he marched to the support of Seton, while the bishop of Durham, who had remained at Norham with Bruce, came to the assistance of Dunbar, and riding through Lammermoor, threw himself into an ambush near Spott-moor. By this unexpected movement, Wallace was completely hemmed in, when Seton fortunately came to his relief. The two armies closed in mortal strife. The Scots pushed on so furiously against the south-

rons in the bloody game, that they were just about to fly, but Patrick was

“ Sa cruell of intent,
That all his host tuk of him hardiment;” and
“ Throuch his awne hand he put mony to pain.”

The desperate valour of the Wallaces, the Ramsays, and the Grahams, was of little avail against the superior force of the English; so that when the ambuscade of Bishop Beik appeared, they were on the point of retiring. Dunbar singled out Wallace amidst the throng, and

“ Hereat the plait with his scharp groundyn claiff
Threuch all the stuff, and woundit him sum deill.”

The hero returning the blow with sevenfold vengeance, clove down Maitland, who had thrown himself betwixt the two adversaries. Wallace's horse was killed beneath him, and he was now on foot, dealing destruction to his enemies, when

“ Erle Patrick than, that had gret craft in war,
With spears ordand guid Wallace doun to bear;”

But five hundred resolute warriors rescued their champion, and the war-worn armies were glad to retire.

The same night, Wallace traversed Lammermoor in quest of the retreating host, while Bishop Beik, Earl Patrick, and Bruce, fled to Norham. On his return, the champion, still mindful of the odium attached to his name by the earl of Dunbar,

“ Passit, with mony awfull men,
On Patrickis land, and waistit wonder fast,
Tuk out guide, and places doun thal cast;

His steads, sewin, that Mete Hamys* was call'd,
Wallace gert break the burly biggings bauld,
Baith in the Merse, and als in Lothiane,
Except Dunbar, standand he leavit nane."

A short peace was concluded with England, in 1297, when Earl Patrick, (says the Minstrel,) having ceased to pay allegiance to Edward, held his lands of the Scottish crown, and was favourably received by Wallace. But at this time he wavered; for, in 1299, the king granted him £200 sterling, partly in money, and partly in provisions, for supplying his castle with military stores.

In 1304, the earl of Dunbar was one of the ten representatives chosen at Perth to appear at Westminster, for the purpose of settling the police and government of Scotland; but, failing to appear, Monteith, (the base betrayer of Wallace,) was substituted in his stead.

After the barbarous execution of Scotland's "ilk requited chief," Robert Bruce laid aside the selfish caution that had so long tarnished his actions, and threw himself on the bosom of his country, which was ready to receive him as her approved sovereign. His first step was to subdue the Galwegians, who were still under the influence of Baliol. The earl of Richmond, with a great army, was despatched to ar-

* Ridpath supposes Metehamys, or Methamis, to signify bound or mark, from Meith or Meth; and as *ham* in the Anglo Saxon signifies a house, it is probable that "sewin Mete Hamys" signifies the seven March hamlets or villages.

rest his progress, while special orders were sent to the earl of Dunbar, and other Scottish nobles, (the courtiers of England,) to assist the guardian in this expedition. It does not appear, however, that the earl of Dunbar obeyed these orders; and, in like manner, in 1308, when the earl of Dunbar and his youthful son Patrick, were summoned to support the falling interest of the English monarch in Scotland, this summons was treated with similar contempt. The blood of Wallace had not been shed in vain; for when Earl Patrick saw that the basis of the champion's ambition was a real love to his country and the Brucean interest, he was not backward to join the cause of freedom. With his country he was "entwined forever—but too late;" for, in 1309, he bade adieu to the troublous scenes of human life, at the age of sixty-six. By his wife, Margery Cumyn, daughter of Alexander, earl of Buchan, he left one son.*

* Douglas' Peer. ii.

CHAPTER V.

Now's the day, and now's the hour !
See the front of battle lower !
See approach proud Edward's power,
Edward's chains and slavery !

BURNS.

Bannockburn.—Edward's escape to Dunbar.

PATRICK, ninth earl of Dunbar and March, succeeded his father in 1309, at the age of twenty-four, and is first noticed in history as surety for the earl of Strathern.*

As Berwick was still in the possession of the enemy, there were necessarily many English partisans in the Merse, who were reduced to great distress by the partial successes of the Brucean party ; while they were exposed to the "insolence of office" in the persons of the English authorities. The earl of Dunbar and Sir Adam Gordon were delegated to the court of England, to solicit assistance and relief. Edward immediately ordered their grievances to be redressed ; and, glad of the pretext, promised to be at Berwick by mid-summer in the ensuing year, with an army well calculated to overawe the refractory to obedience.

This was indeed a pretext but too plausible and

* Chal. Cal. ii. 247.

fatal. In 1314, Edward assembled forces from all quarters. He enlisted troops from Flanders and other foreign countries; he invited over numbers of the disorderly Irish, and joined to them a body of Welsh; and assembling the whole military force of England, marched to the frontiers with an army which amounted to 100,000 men.*

These delegates, however, were unintentionally the means, in the hand of providence, of securing the freedom of their country. This immense armament, which was accompanied with all the pageantry and splendour of a Persian camp, and with bards to celebrate victories before they were achieved, melted like the pillars of an icy palace on the immortal plains of Bannockburn; and Edward, after seeing his army nearly annihilated, fled with a body of horse to Berwick. Sir James Douglas, with 400 chosen horsemen, intercepted the royal fugitive, who was glad to shelter himself in the castle of Dunbar. Here he was received "full gently," and by means of a fishing boat, coasted along the shore till he reached the towers of Bamborough.† "This was honourable," observes a distinguished writer, "because Patrick must have had in his thoughts at that time the making his peace with his native monarch, and could not be ignorant how easily and advantageously he might have done so, by detaining in custody the person of the king of England."‡

* Hume's England, ii. xiv. † Holingshed's Chron. i. 443.

‡ Provincial Ant. ii. 149.

After this signal defeat, which secured the independence of Scotland, the earl of Dunbar made peace with his cousin, king Robert I., and was present at Ayr, on the 26th April, 1315, when the succession to the crown of Scotland was settled on Bruce and his heirs male.*

To atone for his youthful errors, Earl Patrick, in 1318, by his intelligence and efforts, assisted in retaking Berwick from the English, at which time he was sheriff of Lothian; and, in 1322, he concurred with those nobles, who transmitted an energetic epistle to Pope John, asserting the independence of their country.†

In 1331 peace was restored to the sister nations; but their tranquillity was often interrupted by the claims of these rival chieftains, who had possessions on the borders. The bishop of Durham preferred a complaint to the Scottish regency against the earl of Dunbar for infraction of the late treaty. The prelate alleged that the village of Upsetlington, situated on the Scottish side of the river Tweed, west of Norham, was part of the right of the church of St Outhbert or see of Durham. This place had fallen into the hands of Bruce during the war; but, after several requisitions, had been restored to its clerical owners. The earl of Dunbar, however, in despite of this arrangement, had seized

* In the ninth year of Edward's reign, Henry Percy obtained a grant of all those fees in Northumberland, which the earl had forfeited.

† Doug. Peer. ii. Chal. Cal. ii. 247.

the place and issues thereof, and violently prevented the bishop from enjoying them. Edward now interfered, and sent letters to King David, (a minor,) his guardian, and the earl, demanding restitution. The bishop again complained to Edward, on being summoned to attend the Scottish parliament at Scone, to shew how and for what service he claimed the lands of Upsetlington. The king of England complained of this summons as being derogatory both to him and to the church, and requested that David would restrain his ministers from disturbing the bishop in his possessions; and we hear no more of it.*

In 1332, many of the English nobility, who had imaginary claims to estates and honours in Scotland, were men of the first rank and influence; and taking advantage of that perilous period, (the minority of a prince,) meditated a descent upon the kingdom. At this critical moment, Randolph, earl of Moray, the indefatigable regent, died at Musselburgh; and Donald, earl of Mar, and Patrick, earl of Dunbar and March, were appointed, by the assembly of the estates at Perth, joint guardians in his stead: the former over the north side of the Forth, and the latter over the south.†

Lord Henry Beaumont, brother to the bishop of Durham, is celebrated as the mover of this enterprise. While an exile in France, he is supposed to have concerted this plan with Edward Baliol, in order to recover the sceptre which the father of the latter had so

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 293.

† Holinshed.

impotently wielded. The king of England, who wished to make it appear that he stood aloof in the transaction, discouraged any hostile attack on Scotland through the marches of his kingdom. Accordingly, the associated barons collected a fleet of ships at Ravenspar, near the mouth of the Humber, and sailing thence, entered the frith of Forth on the last day of July, and disembarked at Kinghorn. A body of Scots under Sir Alexander Seton opposed their landing, but was defeated, and their leader slain. This was the beginning of a series of victories. The conquerors advanced through Dunfermline towards Perth. In the neighbourhood, on the moor of Duplin, a great army was assembled by the earl of Mar, to arrest their progress. The invaders, though joined by some of their Scottish friends after the affair at Kinghorn, had scarcely increased to 4000 men; but the traitor, Sir Alexander Murray, (who was the friend of Baliol,) having affixed a pole at the ford of the river Earn, the English crossed it secretly during the night, and coming suddenly on the Scottish camp, put them to the sword. Surprise, consternation, and confusion, seized the Scottish host; and the chieftains, rushing precipitately to repel the aggressors, were slain amidst heaps of their followers. The earl of Mar was slain in his tent. Among "an undistinguished multitude," fell Thomas Randolph, the young earl of Moray, (brother to the countess of Dunbar;)- Murdock, earl of Monteith, and Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick; Duncan, earl of Fife, was

taken prisoner, while the conquerors proceeding to Perth, the town surrendered without resistance.

On this fatal night, the earl of Dunbar and Lord Archibald Douglas were at Ochterarder, a few miles from the scene of battle. They speedily advanced to Perth, which was strongly fortified by the enemy. Meantime, Sir John Crab,* who, by command of the earl of Dunbar, had sailed from Berwick with a squadron of ten Flemish ships, for the purpose of intercepting the fleet of the English adventurers which had sailed for the Tay, suffered a complete defeat, whereby their supply of provisions was cut off, and they were reduced to the necessity of raising the siege. The earl of Dunbar and Lord Archibald Douglas concluded a truce with Baliol till the 2nd February 1333, while the infant Bruce had to retire from the storm, and seek shelter and protection in the vallies of France under the fostering care of Sir Malcolm Fleming.†

Baliol, elated by this train of unexpected successes, assumed the name of Conqueror, and was crowned at Scone, by Duncan, earl of Fife, and the bishop of Dunkeld, while the clergy and barons of that district assisted in the solemnity.

The imaginary conqueror having imprudently dismissed the greater part of his English followers, was, notwithstanding the truce, suddenly attacked near Arran by Sir Archibald Douglas and other chieftians of that party. His army was routed; he was chased

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 273.

† Chal. Cal. ii.

into England; and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which it was obtained.*

The king of England, who was now ready to prosecute those measures for the subjugation of Scotland, which at first he seemed ashamed to avow, readily prepared to reinstate Baliol in the possession of the crown. Accordingly, with a formidable army, he proceeded to the frontiers for that purpose. As the brunt of the war was expected to fall upon Berwick, Douglas, the regent, placed a strong garrison for the defence of that place under the command of Sir William Keith, while the defence of the castle was intrusted to the earl of Dunbar.†

Edward remained for the space of a month before Berwick; but finding from the strength of the garrison, and their resolute defence of the place, that it could not be soon taken, he led part of his army into Scotland. On his return he found that Berwick still held out; but being reinforced by a fresh body of troops, he renewed the siege with redoubled vigour. The garrison being at length reduced to great extremity for want of provisions, on the 15th July, a capitulation was subscribed betwixt the English monarch on the one hand, and Patrick, earl of Dunbar, and Sir William Keith on the other. The features of this agreement were, that the town and castle should be delivered to Edward on the 20th, if not previously relieved by a general engagement. This pre-

* Hume's Eng.

† Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

ceded the battle of Halidownhill only a few days, where the Scots were totally defeated, upon which the town and castle surrendered. After this fatal overthrow, the Scottish nobles had no immediate resource but submission; and before Edward left Berwick, he received the fealty of the earl of Dunbar with several others of the nobility. On this occasion Earl Patrick and Lord Henry Percy were appointed joint wardens of all the country south of the Forth.*

The castle of Dunbar, which had been dismantled and razed to the ground on the approach of the English, was now rebuilt at the earl's own expense, for the purpose of maintaining an English garrison.

The earl of Dunbar attended the parliament held at Edinburgh in February 1334, when Baliol ceded Berwick, Dunbar, Roxburgh, and Edinburgh, and all the south-east counties of Scotland, to be annexed for ever to the English domains.† But the English forces were no sooner withdrawn, than the Scots again revolted from the detested Baliol, and returned to their former allegiance. Earl Patrick retired into the Highlands to join the friends of Bruce; and, in April 1335, attended the parliament held by the regent at Dairsie in Fife.‡ The same year, when Edward III. and Baliol made another descent on Scotland, the earl of Dunbar cut off a body of archers on their return southward; and he afterwards assisted

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist. 310.

† Hume's Eng.

‡ Doug. Peer. ii.

the earl of Moray in defeating the Count of Namur on the Borough-moor of Edinburgh.

The earl of Dunbar, along with Sir William Douglas, accompanied the guardian, Sir Andrew Murray, for the purpose of rescuing the lady of the latter, who was besieged by the earl of Athol in the castle of Kildrummy. They were met by the enemy in the forest of Kilblain, and were on the point of falling before superior numbers, when a sortie from the castle recovered their scattered forces, and the earl of Athol was slain, and his adherents completely routed.

CHAPTER VI.

Once more unto the breach, dear friends! once more,
Or fill the wall up with our English dead.

Hang out our banner on the outward wall;
The cry is still, "They come!" Our castle's strength
Will laugh a siege to scorn.

SHAKESPEARE.

Grand siege of the Castle.—Black Agnes.

AT this period the castle of Dunbar was a great annoyance to the English subjects in the Scottish territory. The excursions of the garrison along the fruitful coast, rendered the public road betwixt Berwick and Edinburgh unsafe to travellers, while its port of Lammer Haven, under the shelter of the fortress, "grim rising o'er the rugged rock," afforded a convenient and safe reception for the aids and supplies from France, and other places on the continent. Hence the reduction of this place became of great moment to Edward, on the certain prospect of an immediate war with France.

In January 1337, William Montague, earl of Salisbury, together with the earl of Arundel, to whom the king had left the chief command of the forces in Scotland, attempted this enterprise with a large army. At this important crisis, the earl of Dunbar was employed with the guardian in reducing the fortresses in the north; so that the defence of this stronghold devolved upon the countess, a lady who,

from the darkness of her complexion, was commonly called Black Agnes; but whose vigilant and patriotic conduct has immortalized her name.

Agnes, countess of Dunbar, was daughter to the celebrated Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, and sister to the earl of that name who fell at Duplin; and of his successor who was made prisoner in the affray with Count Namur, and who was at this time a prisoner in England. These circumstances inspired sentiments of resentment against the English in the breast of our heroine, which neither the stratagems of art could surprise, nor the terrors of danger dismay. The castle, which was newly fortified, from its situation on rocks nearly surrounded by the sea, was deemed impregnable. But against the natural strength of the fortress we must bring the most consummate generals of the age. Arundel was afterwards constable at the battle of Cressy, and Salisbury commanded the rear at the battle of Poitiers, while the besiegers were the chosen troops that had been victorious in the late invasions.

“ ‘And do they come?’ Black Agnes cried,
‘Nor storm, nor midnight, stops our foes;
Well, then, the battle’s chance be tried,
The Thistle shall out-thorn the Rose.’

“ She spake, and started from her bed,
And cased her lovely limbs in mail;
The helmet on her coal-black head,
Sluiced o’er her eyes,—an iron veil!

“ In her fair hand she grasp’d a spear,
A baldrick o’er her shoulder flung;

While loud the bugle-note of war,
And Dunbar's cavern'd echoes rung.— *BLACK AGNES.*

During the siege, Agnes performed all the duties of a bold and vigilant commander. When the battering engines of the English hurled stones or leaden balls against the battlements, she, as in scorn, ordered one of her maids, splendidly drest, to wipe off, with a clean white handkerchief, the marks of the stroke. The castle continued to “laugh a siege to scorn,” when the earl of Salisbury, with vast labour, brought that enormous machine, the *sow*,* to bear against the walls; but, like the Roman darts at the siege of Jotapata, it rung harmless against the rock.

The countess, who awaited the approach of this new engine of destruction, being full of taunts, exclaimed:

“Beware, Montague,
For farrow shall thy sow!”†

(meaning the men within it,) when a large fragment of the rock was hurled from the battlements, and

* The Sow was a military engine, resembling the Roman testudo. It was formed of wood covered with hides, and mounted on wheels, so that being rolled forwards to the foot of the besieged wall, it served as a shed or cover, to defend the miners, or those who wrought the battering-ram, from the stones and arrows of the garrison.—*Border Min. i. 40.*

† *Of the assiege of Dunbare,
Where the Countess was wise and ware.*

A. D.
[1536-
1538.]

SCHYRE William Montague, that sua (consequently);
Had tune the siege, in hy gret ma
A mekH and richt stalwart engine,
And up smertly gert dress it: syne

crushed the cover to pieces, with the poor little pigs,
(as Major calls them,) who were lurking under it.
And although there is no royal road to poetry, upon
the authority of this couplet, Ritson has admitted
Agnes into the company of the Scottish poets.

They warpit at the wall great stanes
Baith hard and heavy for the nanyis, (*purpose*)
But that nane merrying to them made,
And alsua when they castyne had,
With a towel, a damiselle
Arrayed jollily and well,
Wippit the wall, that they might see
To gere them mair annoyed be ;
There at the siege well lang they lay,
But there little vantage got they ;
For when they bykkyne wald, or assail,
They tint the maist of their travaile.
And as they bykeryd there a' day,
Of a great shot I shall you say,
For that they had of it ferly,
It here to you rehearse will I.
William of Spens percit a Blasowne*
And thro' three faulds of Awbyrchowne, (*habergeon*)†
And the Actowne‡ through the third ply
And the arrow in the bodie,
While of that dynt there dead he lay ;
And then the Montagu gan say :
" This is ane of my Lady's pinnis,
Her amouris thus, till my heart rinnis."
While that the siege was there on this wise,
Men sayis there fell sair juperdyis.

* Dress over the armour where the armorial bearings were blazoned.

† A coat made of several folds of leather, cotton, wool, &c. and covered with mail of small rings riveted together, or small pieces of iron like fish scales.

‡ Quilted covering for the body made of strong leather.

Few of the assailants were able to return to their trenches. Finding the arts of forcible and open assault unavailing, Salisbury next attempted to gain the castle by treachery. Means were employed to bribe

For Lawrence of Prestoun, that then
Haldin ane of the wichest men,
That was in all Scotland that tide,
A rout of Inglismen saw ride,
That seemed gude men and worthy,
And were arrayed right richly ;
He, with als few folk, as they were,
On them assembled he there ;
But at the assembling, he was there
Intil the mouth stricken with a spear,
While it up in the harnys ran ;
Till a dike he withdrew him than,
And died ; for nae mair live he might.
His men his death perceived noucht ;
And with their faes faucht stoutly,
While they them vanquish'd utterly.
Thus was this guid man brought till end,
That was richt greatly to commend.
Of gret wirschipe (*manhood*) and gret bownte (*goodness*),
His saul be aye in saftie.

Sir William als of Galstoun
Of Keith, that was of gude renown,
Met Richard Talbot by the way
And set him to sa hard assay,
That to a kirk he gert him gae,
And close there defence to ma ;
But he assailed there sa fast,
That him be-hov'd treat at the last,
And twa thousand pound to pay,
And left hostages, and went his way.
The Montagu was yet hand,
Sieging Dunbare with stalwart hand ;

the porter, who had charge of the gate. This he agreed to do; but disclosed the transaction to the countess. Salisbury, at the head of a chosen party, commanded this enterprise in person, and found the

And twa galleys of Genoa had he,
For till assiege it by the sea.
And as he thus assieging lay,
He was set intil hard assay;
For he had purchased him covyn (*secret agreement*)
Of ane of them, that were therein,
That he should leave open the yete,
And certain term till him then set
To come; but they therein halily
Were warnit of it privily.
He came, and the yete open fand,
And wald have gape in foot steppand;
But John of Cowpland, that was then
But a right poor simple man,
Shut him off back, and in is gane,
The Portcullis came down on ane;
And spared Montagu, therout
They cryed with a sturdy shout,
“ A Montagu for ever mair!”
Then with the folk that he had there,
He turned to his Herbery,
And let him japyt fullyly.
Syne Alexander, the Ramsay,
That trowed and thought, that thay
That were assieged in Dunbar,
At great distress or mischief were;
That in an evening frae the Bass,
With a few folk, that with him was,
Toward Dunbar, intil a boat,
He held all privily his gate;
And by the galleys all slyly
He gat with his company;

gates of the castle open to receive him. The officiousness of John Copeland, one of his attendants, saved the general from the snare. Copeland hastily passed before the earl, the portcullis was let down, and the trusty squire, mistaken for his lord, remained a prisoner. Agnes, who from the southern tower

The lady, and all, that were there,
Of his coming well comfort were,
He issued in the morning in hy,
And with the wachis sturdily,
Made ane 'apart and stout melle,
And but tyhsel entered he.

While Montagu was there lyand,
The King Edward of England
Purchased him help and alyawns,
For he wald amowe were in France;
And for the Montagu he sends;
For he cowth (*bring*) nae thing till end
For owtyn him, for that time he
Was maist of his counsel privie
When he had heard the king's bidding
He removed, but mair dwelling,
When he, I trow, had lying there
A quarter of a year and mair.

Of this assiege in their hethyng (*derision*)
The English oysid to make karping
"I vow to God, she makes gret stere
The Scottish wenche ploddere, (*fighter*)
Come I aire, come I late,
I fand Annot at the yate."

WYNTOWNIS CAONYKIL, Book viii. cap. 33.*

* ANDREW WINTON was canon regular of St Andrews, and prior of Lochleven, and was born about 1360. Rude as his couplets may appear to the moderns, his pages are much prized by the learned for the prospects of society they present, and the early circumstances of history they record. As he lived at a time within the memory of men when the siege of the castle took place, his information must have been gathered from oral sources.

observed the event, cried to Salisbury jeeringly; "Adieu, Monsieur Montague; I intended that you should have supped with us, and assisted in defending this fortress against the robbers of England."

Thus unsuccessful in their attempts, the assailants turned the siege into a blockade, and closely environed the castle by sea and land. Amongst the ships were two large Genoese gallies, commanded by John Doria and Nicholas Fiesca. But famine was threatening to effect what force and art could not achieve. In consequence of the protracted siege the garrison was reduced to the utmost extremities for want of provisions; this intelligence reached Sir Alexander Ramsay, a bold and enterprising officer, who having procured a light vessel with a supply of provisions and military stores, sailed in a dark night, with forty chosen companions, from the contiguous rock of the Bass, and eluding the vigilance of the enemy, he entered the castle by a postern next the sea, and brought relief and refreshment to the desponding soldiers. Next morning, Ramsay made a smart sortie on the besiegers, killing and surprising them at their posts, and taking many prisoners; and the same night he completed the glory of his stratagem, by passing from the castle in the same manner, and with the same safety with which he had entered it.

The English having vigorously prosecuted the siege for six weeks, were compelled to abandon this hopeless enterprise.* Besides the commanders of the

* Salisbury even consented to a cessation of arms, and departing

army, there were present on this occasion, the earl of Gloucester, lords Percy and Neville. Holinshed asserts that Edward was present himself. At all events, he spent some days at Berwick at that period, and if he was not present, at least gave orders to abandon the siege of Dunbar.

While the countess thus gallantly defended her husband's "strong-house" at Dunbar, he was employed along with the guardian, Sir William Douglas, and other loyal nobles, in reducing the fortresses on the other side of the Forth. After defeating a great body of Englishmen at Panmure, they took and destroyed the castles of St Andrews and Leuchars, and the tower of Falkland; the castle of Cupar alone resisted their utmost efforts. In March they reduced the castle of Bothwell, while this extraordinary success is ascribed to the use of machines sent over from France, accompanied by French engineers.†

The failure of the English at Dunbar led to important consequences. It encouraged Sir Andrew Murray to lay siege to Stirling, and essentially contributed to animate the courage, improve the union, and augment the numbers of the Brucean party.

In 1339, the earl of Dunbar assisted Lord Robert

into the south, intrusted the care of the borders to Robert Manners, William Heron, and other Northumbrian barons.

* Often so called in records of these times.—Ridpath.

† Fordun says, that the governor prevailed in the siege of the fortresses mentioned, by the dread of a certain engine called *Boustoun*.—Ridpath.

Stewart, who was elected guardian on the death of Murray, in the reduction of Perth, and led the second division of the army.*

The Scots, during the year 1340, made several successful inroads into England, in which Sir Alexander Ramsay, who had brought such timely succour to Dunbar at the late siege, particularly distinguished himself. A party, however, headed by the earls of Dunbar and Sutherland was less successful; for they were routed by Lord Grey and Sir Robert Manners, assisted by John Copeland and the garrison of Roxburgh.†

Edward having again entered Scotland with a powerful army, the Scots were induced to sue for a truce for the space of six months. On this occasion, there was a safe-conduct, dated Westminster, 24th March 1342, granted to the earl of Dunbar and others, to visit any place in England or Scotland under the king's authority, to treat with him for a final peace; but what was determined in consequence of this meeting is not related.‡

David Bruce, who had reached his seventeenth year, returned with his consort from France; and the earl of Dunbar now attended his youthful monarch as assiduously as a counsellor, as he had formerly acted daringly for him as a soldier. He was witness to many charters granted by David at this turbulent period.

In 1343, in a skirmish near Berwick, Lord Ralph

* Holinshed.

† Ibid.

‡ Ridpath, 803.

Neville was taken prisoner, and sent to Dunbar; whence he was speedily ransomed.

In 1346, while the king of England was engaged at the siege of Calais, David Bruce thought it a favourable opportunity to aid his ally the king of France. Entering Northumberland at the head of 50,000 men, he carried his ravages to the gates of Durham. But Queen Philippa, assembling a body of troops, intrusted the command to Lord Percy, and met him at Neville's Cross, near that city.* The Scottish army formed into one line. The High Steward of Scotland and the earl of Dunbar commanded the right, the earls of Murray and Douglas the left; while David, with some French auxiliaries, and the flower of his nobility, supported the centre. The English archers began the battle with showers of arrows on the left, which galled the right division so severely, that the body under the earl of Dunbar charging, plied their broad-swords and battle-axes so dexterously, that they drove the bowmen back upon the party commanded by Percy, and occasioned great confusion and disorder. At this critical period, Baliol advanced upon the earl with a large body of horse; and not only supported the archers who had given way, but obliged the party under the High Steward and the earl of Dunbar to sound a retreat, which they effected with inconsiderable loss. The English now pressed upon the division commanded by David in person, who refused to quit the field;

* Hume's Eng. ii.

while his followers shamed to forsake their prince, formed a phalanx around him, and fought valiantly till not above eighty of them remained. The king was at length compelled to surrender to John Copeland, after having knocked out two of that gentleman's teeth with his gauntlet. The remaining division of the Scots, commanded by Moray and Douglas, intimidated by the fate of their companions, was soon routed. Moray was slain in the field, Douglas was taken prisoner, and few of their followers escaped. This battle took place 17th October 1346.

Amongst the nobles who fell in the field of Durham, was Thomas, earl of Moray, brother to the heroic countess of Dunbar. As he had no male issue, Agnes became sole possessor of his vast estates; and her husband assumed the additional title of earl of Moray. Besides the earldom of Moray, the earl of Dunbar and his countess obtained the Isle of Man, the lordship of Annandale, the baronies of Morton and Tibbers in Nithsdale, of Morthingtoun and Longformacus, and the manor of Duase in Berwickshire; with Mochrum in Galloway, Cumnock in Ayrshire, and Blantyre in Clydesdale.*

But "the gallant knights had left their monarch bound;" for Scotland again deprived of its regal ruler by the captivity of its sovereign, the guardianship devolved on Robert the High Steward; who, with the earl of Dunbar, had returned in safety from

* Doug. Pees, 15.

the tented field, not without suspicions of having deserted the king; which, with the most credit, may be imputed to the Steward, who was heir apparent to the crown.*

After the surrender of Calais, a truce was agreed on between the kings of France and England, in which the Scots were included. During this peace, the earl of Dunbar busied himself, without effect, to obtain the liberation of his sovereign, offering his son and heir as an hostage,† which seems to exculpate him of the blame of forsaking the king.

In 1355, the truce, which had been prolonged for eight years, expired; when the Scots, exasperated that Edward would not listen to any proposals for the liberation of their king, had already commenced their destructive inroads into Northumberland. The earl of Dunbar and Lord William Douglas having united their forces for this purpose, despatched Sir William Ramsay of Dalhousie with an advanced party to destroy the populous village of Norham and the country adjacent, which he effected; and, in order to inveigle a large body of the enemy, who were approaching in the pursuit, he retreated, with a great booty of cattle, to Nisbet-moor in Berwickshire. The main body of the Scots, who waited in ambush, with their French auxiliaries, rushed upon the English, and completely routed them after a gallant resistance.‡

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

† Chalmers' Cal. ii.

‡ Holinshed's Chron.

Encouraged by this success, a scheme was formed for the recovery of Berwick. The earl of Angus in concert with the earl of Dunbar, having collected a number of ships, filled them with chosen warriors; and, in a dark night, passed over to the north side of the Tweed; thence they moved unobserved to the foot of the walls of Berwick, and, by the dawn of next morning, the town was in their possession. In this assault the English lost two knights, and the Scots no fewer than six; while the whole wealth of the town fell a prey to the victors.

But this acquisition was of short duration. Edward III., who had just landed from Calais crowned with victory, thought the place of such importance, that he was there with his army by the 14th January 1356; and, as the castle was still in the hands of the English, the Scots, on his approach, applied the torch to the town, and abandoned it to the invader.

In 1357, the earl of Dunbar was one of the plenipotentiaries who met at Berwick, to adjust the liberation of King David. It was one of the articles of the treaty, that David should deliver up to the king of England twenty hostages, heirs of the chief families in the kingdom; the principal of whom were, the sons of Robert, steward of Scotland, of the earls of Dunbar, Sutherland, &c.; and that three out of eight of the principal nobles of the kingdom, (amongst which is mentioned the earl of Dunbar,) should also enter themselves hostages on the delivering up of the

king, not to be relieved otherwise than by others of the same number supplying their place.*

As some difficulty occurred in paying the king's ransom, (100,000 merks sterling yearly, during ten years,) the earl of Dunbar thrice visited the court of England, in 1358, to adjust matters; and, again, in 1359 and 1360, a safe-conduct was granted him to treat with the English on certain articles respecting David Bruce.†

To reward his services, he obtained many favours from his ransomed prince: he was granted a legal right to assume the earldom of Moray, and to receive what it had yielded in rent and profit from 1346 to 1360; he obtained a grant of all the castle-wards within his own lands, during life; and a pension of L.40 sterling, (dated 3d July 1362,) during the king's pleasure; and his town of Dunbar was erected into a royal burgh; while, on the other hand, Edward III. resented the hostile conduct of the border chieftain, by granting some of his estates to strangers.‡

It was fashionable at this period to make pilgrimages to the tomb of Becket. In 1362-63, and again in 1366, the earl of Dunbar joined the vast swarms that visited the sacred fane of Canterbury.§ These devotional longings which were often used for political purposes, have furnished subject matter for the pen of Chaucer, in his admirable tale of The Pilgrims.

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

† Douglas Peer, ii.

‡ Chal. Cal. ii.

§ Chal. Cal. ii.

After a life spent amidst the din of arms and alternate strife, the earl of Dunbar seems to have subsided into the calm of piety. In May 1367, he confirmed to the monks of Coldingham, by a charter to the prior and convent of Durham, the manors of Ederham and Nisbet, with the church of Ederham. This confirmation was witnessed by his relation, George de Dunbar, Alexander Ricklynton,* constable of Dunbar; Robert Lecke, his steward; while his wife Agnes, countess of Dunbar and Moray, ratified the whole, which was confirmed by David in the August following.

The earl was again called on, to assist a convention, for preserving the peace of the borders; and in June 1368, the king was advised by the parliament of Scone, to consult the earls of Dunbar and Douglas on the security of the eastern marches. This appears to have been the last public service that Earl Patrick performed. Wearied with the toils of active life, at the advanced age of eighty-four, he bade adieu to the tented field and the gaudy court, and resigned his earldom and estates to his eldest son George. His death must have taken place betwixt this period and 1371, as he was not present at the coronation of Robert II. which took place in that year.

* In 1364, the earl granted to Alexander Ricklynton, who had been his armiger for twenty years, half of the lands of East Spot, with the tenandries within Whitsome, in Berwickshire, which Sir Patrick Ramsay had resigned, in the earl's court, at Whittingham. This grant was confirmed by David II. Rycklynton offered his

By his heroic lady, Agnes, daughter of Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, regent of Scotland, he had issue as follows: George, tenth earl of March; John, earl of Moray; Lady Margaret, married to William, first earl of Douglas; Lady Agnes,* married to James Douglas, lord Dalkeith; and Lady Elisabeth, married to John Maitland of Lethington,† ancestor of the earls of Lauderdale.

adorations at the tomb of Becket, in 1368, with six horsemen in his suite.

In 1363, the earl also made a munificent grant to his *alumnus* John de Hepburn.—Robertson's Ind. Chalmers' Cal. ii.

* Lady Agnes Dunbar got as her marriage portion from her brother, the lands of Mordington in Berwickshire, confirmed by Robert II. 6th December 1372; Whittingham, in the county of Haddington; and L.100 land in the Isle of Man.—Doug. Peer. ii.

† When the second earl of Lauderdale was created a Duke, he chose for his second title that of Marquis of March, to indicate his descent from the earls of March and Dunbar.

CHAPTER VII.

It fell upon the Lammas tide,
 When the muir-men win their hay,
 The doughty earl of Douglas rode
 Into England to catch a prey.—OLD BALLAD.

For why? sufficeth them to know
 The good old rule, the simple plan;
 That they should take who have the power,
 And they should keep who can.—WORDSWORTH.

The Border Forays.

GEORGE, the first of that name, and tenth earl of Dunbar and March, when he succeeded his father in 1369, was twenty-nine or thirty years of age. From the vast possessions he inherited both from his father and his heroic mother, he became one of the most powerful nobles of southern Scotland, the rival of the Douglasses, whom, as the author of *Caledonia* observes, he surpassed in the antiquity of his house, and the splendour of his descent.

On the death of David II. in 1370, William, earl of Douglas, laid claim to the crown in right of Baliol and Cuming, in opposition to Robert Stewart, who had been legally settled heir to the throne. But when he found that the earls of Dunbar and Moray were not inclined to support this usurpation, he abandoned the enterprise; they having declared for Stewart, who was descended from Robert Bruce by the female side.*

* Holinshed's Chron.

In 1371, the earl was present at Scone, when the earl of Carrick was proclaimed the heir of Robert; and, in 1372, the earls of Dunbar and Douglas, who were joint wardens of the marches, made an explanatory agreement with the bishop of Durham and Henry Percy, in regard to the more regular payment of king David's ransom.

An affray happened at this time, which marks the ungovernable temper of the border chieftains, "with whom revenge was virtue." At a fair, held at Roxburgh in August, to which multitudes resorted from both kingdoms, one of the household servants of the earl of Dunbar was slain by the English. The earl applied to Lord Percy, warden of the opposite marches, for redress; but as no satisfactory answer was returned, a cruel mode of retaliation was adopted. On the return of Roxburgh fair, in the following year, Earl George and his brother the earl of Moray, accompanied by their friends and followers, attacked the town by surprise, put the English to death, and, applying the torch to the houses, carried off the spoil in triumph. The southerners immediately followed up this inroad by ravaging the adjoining lands of Sir John Gordon, who in his turn made repayment in kind. This led to a more serious invasion; for to avenge these losses and insults, Lord Percy entered Scotland with 7000 men, and encamped near Dunse; but his farther progress was happily stopt by a simple expedient adopted by the peasants in the neighbourhood. They made use of a kind of rattle, composed of dried skins, distended round ribs of

wood, filled with pebbles, and fixed on long poles, for the purpose of frightening the deer and wild cattle from their corn. These bags, when vigorously shaken, made a hideous noise. A number of these machines being placed on the adjacent hills during the night, startled the English horses, which, breaking away from their keepers, became the prey of the Scots. The army being awakened by this strange noise, and finding themselves deprived both of their horses and beasts of burden, retreated on foot towards the Tweed with the greatest trepidation, leaving their baggage behind them.*

Nothing material occurred during the few remaining years of the reign of Edward III.; but on the accession of Richard II. the flame which the borderers had roused at the tryst of Roxburgh, was destined to be rekindled. Percy, who was now created earl of Northumberland, entered Scotland with 10,000 men; and, for the space of three days, ravaged the lands of the earl of Dunbar:—thus evincing, that the two wardens, placed there for the peace of others, were continually engaged in broils of their own. The respective governments were now compelled to interfere; and commissioners were appointed for the purpose of quieting these disorders, and making reparation for their mutual injuries. But on the night before the feast of St Andrew, about the time these negotiations should have begun, the castle of Berwick was suddenly surprised, by seven desperate fellows

* Riddpath's Bord. Hist.

from the Scottish border. This new breach of the peace was complained of to the earl of Dunbar, who, however, disclaimed all knowledge of the transaction.*

At the period of 1380, the Scots gained considerable advantages on the western borders, partly owing to a plague that ravaged the north of England, and partly owing to a want of circumspection in those who had the administration of affairs during the minority of their king. This probably induced John, duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, and chief of the English regency, to come north at the head of a great army, vested with powers to treat with the king of Scotland, and to regulate border differences. Accordingly, the earls of Dunbar and Douglas, and lord Galloway, (then wardens of the marches,) accompanied by the bishops of Glasgow and Dunkeld, met the duke at Berwick; but arrangements were postponed till the 12th June, in order that the earl of Carrick, eldest son of Robert II., might be present at the conference. This congress again met at Abchester, near Ayton, on the days appointed; and, on the 18th, a truce was concluded between the rival parties to continue till Candlemas 1384.†

During the truce, Earl George, with other Scottish nobles, performed a pilgrimage to the saint of Canterbury.‡ These pious rambles were as usual followed by bloody encounters; for scarcely had the truce expired, when the Scots took the

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

† Ibid.

‡ Chal. Cal. ii.

castle of Lochmaben. This turned the attention of the English to the security of Roxburgh; and, while the Baron of Graystock, with his furniture and family, proceeded with a convoy of ammunition and provision for its relief, the earl of Dunbar "o'ertook the spoil-encumber'd foe," and, with his baggage, led the baron captive to the castle of Dunbar.*

In fulfilment of the treaty between the French and Scots in 1385, John de Vienne, the French admiral, arrived in Scotland with 2000 auxiliaries and 50,000 livres. The money was distributed among the nobility; and of this filthy lucre, Earl George pocketed 4000 livres, and the earl of Douglas 7000.†

Meanwhile, to disconcert the designs of the Scots and their allies, Richard II. entered Scotland at the head of a powerful army. The Scots, who knew that their strength lay in their secret ambushes, fled before the invaders; and Richard, harassed by their flying parties, found himself surrounded by famine in a deserted land. After setting fire to Edinburgh and the beautiful abbey of Melrose, and committing other devastations, he retraced his steps homeward, like a destructive volcano returning to its inflammable source.

During the English invasion, the earls of Fife, Dunbar and Douglas, crossing the western border with an army of 50,000 men, plundered and laid waste the country to the precincts of Newcastle. They

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

† Chal. Cal. II.

also took the castles of Wark, Ford, and Cornhill; and were on the eve of proceeding to the reduction of Roxburgh, when disputes arising between them and their auxiliaries respecting the right of conquest, they abandoned this enterprise. Hostilities were continued on the borders till the middle of the summer of the following year, when a truce was concluded at Billymyre in Berwickshire, between the earls of Dunbar and Douglas on the one hand, and Lord Neville on the other.*

But these truces were, as usual, "like angel-visits, short and far between." The Scots, in 1387, made another successful inroad over the western march. At this time, however, the earl of Dunbar seems to have been at peace with his neighbours; for, towards the end of the year he obtained a safe-conduct from the English king, who allowed him to enter his territories with a hundred horsemen in his train, and to remain for the space of six months.†

In a parliament assembled by Robert II. at Aberdeen, in 1388, it was decreed, that a powerful army should invade the English borders to retaliate some ravages which had been lately committed in Berwickshire. James, earl of Douglas, with the earl of Dunbar and his brother the earl of Moray, invaded Northumberland and Durham with 3000 men; while the earls of Fife and Strathern, (the king's sons,) entered Cumberland with a still more numerous host.‡

Douglas having penetrated to Newcastle, encamp-

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

† Ibid.

‡ Holinshed.

ed in the neighbourhood, where Henry Percy, (surnamed Hotspur,) lay in garrison. Percy, willing to shew some proof of his personal prowess, challenged Douglas to single combat. In the first encounter the English knight was unhorsed, and had been taken prison, but for the timely interference of the garrison. Douglas carried off Percy's lance with the pennon attached to it, and waving it on high, swore that he would carry it home to Scotland as a trophy of victory. Burning with revenge, Hotspur and his brother Sir Ralph, immediately collected an army thrice as numerous as the Scots, and taking the benefit of a moonlight march, suddenly attacked them in their camp at Otterburn. This assault was so unexpected, that the earls of Douglas, Dunbar and Moray, who were sitting at supper in a tent, had scarcely time to reach their armour.* The action, which was long and doubtful, was fought with uncommon gallantry on both sides. At one moment, the Scots giving way, the English had nearly penetrated to the Scottish standards, when Patrick Hepburn,† with his son and company, coming up, gal-

* Heron's Hist Scot.

† Holinshed gives us this account of the origin of the Hepburns: In the reign of David II., one of that name, an Englishman, on being taken prisoner by the Scots, was present while the earl of Dunbar was exercising a young gelding. The animal proving restive, the earl was in imminent danger of his life, when Hepburn leaping forward, boldly seized the bridle rein, and held the animal till the earl alighted. In reward for this essential service, the earl gave Hepburn certain lands in Lothian.

lantly supported the falling battalions. The earl of Douglas now approaching, armed with a ponderous mace, and accompanied only by his chaplain and two squires, rushed into the thickest ranks of the enemy, and after prodigies of valour, fell covered with wounds. He desired his followers, who had come to his rescue, to conceal his death, and avenge his fall. "I die like my forefathers," said the expiring chief, "in a field of battle, and not on a bed of sickness. Conceal my death, defend my standard, and avenge my fall. It is an old prophecy, that a dead man shall gain a field, and I hope it will be accomplished this night."* The Scots having again raised the standard of their fallen commander, shouted, "A Douglas! a Douglas!" and rushed on with redoubled vigour to the conflict. The fight continued with great obstinacy till the morning, when the English were completely routed, and the two Percys taken prisoners.† On this signal defeat, the Northumbrians retired; but the bishop of Durham, who had arrived too late at Newcastle to join the army of Percy, now advanced with fresh forces. The Scots, who were encumbered with their prisoners, were placed in imminent danger in the event of a rencounter with the enemy; but still flushed with victory, they prepared to meet them, and according to John Major, were encouraged with these memorable words of the earl of Dunbar:

* Border Minst. i.

† Harding says, that Hotspur was taken to Dunbar:

"Henry was taken there anone,
To Dunbar led, for whom was made great mone."

“ We have this night, most noble Scots, sustained the chief heat and force of the battle; we have overthrown the youth and strength of Northumberland, with their two princes; for which there is no cause why we, after such honour obtained against these valiant princes, should now fear this silly priest. Truly there remaineth nothing now for us, but that every one of us give but two strokes; because the leader will fly at the third, and all the flock will follow: since the shepherd being stricken, the sheep will be dispersed. But if they shall so long contend with us, that, (as God most rightly forbid,) we chance to be overcome, then shall we most shamefully lose the glory, which we before have honourably gained by this night's travail. But contrary, if we be men, and put on us such valiant hearts, (as the preservation of honour requireth,) we shall easily teach this mistred priest, that it had been far more honour to him, safety to his, and most commodity to them all, that he had remained at home, with rods to correct unbridled and negligent scholars, than with swords to enter battle against grown and bearded soldiers.”

Having thus spoken, the Scots, who remained securely entrenched in their encampment, agreeably to a preconcerted plan, set up a loud shout with their favourite war-horns, which being echoed among the hills, made the English believe their army considerably strengthened, upon which the bishop retired, without attempting the rescue of the Percies. This battle was fought in August 1388.

It was happy for the Scots, that the command of

them now devolved on the earl of Dunbar, the most prudent general of his age. As his circumspection constantly predominated over his courage, he was almost always successful in his various battles. The earl of Dunbar conducted his army with the prisoners to the Tweed; carrying the adored remains of the gallant Douglas to Melrose, the sacred cemetery of his valiant family.

Hostilities continued on the borders till peace was concluded at Lelighen between England and France, in 1389, in which the Scots were as usual included. Robert, king of Scotland, died in the following year, and was succeeded by his eldest son, John, earl of Carriek, who, on ascending the throne, assumed the name of Robert III. But the turbulent chiefs of the borders, not sufficiently checked by the supreme authority, and wanting their brutal occupation of war, plunged again into scenes of faction and sedition at home. It was probably the result of some quarrel with the administration, though the particulars are not known, that induced the two great border heroes, the earls of Dunbar and Douglas, to enter at this time into treaties with the king of England; for giving and receiving aid; and by which they were engaged to pay him certain services during their lives. The commission issued to negotiate such treaties is still extant, though it is not known how it terminated. But the feuds of the feudal nobility had long become hereditary in Europe; so that a baron who had incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, no longer run the risk of being stript at random of his honours and possessions.

CHAPTER VIII.

To fair Lincluden's haly caile,
 Fu' dowie, I'll repair :
 There peace wif gentle patience dwelle—
 Nae deadly feuds are there,
 With tears I'll wither lika charm,
 Like draps o' baleful yew,
 And wall the beauty that could harm
 A knight see byre and true.
 C. K. SHARPE, Esq.

Lady Elisabeth Dunbar.—The Duke of Rothsay.

IN 1399, the earl of Dunbar, who now ranked among the first of the Scottish nobles, and was about to be united with the royal family by the ties of blood, was doomed to experience a cruel domestic affliction. His daughter, Elisabeth, had been betrothed to David, the young duke of Rothsay, son and heir to the king. On the faith of the prince, who had given a bond, under seal, to perform the espousals, the earl had advanced a considerable portion of his daughter's matrimonial settlement.

Archibald, earl of Douglas, (surnamed the Grim,) jealous of the advantages which this marriage promised to bestow on a family, whose pre-eminence in the state already rivalled his own, protested against the alliance, which had not obtained the sanction of parliament; and, in the meantime, by his intrigues at court, through the influence of the duke of Albany, who entirely governed the affairs of his weak

brother, he had the contract between the duke of Rothsay and Lady Elisabeth Dunbar cancelled, and his own daughter substituted in her place. The marriage of David with Marjory Douglas, was therefore celebrated in the church of Bothwell, in February 1400, while Elisabeth Dunbar, the grandchild of the heroic Agnes, was doomed to hide her disappointed loves in a cheerless cloister, and like the Eloisa of Abélard,

“ Warm in youth to bid the world farewell.”

Her noble parent, however, was not so easily appeased. He hastened into the presence of the king, to demand reparation for his child ; or, at least, that he should be reimbursed for that part of her dowry which had been advanced. These remonstrances were in vain ; upon which the earl of Dunbar withdrew from the faithless court, and entering into a revengeful correspondence with Henry IV., requested that lord Furneival or the earl of Westmoreland might be sent to the marches, to confer with him on the subject. As a proof of the splendour of the baron's retinue, he further requested a safe-conduct, to endure while the feast of the nativity of St John the Baptist lasted, for “ one hundred knights, and squires, and servants, gudes, horse and harness, as well within walled town as without ;” and he goes on to say : “ Excellent prince, since that I claim to be of kin to you ; and it, peradventure, be nought known on your part, I shew it to your lordship by this my letter, that if dame Alice de Beaumont was your

grandam, dame Marjory Comyn, her full sister, was my grandam on the other side, so that I am but of the fourth degree of kin till you, the which in old time was called near.*

Henry invited Earl George to England, and appointed the earl of Westmoreland and the abbot of Alawick to treat with him in March, 1400. Leaving the castle of Dunbar in charge of his nephew, Maitland of Lethington, he repaired to England in the month of July. By an indenture drawn up by Westmoreland, the earl obliged himself to renounce all homage, fealty, and service to "Robert, pretended king of Scotland," before the 23d August current, in consideration of which, the king, within that period, or two days after, engaged to grant by his letters patent, to Earl George, his wife, and their heirs male, the castle and lordship of Somerton in Lincolnshire, and an assignment on the customs of St Botolph, to the amount of 500 merks a-year, and also the manor of Clipperton, in the forest of Sherwood, during his life. In return for this grant, he obliged himself to perform liege homage and fealty to the English monarch; and if within fourteen days from that agreement Henry should enter Scotland, his son Gawin was to be sent as an hostage to the court of England. It was further stipulated, that, from the date of

* Pinkerton's Scot. i. 449.

This letter is dated Castle of Dunbar, 18th February, 1400. It would appear that the Latin and French languages were the court style of writing at this period, for the earl observes: "Marvel thee not, that I write my letters in English, for that is more clear to my understanding than Latin or French."

this contract, the subjects of the king of England should support his lordship in the time of need ; and, in like manner, that they should be supported by him, and be received into his castle of Dunbar or other fortresses ; and, on the other hand, that the earl of Dunbar's men should be sent, when necessary, to supply the garrisons of the castles of the English king in Scotland, and be received and supported as loyal subjects.*

Robert, who was not ignorant of these transactions, despatched young Douglas to Dunbar ; and Maitland surrendered the castle on the first summons. This second injury was irreparable. The earl on his return finding his principal place of strength in the hands of the son of his rival, withdrew into England with his wife, family, and followers, meditating scenes of deep revolt and retaliation.

The Scottish king, who now dreaded the intrigues of the injured baron, despatched a herald with letters of forgiveness ; wherein he not only offered pardon for past offences, but redress for the wrongs he had sustained. Finding this offer spurned, he next demanded the English prince to send the rebel out of his dominions ; but Henry, sensible of his lordship's importance, rejected these remonstrances, and prepared for war.†

In 1401, the earl of Dunbar and the celebrated Hotspur entered Lothian by way of Pople, at the head of the Northumbrian yeomanry ; and, advanc-

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

† Holinshed's Chron.

ing to the borders of the Tyne, laid siege to the castle of Hailes, which successfully sustained their attack. Burning the villages of Hailes, Traprene, and Merkhill, they encamped at Linton and Preston, on the northern side of the river.* Young Douglas, having mustered his warriors at Edinburgh, went in pursuit of the invaders, while they, alarmed at the approach of superior numbers, made a precipitate retreat to Cockburnspath, and left their baggage and booty behind them. The Scots pursued them to the gates of Berwick, made a great slaughter among the fugitives, and brought away the spear and banner of Sir Thomas Talbot as a trophy of victory.†

In 1402, Henry was so well pleased with the earl of Dunbar's conduct in the late inroad, that he gave orders to the wardens of the English marches to admit Earl George, his men, and subjects, into the castles, fortresses, and walled towns in England; and, in the spring of this year, a pension of £400 was granted him during the continuance of the war with Scotland, on condition that he provided twelve men at arms, and twenty archers with horses, to serve against Robert. The earl's son, Gawin, was also received into the service of the English monarch, with a pension of £40 per annum.

Shortly after, Henry invaded Scotland with a powerful army, but behaved with great clemency to the inhabitants. He seemed rather inclined to impress them with a terror of his power than to make

* Holinshed.

† Chalmers' Cal. ii.—Heron's Hist Scot.

them feel the force of his arms. While at Haddington, apartments were assigned him in the nunnery, and in return he bounteously rewarded the holy sisterhood, and caused their precincts to be respected.

Those who wept over the fate of Elisabeth Dunbar will now listen to the silent but sure retribution of heaven. Rothsay, the young and profligate Rothsay ! also fell a prey to the perfidy of his uncle. Having committed some youthful indiscretion, his father permitted the duke of Albany to place him in confinement. This monster, accompanied by young Douglas, seized the prince when on his way to St Andrews, and, with a strong guard, dragged him to the tower of Falkland. He was here lodged in a small chamber, under the care of two wretches, who were bribed to report that he died of a dysentery ; but the opinion prevailed, that he was starved to death at the instigation of his ambitious uncle. For some time a woman found means to convey meal to the prisoner through a crevice in the floor ; while another, by means of a reed, fed him with milk from her breasts ; but they were both discovered and despatched. Thus destitute of all sustenance, he is said to have gnawed his own fingers, and was left in this horrible manner to perish by hunger.*

The earl of Dunbar did not remain inactive : but, in conjunction with Lord Percy, continually harassed the Scottish borders. Archibald, earl of Douglas, who had now the direction of military affairs in that

* Holinshed's Chron.

quarter, sent forth parties, under different leaders, to repel and retaliate these wasteful inroads. The first of these enterprises was conducted by Thomas Halyburton of Dirleton, who, after having ravaged the country near Bamburgh, returned laden with spoil. Patrick Hepburn, (younger of Hailes,) conducted the next inroad; but was not so fortunate; for, having penetrated farther into England, and acquired great booty, he was suddenly attacked at West Nisbet, in Berwickshire, by the earl of Dunbar, who lay in wait with a body of Northumbrians. Victory was awhile doubtful; but George Dunbar, coming to his father's assistance with a troop of thirty horses, determined it in favour of the latter. Hepburn and some of the bravest of his followers were slain; while John and Thomas Halyburton, John and William Cockburn, and Robert Lauder of the Bass, with many others, were taken prisoners.

Douglas, who now held the castles of Dunbar and Edinburgh, and had the military force of the borders at his command, was not slow to avenge this disaster. About the middle of August, he invaded England with an army of ten or twelve thousand men, and penetrated to Newcastle. Apprised of this movement, the earls of Dunbar and Northumberland, with Hotspur and other barons and knights, assembled their forces, and met Douglas about a mile from Wooler, posted on the hill of Halidon. With difficulty the earl of Dunbar prevented the impetuous Hotspur from rushing, at the head of his spearmen, on the enemy. Agreeably to the counsel of the cir-

conspicuous earl the English archers with their long-bows began to gall the Scots at a distance; while the latter, whose bows were short, and within the range of the enemy, were annoyed with terrible effect. The Scottish chief, Sir John Swinton, unable longer to bear this passive slaughter, called upon his fellow soldiers to follow him down the declivity against the enemy. At that moment, Adam Gordon of Gordon, hitherto the mortal foe of Swinton, kneeling before his adversary, entreated forgiveness, and, with sympathetic enthusiasm, requested the honour of knight-hood from his hands. After this extraordinary reconciliation, the two knights, with an hundred men, closed in combat with the English, but were speedily destroyed; and the Scots completely routed. The fugitives were pursued to the Tweed, and many ignorant of the fords were drowned; while Douglas, who had lost an eye, was taken prisoner.* The earl of Dunbar and Lord Percy, wishing to follow up their successes, immediately assaulted the castle of Cocklaw in Teviotdale; but the gallant garrison effectually resisted their attempts, and obtained a truce of fifty days.†

After the battle of Halidon in 1402, Henry addressed congratulatory letters to the earl of Dunbar, the Percies and others; and particularly insisted that they should not ransom or dismiss any of their prisoners without his express permission. This prohibition provoked a resentment which had been gathering be-

* Midpath's Boed. Hist.—Boron's Scot.

† Holinshed.

twist the Percies and their sovereign, that now broke out into open rebellion under the pretence of advancing Mortimer, the English earl of March, to the throne; while the earl of Douglas, on condition of obtaining his liberty and the town of Berwick, joined the rebel corps.

Chagrined at seeing the sons of his rivals, Douglas and Albany, so soon released, the earl of Dunbar forsook the rebellious chiefs, and fled to the court of Henry. He was next engaged at the battle of Shrewsbury, where Hotspur was slain, and the unfortunate Douglas again taken prisoner. As these successes of the king were, in a great measure, attributed to the earl of Dunbar and his son, Henry bestowed on them ample rewards.*

Earl George now supplicated the English parliament to restore him his estates in the event of their being conquered; but though the army penetrated to Innerwick, in East Lothian, they made little progress in subduing the earldom of March and Dunbar.†

The earl of Dunbar, who had materially assisted in quashing the rebellion of the Percies at Shrewsbury, now incurred the vengeance of the followers of that powerful family. In a letter from the countess of Dunbar to Henry IV. she laments the misfortunes her family had endured since they left Scotland; and although surrounded by the pestilence, they were

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.—Holinshed.

† Chal. Cal. ii.

afraid to retire to their castle of Colbrandspath on account of the Northumbrians.*

In 1405, while Lord George Dunbar held the castle of Colbrandspath as lieutenant, Christal, a shipmaster, and seven marines, when employed in providing victuals for the garrison, were attacked by two officers, with an armed force, from the garrison of Berwick, who seized their ships, cargoes, and men, and carried them thither. An order from the king, dated Pomfret Castle, August 22d, commands John Topcliff, sergeant-at-arms, to compel the offenders to make restitution for the injury they had committed.†

In 1407, the earl of Dunbar had a dispute with the dean and chapter of Lincoln about tithes. This occasioned the murder of John Bleswell at Nanneby, by a party of men; for which his lordship obtained a pardon from Henry, dated May 10th.

* This letter is written in French.—After a prefatory address of the most fulsome adulation, the countess states the distress she and her lord baron lay under from the debt they had incurred, since they were expelled from their country; that the plague was so prevalent and mortal, that she looked upon nothing but for death in its most fearful shapes; that by no treaty could they gain liberty from their enemies to retire to Colbrandspath till the mortality ceased; that, since the death of Sir Henry Percy, they were much annoyed by the malice shewn to them by his followers, while the retainers of the earl of Douglas equally harassed them on the other side, by making prisoners of their people; and she concludes by requesting Henry might order such remedy as the bearer would suggest by word of mouth.—Pinkerton's Scot. i. 450.

† Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

But Earl George began once more to sigh for the "shade of the elm, and the sound of the reed," in his native land. Through the mediation of Walter Halyburton of Dirleton, who was married to the governor's daughter, a reconciliation was effected in 1409; yet Douglas would not consent to his lordship's restoration, till he had obtained the castle of Lochmaben and the lordship of Annandale, in lieu of the castle of Dunbar and earldom of March, which he then possessed. Albany accordingly granted a charter of Lochmaben and Annandale to Douglas and his heirs male; which failing, the estates were to revert to George and his successors. The earl returned to Scotland, and on the 8th June, witnessed a charter of Halyburton's at Dirleton.*

Hostilities continuing, in 1410, Patrick, second son of the earl of Dunbar, with a hundred brave followers, took Fastcastle, and captured Thomas Holden, the governor, who had long infested the country by his pillaging excursions. Shortly after this affair, Gavin Dunbar, in conjunction with William Douglas of Drumlanrig, levelled the bridge of Roxburgh, and plundered and burnt the town.†

In 1411, the earls of Dunbar and Douglas, and seven others, were appointed to meet the English commissioners at Hauden-stank, to negotiate a truce; and, in 1414, we find the son of the former, Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beil, among the commissioners who concluded a further treaty of peace, in which France

* Chas. Cal. ii.

† Holinshed, ii.

was included; and in an armistice with the latter country in the following year, the earl of Dunbar, with the lords of Man and of the Isles, are comprehended as the allies of that power.*

In 1417, the Scots, under the duke of Albany, having defeated a body of the English in the neighbourhood of Roxburgh, the governor pursued his success; but as an immense army was approaching, the earls of Dunbar and Douglas prevailed on him to retreat; and the English did not think it prudent to follow.

At this period, Sir Robert Umfraville, governor of Berwick, made great devastations on the eastern marches, and burnt the market-town of Dunbar, and other places on the borders; but "the aged hero comes forth on his staff, and his grey hair glitters in the beam,"—a contagious fever closed the chequered life of George, earl of Dunbar, at the advanced age of eighty-two.

By Christian, daughter of Sir William Seton of Seton, he had six sons and two daughters, as follows: George, eleventh earl of Dunbar and March; Gawin; Colin; Patrick Dunbar of Beil;† John; Sir

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

† Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beil, was taken prisoner at the battle of Halidon. He was a hostage for James I. in England, 26th July 1426, when a safe-conduct was granted to his wife and four servants to repair thither. He was ambassador with his brother, George, to England, in 1429. Two charters of George de Dunbar, earl of March, to Patrick Dunbar of Beil, knight, of several lands in Berwickshire, were confirmed, 24th April 1452, by

David Dunbar of Cockburn ;* also Lady Elisabeth, who was betrothed to the duke of Rothsay ; and Lady Janet, married first to John, lord Seton, and next to Sir Adam Johnston of Johnston.

James II. His son, Hugh Dunbar, sold the lands of Beil, in East Lothian, and the Mill of Mersington, in Berwickshire, to Robert Lauder of Edrington, 13th September 1489.—Douglas' Peer. ii.

* Sir David Dunbar of Cockburn was the first who came to the assistance of James I. when attacked by his assassins in 1437. A charter was granted 7th February 1425-6, ratifying the donation which the deceased George Dunbar, earl of March, and George Dunbar, now earl of March, made to David Dunbar, son of the said deceased George, of the lands of Cockburn and Brighame. His only daughter, Mariota, married Alexander, second earl of Crawford.—Doug. Peer. ii

CHAPTER IX.

'Tis no land of thine,
 Thy place is fill'd, thy sceptre wrung from thee,
 Thy baln washt off wherewith thou wast anointed;
 No bending knee will call thee Cesar now,
 No humble suitors press to speak for right:
 No, not a man comes for redress to thee.

KING HENRY VI

The last of the Earls.

GEORGE, eleventh earl of Dunbar and March,* succeeded his father about the mature age of fifty. He was lieutenant of the castle of Cockburnspath, as already noticed, in 1405, and was engaged in various public transactions during the last years of his father's life. In 1390, he obtained from Robert II. a grant of his ward-relief and marriage for the earldom of March and lordship of Annandale; and he acted as a commissioner for liberating Murdac, son of the regent Albany, in 1411 and 1415.†

In 1427, the earls of Dunbar and Douglas obtained a truce from Henry in London for two years, which Umfranville had refused.

The Scots, on the death of Robert, duke of Albany, began to turn their wishes to their captive

* He was designed earl of March and Dunbar, lord Annandale and Man; as in his charter, penes Comitum de Mortoun, to the abbacy of Melrose.—Nisbet's Heraldry.

† Douglas' Peer. ii.—Chal. Cal. ii.

prince, who was still retained in England; upon which, the earl of Dunbar and his brother accompanied the embassy sent to negotiate the liberation of the king. As the regent of Scotland earnestly seconded this object, it was soon concluded; and James I., on the stipulation of L.40,000, was restored to the throne of his ancestors.*

In 1424, Earl George was one of the conservators of the seven-year's truce, and had the honour to meet the king and his young consort at Durham on their return to Scotland.† He was also present at the coronation at Scone, on the 21st May; and, with several eminent nobles, was knighted on that joyous occasion.‡

But clouds were gathering over the family of Dunbar which were never to be dispelled. In 1425, the earls of Dunbar and Douglas, with the duke of Albany, and twenty other barons, were suddenly arrested and placed in confinement. The cause of this decisive measure is thus explicitly stated:

During James's captivity in England, the rapacity of the Governor's family and other nobles, who had shared the spoils of the crown, had nearly alienated the royal domains; and when the noisy acclamations that welcomed the prince's return home began to subside, he found himself on the throne of an impoverished nation. It was in vain that taxes were levied to defray the national expenditure, while the resources of the country were locked up and monopolized by a

* Hume's Eng. † Ridpath's Bord. Hist. ‡ Chal. Cal. ii.

corrupt administration. Matters having, therefore, reached this necessitous crisis, a parliament, assembled at Perth, adopted this bold and effective measure. Albany and his sons, with his father-in-law, the earl of Lennox, were consigned to the axe of the executioner, while the earl of Dunbar, and most of the other barons, whose guilt was less apparent, were set at liberty.*

The royal confidence being restored, the earl of Dunbar was employed in negotiating temporary truces with England; and officiated as sponsor for James II. at Holyroodhouse, October 1430.†

In 1435, the earl of Dunbar and his son Patrick visited England; and, on the 25th January ensuing, they had a safe-conduct granted them, to continue in force for a year. The motive of this visit to the English court is not known; but it was highly imprudent. The slumbering jealousies of James, who had already struck a blow at the power of the barons, were easily awakened; and he at length formed the bold plan of seizing the estates and fortresses of a family, which for ages had been the most powerful and most opulent on the Scottish borders. The earl of Dunbar was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, while the earl of Angus, Chancellor Chrichton, and Adam Hepburn of Hailes, were despatched with letters to the keeper of the castle of Dunbar, who immediately surrender-

* Holinshed's Chron.—Heron's Scot.

† Chal. Cal. ii.

ed it to the king's authority, and Hepburn was left constable of this important fortress.

In a parliament assembled at Perth, on the 10th January 1434-5, George was accused, not for any treason committed by himself, but for holding his earldom and estates, which had been forfeited by his father's tergiversation. "In vain did he plead," says Robert Douglas, "that his father had been pardoned and restored by Albany;" it was answered, "that a forfeiture incurred for treason could not be pardoned by a regent;" and the parliament, in compliance with this reasoning, having heard Sir George Dunbar, knight, on his part, adjudged, "that, in consequence of the attainder of George de Dunbar, formerly earl of March and lord of Dunbar, every right both of property and possession in all and each of those estates in the earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar, and all other lands which he held of our said lord the King, with all and each of their appurtenances, did and does exclusively belong and appertain to our lord the King." Thus it was found that the earldom and estates of the earl of Dunbar were now vested in the crown.

These harsh proceedings may safely be attributed to an envious ministry. James could not soon forget the interest the earl of Dunbar had taken in his liberation; and, according to Fordun, he created him earl of Buchan, as some atonement for this cruel decision; or, as it was otherwise said, he had an assignment on the earldom of Buchan, which being found inadequate, on the death of James, 400 merks

yearly were granted out of his ancient inheritance till James II. came to the crown.

There was little policy in thus removing this illustrious nobleman from the borders. He was certainly a severe check on the Douglasses, who seem to have contributed to his overthrow, and whose family soon proved an ungovernable burden to the crown.

After this reverse, the earl and his son retired with their families to England, to hide their former splendour in obscurity. By a charter granted in 1457, it appears that Patrick Dunbar, son of George, earl of March, possessed the lands and barony of Kileconquhar, in Fife, which being held under the bishop of St Andrews, were not involved in the forfeiture to the king.

The earl of Dunbar is supposed to have been twice married. By his first wife, Beatrix, he had a son, the before-mentioned Patrick; and, in 1421 he obtained a dispensation for his espousals with Halysie, daughter of the late William de Haya, knight, lord of Vhestyr, permitting him to marry, notwithstanding they were related in the fourth degree of consanguinity, and Beatrix, his first wife, was in the second degree of consanguinity to this lady. But whether this last marriage took place is uncertain, as Alicia, daughter of Sir William Hay of Yester, married Sir Gilbert Hay of Errol.

James I. was destined to fall the victim of those nobles who had planned the destruction of this potent family. On the night of the 21st February, Stewart and Graham, with seven of their accom-

plices, forced their way into the king's apartment in his favourite Carthusian monastery at Perth. Having slain Straiton, the only domestic in waiting, they burst into James's chamber, while he sat at supper, and assassinated him before the queen. Her majesty, who had vainly interposed herself to the murderers' daggers, was wounded in the scuffle. Sir David Dunbar, (brother to the earl,) on receiving intelligence, hastened from the town, and in his attempt to rescue the king, and intercept the retreat of the assassins, he was severely wounded in the arm, and left for dead on the floor.

The last exploit we have to record of this now subdued family, happened in 1446; when Jane Seymour, the queen-mother, flying during the tumult raised by the barons to Dunbar Castle, now held by Sir Patrick Hepburn, Archibald Dunbar took the castle of Hailes, and put the garrison to the sword.*

Patrick Dunbar, son and heir of the last earl of Dunbar, possessed the barony of Kilconquhar in Fife. His charter runs thus: "Patricii Dunbar, filii et herede Georgii Comitis de March, terrarum baroniæ de Kilconquhar, circa annum 1457." These lands were enjoyed by his posterity for several generations, till the last of them dying in the reign of Queen Mary, left their memory but a name, and their grandeur but a dream.

* Lindsay's Chron.

CHAPTER X.

Ah me! I see the ruin of my House;
 The tiger now hath seized the gentle hind;
 Insulting tyranny begins to jut
 Upon the innocent and awlless throne.

RICHARD III.

The Duke of Albany.

For some time, the estates of Dunbar and March, now vested in the crown, were held by the Homes and Hepburns conjunctly, as stewards. In 1448, the earl of Northumberland invaded the eastern borders, and burnt and ravaged Dunbar.* On the death of the queen-mother, Hepburn delivered up the castle to the king.†

The lordship of Dunbar was bestowed by James II. on his second son, Alexander, duke of Albany, in his infancy. After the marriage of James III. in 1471, the duke, his brother, is introduced to us, by the Chronicler of Pitscottie, “as one well proportioned in all his members; yet he was broad-faced, red-nosed, great-eared, and of very awful countenance, when he pleased to shew himself to his unfriends.” This amiable personage was also “very wise and manly,” and loved nothing so well as able men and good horses; “and was held in such estimation by the lords and barons of Scotland, that they durst never

* Lindsay of Pitscottie.

† Holinshed.

rebel against the king, so long as *he* rang in peace with his brother." To his grace was awarded the castle of Dunbar with the living pertaining thereto; he was also appointed captain of Berwick, and lieutenant of the eastern borders.

Albany, as a natural consequence, soon incurred the displeasure of Lord Home, who had enjoyed the chamberlainship of Dunbar and March during the reign of James II. The duke heedless of the pretensions of his lordship, drew the profits and duties of these lands himself, which exasperated Home so much that he joined in league with the Hepburns; but as Albany resided in the castle of Dunbar, and had the men of the eastern marches at his command, the border chieftains were unsuccessful in their opposition. Finding their combined forces could not thwart the duke, they devised means to ruin him in the opinion of the king. One Cochran, an architect, had at this time gained a wonderful ascendancy over the mind of James. To this favourite the injured party addressed themselves; and as the duke was no less odious to this upstart than to the barons of the Merse, he soon found means to poison the mind of his majesty against his brother. The powers of darkness were conjured up to aid in this work of iniquity, and a witch being ushered into the royal presence, predicted, that "the king should be suddenly slain by one of the nearest of his kin!"* James's suspicions

* "More than once a reconciliation was patched up between them; and on one of these occasions, James III. having mounted a hackney to ride from the castle to Holyrood Abbey, refused to move on till his brother had mounted behind him, when they rode on the

were now excited. The earl of Mar was arrested, and committed to Craig Millar Castle, where, after being accused of practising sorcery against the king's life, he was brought to Edinburgh, and bled to death; while Albany, who was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, by a dangerous stratagem, and with great difficulty, effected his escape to the castle of Dunbar;* from whence he proceeded to France, where he married the duchess of Bouillon, and remained there till 1482.

Meanwhile, the king being informed of the duke's escape, sent Lord Evandale, then chancellor, to besiege Dunbar. In a short but warm contest, three knights were slain. The lords of Luss and Craigmurphy, and Sir William Shaw of Sauchie fell by the shot of the same gun, while John Ramsay was killed by a stone thrown from the battlements. The garrison, finding it impracticable to resist the royal authority, made their escape by sea, bearing the principal articles with them.† Amongst these were Home of Polwarth, Andrew Jackson, David Chirnside, and

same horse down the High Street of the metropolis, an edifying spectacle of fraternal concord, which, however, did not long remain unbroken."—Provincial Ant. ii.

* A coil of ropes was conveyed to the duke in a cask of wine, and a letter, warning him to effect his escape, inclosed within a cake of wax. Having plied the captain, whom he had engaged in a game at dice, and his attendants with wine, he suddenly slew him, and the rest shared the same fate. The keys, which were at the officer's belt, supplied the duke with the means of escaping to the battlements, while the sheets on his bed supplied the means of lengthening the rope, with which he descended without injury, and reached the sea-coast, where a skiff was ready to receive him.

† Holinshed's Chron.

others, who, by their names, seem to have belonged to the Merse or East Lothian, and who were declared forfeited by parliament in 1480. This is supposed to be the first time artillery was used against the castle of Dunbar.

In 1482, Albany left France for England, and entering into a league with the English monarch, he proceeded to Scotland, and took possession of Berwick. A peace was now concluded between the sister kingdoms, when he was once more restored to his Scottish possessions. This was, however, of short duration. Under pretence that an attempt had been made to take away his life by poison, he again fled to the castle of Dunbar. On this occasion, the earls of Angus, Buchan, and others, followed the fortunes of the duke, when the king alarmed, shut himself up in the castle of Edinburgh, and raised an army, to lay siege to Dunbar. Albany, terrified into submission, delivered up the castle to the English, and sheltered himself under the protection of Edward, till again departing to France he was slain in a tilting match by the duke of Orleans.

In 1484, the castle was in the hands of the English. Some partial successes of James induced Richard, who was harassed by his rebellious subjects at home, to negotiate a peace; but as Berwick was in possession of the enemy, Dunbar, which was of material consequence to the Scots, as the key of the eastern marches, furnished an insurmountable obstacle to any peaceable arrangement. It was, therefore, found necessary, on the plenipotentiaries meeting at Nottingham in September, that the castle of Dunbar should form a separate article in the treaty; viz.

“ The castle of Dunbar, with the bounds belonging to it, was to enjoy an undisturbed exemption from war for the certain term of six months, after the commencement of the general truce ;—and this truce with the castle was to continue during the remainder of the three years’ truce, if the king of Scotland did not notify to the king of England, six weeks after its commencement, that it was not his wish that it should be comprehended longer than six months. Certifying, that should hostilities commence after that period, they should be wholly confined to the attack and defence of that fortress, and should in no other respect infringe the peace concluded between the kingdoms.”*

It is with no surprise, therefore, that we behold the Scottish parliament in February 1485, advise the king to besiege the castle of Dunbar. By the first of May, all the men on the south side of the Forth, capable of bearing arms, were summoned to repair to Dunbar, properly accoutred, and furnished with provisions for twenty days ; while by the 18th of the same month, those on the north of the same river were to relieve their countrymen, and to share in the labour and glory of the enterprise.† Notwithstanding this parade, nothing hostile was attempted during the life of Richard III. who continued to amuse James with fair promises in reply to repeated solicitations for the restoration of this important fortress. But when “ the weight of Richard’s guilt had crushed him on the bloody field of Bosworth,” James, taking advantage of the commotion which placed

* Ridpath’s Bord. Hist.

† Ibid.

Henry, earl of Richmond, on the throne, laid siege to Dunbar in winter, and compelled the garrison to surrender. This, however, did not break the truce; as at this period both monarchs had strong reasons to cultivate a good understanding with each other.

The mutual hatred betwixt James and his nobles increasing, at length broke out into open rebellion. He then resolved to annex unalienably to the crown the lands forfeited by the duke of Albany, and this was accomplished by act of parliament, on the 1st October, 1487. These lands were the lordship and earldom of March, the baronies of Dunbar and Colbrandspath, with the castle of Dunbar, and tower and fortalice of Colbrandspath, and the lordship of Annandale, with the castle of Lochmaben.* These dependencies, particularly the castles of Dunbar and Lochmaben, and the tower and fortress of Cockburnspath were vested in the king; but any gift of them made by him or his successors, without the consent of parliament, was to be considered revocable. The representatives of the burghs alone appear to have sanctioned this arrangement. Indeed, a project which threatened the introduction of severer measures than those to which the border chiefs had been accustomed, could not fail to excite alarm and furious resentment; and immediately the southern counties, instigated by the Homes and the Hepburns, were once more in array against the king.

The rebels, to give a colour to their proceedings, placed the duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of James,

* Douglas' Peer. ii.

at their head ; and their first object was to retake the castle of Dunbar. This was speedily effected. They pursued the king to Stirling ; a party under the lords Angus and Home decided the event ; the royalists were routed, and their monarch slain.

Dunbar Castle was now in possession of the rebellious lords. In 1490, the English, taking advantage of these civil commotions, entered the frith of Forth with five vessels, and did considerable damage to the mercantile shipping. James, irritated by this indignity, could not prevail upon any masters of vessels to proceed against the enemy, till they applied to Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, whom they incited to the enterprise by large supplies of men and artillery, and with promises of royal favour and reward. Wood proceeded with his two ships, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, against the English, who also were well furnished with artillery, and overtaking them opposite Dunbar castle, a sanguinary conflict ensued. The Scottish admiral's courage and naval skill secured the victory. The five English ships were taken and brought to Leith ; and Wood was amply rewarded by his sovereign and the applause of his country. This incident shews us the insignificance, rather than the want of bravery, of the Scottish navy at this period, when Wood had to be bribed into the service.

Henry VII. displeased at the disgrace inflicted on his flag by a nation unknown in the annals of the sea, offered an yearly sum to any commander who should capture Wood. Stephen Bull, an English officer, engaged to take the Scottish hero dead or

alive, and with three ships, strongly garnished for war, proceeded to the Forth. He anchored behind the Isle of May, and waited the return of Wood, who had been escorting some vessels to Flanders. On the morning of the 10th August, he descried two vessels under sail near St Abb's Head, which proved to be those of the Scottish admiral. Bull distributed wine amongst his men to inspire their courage, while Wood, regardless of superior numbers, prepared for the attack. "These, my lads," he exclaimed, "are the foes who expect to convey us in bonds to the English king; but, by your courage, and the help of God, they shall fail. Charge, gunners: let the cross-bows be ready; have the lime-pots and fire-balls to the tops; two-handed swords to the forerooms. Be stout, be diligent, for your own sakes and for the honour of the realm." Wine was then dealt out, and the ships resounded with acclamations. The sun rising above the horizon, shone full upon the English vessels, and displayed their magnitude to the Scots. Wood, by a skilful manœuvre, attained the windward of the enemy, and engaging in close combat, the battle raged undecided till the shades of night parted the combatants. Next day at dawn, the trumpets sounded to arms, when the conflict was renewed with such obstinacy, that the neglected vessels were allowed to drive before an ebb-tide and south wind, till they were opposite the Tay. At length the valour of the Scots prevailed, and the three English ships were captured.

When the intestine commotions which raged on

the accession of James IV. began to subside, intervals of peace gleamed upon the borders, and truces were made and violated, like "sunny brightnesses breaking through" the pauses of the storm.

On the marriage of the Princess Margaret of England with the king of Scotland in 1503, the earldoms of Dunbar and lordship of Cockburnspath, with their dependancies, lying in the constabulary of Haddington, were assigned as the jointure of the young queen; and Robert Sherburn, dean of St. Pauls, her majesty's attorney, obtained seisin for the same from the sheriff of Edinburgh. "26th May 1503, James Logan, the sheriff of Edinburgh, went 'ad crucem fori,' to the market-cross of Dunbar; and there personally gave seisin and possession corporal, of the earldom of Dunbar, and lordship of Cowburnspecht, to the queen's attorney, in presence of the bailies of Dunbar, and other respectable witnesses;"* but in this article the castle of Dunbar, and its custody, is expressly mentioned as being reserved by the king to himself.

Nothing further occurs in the history of Dunbar till after the fatal field of Flodden, where James perished with the flower of his nobility. The crown now devolved to his son, a boy about two years old. On this event, the family of Albany was again an inmate of the castle. John, duke of Albany, (son to the expatriated duke,) who had been born and bred in France, was invited to accept of the regency; and as he soon found it necessary to employ foreign auxiliaries against the turbulent chiefs of the borders, in

* Chalmers' Cal. ii.

1515, Dunbar saw its fortress garrisoned with French soldiers.*

By some means the chamberlain's mother was detained prisoner in the castle, upon which lord Home, who was at enmity with the governor, penetrated into Lothian, plundered Dunbar, and seizing on the Lyon Herald at Coldstream, took him into custody till the lady should be released. This triumph was of short duration; for shortly after, Home and his brother William, were arrested by the artifices of Albany, and led to the block.

After the execution of lord Home, in 1517, Albany created Sir Anthony D'Arcy, (styled *le sieur de la Beaute*,) a Frenchman, warden of the east marches and captain of Dunbar. While the duke was absent on a visit to the king of France, this gentleman held the delegated reins of government; and as might have been anticipated, the substitution of a foreigner in the place of Home, by the person who had brought his lordship to the scaffold, drew down the vengeance of his kindred on his devoted head.

William Cookburn, uncle to the laird of Langton, purposely ejected from the castle of Langton the tutors of his nephew, who was then in his minority, and held the place by force in contempt of the regent's authority. D'Arcy, depending on the aid of Sir David Home of Wedderburn, who had commenced a mock siege of the place, repaired with a few neighbouring gentlemen and domestics to the

* Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

spot. Home immediately reviled D'Arcy and his master for the death of his kinsman, when a rencounter took place, and the Frenchman seeking for safety by flight, directed his course to Dunbar. His horse unfortunately sunk in a morass, a little east from Dunse; and the pursuers coming up, one of them struck off D'Arcy's head, which, fixing on a spear, they exhibited in that town; and then carried it in triumph to grin with ghastly horror on the battlements of Home castle. Inspired with the ferocious spirit of the age, David Home cut off D'Arcy's long flowing locks, which were gracefully plaited like womens' hair, and knitting them as a trophy, hung them on his saddle-bow.*

After the murder of D'Arcy, Morrice, another Frenchman, was sent in 1518, with a reinforcement of soldiers from France, to take charge of the castle.

Robert Stuart D'Aubigny and the Seigneur des Planes landed at Dunbar on the 27th November, 1520, with overtures of peace to the king of England, as the truce with Scotland was nearly expired; and, in 1521, the duke of Albany returned from France to Dunbar, after an absence of four years and five months, with a powerful escort of French guards and artillery.†

Henry VIII., jealous of the influence which the governor possessed over the young prince, his nephew, and the queen-mother, was much displeased at his return; and even sent a herald to the states of

* Lindsay's Chron.

† Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

Scotland, requesting that they should depose Albany from the charge of the king and government, and banish him from the kingdom. Incensed at this presumption, the duke invaded England; but speedily disbanding his forces, he returned once more to France in quest of aid. In the middle of September 1523, he arrived on the coast of Arran, with a fleet of fifty ships, containing 3000 foot and 100 gend'armes. After an unsuccessful siege of the castle of Wark, he returned to Dunbar, where he probably remained till December, when he bade a final adieu to Scotland, after an inefficient regency of eight years.

On his last visit to Dunbar, the governor built a great store-house and inch to the castle, called the outward blockhouse, and fortified it with artillery.*

The French continued to hold the castle of Dunbar for the regent, even after his return from their country was despaired of. In December 1527, when James V. laid siege to Tantallon, then the stronghold of Douglas, he "gart send to the castle of Dunbar," says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "to Captain Morrice, to borrow some artillery, and laid great pledges for the same; because the castle was then in the duke of Albany's hand, and the artillery thereof his own; but it was ever at the king's pleasure when he had ought ado, and that by the command of the said duke of Albany. But yet, for restoring and delivering of the same, and observing of a good order, caused

* Lindsay's Chron.

three lords to pass in pledge for the said artillery, till it was delivered again, and received the same, in manner as after follows: that is to say, two great canons thrown-mouthed Mow and her Marrow, with two great botcards and two moyans, two double falcons, and four quarter falcons, with their powder and bullets, and gunners for to use them, conform to the king's pleasure."* After the siege of Tantallon, Argyle came to Dunbar in pursuit of Douglas, and advanced to the Pease.

In 1528, James sent to Flanders for more artillery, and ammunition to supply Dunbar, Stirling, &c.

The castle continued to be occupied by the French during the reign of James V.; and when this unhappy monarch, wounded by the perfidy of his nobles, had abandoned himself to melancholy, it is said that his distresses were increased by the intelligence that one Leech, a Lincolnshire refugee, had murdered Somerset, an English herald, at Dunbar.†

* Lindsay's Chron.

† Ridpath's Bord. Hist.

CHAPTER XI.

The priest beheld the bridal group before the altar stand,
And sigh'd as he drew forth his book with slow reluctant hand:
He saw the bride's flower-wreathed hair, and mark'd her lovely eyes,
And deem'd it less a Christian rite than a pagan sacrifice.

THE KEEPSAKE.

Queen Mary.

THE same picture, it has been observed, with deeper shadows, is about to be exhibited, that disgraced the former minorities. James V. was succeeded by his daughter Mary, an infant scarcely a month old. The ambition of the great, which the kings of France and England endeavoured to keep at variance, employed every means to strengthen their party, while the difference of religious opinions that now prevailed, afforded a favourable opportunity for their accomplishment. James had left the office of regent open to every pretender, and Cardinal Beaton was the first that claimed that high dignity; but the church party were discomfited, and on the 22d December, the earl of Arran, on being proclaimed sole tutor to the queen, and governor of the kingdom, assumed the rights of the castle of Dunbar.

The English, in the inroad under the earl of Hertford, in 1544, after their return from the siege of Leith, and after burning Haddington, encamped

the second night near Dunbar, (26th May,) and on the morning set fire to the town, when "men, women, and children, were suffocated and burnt."*

During another inroad, they took and fortified the abbey of Coldingham, and ravaged the neighbourhood. The governor who went in pursuit of the invaders, met with such a gallant resistance, that, alarmed at the approach of the main army, he secretly departed to Dunbar. The bravery of Angus, however, saved the artillery. With a band of his dependants he marched in rear of the ordnance, and in despite of the English horsemen, brought it safe to the castle.

In 1547, when lord Borthwick was appointed keep-

* "The same day we burnt a fine town of the earl Bothwell's, called Haddington, with a great nunnery and a house of friars. The next night after, we encamped besides Dunbar; and there the Scots gave a small alarm to our camp. But our watches were in such readiness that they had no vantage there, but were fain to recoil without doing of any harm. That night they looked for us to have burnt the town of Dunbar, which we deferred till the morning at the dislodging of our camp, which we executed by V.C. of our hakbutters, being backed with V.C. horsemen. And by reason we took them in the morning, who having watched all night for our coming, and perceiving our army to dislodge and depart, thought themselves safe of us, were newly gone to their beds; and in their first sleeps closed in with fire, men, women, and children, were suffocated and burnt. That morning being very misty and foggy, we had perfect knowledge by our espials, that the Scots had assembled a great power at a strait called the Pease."—*Expedition under the Erle of Hertforde.*

The other piles and villages desolated by these cold-blooded savages, were Preston and the castle of Seton, Tranent, Shenstone, (probably Stevenston,) Markle, Traprene, Kirklandhill, Hetherwick, Belton, East Barns, &c.

er of Hailes castle, (during the outlawry of Bothwell,) he was commanded, in the event of being attacked by the English, to apply to the captain of Dunbar for assistance in the Lord Governor's absence.

The same year, the duke of Somerset invaded Scotland with an army of 14,000 men. Beacons were placed on the hills near the coast. Robert Hamilton, captain of Dunbar, was charged with that on the Domilaw above Spot; the prioress of North Berwick with that on North Berwick Law; and the earl of Bothwell with Dunsperder Law. And it was ordained, that all fencible men, between sixteen and sixty, should appear at the market-crosses of Dunbar, North Berwick, Haddington, &c. "weil boddia in fair of weir."* The duke's army having crossed the pass of Pease, with "puffing and payne," as Patten says, demolished the castles of Dunglass, Innerwick, and Thornton.† On passing

* Keith's Hist. 52.

† "This done, about noon, we marched on, passing soon after within the gunshot of Dunbar, a town standing longwise upon the sea-side, wherent is a castle, (which the Sco's count very strong,) that sent us divers shots as we passed, but all in vain: their horsemen shewed themselves in their fields beside us, towards whom Bar-teville with his viii. men, all hakbutters on horseback, (whom he had right well appointed,) and John de Rybaud, with divers others, did make; but no hurt on either side, saving that a man of Bar-teville's slew one of them with his piece, the skirmish was soon ended. We went a iiii. mile farther, and having travelled that day a x. mile, we camped nigh Tantallon, and had at night a blind alarm. Here had we first advertisement certain, that the Scots were assembled in camp at the place where we found them.

"Marching this morning a ii. mile, we came to a fair river call-

Dunbar, the castle fired several shots, but the army had not time to spare from their main enterprize for the reduction of such a strong fortress.

After the defeat at Pinkey* in 1548, Dunbar was burnt by the German mercenaries under the earl of Shrewsbury, on his return to England from the attack on Haddington.

In 1550, when Thomas, master of Erskine, was sent ambassador to France, he was instructed to request the French king, to fortify and maintain such garrisons in Dunbar, Blackness, &c. as were necessary in the time of peace;† and, in 1551, when the fort of Aberlady at Luffness was considered an un-

ed Lyn, (Tyne,) running all straight eastward toward the sea; over this river is there a stone bridge, that they name Linton bridge, of a town thereby on our right hand, and eastward as we went, that stands upon the same river. Our horsemen and carriages passed through the water, (for it was not very deep,) our footmen over the bridge. The passage was very strait for an army, and therefore the longer in setting over. Beyond this bridge about a mile westward, (for so methought as then we turned,) upon the same river on the southside, stands a proper house, and of some strength, belike, they call it Hayles Castle, and pertaineth to the earl of Bothwell, but kept as then by the governor's appointment, who held the earl in prison."—*Patten's Journal*.

The army kept along the coast, to be near their ships, which were in the Forth; from Hailes they proceeded by Beanston and Garleton to Longniddry, keeping clear of Haddington; their encampment on the 9th. September being at Salt Preston.

* The lord of Yester and Hobby Hambleton, captain of Dunbar, were amongst the prisoners taken at the battle of Pinkey.

† See Note I. at the end of this chapter.

necessary burden to the state, Patrick Hepburn of Waughton was authorized to demolish it, and to send the ammunition and artillery to Dunbar at his own expense.*

In June 1555, the queen-regent, on her return from the southern shires, visited Dunbar; and, in 1557, she sent De Oysel, the lieutenant of the French king in Scotland, with a detachment of French from the castle, to rebuild the fortress of Eyemouth, which, by the convention of 1551, had been demolished.†

After the destruction of Perth and the abbey of Scone by the partisans of John Knox in 1559, the queen-regent, alarmed for her safety, fled with three hundred guards to the castle of Dunbar.‡

In 1560, when the English forces, under Lord Grey passed Dunbar on their way to Leith, some skirmishers sallied from the garrison; but as they kept near the walls of the castle, only a few lives were lost.§

While the English were now aiding the cause of the Reformers at the siege of Leith, the latter were employed in the destruction of palaces and abbeys in another quarter. Nor were their opponents less active; for Bothwell and the French commandant of Dunbar, cut to pieces many straggling parties of Scots and English, and more than once seized the military chest when on its way from Berwick.||

The English and French ambassadors having met

* See Note II. at the end of this chapter.

† Maitland. ‡ Spottiswood. § Ridpath. || Maitland.

at Berwick for the purpose of negotiating a truce, it appeared to be one great object of the Scottish nobility and people to get the French garrisons sent out of the country. But while thus anxious for their removal, they, at the same time, were equally anxious that their departure should not take place till restitution had been made to those they had wronged. Here two difficulties occurred: The commissioners of France wished, that a certain number of men should remain for the service of the king and queen, while those that were disbanded should be allowed to depart with their baggage unmolested. At length, to propitiate both parties, through the intercession of the queen of England, concessions were made to the nobility and people; and part of the fortifications lately built at Dunbar were to be razed, and no new buildings erected without the consent of parliament. These resolutions are noticed in a parliamentary article, entitled, "Concessions granted by the King and Queen to the nobility and people of Scotland."*

* "I. *Item*, That no more than six score French soldiers shall be retained in the forts of Dunbar and Inchkeith, to be divided between these two places; sixty whereof, and no more, shall remain in the fort of Dunbar; and if the states can fall upon any secure means whereby to retrench the expense laid out on these two places, without incurring the danger of rendering them a prey to those that would pretend to make themselves master of them, they are at freedom to acquaint their majesties thereof. But the foresaid number of French soldiers shall in nowise be augmented; nor shall it be allowable for them to do harm or injury to any person, nor yet to receive within their forts any Scottish men, of what quality or degree soever, with intention to secure them from the magistrates of

From these articles it appears that certain new works lately erected at Dunbar were to be demolished. On the 16th July 1560, the French army embarked in English vessels, and the English army

the country, or defend them against the officers of justice : nor shall they take any part in any private quarrels, which may chance to fall out among the great men or other persons within the kingdom : And if any complaint shall be made against any of themselves, they shall be bound to answer before the ordinary judges of the land, and shall be liable to punishment according to the laws and customs of the country. *Item*, It is provided, that, to prevent their taking things upon loan, they shall receive their wages regularly each month. And it shall be lawful for two Scottish gentlemen, chosen by the council, to be present at their musters, and to inspect the forts, lest their be more men got into them, than the stipulated number. *Item*, The soldiers belonging to the garrison of Dunbar shall not take to them any victuals, without paying ready money for the same ; at least, they shall not take them against the good will and consent of those to whom they belong ; and the nobility shall be obliged to furnish them with as much as they stand in need of, provided they have money to pay for the same.

II. " As to the petition presented to the Lords Deputies concerning the demolition of fortifications, they have consented, agreed, and appointed, that two commissioners shall be appointed by the said Lords, who, together with two Scotsmen, shall visit Dunbar, and consider what therein is fit to be demolished ; and such new works as have been added to it since the beginning of these troubles, together with such as may serve to enlarge the fortification, and render it capable to receive soldiers, shall all be thrown down, three days after Leith begins to be demolished. And forasmuch, as by the said demolition, and the few soldiers that are to be left in garrison, the place will be in danger to be surprised ; 'tis accorded, That those who have presented this petition, shall each in particular oblige themselves to defend it with all their force against all those that would attempt to seize it. The same thing shall in like manner be

when on their way to Berwick, made it their business to see, that the demolition of the fort lately built in front of the castle of Dunbar should be put in execution.*

In 1562, Lord Gordon, eldest son of the earl of Huntly, was convicted of joining with his father in an enterprise against the queen, and was condemned for high treason, the sentence was however commuted into imprisonment in the castle of Dunbar.†

On the assassination of David Rizzio, by Lord Ruthven and others, in Holyroodhouse, on Saturday, 9th March, 1566, Mary, alarmed for her safety, left Edinburgh on the following Monday, at midnight, in company with Darnley, and proceeded to the palace of Seton, whence she pursued her journey to the safer retreat of the castle of Dunbar. Having thus seduced the king to abandon his party,

agreed upon by the states, with respect to the wardens of the marches. And neither the king nor the queen shall hereafter cause to be built any new fortification within the kingdom, nor yet enlarge those that are now subsisting, nor repair those that are new to be demolished, but by the advice and consent of the states. Neither shall they cause to be imported any artillery, ammunition, gunpowder, or vivres, in a greater quantity than shall be necessary for the defence of the two fore-mentioned forts, and the complement of their garrisons from one half year to another, or at most from year to year, without the advice and consent of the states foresaid."—*Keith's Hist.* p. 137.

This paper is drawn up in French. The title prefixed to the copy in the Cotton Library, is not written by the same hand, but by Secretary Cecil; and is entitled: "Accord betwixt the French Kyng and Queen of Scots, and the nobilitie of Scotland, 3. die Julii 1560."

* Keith's Hist.

† Ibid.

the queen's next step was to avenge the murder of her favourite. A proclamation was accordingly issued from Dunbar, on the 16th March,* calling on the inhabitants of the sheriffdom of Edinburgh in the constabulery of Haddington, Linlithgow, Stirling, Lanark, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Peebles, Berwick, Lauderdale, &c. to meet her at Haddington, on Sunday the 17th current, with eight days provisions, "and ordanis thairfoir letteris to be direct to officiaris of armes to pass to the mercat-croces of the said burgh of Hadingtoun, and utheris places neidfull, and thair be openin proclamatioun charge all as aforesaid, under the pane of tynsall of lyff, landis and gudis."†

After issuing this proclamation, Mary, sent orders to Lord Erskine to fire upon the associated Lords from the castle of Edinburgh; and the earl of Morton, lord Ruthven, the barons of Ormiston, Warriston, &c. were immediately summoned to appear under pain of rebellion; but the two first fled to Newcastle, while the others sought refuge in the highlands or on the border. The queen thereafter returned to Edinburgh in triumph, with 8000 warriors in her train. Sir James Melville, (one of the gentlemen of her chamber at Haddington,) says, that she complained bitterly of Darnley's conduct in the

* Present, George earl of Huntly, James earl of Bothwell, John earl of Athol, William earl Mareschal, David earl of Crawford, Gilbert earl of Cassilis, and George earl of Caithness.

† Keith's App. 130., who quotes Acts of Privy Council.

late assassination; and from that day forward never met him with a smile.*

The birth of James VI., which soon took place, made no alteration with regard to the prejudices she had imbibed against the king. But if Rizzio fell by the instigation of Darnley, the latter was himself soon destined to fall by the devices of one still more favoured. This imprudent woman, regardless of the suspicion attached to her conduct, threw herself into a dangerous illness, by riding post to Hermitage castle for the purpose of seeing Bothwell, who had been wounded in an affray with the mauraders of Liddesdale. "There is a tide in the affairs of men;" and to mark how fast that of Darnley was ebbing, in January 1566, Mary went to Glasgow to visit her husband, who was slowly recovering from the supposed effects of poison. On consenting to be removed to Edinburgh, he had apartments assigned him in a remote part of the city, while Bothwell was royally lodged in Holyroodhouse. The fatal charm was now nearly wound up. On the 9th her majesty appeared uncommonly kind to the invalid, but took leave of him at midnight for the great purpose of attending the marriage of Sebastian, a facetious musician. Meanwhile Bothwell, to make sure work of his victim, came upon the king in his sleep, and after strangling him, removed the body into an orchard, when, to avoid suspicion, the house was immediately blown up by gunpowder,† which

* Spottiswood, 200.—Maitland, who quotes Anderson's Coll. 965.

had been brought from the castle of Dunbar. Bothwell was instantly accused of this atrocious murder, to which his intimacy with the queen seemed to lend its sanction. Lennox, the father of Darnley, stood forward as the accuser; and on the 28th March 1567, the Privy Council directed that the "enormous subject" and his associates should appear before the tribunal of their country. The same faction, however, which had goaded the ambition of Bothwell, now interposed; and by means of intrigue and influence obtained his acquittal;* yet, that he was the contriver of the plot, was afterwards confirmed by his own confessions when a prisoner in Denmark.†

A very few days after his acquittal, Bothwell was permitted, by the infatuated Mary, to carry the sword before her in the procession to parliament; and, as a prelude to higher favours, besides the ratification of his other lands and offices, he was awarded the following in the neighbourhood of Dunbar:

"On the 19th of April, in parliament, the queen taking regard and consideration of the great and manifold good service done and performed, not only to her Highness's honour, weill, and estimation, but also to the commonweill of her realm and lieges thereof, by James, earl Bothwell; and that, through his great service foresaid, he not only frequently put his person in peril and danger of his life, but also super-expended himself, alienated and mortgaged his living, lands and

* Chalmers' Cal. ii.

† Keith's Hist.

heritage, in exorbitant sums, whereof he is not hastily able to recover the same, and that he, his friends and kinsmen, for the most part, dwell next adjacent to her Highness's castle of Dunbar, and that he is most habile to have the captaincy and keeping thereof, and that it is necessarily required that the same should be well entertained, maintained and furnished; which cannot be done without some yearly rent, and profit given to him for that effect, and also for reward of his said service: Therefore, her Majesty infested him and his heirs male in the office of the captaincy keeping of the castle of Dunbar, and also in the crown lands of Easter and Wester Barns, the lands of Newtonleyes, Waldane, Rig and Fluris, Myreside, with the links and coning-yairs, (warrens) &c. the mill; called Brand's-smyth, West Barnes mill, with their lands, and L.10 of annualrent from the lands of Lochend, with all the lands, privileges and fees belonging to the government of the castle, lying in the constabulary of Haddington, and sheriffdom of Edinburgh, holding of her Highness and her successors, in as full a manner as if contained at length in the charter and infestment, of the date of one thousand five hundred threescore and ——— years. And now her majesty being of the same mind, the better to strengthen his lordship's title, with the advice of the three estates, she had thought proper to ratify these grants in parliament, never to be revoked, *verbo regis*, by her or her successors."*

* Douglas' Peer. ii.—Maitland's Hist.

Next day a more extraordinary scene occurred ; for Bothwell, having invited the principal nobility to supper, surrounded the house with an armed force, and compelled them to sign a bond, signifying their approval of his marrying the queen.

On the 21st April, Mary went to Stirling, to visit her son ; and, on her return on the 24th,* Bothwell, with an armed party of 800 men, met her at Cramond Brig, and taking her horse by the bridle, he conveyed her "full-gently" to the castle of Dunbar. The earl of Huntly, Secretary Maitland, and Sir James Melville, were taken captives with the queen, while the rest of her

* " Upon the 24. of Apryll, her Majestie, upon comeing back from Striveling to Edinburghe, at the bridge of Craumont, the earll of Bothuell, being well accompanied, ravesgett ye Queine, and so took her yat same night to ye castell of Dumbar, (not against her awen will.)

" The 15. of Maii, the Queine wes married to the duek of Orkney, in the chapel-royall of Holyrudhous, by Adam Bothuel, abbote of Holyrudhous ; and hes text wes ye 2nd of Genesis.

" The 11. day Junii, the Queine being in Borthwick castle, upon the sudden, certain of the nobility beset the castle round about in arms, very well provydit. The principal of these wer, the Earles of Athol, Glencairn, Morton, Mar, with the lords of Home, Lindsay, Semple, Ruthven, Sanguhar. The chief of the small barons and gentlemen yat accompanied them, wer Tullibairdin, Drumlanricke, Cessford, Drumquhaill, Coldinknowes, Lochlevin, Ker of Caldomyde, Grange, and the tutor of Pittcur, with divers others. They desyred the earll Bothuell might be delivered to them ; but the Lord Borthuick answered, that he was fled to Dunbar. Thereafter, they desyred the Queine to come and assist them in persecute of her husband's murtherer, and she altogether refusit.

" The 12. day of Junii the Queene and duke rode to Dunbar.—*Birrel's Diary.*

servants were allowed to depart. Sir James Melville informs us, that next day, when in Dunbar, he obtained permission to go home. "There," continues he, "the earl of Bothwell boasted he would marry the queen who would or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not." Captain Blackater, who had taken him, alleged, that it was with the queen's own consent.* Crawford justly observes: "the friendly love was so highly contrasted betwixt this great princess and her enormous subject, that there was no end thereof, so that she suffered patiently to be led where the lover list, and neither made obstacle, impediment, clamour, or resistance, as in such accident used to be, which she might have done by her princely authority."† "They had scarcely remained ten days in the castle of Dunbar," says Buchanan, "with no great distance between the queen's chamber and Bothwell's, when they thought it expedient to return to the castle of Edinburgh," and the dependants of Bothwell threw away their weapons, that they might not be challenged for detaining the queen prisoner.

Finding Mary in accordance with his wishes, Bothwell, on the plea of his having an adulterous connection with his maid, sought to procure a divorce from the elegant and accomplished Lady Jane Gordon, whom he had married only six months before. In the court which sat on the occasion, appeared John Manderson, canon of the collegiate church of Dun-

* Melville's Mem.

† Crawford MS., quoted by Keith, 393.

bar. The clergy granted a divorce on a blind excuse, which had been previously overlooked, viz. consanguinity to his lady, while the laymen granted it on the plea of the before-mentioned adultery. Some demur now took place in publishing the bans of this political marriage, which the conscientious principles of the Rev. John Craig could not overcome. On this occasion, Thomas Hepburn, minister of Oldhamstocks, was delegated to enforce the ceremony, but without effect; for it formed the subject of public reprobation, and was demitted. But he who has benefits to confer; can easily obviate scruples; and, accordingly, Bothwell, after being created duke of Orkney and Shetland, was, on the 15th May 1567, married to Mary, queen of Scots, in Holyroodhouse, by the bishop of Orkney, amidst very few spectators, while the French ambassador refused to attend.*

The nuptials excited the indignation both of the nation and of foreign courts. A confederacy of nobles met at Stirling, levied troops, and prepared to march against the murderer of their king. The regicide being alarmed fled with Mary to Borthwick castle. Lord Home, who with other border chieftains had joined the confederacy, environed the castle; but Bothwell effected his escape, and the queen, disguised as a page, with some difficulty followed him to Dunbar.†

The associated Lords, thus disappointed in their

* Spottiswood's Hist.

† Ibid.

enterprise, proceeded to Edinburgh, and issued the following proclamation :

“ 12th June 1567.

“ That the earl of Bothwell, having put violent hands on the queen’s person, and shut her up in the castle of Dunbar ; having proceeded to a dishonest marriage with her majesty after obtaining a divorce from his former wife ; having already murdered the late king, and now attempting by his gathering together of forces, to murder the young prince also : Therefore, they command all the lieges to be ready on three hours warning to pass forward with them, to deliver the queen’s person, and take revenge on the earl of Bothwell, for ravishing and detaining her majesty ; and charge all those who will not assist them, to depart from the town of Edinburgh within four hours, with certification,” &c.*

But while the inhabitants of Edinburgh heartily joined in the confederacy, the magistrates and town-council found it convenient to stand aloof, and authorized deputies to wait on the queen.†

* Keith’s Hist. 399.

† “ *Vndecimo, Junij, 1567.*—The quhilk day, the provost, baillies, counsell and deacons, names Edward Litel, baillie, William Foulter of the counsell, and Michael Gilbert, goldsmith, to pass to Dunbar to our soveraine, quha was there for the tyme with James Hepburn, duke of Orkney, &c. to excuse the gude town and counsell their part anent the entering and continuing in this town, of my lords Athol, Montrose, Morton, Mar, Glencairn, Home, Lyndesay, Ruthven, Sanquhar, Semple, Tullibardyn, and Grange, &c. quha had convenit thaimselfis in arms for punesing King Hary Stewart’s murder, putting of our soverane to Linlythgow, dissolving of the marriage betwixt our soverane and the said duke, &c.”—*Keith’s Hist.*

Meantime both parties prepared for war, and in a few days after the queen's arrival at Dunbar, 4000 men had flocked to her standard. Confiding in her numbers, Mary left Dunbar with Bothwell on the 14th June, with 200 hakbutter, the flower of her forces, and some field-pieces from the castle; and lodged the first night at Seton.

This news having reached the associated lords, they left Edinburgh early next morning, (Sunday,) and met the queen's forces at Carberry-hill, near Musselburgh. Here Bothwell a second time threw the gauntlet down to his accusers; but after the challenge had been for the second time accepted, he refused to fight. The confederates "conquered, ere a sword was drawn;" and the poor buffeted queen surrendered herself to the laird of Grange, whilst the guilty Bothwell retraced his steps in a solitary flight to Dunbar.*

Mary has been censured by her friends for leaving Dunbar so speedily. "This fort," says Keith, "the lords could not have taken without ammunition and warlike engines, with which they were not provided, and for want of which each was on the point of dismissing and shifting for himself."

The queen was led to Edinburgh the same day, and obliged to submit to the indecent aspersions of a heated populace. Still glued to her fate, she repented at having so hastily surrendered; and found means to bribe one of the guards to get a letter conveyed to

Bothwell. This, however, the soldier delivered to the lords, who, finding that her majesty still doated on her outlawed husband, judged it necessary for the peace of the nation, that she should be sent to repent of her folly in the picturesque solitudes of Lochleven castle, while active measures were taken for the apprehension of her lord.*

Accordingly, on the 26th June, the Lords of council ordained, " letters to be directed in the queen's name, to heralds, &c. to pass and charge the keeper of the castle of Dunbar, to surrender the same to the executor of the said letters in six hours; because the earl of Bothwell was reset and received within the said castle."†

Bothwell, afraid that he might be environed in Dunbar, fled by sea to Orkney, where he intended to defend himself in the castle of Kirkwall; but the keeper refused to admit him. After having eluded the vigilance of some vessels sent in pursuit of him, he was taken by a crew of Norwegians, while endeavouring to make prize of a Turkish vessel, and carried to Denmark. Here he paid the price of his crimes, by languishing out the remainder of his days in a loathsome dungeon, confessing his guilt in his last moments, and exculpating Mary from being privy to her husband's murder.‡

After an unsuccessful negotiation with Throckmorton the English ambassador, in August 1567, the confederated lords had reason to apprehend, that

* Keith's Hist.

† Melville's Mem.

‡ Ibid.

Elisabeth would shew her resentment by the force of war.

Dunbar castle, besides protecting one Wilson, a convicted regicide, still held out for the duke of Orkney. The keepers at this period were Patrick Whitlaw of Whitlaw, John Newton, junior of Newton, and Mr Thomas Hepburn, minister of Oldhamstocks.

The regent knew that it was of the first importance to get this fortress into his possession ; and, accordingly, on the 26th August, the same year, an order was issued for “ letteris to be directed to command and charge James erle of Bothwell, Patrick Quhytlaw of that ilk, Johne Newtoun, zoungar of that ilk, Mr Thomas Hepburne, parson of Aldhamstocks, and all utheris keiparis of the castell of Dunbar, to render and deliver the same, with all artaillerie, pulder, and munitionis, being thairin, to the officiaris executoris heirof, within sex houris after the charge, with certification of forfaulter, &c. as traittoures in case of refusal.”*

The same persons were likewise charged to deliver, before the justice and his deputies, within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in the space of twenty-four hours after the charge, “ the person of Patrick Wilson, who had been declarit traittour, and art and part in the kingis murthour, under the pain to be repute, haldin, callit, persewit, and denunceit as plane partakaris with the said Patrick in his rebelloun and

treassonabill deids, and to be puneist thairfoir with rigour, in exempill of utheris."*

Notwithstanding this charge for the surrender of Dunbar castle, the keepers were determined to hazard a siege; and on the 21st September 1567, four companies of soldiers, under captains Cunyngham, Murry, Melvil, and Haliburton, were sent to take Dunbar;† and, by an order of the privy-council, issued on the 23d, "the brewsters, baxters, and fleschers of the town of Haddington" are charged "to pass and gang forwart with bakin bread, brewin aill, and flesche, to furnische the camp lyand at the siege of Dunbar castell, at competent pryces, under the payne to be repuit assistaris of the rebellis: And charging the provost and bailzies of Haddington to see the said breid, ail and flesche, furnished to the said camp, as thai will answer upoun thair obedience, and under the payne foirsaid."‡

As the estates of Bothwell lay in the bosom of East Lothian, he had many friends and adherents in that district. Accordingly, while the siege proceeded, the noblemen and gentlemen, who were in the interest of the queen, or friends to the duke, were commanded, on pain of confiscation, to submit to the new regency. Some readily obeyed, while others were denounced rebels, and their property confiscated.

After these precautionary arrangements, the castle of Dunbar was summoned to surrender; but the

* Keith's Hist.

† Barrell's Diary.

‡ Keith's Hist.

usual answer of that haughty fortress was given, that the place would be defended to the last extremity. Another proclamation was therefore issued by the regent Murray, on the 1st September,* commanding all men betwixt sixteen and sixty, "weill bodin in feir of weir," to meet him at Edinburgh;† and on the 26th September, four of the best double cannon, and six smaller pieces, with powder and bullets, and other provisions, were sent from Edinburgh, to assist in reducing Dunbar; and the next day the lord regent with his company followed.

Despairing of support, the captain of Dunbar, when he saw these resolute measures adopted, surrendered to the regent on the 1st of October. On the submission of this important fortress, the earl of Morton, the lords Hume and Lindsay, and several others, applied for its keeping. But it had been so often a weapon in the hands of the border lords, that the regent, by removing the artillery and ammunition to Edinburgh, wisely gave offence to no party, and committed this stronghold to the custody of the town of Dunbar till the meeting of parliament.†

Matters were now arranged in a peaceable manner, and Sir William Cecil, in a letter to Sir Henry Norris, the English ambassador in France, writes: "All

* See Note III. at the end of this chapter.

† Calderwood's MS. and Crawford's MS. agree, that all the cannon and guns therein competent, were carried to the castle of Edinburgh.

things be quiet in Scotland since the last of September, at which time the castle of Dunbar was surrendered to the earl of Murray ; and one named the lord Waughton, follower of the earl of Bothwell, which kept the castle as long as he could, was adjudged to pay for the charges of them which besieged it ; and the charge of the carriage of the ordnance back to Edinburgh ; a new kind of punishment sufficient enough for such a beggar."* So writes Sir William Cecil ; but the laird of Waughton (Hepburn) was no beggar in one sense, if he paid the charge of those engaged in the siege.†

On the 3d January following, the regent ordered the execution of four persons, who were convicted of assisting in the murder of Darnley. These were Hay of Tallo, Hepburn of Bolton, and William Powry and George Dalgliesh. John Hepburn, at his examination, on the 8th December, confessed, that the greater part of the powder was brought from Dunbar.‡

* Keith's Hist.

† " 1567, December 29. The 29. day, which was the last day of the parliament, James Hepburn, lord Hailes, earl Bothwell, marquis of Fife and duke of Orkney was forfaitured, together with the laird of Ormiston and others divers, who had been at the king's murder.

" 1569, January 14. Robert Hepburn, son to the laird of Waughton, came to the house of Waughton, and brake the stables, and took out 16 horses ; the laird of Carmichael being captain and keeper of the said house of Waughton. They issued out of the house and slew three of them ; and divers were hurt of both the parties."—*Birrel's Diary*.

‡ Anderson's Coll. ii. 173.

On the meeting of parliament, December 1567, the castle of Dunbar, which had been so often the asylum of the unfortunate and the guilty, was ordered to be destroyed. In act 35. parl. 1. James VI. we find the following item: "Forsamekle as thair hes bene of befor divers large and sumptuous expensis maid be our soverane Lordis predecessouris and himself, in keiping, fortifying and reparatioun of the castell of Dunbar and forth of Inchekeith, quhilkis ar baith unprofitabill to the realme, and not abill to defend the enemeis thair of, in cais the samin war assaultit: and now seeing that the said castell and forth ar baith becum in sa ruinous, that the samin sall allutterlie decay, except thair be sic expensis maid thairupon as is unhabill to be performit without greit inconveniencis; and als wa havaand consideratioun of ane act of parliament maid in umquhile our soverane Lordis grandschiris tyme, King James the Feird, of maist worthie memorie, ordinand the said castell of Dunbar to be demolischit and cassin downe, as in the act maid thairupon at mair lenth is contenit, quhilk act as zit is not abrogat. Thairfoir our soverane Lord, with advise and consent of my Lord Regent, and the estatis of this present parliament, hes ordainit, and ordainis, That the castell of Dunbar and forth of Inchekeith be demolischit and cassin downe utterlie to the ground, and distroyit in sic wyse that na foundment thair of be occasioun to big thairupon in tyme cumming."*

* Keith's Appendix, 155.

Some months elapsed before this act was carried into execution; for after the escape of Mary from Lochleven, an attempt was made by the relation of Bothwell, John Hepburn, the parson of Oldhamstocks, once more to regain Dunbar for the queen. Sir William Drury thus acquaints Cecil with the transaction :

“ 6th March 1568.—Upon Monday, Dunbar had like to have been surprised; for at one instant there arrived into the town the parson of Auld-Hamstock with a xx.; and as many sent from the Lord Hume; but the town more affected to the Lord Hume, increased his strength so much, that the parson desisted from his enterprise, and so returned.”

Thus fell that venerable fortress, which had so often “laughed a siege to scorn,” after it had sustained the brunt of war and the ravages of the storm for seven hundred and sixty-seven years of authenticated history.

“ In 1581, among several grants excepted by James VI. from the general revocation of his deeds of gift made through importunity, mention is made of the “forthe of Dunbar granted to William Boncle, burgess of Dunbar.” This probably referred to the site of the fortress, and perhaps some ground adjacent.”*

The earldom of March was conferred on Robert Stuart, grand-uncle of James VI., on his resigning

* Provincial Ant. ii.

the earldom of Lennox to his nephew, Esme Stuart of Aubigny ; and he had a charter of the earldom of March and lordship of Dunbar, 25th of October 1582, erecting the same of new into an earldom. Dying, without issue, the title again reverted to the crown. Lord William Douglas, second son of William, first duke of Queensberry, was created earl of March in 1697 ; his grandson William, third earl of March, succeeded as fourth duke of Queensberry, in 1778 ; but dying without issue in 1840, the earl of Wemyss succeeded to the title of earl of March, along with an extensive range of property in Peeblesshire.

With the fall of the castle, the ancient military history of Dunbar is at a close. After the union of the kingdoms there was a repose from the miseries of war, and the glorious work of reformation from popery next engaged the attention of the people. This was followed by the virulence of sects or parties, and “ pulpit drum ecclesiastic, was beat with fist instead of a stick.”—Dunbar could take little part in these quarrels ; but in the winter of 1588, when the popish lords had leagued with the Spaniards, the inhabitants felt the natural alarm, then spread throughout the country, lest the Spanish Armada might land on their shores. The elements happily prevented this ; and we have only to notice the wreck of the hulk of Jan Gomes de Medina on the opposite coast of Fife, as recorded by the minister of Anstruther.*

* See Note IV. at the end of this chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI.

NOTE I.

" *Apud EDINBURGH, 22d Aprilis, 1550, præsentibus REGINA et GUERNATORE.*

" In the answeris to the maist Cristine King of Francis Memorialle, ressavit fra Mons. de Finnell, gevin to Thomas, Maister of Brskin, ambassador for the Queenis grace of Scotland and my Lord Governour thair of (to be schawin to his Hienes upon thair behalf,) is this item :

" That the king putt sik garrisones in *Dunbar*, *Blaknes*, castell of *Bruchty* and *Incheketh*, as his majestie or his lieutenant thinkis neidfull for preservation of the samyn in tyme of pece, and that they be fortifyit, and specialie the forts of *Inchekethe* and castle of *Bruchty* ; becaus thai ar the entres of twa of our soueranes maist speciale revars : And that the lord *Hume* kepe the castell of *Hume*, and the king to support him as he pleses ; becaus it is our charge, and to the said lord to keep the samyn as an hous of were so nere the bordoris. It is thocht expedient be the Queenis grace, my Lord Governour, and counsale, that the fortis of *Lauder*, *Dunglas*, *Roxburc* and *Aymouth*, be all cassin down for sik motives as the said Maister of *Erskin* can schaw."—*Keith's App.*

NOTE II.

Apud EDINBURGH, 27th January 1551, præsentibus REGINA et GUERNATORE.

" The quhilk day, forsamekle as the Queenis grace, my Lord Governour, and Lords of secret Counsale, being remembrit of the meny and diverse gratituds done to our soverane Lady, hir realme and liegis thair of, for defens of the samyn, be the maist Cristin King of France, and speciallie in bigging of the fort of *Abirlady* at *Lufness*, and strenthning thair of with men and munitioun in time of weir ; and that the samyn is sumptuous to his majestie, and nocht necessary to be keipit now in tyme of peax ; and willing to dimi-

nische the sumptuous chargeis sustentit be his Majestie in this realme, insafer as thai may : Thairfore the Quenis grace, my Lord Governour, and lordis foresaidis, ordainis the said fort of Abirlady to be randerit and deliverit to Patrik Hepburn of Wauchtoun, and the same to be cassin down and destroyit to the erd, except the hous and mansioun thairof, swa that na fort nor strenth be thair in tymes to cum ; and the said mansion and housis to be broukit and joist be the said Patrik as his heritage, like as his forbears bruikit the samyn of before in tymes bipast, conforme to his infestment ; *providing always that the said Patrik caus the munitioun and artailzery being in the said fort, to be had and carryit to DUNBAR upoun his expensis.* —*IMP.*

NOTE III.

“ Proclamatioun to all Men to be in reddines.

1st September.

“ Forsamekillas it hes plesit Almychtie God lauchfullie and rychteouslie to call our soverane Lord the Kingis Majestie to the royall crowne of this his kingdome, be the dismissioun of the Quenis grace his moder ; and that he, according to the same, is solempfullie investit and possessit in the same kingdome, quhairof all his guid and lufing subjectis are debt-bound to prais God that hes so favourablie and gratuslie lukit upoun this natioun ; and conforme to his ordainance and will to reverance, obey, and serve his Hienes as thair native Prince and soverane Lord : Nevirtheles the malicious hartis of sum unnaturall and disobedient personis, legeis to his Majestie, ceis nocht, sa far as in thame lyis, planelie to resist and gainstand his Hienes' autoritie, uow in the begynning thairof, contempnandlie plukkand down and stoppand the herauldis and ordinar officisris of armis to mak proclamatioun and sigulificatioun of his majesties coronation ; tending nathing eldis, as weill appears by thair proceedingis, bot planlie to disobey his Hienes, and nawayis recognosce him as their soverane Lord : And lykwayis, James, Erle Bothuile, denuncet rebell and traitour for the tressonabill, schamefull and unworthie murthour of umquhile King Hennrie, our soveranis derrest fader, being fugitive frae the ordinar lawis, and culpabill be the law of armis for refusall of that singular combat quhairunto of befoir he offerit himself for purgatioun of his allegat innocencie, hee.

baght stuffit and garnisht our soveranis castell of Dunbar with men, munition, and otherwayis; and being requyrit to deliver the same, hes planellie refusit, mynding to detein and hald the said castell against our soverane Lord, and his autoritie: And in the mean tyme, the said erle, accompanyit with a greit numer of notorious pyratte, fugitives frae all lawis, and utheris brokin men, being past to the sey, daylie committis reiff, depredatioun, plane pyracle and oppressioun on the subjectis of all Cristiane Princes, friendis and confederatis of this realme, evir thynking, at his plesour, to retyre him to our said soveranis castell of Dunbar as a saif-guard to keip him frae justice; and alawa, be the ayd of sic utheris as abstractis their dew obedience frae his Hienes, to resist his autoritie foirsaid, and eschew the dew punischment quhilk worthilie he deservis for his rebellious and treasonabill deids to the incourageing of sic ungodlie and wickit men to continew in their mischeivous duids, and to the greit hurt of this commounweill, gif tymous remeid be nocht providit: Qvhairfoir, our soverane Lord, with avyis of his derrest cousing, James, Erle of Murray, Lord Abernethie, Regent of his Hienes, his realme and legeis, and Lordis of our Secreit Counsell, ordainis letters, &c."—*Lamb.*

NOTE IV.

Letter by the Rev. John Melville of Anstruther, regarding the Spanish Armada.

"That winter, in the year 1588, the king occupied in commenting of the Apocalypse, and in setting out of sermons thereupon, against the Papists and Spainzards; and yet by a piece of great oversight the Papist practised never mair busilie in this land, and maid greater preparation for receiving of the Spainzards nor that zeir. For a lang tyme the newes of the Spanish navie haid been blazed abroad; and about the lambas tyde of the 1558, this yland haid fund a fearful effect thereof to the utter subversion bathe of kirk and police, giff God had not wonderfullie watched over the same, and mightilie faughten and defeat that armie be his suliars the elements, quwhilk he maid all four maist fercelie to afflict them, till almaist utter consumption. Terrible was the feir, pressing war the preachings, earnest, zealous, and fervent war the prayers, sounding war the siches and sobbes, and

abounding war the tears at that first and General Assembly kept at Edinburgh, when the news war crediblie tauld, sumtymes of their landing at Dunbar, sumtymes at St Andrais. and in Tay, and now and then at Aberdeen and Cromartie frith: and in verie deid, as we knew certainlie soon after, the Lord of armies wha ryddes upon the wings of the wunds, the keeper of his awin Israel, was in the mean time convoying that monstrous navie about our coasts, and directing their hulks and galiaces to the ylands, rokkes, and sands, wharupon he had destinat their wrak and destruction; for within twa or thrie moneths thereafter, earlie in the morning be brake of day, ane of our bailzies came to my bedside, saying, (but not with fray) I have to tell you news, Sir; there is arrived within our harbrie this morning a shipfull of Spainzards, bot not to giff mercie, bot to ask, and sa shaws me that the commanders haid landit, and he haid commandit tham to their ship again, till the magistrates of the town haid advyst; and the Spa nzard had humble obeyit; therefore desirte me to ryse and hear thair petition. With thaim up I got with diligence, and assembling the honest men of town, came to the tobbuthe, and after consultation taken to heir tham, and what answer to make, there presented us a verie reverend man of big stature, and grave and stout countenance, gray-heared, and very humble like, wha, after mikle and verie low courtesie, bowing down with his face neir the ground, and twitching my sho with his hand, began his harange in the Spanish towng, wharof I understood the substance; and being about to answer in Latin, he haiffing onlie a young man with him to be his interpreter, began and tauld over again to us in guid English. The sum was, that King Philip, his maiester, had rigit out a navie and armie to land in England, for just causes, to be avengit of manie intollerable wrangs quhilke he haid receivit of that nation; but God for their sins haid been against them, and be storme of weather had dryven theirmavie by the coast of England, and him, with a certean of capteans, being the general of twentie hulks, upon ane yll of Scotland, called the Fair yll, whar they mraid shipwrack, and whar sa monie as had eschapel the merseless seis and rokkes, haid mair nor sax or seaven ouks suffered great hunger and cauld, till conducing that bark out of Orkney, they were come as to their special friends and confederates, to kiss the king's majesty's hand of Scotland, (and therewith bekkit even to the zaird),

and to find relief and comfort thereby to himself, the gentlemen, capteans, and the poor souldearie, whase condition was for the present maist miserable and pitifull. I answerit this mikle in sum, that whowbeit neither our friendship, quhilk could not be great, seeing their king was friends to the grakist enemie of Christ, the Pope of Rome, and our king and we defyed him, nor zit thair cause against our nibours and special friends of England, could procure anie benifit at our hands for thair relief or comfort; nevertheless they should know by experience that we war men, and se maned to human compassion and Christainness of better religion nor they, which should kyth in the fruits and effect plan contrar to thairs; for whereas our people resorting among tham in peaceable and lawfull affairs of merchandise, war violentlei taken and cast in prisen, their guide and gear confiscat, and their bodies committed to crewal flaming fyre for the cause of religion. They sould find nathing among us but Christian pitie and warks of mercie and almes, leaving to God to work in their hartes concerning religion as it pleased him. This being trewlie reported to him be his Frenchman, with grait reverence, he gaiff thanks, and said, he could not make answer for thair kirk and the laws and order thairof; only for himself, that thair war divers Scotchmen who knew him, and to whom he had shewn courtesei and faver at Calles, and as he supposit since of the same town of Anstruther. Sa show him, that the bailzies granted him lecince with the capteans to go to thair ludging for thair refreshment, bot to nane of their men to land, till the over lord of the town was advertised, and understand the king's majesty's mind annent them. Thus with great courtesei he departed. That night the lord, being advertised, came; and, on the morn, accompanied with a guid number of the gentlemen of the countrey round about, gaiff the said general and the capteans presence, and after the same spietches in effect as before, receavit them in his house and interteaned them humane lie, and sufferit the souldairs to come a land and ly all togedder, to the number of thirteen score, for the maist part young berdless men, sillie, trauchled, and hungrit, to the quhilk a day or two keall potage and fish was giffen; for my advyce was conform to the prophet Elizeus, Giff them bread and water. The names of the commanders ware, Jan Gomes de Medina, general of twenty hulks, Capitan Patricio, Capitan de Legaritto, Capitan de Luffera, Capitan Maurritio, and Seigneur Serrano."—*Edin. Mag.*, Sept. 1785.

CHAPTER XII.

Arm, warriors! arm for fight; the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
This day. Fear not his flight; so thick a cloud
He comes, and settled in his face I see
Sad resolution.

MILTON.

Oliver Cromwell.—Battle of Doonhill.

ON the commonwealth of England, which now held the reins of government, receiving intelligence that the sons of Charles I. had taken refuge among the Scots, preparations were made for an inevitable war; and Oliver Cromwell, a gentleman of a good private family, who by his talents and intrigues had gained the sway of the parliament, was sent into Scotland with an army of 16,000 men.

On Friday the 26th July 1650, he marched from Cockburnspath to Dunbar, which he found the principal inhabitants had abandoned, and none between the ages of seven or seventy remained: Every thing in the shape of leaf or ear, root or branch, was removed. The murderous proceedings of the English in Ireland had inspired the people with terror; and it was believed, that it was their intention to cut off the right hands of all Scotsmen capable of bearing arms, and burn with hot irons the breasts of all women capable of bearing children.*

* Whitelock's Memorials of English Affairs, p. 452.

On the arrival of the English, an alarm being given that the Scots were approaching, they drew up in a field near the town. This alarm, however, proved false; and next day the Amity and other ships arriving from Newcastle with a supply of provisions, the Protector departed to Haddington.

The command of the Scottish army in the meantime had devolved upon Leslie, an experienced officer, who had entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith; and as it was his policy to remove from the Merse and Lothian every thing which might serve for subsistence to the invaders, Cromwell found himself straitened for want of provisions, and on the 6th August he had again to return to Dunbar; where, on the 17th, his army received a supply of tents and provisions from the ships. He now found the people in such a deplorable state from starvation, that the iron front of war was smoothed, and the commissioners were ordered to distribute pease and wheat to the value of L. 240 among the inhabitants.* Two days were then spent in prayers and

* "The inhabitants of Dunbar," says Whitelock, "were in such want of provisions, that they picked the beans from the horses off the ground, and ate the sheeps' guts which were thrown away by the soldiers: And many of the women of the countrymen are so slutish, that they do not wash their linen above once a-month, nor their hands and faces above once a-year."

We scarcely think that the Englishman had time to prove the last assertion. The Scots had no doubt received the same hint that Leslie gave to the household troops of Musselburgh: "That the gude women of the town should aw come awa with their gear, and not stay to hew or bake for the English army on pain of death."

exhortations to the army; after which they advanced to Edinburgh.

Cromwell endeavoured in vain to draw Leslie from a strong position he occupied near Arthur's seat, and having shipped his sick at Musselburgh, he retreated to Haddington, while the Scots hung on his right flank. Here "we staid," says Captain John Hodgson, "till about ten o'clock, when after prayer had been made in several regiments, we marched a poor shattered, hungry, discouraged army," to Dunbar. This place they entered on Sunday the 1st September.

Cromwell drew up in a field near Dunbar "full of swamps and bogs," while the Scots flanked him on the hills on the right. Their army was computed at 27,000 men, and that of the English at 12,000.

Threatened with famine, he was on the eve of sending his foot and artillery by sea to England, and of breaking through the Scots party on the borders at all hazards with his cavalry, when he was spared this disgrace by the wild enthusiasm of the clergy, who, like those of Switzerland at the battle of Sempach, had joined the patriotic standard. The Scots army, instead of being under the control of its general, was regulated by a committee of these enthusiasts; and afterwards, amongst Cromwell's prisoners, we find Galespy and Wargle, ministers.* These worthies having cleared the army of

* "A Scots captain taken prisoner, told the English officers, that their ministers advised them if they were taken, that they should throw away their bibles; for if the English took any with bibles, they should have no quarter."—*Whitelock's Mem.*

about four thousand profane persons and sabbath-breakers, believed that there remained a remnant of invincible saints. Night and day had they been wrestling with the lord in prayer; and revelations, they imagined, had been made to them, foretelling that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Cromwell, the modern Agag, should be delivered into their hands.

Leslie had encamped in an admirable position on the top of Doonhill,* an eminence four or five hundred feet high, about two miles south from Dunbar; and while, from its summit, he had an excellent opportunity of observing the motions of the enemy, the gentle declivities of the Lammermoors immediately behind it, were admirably fitted to conceal and shelter the army. He had also taken care to possess himself of the pass of Pease, the only road which led from Dunbar to Berwick. But the indiscreet zeal of his pious partisans, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the general, compelled him to descend, and give battle to the enemy.†

On Monday evening, Leslie increased his right wing of horse with two-thirds of the left; and edged down towards the sea; while his infantry and artillery inclined to the right. When Cromwell observed this movement, he ordered three regiments and

* On the south-east summit of Doonhill, is the supposed remains of a Roman camp, now ploughed up; the tumuli and trenches of which are still visible. A little above Spott-moor is another camp, from which perhaps the neighbouring hill of Chesters (Ceasters) gets its name, as that term in the Anglo-Saxon signifies, a fort or castle.

† "It is said that Leslie's officers were averse to fight, and proposed rather to make a bridge of gold for them to pass home; but the clergy over-ruled it."—*Whitlock's Mem.*

a-half of foot to march to the van, whilst the brigade under Colonel Monk, and that under Colonels Pride and Overton, with the two remaining regiments of horse, brought up the cannon and rear. They, however, stood in battalia all the day; a great ditch or ravine, formed by Spott water, from Brands-mill westward, lay between both armies, offering much disadvantage to those who should first attempt to pass it. During the night, the English drew as close to the ravine as possible, with their field pieces planted in each regiment. Before dawn on Tuesday, the 3d September, Cromwell despatched three regiments of horse and two of foot, to force the pass of Pease; whereby they might the more readily get round upon the Scots. This dispute was effected in about an hour. At sun-rise, the Protector, standing on a gentle eminence east from Broxmouth-house, still called Cromwell-mount, reconnoitred with his telescope the Scots camp in motion: "They are coming down," he exclaimed; "the Lord hath delivered them into our hands!" Both armies had now assumed the canting style of the times. The watchword of the Scots was, "The Covenant;" that of the English, "The Lord of Hosts." About six o'clock the battle became general. The Scottish lancers coming gallantly down the hill, were as bravely repulsed. Two regiments of the English foot deployed below Broxmouth-house towards the sea, and fell upon the Scottish flank, at the eastern extremity of their line, with pike and musket. This attack was well sustained, till a troop of the enemy's horse coming up, cut the Scots down in all quarters, and

left them to the mercy of the infantry. The Scots now began to fall back, and the sun shining full on their faces as it rose from the sea, Cromwell seized the lucky moment, and exclaimed: "Now let God arise, and his enemies shall be scattered." His iron brigade making a successful charge up the hill, the Scottish foot threw down their arms, and fled in every direction, some towards Cockburnspath and others to Haddington, whither they were pursued. Never was victory more complete: the fugitives now became, as Cromwell observed, "as stubble to their swords;" about 3000 were slain, and 9000 taken prisoners.* Their whole train was taken; consisting of thirty-two pieces of ordnance, with small, great, and leather guns; two hundred colours, horse and foot, with arms, tents, baggage, &c. The loss of the English was so trifling as to be almost incredible; it was stated at forty men in the whole engagement, and not one officer, except M. Rokesby, who died of his wounds; but from the resolute attack of the Scots at the onset, the small loss of the English is justly doubted.†

* Many of the killed are said to have been buried in and about Spott-dean. Muskets, bullets, swords, human bones, pieces of scarlet cloth, &c. were sometimes found in the neighbourhood.

† According to Whitelock, "at the battle of Dunbar 15,000 were killed and taken. Of these the general sent home upon their parole 5000 of the prisoners, being wounded, old men and boys; the men house-keepers, forced out of their houses to take arms, and 2100 of them died by the way; the other 5000 were sent prisoners to Berwick, and so to Newcastle."

"The governor of Berwick gave to each Scotch prisoner for one

Many men of distinction fell in this fatal conflict ; amongst whom were the Homes of Wedderburn, father and son ; Sir William Douglas of Kirkness, who appears to have fallen at Broxmouth, as a plain stone, bearing his name, in legible characters, lies in the shrubbery south-east from the house. Amongst the prisoners were twelve lieutenant-colonels, six majors, thirty-seven captains, &c. Cromwell's first act after the battle was to return thanks to the Almighty for the victory he had gained ; and, as if anxious to refute the odium of cruelty imputed to him, sent back the principal prisoners in his own coach, and the wounded in waggons. It is further asserted by Walker, that, after the battle of Dunbar, he sent " a thousand of the wounded men in a gallantry to the countess of Winton."

The following proclamation was issued by the conqueror, respecting the wounded left in the field :

" Forasmuch as I understand that there are several soldiers of the enemy's army yet abiding in the field, who, by reason of their wounds, could not march from thence : these are, therefore, to give notice to the inhabitants of this nation, that they may have free liberty to repair to the field aforesaid, and with their carts, or any other peaceable way, to carry the

day three biskits, and a pottle of pease, which, they said, was more than their own officers gave them three days together.

" November 11. The Scots prisoners taken at the battle of Dunbar, at their first coming to Newcastle, got into the gardens, and fed so greedily upon the raw cabbages, that they poisoned their bodies ; 1600 of them died, 500 more were sick ; and 900, in health, were sent to work there."—*Whitlock's Mem.*

said soldiers to such places as they shall think fit ; provided they meddle not ; or take away any of the arms there ; and all officers and soldiers are to take notice that the same is permitted. Given under my hand at Dunbar.

“ O. CROMWELL.”

“ September 4. 1650.”

The parliament ordered, that the colours taken at the battles of Preston and Dunbar, should be hung up in Westminster Hall, and that medals of gold and silver should be given to the soldiery, in remembrance of God's mercy, and of their valour and victory.

Cromwell spent the next day at Dunbar in writing letters to the House of Commons, detailing the victory, which will be found in Note I. at the end of this chapter. It has been remarked, that his principal victories at Dunbar and Worcester happened on the 3d of September ; and, finally, his death on that day.

After Cromwell was promoted to the Protectorship, Monk, who distinguished himself as one who led the van at the late battle, was appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, and one of the commissioners for uniting that country with the commonwealth. He took up his residence at Dalkeith, and remained there chiefly during the years that intervened between that period and the restoration ; during which time a number of letters passed between him and the magistrates of Dunbar, regarding the assessments levied on the burgh. This correspondence is preserved in the archives of that place, and will be found in Note II. appended to this chapter.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII.

NOTE I.

A Letter from the LORD GENERAL CROMWELL, from Dunbar ; containing a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Parliament Army under his command in Scotland : and the success God was pleased to give them against the Scots army, in a battle at Dunbar, Sept. 3. 1650.

“ FOR THE HONOURABLE WILLIAM LEUTHAL, ESQ. SPEAKER OF THE PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND.

“ SIR,—I HOPE it is not ill taken, that I make no more frequent addresses to the parliament ; things that are of trouble, in point of provision for your army, and of ordinary direction, I have, as I could, often presented to the council of state, together with such occurrences as have happened : who, I am sure, as they have not been wanting in their extraordinary care and provision for us, so neither what they judge fit and necessary, to represent the same to you ; and this I thought to be a sufficient discharge of my duty on that behalf.

“ It hath now pleased God to bestow a mercy upon you, worthy your knowledge, and of the utmost praise and thanks of all that fear and love his name ; yea, the mercy is far above all praise, which, that you may the better perceive, I shall take the boldness to tender unto you some circumstances accompanying this great business, which will manifest the greatness and seasonableness of this mercy. We having tried what we could to engage the enemy three or four miles west of Edinburgh ; that proving ineffectual, and our victual failing, we marched towards our ships for a recruit of our wants. The enemy did not at all trouble us in our rear, but marched the direct way towards Edinburgh, and partly in the night and morning, slips through his whole army, and quarters himself in a posture easie to interpose between us and our victual ; but the Lord made him lose the opportunity ; and the morning proving exceeding wet and dark, we recovered, by that time it was light, into a ground where they could not

hinder us from our victual ; which was a high act of the Lord's providence to us. We being come into the said ground, the enemy marched into the ground we were last upon ; having no mind either to strive to interpose between us and our victual, or to fight ; being indeed upon this lock, hoping that the sickness of your army would render their work more easie by the gaining of time ; whereupon we marched to Musclevburgh to victual and to ship away our sick men, where we sent aboard near five hundred sick and wounded soldiers. And upon serious consideration, finding our weakness so to increase, and the enemy lying upon his advantages, at a general council it was thought fit to march to Dūnbar, and there to fortifie the town, which, we thought, if any thing, would provoke them to engage ; as also, the having a garrison there, would furnish us with accommodation for our sick men ; would be a place for a good magazin, (which we exceedingly wanted), being put to depend upon the uncertainty of weather for landing provisions, which many times cannot be done, though the being of the whole army lay upon it ; all the coasts from Leth to Berwick not having one good harbor ; as also to lie more conveniently to receive our recruits of horse and foot from Berwick. Having these considerations, upon Saturday, the thirtieth of August, we marched from Musclevburgh to Heddington, where, by that time, we had got the van-brigade of our horse, and our foot and train, into their quarters ; the enemy was marched with that exceeding expedition, that they fell upon the rear-forlorn of our horse, and put it in some disorder ; and indeed had like to have engaged our rear brigade of horse with their whole army, had not the Lord, by his providence, put a cloud over the moon, thereby giving us opportunity to draw off those horse to the rest of the army, which accordingly was done without any loss, save of three or four of our afore-mentioned forlorn, wherein the enemy (as we believe) received more loss. The army being put into a reasonable secure posture, towards midnight the enemy attempted our quarters on the west end of Heddington, but (through the goodness of God) we repulsed them. The next morning we drew into an open field, on the south side of Heddington ; we not judging it safe for us to draw to the enemy upon his own ground, he being prepossessed thereof, but rather drew back to give him way to come to us, if he had so thought fit ; and having waited about the space of four or five hours, to see if he would

come to us, and not finding any inclination of the enemy so to do, we resolved to go, according to our first intendment, to Dunbar. By that time we had marched three or four miles, we saw some bodies of the enemies horse draw out of their quarters; and by that time our carriages were gotten neer Dunbar, their whole army was upon their march after us; and, indeed, our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much highten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy. The enemy that night, we perceived, gathered towards the hills, laboring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick; and having, in this posture, a great advantage, through his better knowledge of the country, which he effected, by sending a considerable party to the strait pass at Copperspeth, where ten men to hinder, are better than forty to make their way: and truly this was an exigent to us; wherewith the enemy reproached us with that condition the parliament's army was in, when it made its hard conditions with the king in Cornwall. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us, and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons, and had swallowed up the poor interest of England, believing that their army and their king would have marched to London without any interruption; it being told us, we know not how truly, by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, *that their king was very suddenly to come amongst them with those English they allowed to be about him*; but in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them.

"The enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having those advantages, we lay very neer him, being sensible of our disadvantage, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself, to our weak faith, wherein, I beleieve, not a few amongst us shared, that, because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen, and that he would finde out a way of deliverance and salvation for us; and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes. Upon Monday evening, the enemy, whose numbers were very great, as we heard, about six thousand horse, and sixteen thousand foot, at least; ours drawn down, as to sound men, to about seven thousand five hundred foot, and three thousand five

hundred horse; the enemy drew down to their right wing about two-thirds of their left wing of horse, to the right wing shogging also their foot and train much to the right, causing their right wing of horse to edge down towards the sea. We could not well imagine, but that the enemy intended to attempt upon us, or to place themselves into a more exact position of interposition. Major-general and myself coming to the earl of Roxburgh's house, and observing this posture, I told him, I thought it did give us an opportunity and advantage to attempt upon the enemy; to which he immediately replied, that he had thought to have said the same thing to me: so that it pleased the Lord to set this apprehension upon both of our hearts at the same instant. We called for Colonel Monk, and shewed him the thing; and coming to our quarter at night, and demonstrating our apprehensions to some of the colonels, they also cheerfully concurred; we resolved, therefore, to put our business into this posture, that six regiments of horse, and three regiments and a half of foot should march in the van; and that the major-general, the lieutenant-general of the horse, and the commissary-general, and Col. Monk, to command the brigade of foot, should lead on the business; and that Colonel Pride's brigade, Colonel Overton's brigade, and the remaining two regiments of horse, should bring up the cannon and reare; the time of falling on to be by break of day; but, through some delays, it proved not to be so till six o'clock in the morning: The enemies word was *The Covenant*; which it had been for divers days; ours, *The Lord of Hosts*. The major-general, Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and Commissary-General Whaley, and Colonel Twisletons, gave the onset; the enemy being in very good posture to receive them, having the advantage of their cannon and foot against our horse. Before our foot could come up, the enemy made a gailant resistance, and there was a very hot dispute at swords point between our horse and theirs: Our first foot, after they had discharged their duty, being over-powered with the enemy, received some repulse, which they soon recovered; but my own regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Goff, and my Major White, did come seasonably in; and at the push of pike, did repel the stoutest regiment the enemy had there, meerly with the courage the Lord was pleased to give; which proved a great amazement to the residue of their foot. This being the first action be-

twice the foot, the horse, in the mean time, did, with a great deal of courage and spirit, beat back all opposition, charging through the bodies of the enemies horse and their foot, who were, after the first repulse given, made, by the Lord of Hosts, as stubble to their swords. Indeed, I believe, I may speak it without partiality, both your chief commanders, and others, in their several places, and soldiers also, were acted with as much courage as ever hath been seen in any action since this war. I know they look on to be named; and therefore I forbear particulars. The beat of the enemies horse and foot being broken through and through in less than an hour's dispute, their whole army being put into confusion, it became a total rout; our men having the chase and execution of them near eight miles. We believe, that upon the place and near about it, were about three thousand slain. Prisoners taken of their officers, you have this enclosed list; of private soldiers, near ten thousand. The whole baggage and train taken; wherein was good store of match, powder and bullet; all their artillery, great and small, thirty guns. We are confident they have left behind them not less than fifteen thousand arms. I have already brought into me near two hundred colours, which I herewith send you. What officers of quality of theirs are killed, we yet cannot learn; but yet surely divers are, and many men of quality are mortally wounded, as Colonel Lumsdel, the Lord Liberton, and others; and that, which is no small addition, I do not believe we have lost twenty men; not one commissioned officer slain that I hear of, save one coronet, and Major Hooksby, since dead of his wounds; and not many mortally wounded. Coloney Whaley only cut in the hand-wrist, and his horse twice shot and killed under him, but he well, recovered another horse, and went on in the chase. Thus you have the prospect of one of the most signal mercies God hath done for England and his people this war. And now may it please you to give me the leave of a few words: It is easie to say, the Lord hath done this; it would do you good to see and hear our poor foot go up and down making their boast of God. But, sir, it is in your hands, and by these eminent mercies God puts it more into your hands to give glory to him, to improve your power and His blessings to His praise. We that serve you, beg of you not to own us, but God alone; we pray you own His people more and more, for they are the chariots and horsemen of Israel: disown yourselves, but own your authority,

and improve it, to curb the proud and the insolent, such as would disturb the tranquillity of England, though under what specious pretences soever. Relieve the oppressed; hear the groans of poor prisoners in England; be pleased to reform the abuses of all professions; and if there be any one that makes many poor to make a few rich, that suits not a commonwealth. If He, that strengthens your servants to fight, pleases to give you hearts to set upon these things, in order to His glory, and the glory of your commonwealth, besides the benefit of England shall feel thereby, you shall shine forth to other nations, who shall emulate the glory of such a pattern, and through the power of God, turn in to the like. These are our desires; and, that you may have liberty and opportunity to do these things, and not be hindred, we have been, and shall be (by God's assistance) willing to venture our lives, and not desire you should be precipitated by importunities from your care of safety and preservation; but that the doing of these good things may have their place amongst those which concern well being, and so be wrought in their time and order. Since we came into Scotland, it hath been our desire and longing to have avoided blood in this business, by reason that God hath a people here fearing His name, though deceived; and to that end have we offered much love unto such in the bowels of Christ; and concerning the truth of our hearts therein, have we appealed unto the Lord. The ministers of Scotland have hindred the passage of these things to the hearts of those to whom we intended them; and now we hear, that, not onely the deceived people, but some of the ministers, are also fallen in this battel. This is the great hand of the Lord, and worthy of the consideration of all those who, taking into their hands the instruments of a foolish shepherd; to wit, meddling with worldly policies, and mixtures of earthly power, to set up that which they call the kingdom of Christ; which is neither it, nor, if it were it, would such means be found effectual to that end, and neglect, or trust not to the Word of God, the sword of the Spirit, which is alone powerful and able for the setting up of that kingdom; and when trusted to, will be found effectually able to that end, and will also do it. This is humbly offred for their sakes; who, having lately too much turned aside, that they might return again to preach Jesus Christ, according to the simplicity of the gospel; and then, no doubt, they will discern and finde your protec-

tion and encouragement. Deseeching you to pardon this length, I humbly take leave, and rest, Sir, your most humble servant,

" O. CROMWELL.

" DUNBAR, September 4. 1650."

The following letter, written by Cromwell to his lady, is copied from the MS. collections in the British Museum :

" DUNBAR, 4th September, 1650.

" MY DEAREST,—I have not leisure to write much, but I could enshide thee, that in many of thy letters thou writest to me, that I should not be unmindful of thee and my little ones. Truly, if I love you not too well, I think I err not on the other hand much. Thou art dearer to me than any creature; let that suffice. The Lord hath showed us an exceeding mercy. Who can tell how great it is? My weak faith hath been upheld. I have been in my inward man miraculously supported. I assure thee I grow an old man, and feel infirmities of age marvellously stealing upon me. Would my corruptions did as fast decrease. Pray on my behalf in the latter respect. The particulars of our late success, Henry Vane or Gil. Pickering will impart to thee. My love to all our dear friends. Thine,

" O. CROMWELL."

NOTE II.

Letters, addressed by General Monk and others, to the Magistrates of Dunbar, during the time of the Commonwealth.

1.—FROM JO. VINCENT, CONCERNING A LETTER FROM OLIVER CROMWELL AND HIS COUNCIL.

" These, for the honble the Cheife Magistrate of the Towne of Dunbar in Scotland.

" HONBLE SIR,—I am very sensible of the disappointment which it may be to you, that this has not reached you sooner; but truly the great affaire, which hath beene long upon the wheell, and before his highnesse, hath caused all matters of inferiour and private concernement to be att a stand for these late moneths: According to my promise to Doctor Purveys, (our honrd friend, and one very zealous

for your good,) I have now sent the letter from his Highnesse and ye Councill to the Doctor to be conveyed safely to you, which he was pleased to undertake. Gents., I beg of you a candid construction of my indeavours to serve you, though attended with this blemish of a delay, yet have they beene very reall from, Sir, your very respective friend to serve you,

“ JO. VINCENT.

“ DUNCASSIE, June 2. 1657.

“ I purpose to goe towards London to-morrow.”

II.—FROM GENERAL MONK, RESPECTING TAXES.

“ *To the Commissioners of Assesse in the burgh of Dunbar.*

(“ For the service of the state.”)

“ GENTLEMEN.—His highness and the Councill being sensible of the urgent necessity of bringing in of money for the present affaires of ye comonwealt^h, have sent their letters to ye commissioners for the assesement in the severall counties of England to meete in order to the raising of ye six monthes assesement, beginning from the 24th of June next, and appoint their generall meetinge at such convenient times, and that they soe proceed as that the assesement for the first three monthes of that six monthes, which, by the act, is payable on or before the first of September next, be paid in to the respective receiuers on or before the sixth day of July, and ye latter three monthes assesement payable by the said act, on or before the first of December next, be paid in to the respective receiuers on or before the sixth of October next, to the end there may be a seasonable supply for the pressing occasions of the Comonwealth and of the Armies, which will otherwise unavoidably come to free quarter : And therefore his Highnes and the Councill have thought fitt to require his Highnes' Councill heere to write the like letters unto the commissioners in their respective shyres, counties, and places in Scotland to the same effect. In pursuance whereof, his Highnes Councill heere have thought fitt to signify the premises unto yow, the commissioners for assesement in the burgh of Dunbarr ; And to desire yow, that yow also meete in order to the raising of the six monthes assesement, beginning from the 24. June next, and appoint your meetings at such convenient times, and that yow soe proceed, as that the assesement

ment for the first three monthes of those six monthes in the said burgh, which, by the act, is payable on the first of September next, bee paid into the receiuer on or before the sixth day of July next, and the latter three monthes, payable by the said act on or before the first of December next, be paid in to the receiuer, on or before the sixth of October next; to the end there may be a seasonable supply for the pressing occasions of the comonwealth, and of the Armies, which will otherwise unavoidably come to free quarter; And although this be but the same tax that is laid by the act, yet the timely payment thereof will prevent many inconveniences, and be of great advantage to the publick service, which they desire yow to doe your utmost to promote heerein, by the causing those six monthes assesment of yt burgh to bee paid in att ye times aforesaid; And the said Councill heere doe further desire yow, to give them an accompt of your receipt heereof, and of your resolutions thereupon, as speedily as you can:

" (Signed in ye name, and by order of the counsell,) GEORGE MONCK.

" *Един.* 11. *May*, 1658."

III.—FROM SIR A. DON.

" MUTC HONNORED FRIENDS,—According to the command laid upon me by his hienes Counsell, and the wreattes issued out for that effect, be pleasit to resauce heirwith inclosit this precept whiche I desyre yee may cause be proclai mit at your mercatt croce the first mercat day after the resaitte heirof, and that your burgesses may attend the meiting therby appoynted, the day and plaice therein mentionate for the endes therein exprest. And that yee will returne to me this precept dewlie execute and indorsate. The cairfull performance qrof is expectit by, your affectionat freind and servand,

" A. DON.

" *NEWTOWNK*, 25. *Dec.* 1658.

" *For my honored freinds the Bailzeis of Dunbar.*"

IV.—FROM SIR WILLIAM SETON.

" MUTC HONORED AND WORTHIE FRINDIS,—Our toune heath re-seaued ane letter from my Lord Generall, recommending to use our Parliament man. He makis mentione of one doctor Thomas Clairgis, only brother to his Lady, a man that heath doune great seruise

to the touné of Edimbrouche. Hie is agent for the Counsell of England and Scotland ; with all, my Lord wrytis to use, that hie, a gentleman that will not be chargable to us. It is my Lordis dysyre to use to gife sou notis of this gentellman which his Lo: heath recomendit. Our commissinar will attend upone sours Monday in the morning or at nicht, that upone Tuesday thay may goe away airly. This letter of my Lord Generalis is to be carried allong to the rest of the burrose. This is the substanse of the letter that is writtine to sou by him.

" Who is your werry affectionat frind & servant,

" W. SEATOUNE.

" HADINGTONNE, the 31. of December, 1658.

" For my honored frindis the Byllis of Dunbar."

V.—FROM GENERAL MONK, RESPECTING ASSESSMENT.

" For my very loving Freinds, the Magistrates of the burgh of Dunbarre.

" GENTLEMEN,—Having a call from God and his people to march into England, to assert and maintaine the liberty and being of Parliaments, our antient constitution, and therein the freedome and rights of the people of these three nations, from arbitrary and tyrannicall usurpations upon their consciences, persons and estates, and for a godly ministry, I doe theirfor exspect from yow, the Magistrates of ye burgh of Dunbarre, that yow doe preserve the peace of the comonwealth in your burgh. And I heerby authorize yow to suppress all tumults, stirrings and unlawfull assemblies ; and that you hold noe correspondency with any of Charles Stuarts party or his adherents, but apprehend any such as shall make any disturbance, and send them into the next guarrison ; And doe further desire yow to countenance and encourage the godly ministry, and all that truly feare God in the land ; and that yow continue faithfull to owne and assert the interest of Parliamentary government in your severall places and stations. I hope my absence wilbee very short ; but I doe assure you, that I will procure from the Parliament, whatever may bee for the good goverment and releife of this nation, and doubt not but to obtaine abateiments on your assesse and other publique burthens according to the proportion of England ; and further service I may bee able. I shall not bee wanting in what may promote the happinesse and peace of this afflicted people. I shall not trou-

ble yow further, but begg your prayers, and desire yow to assure yourselves, that I am, your faithfull freind and humble servant.

“*EDINBURGH, November, 1659.*”

“I desire yow to send me word to Barwick under your hands how farr yow will comply with my desires, by the 12th of December next.

“I desire you, that what is behind, of the last foure monthes of ye twelve monthes asseesse may bee in a readiness against it is called for. I likewise desire that their may bee particular notice given, that such as are not free to concurr with yow in this businesse, you will send me their names.”

The above letter has no signature. It is written verbatim with one sent to North Berwick, of the same date, to which General Monk's name is appended.

VI.—ENDORSED “COPY, LETTER, GENERAL MONK TO THE LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, FOR SETTING WATCHES UPON THE BORDERS.”

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I have received your opinione by some of your number, and doe take notice of your great respect to me, that your are pleased to have such a sense of my endeavours in preserving the peace of this countrey; for which I desyre to signifie to your Lordships, gentilmen, and burgesses, my verrie affectioned and heartie thanks.

“I doe farder tak notice off your good affectiones to the Parliament of England, and your resolutiones to preserve the peace and saiftie of this countrey, in eaise God sall be pleased to call us to the assistance of our freinds in England. And I doe farder assure yow, for this your great service to the commonewealth of England, at such ane tyme of hazard and danger, that I will make good to the uttermost off my power my former promises, and vse all meines for the ease and releife of this afflicted natione, for givinge yow anie farder power than I have done in my letter, to prevent or suppress any tumults or stirrups, I have not had tyme to consider ane better way at present; bot at your nixt returne from your severall shyres and burghes, by the twelt day of December, I sall then think upon the best way to enable yow to secure the peace of the countrey.

“As to the appoynting of waitches upon the countreyes nixt to the handes, or upon the borders, if you please to give me ane not what

shyres will joyne together for the manteaning of ane watch, and the number of men to be employed, and of ane fit persone or persones to comand them; I shall then give him or them power to have soe manie men vnder his or their comands for the protecting of these shyres and pairts from robbers; and that these shyres who have watches for there securitie doe give ingadgement vnder ther hands for such men that doe comand or ar coumandit, that they sall act no-thing against the Parliament or coumonewealth of England.

(No SIGNATURE.)

" EDIN. 17th Nov. 1659.

VII.—FROM GENERAL MONCK.

" *For the Magistrates of Dunbarre.*

" GENTLEMEN,—I have received your petition, and am heartily sor-ry that I can give you noe relief concerning your desire; butt when the commissioners come downe, I shall be glad to further your busi-ness there as much as lies in mee, which is all I can doe in your businesse, butt remayne, your very loving freind and servant,

" GEORGE MONCK.

" DALKEITH, 13. Dec. 1659."

VIII.—CIRCULAR, FROM GENERAL MONCK TO THE CITY OF EDINBURGH AND THE OTHER BURGHS.

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I have received your letter and the letter of severall other brughis, and does find my selfe obleidged to returne you reall and heartie thanks for your affectionoun to the commounwealth and the army heir, and to that good interest for which we are now contending, and in particular to myself; and to as-sure you, that we shall alwayis retaine a graitfull sense of it, and sall be reddie upon all occasiouns to protect and encourage your cittie and all vyr brughis. I desyre you to communicatt this to such your brughis as have subscryved the letters; and remaine, your Lordships, very humble servant,

" (*Sic subs.*) GEORGE MONCK.

" This is the true coppie, W. THOMSONE.

" BERWICK, 14. Dec. 1659.

" Mr Thomsonsone knowis the names of these brughes, that have sent to us, and I desyre to send a copy of this letter vnder your clerkis hand to them.

" *For the Right Hon. Sir James Stewart, Lord Provost, and to the baillies of Edinr.*"

CHAPTER XIII.

Cope sent a letter frae Dunbar,
Saying, "Charlie, meet me an ye dur,
And I'll show you the art of war,
Right early in the morning."

OLD SONG.

The Rebellion.—Paul Jones.—Captain Fall.

THE restoration of the Stuarts was in a great measure effected by the tergiversation of General Monk. Richard Cromwell, when he felt, that, "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," signed his demission in 1660, upon which Monk, like a skilful general, when he beheld the jarring interests of the state, immediately marched upon London, and seizing the first opportunity of declaring for Charles II., was afterwards rewarded with the dukedom of Albemarle for his services in the royal cause.

Charles, who is characterized by Rochester, as one "who never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise action," was well calculated to be the puppet of the despotic administration which followed, of which the duke of Lauderdale was the head. Their first object was to strike a blow at presbyterianism in Scotland, and by this means to restore episcopacy as the national religion, being nearer in its forms to the Romish church, which they durst not openly avow. The Scottish clergy, rather than submit to this unwarrantable stretch of authority, relinquished their altars and their homes for conscience' sake; and, un-

der the denomination of covenanters, worshipped God in the open fields.

To support these arbitrary measures, it was found necessary, on the 2nd October, 1669, to call out a militia of 16,000 foot and 2000 cavalry, to which Dunbar furnished its quota.*

James, duke of York, who succeeded Lauderdale in the management of Scottish affairs, visited Scotland in November 1679, when he was met by the

* As a proof of the vigilance of the magistracy and the jealousy of the government about this period, we subjoin the following extract from a letter written by Mr Adam Blackader, giving an account of his reception in Scotland on his return from Sweden :

" It being Sunday, the skipper sayes to me, (for he was a very strick pious man,) ' What is to be done ? ' Sayes I, ' That's an impertinent question ; you see it is a matter of life and death.' Then he orders his men to weigh anchor ; and after being a month at sea, we landed at Dunbar in Scotland.

" So soon as the people of Dunbar observed us cast anchor, we sees a boat coming to us, where was the baily and town-clerk, who came aboard, and asked the skipper if he had got any passengers ? He answered he had none but a young gentleman and his wife. ' We must see them,' say they. We were called up to the deck. ' From where come you, sir ? ' ' From Stockholm in Swedland.' ' What's your occupation ? ' ' A merchant.' ' What's your name, sir ? ' ' You are very positive in your questions,' said I ; ' my name is Blackader.' Then they were the more inquisitive, thinking they had got a prize.—' What ! are you any relation of Mr Blackader in the Bass there ? ' ' Yes, sir ; I am not ashamed to own my relation to him,—I'm a son of his.' This was, it seems, crime enough. ' Aha ! ' says the baily, ' then, by my faith, you'r right enough. You must come both ashoar to prison, till you give account of yourselves to the government.' ' Ou ! ' sayes I, ' gentlemen, let me come ashoar first and do a fault, before you punish me upon Scotch

magistrates of the burghs in his progress. That reprobate measure, the test act, was next enforced on all persons holding civil and military offices, and as several members in the respective merchant-councils of the burghs, evaded or refused to take this oath, the earl of Perth, lord high chancellor, issued a circular, in 1686, authorizing and enjoining the present magistracy to remain during his majesty's pleasure, and discharging the election of new counsellors. These measures were too severe to continue; and, at length, in 1688, when the wished-for landing of the Prince of Orange was daily expected, the government taking alarm, addressed the following letter to the magistrates of Dunbar, while beacons were placed on the Bass, St Abb's Head, North-Berwick Law, and Garleton-hill, as signals.

"For MR GEORGE RUTHERFORD, Bailly of Dunbar.

"To be directed straight from Haddington to Dunbar.

"Holyroodhous, 30th October, 1688.

"SIR,—I am informed there is a ship arrived at your port, which came off from Rotterdam on Mon-

ground ' 'It's all one,' says he, 'this is the council's orders, to secure and examine all stranger passengers.'

*"Well, ashore we comes, in order to go to prison. But good providence, that never failed me, ordered it so, that one of them, Bailly Faa, who was intimately acquainted with my father, gave bail for my appearing before the town-council when called,—which they took: and he kept me in his house for a fortnight. The town was full of sodgers, going about the country like madmen."—*Mem. Rev. J. Blackader.**

day was a se'ennight. I desire the favour of you; that you would order the master of that vessell to come to this place immediately, or if his occasions be such as he cannot come himself, that you would receive from him all the information he can give concerning the Dutch fleet, their number of ships, land-men, their design of landing, where and how he left them, and all other circumstances belonging to them, in which you will oblige, your assured friend,

“ PERTH.”

The arrival of William and Mary, which soon took place, was hailed with joy by the kingdom; but, as the expatriated family had many partisans remaining, the seeds of civil discord still lingered in the land; and at this time a large fleet of Dutch fishing vessels appearing at the mouth of the frith of Forth, on being taken for a French armament, was sufficient to excite alarm.

On the 6th day of March 1696, a proclamation was issued from Edinburgh, calling out the half of the foot militia in the shire of Haddington. The Lord Belhaven was appointed colonel, the laird of Preston-grange lieutenant-colonel, and Ensign Robert Sinclair, major. This militia, by act of parliament, cap. 26. 1663, was only to be employed for the suppression of foreign invasions and intestine troubles. All heritors, and others liable, were commanded to “out-reik,” and furnish their number and proportions, on the 12th March, with ten days' pay, at 6d. per diem, with their best arms and accoutrements, at Beanstoun-

moor; and for the better encouragement of those who might attend this muster, it was provided, that they should not otherwise be troubled nor employed but in resisting the present threatened invasion.

In 1745, the smothered hopes of those who had formed the daring design of re-establishing the Stuarts in 1715, were again revived. The lapse of thirty years, that had consigned many a chief to his narrow bed, had whetted the ardour of their sons; and, if we consider, that, instead of a prince advanced in years, they were now led on by his son, a youth of great martial talents, enterprising, and compared to "the Bruce" in his personal appearance, we need not be surprised, that the leader, and his plaided followers, went on, for a time, conquering and to conquer.

On Monday, the 16th of September, while the heralds were proclaiming King James at the cross of Edinburgh, Sir John Cope was landing his troops at Dunbar. On the morning of the 17th, he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, who had fled from Colt Bridge in a disgraceful manner. These dragoons, having passed through Leith and Musselburgh, encamped in a field between Prestongrange and Dolphingston, where they dismounted; but one of them, while seeking forage for his horse, fell into a coal-pit, which was full of water, and made such a noise, that the dragoons thought the highlanders had got amongst them; and mounting their horses, made the best of their way to Dunbar. Colonel Gardiner had taken up his lodgings in his own house, which was in the

neighbourhood, and having locked the door when he went to bed, knew nothing of the transaction till next morning, when he followed his men with a heavy heart; for the road to Dunbar was strewed with swords, pistols, and firelocks, which he caused to be gathered and carried in covered carts to the town, that the flight of the two regiments might be as little known as possible in the army.

The disembarkation of the troops, artillery, and stores, was completed by the 18th; and on the same day, Mr Home, the author of Douglas, appeared before Sir John Cope in the character of a volunteer, and gave intelligence regarding the highland army, which he had visited, and described it as inferior in appearance and accoutrements to the king's troops. While at Dunbar, several of the judges and civil authorities came to the camp, not as fighting men, but like the gentlemen-volunteers at Waterloo, to remain with the army, as anxious and interested spectators of the approaching action. The earl of Home, who was an officer in the guards, joined Sir John from a different principle; not thinking it right to remain at home when the king's troops were in the field. This nobleman came with only one or two servants to offer his personal services, which were accepted; and there were not a few who drew a contrast between his present retinue, and that of his ancestors, who at a short warning could have brought as many armed men from their own territories into the field, as would have coped with that highland army which had now possession of the capital.

On the 19th of September, Sir John Cope left Dunbar, and marched towards Edinburgh. His little army made a great shew; the cavalry, the infantry, and the cannon, with a long train of baggage carts, extended for several miles. The people of that generation, unaccustomed to war and arms, flocked from all quarters, to see an army going to fight a battle in East Lothian; and, no doubt, with infinite concern for the result, beheld the warlike spectacle.* The army halted for the night in a field to the west of Haddington. Next day, Cope pursued his march, striking off at Huntington, and taking the low road by St Germans and Seton, till he came in sight of the highlanders at Preston. It is not our province to enter into a detail of the battle of Prestonpans, with which every one is familiar; it is sufficient to say, that the king's troops were defeated; and Sir John Cope, with the earls of Home and Loudon, having gathered together about 450 dragoons, at the west end of the village of Preston, retreated by Soultra to Lauder.

On the 21st of September, the magistrates and council of Dunbar, having acquainted the Lord Advocate of Scotland, who was then in that place, that they had a number of arms belonging to the burgh; and being fearful lest they should fall into the hands of the rebels, he granted a warrant that they might be sent on board of a king's ship. They were accordingly shipped on board the Margaret of Aberdeen the

* Home's History of the Rebellion.

same afternoon; and by her delivered next day to the Fox man-of-war, Captain Beaver, commander. These arms consisted of 95 bayonets, 101 muskets, 35 pistols, with 9 shoulder-belts, 5 cartridge-boxes, and 1 sword-belt. A few weeks afterwards, the Fox, with these arms on board, was unhappily lost at Tyne Sands.

Some days after the success of Charles at Preston, the following letter was received from Secretary Murray :

“ Holyroodhouse, 26th September, 1745.

“ SIR,—You are hereby ordered upon receipt of this, to repair to the Secretary’s office in the palace of Holyroodhouse, there to have the contribution to be paid by your town of Dunbar, for his highness’s use, ascertained; which shall be done according and in proportion to the duties of excise arising out of the said town of Dunbar. For the repayment of which contribution, the said duty shall be assign’d. This you are ordered, upon pain of rebellion, forthwith to obey.—By his highness command,

“ J: MURRAY.

“ To the Provost of the Town of Dunbar.”

The town’s contribution-money or assessment to the rebels, was £.486, 12s.

On the 30th of October following, the king’s birthday was celebrated in a private manner, at six o’clock in the evening, and the glaring appendages of bonfires and illuminations were dispensed with, as the rebels had still possession of the country.

On the 15th April, 1746, the duke of Cumberland's birth-day was publicly solemnized ; and, on the 26th, an address was voted to his majesty, to be presented by the duke of Argyle, on the defeat of the rebels.

For some months, however, the government continued in an agitated state ; and the following letter was transmitted to the magistrates :

(“ On his Majesty's service.”)

“ *To the honourable the Provost and Magistrates of Dunbar.*

“ EDINBURGH, 27th July, 1746.

“ SIRS,—I send you this by express to acquaint you, that by the intelligence that I have from the north, the Pretender's son has left the West Highlands, and fled towards the east coast, in hopes, no doubt, of making his escape that way. Whether he will attempt to get away upon the north-east coast, or if he will endeavour to get into England, or what other course he will take, time alone will discover. But it is our duty, and that of every faithful subject, to guard all the avenues as far as is in our power, which makes me give you this early notice ; and to desire, that you would please take the proper measures in your neighbourhood. I am, Sirs, your most obedient humble servant,

“ AND. FLETCHER.”*

On an application to General Husk, on the 31st March, 1747, he directed David Lyon, store-keeper

* Lord Provost of Edinburgh.

in the castle of Edinburgh, to deliver 100 muskets and bayonets to the town of Dunbar, for those that they had lost in the late rebellion.

The lieges of Dunbar now enjoyed a tolerable repose from alarm till the beginning of the American war, when the success of the enemy's privateers on the west coast of Scotland, roused their attention; and the council having recommended to the armourer to make up a state of what arms were lodged in the council-house, Dr Hamilton, one of a committee,* reported on the 8th May, 1778, that 100 stand of arms, as formerly mentioned, had been delivered to the treasurer from Edinburgh; but, that the same year, the Greenland Company had borrowed sixty stand for the use of their ships; thirty stand of which still remained in their possession. Matters thus remained till May 1779, at which time the country dreading an invasion from the combined fleets of France and Spain, the council of Dunbar, for the purpose of strengthening the hands of government, offered a bounty of three guineas for each able-bodied seaman, and two guineas for every ordinary seaman.

In the month of September the same year, a noted marine adventurer made his appearance off the coast, in the person of John Paul Jones, a native of Selkirk, but now a commander in the French service. His purpose was to burn the shipping in the harbour of Leith. He appeared off Dunbar on the 20th, with

* The committee consisted of Dr James Hamilton, Messrs Grive Wilson, Robert Melville, Alexander Brown, Charles Lorimer, and Robert Macklish.—*Council Rec.*

five ships, and lay in the offing for some days, as if waiting for the rest of his squadron coming up. An English vessel, (afterwards one of the Dunbar Greenland-men, under the name of the Rodney,) coming down the Forth in ballast, ran into the port for safety, or rather went ashore at the Lammer-haven, at the mouth of the harbour, being ebb-tide. One of the enemy's gun-brigs, which seemed to have been watching her motions, had given chase to a sloop going southward; but, by a signal from the fleet, she was recalled, although not in time to intercept the English vessel, which consequently escaped. Jones did not fire a single shot into the town; but the brig that gave chase to the above vessel came so near, that, by means of perspective glasses, the seamen were distinctly observed at the main-chains heaving the lead.

While Jones lay off Dunbar, which might be for five or six days, the magistrates applied to the commander-in-chief for troops to defend the place, in case of a landing being attempted by the enemy. A regiment of dragoons was sent from Edinburgh, while most of the inhabitants assembled by tuck of drum, and enrolled themselves as volunteers under Dr Hamilton, &c.; and such as were inclined were to retain their arms, and form themselves into a corps. Four or five guns, belonging to the Greenland ships, were planted on the Kirkhill, where embrasures were dug, and a battery formed in the course of an afternoon; a twelve-pounder was placed on the roundel of the pier, and other two pieces of ordnance stood like thunder-tongued sentinels at the entrance from the sands to

the harbour, while watchmen were stationed on the church steeple and at Knocking Hair; and the dragoons occasionally paraded themselves in a line on the heights, in all the "pompe and circumstance of war;" but happily the services of neither were required. On this occasion, the Greenland Company shewed their liberality by contributing part of the expenses incurred in fortifying the place.

The squadron having stood up the frith of Forth, were seen nearly opposite Leith, when a violent south-west wind arising, (aided, as was said, by the prayers of a godly minister of Kirkaldy,) happily drove them back again, and separated their ships. Jones seemed anxious to take shelter under the lee-ward of the Bass; but the gale increasing, he left the coast, and proceeding southward, he encountered his majesty's ships the *Serapis* and *Countess of Scarborough*, near *Flamborough-head*, which he captured after a desperate engagement. The king's ships had the *Baltic* fleet in convoy, which luckily escaped during the conflict. The enemy carried their prizes to France, having no less than 300 prisoners, which had been taken during their cruise in the north seas. For these exploits the king of France rewarded Jones with the military order of merit, and a gold-hilted sword.*

* The father of Paul Jones was gardener to Lord Selkirk at *St Mary's Isle*. The son began his public career as master of a trading vessel belonging to *Kirkcudbright*; and, on his return to that port, he was imprisoned on the charge of murdering his carpenter; but was acquitted after being used with uncommon severity. From thence he went to the United States, and latterly into the French service.

On the 22d of May, 1781, about 11 o'clock, A. M. Captain Fall, another but less noted maritime adventurer, gave chase to a Gravesend fishing-smack near St Abb's Head, which made for the port of Dunbar. It being ebb-tide, she was under the necessity of casting anchor at the Lammer-island, immediately at the mouth of the harbour. At the same time, a small privateer, belonging to the burgh, which lay in Dunbar bay, having that morning arrived from a cruise, felt alarmed, and, notwithstanding the bravado, conveyed by the usual motto attached to her name, "the Thistle," sought refuge in her mother's lap, astern of the smack. This brave little vessel had been fitted out by the voluntary subscription of the town and neighbourhood, for the purpose of picking up any small craft belonging to the enemy. Under the command of Captain Hare, she performed a voyage to the Leeward Islands, and made the unhappy mistake of capturing a small Prussian vessel, which, as that power was at peace with the country, she had the mortification, which must have been hurtful to the feelings of her veterans, to restore! She performed no other feat; but sought protection where she had a right to expect it, after the appearance of Captain Fall had thrown a damp over her naval ardour. To return from our digression—Captain Fall had his boat in the tackles, apparently for the purpose of launching to cut out these vessels, when the bustle on shore seemed to make him change his opinion. The inhabitants, among whom there were some choice spirits, had not been

idle. Three twelve-pounder caronnades, belonging to the Greenland Company, had been brought from their storehouse to the Lammer-island, the same spot on which the battery was afterwards built. Provost Robert Fall collected every sack of flour deposited in his granaries, for the purpose of forming embrasures for the protection of the gunners. To convey these every vehicle was put in requisition ; some were carried in carts and barrows, while others were dragged by the people ; and even women and children flocked in multitudes to the island, anxious, like the pen-and-ink warriors at Prestonpans, to behold the result. These three guns, being the most important, were chiefly manned by sailors, under the direction of George Spiers, a carpenter, who had served in the Royal Navy.

Another party, chiefly handsmen, dragged two nine-pounders, that were found in Tyne sands, and had belonged to the ill-fated Fox man-of-war, but which had been "left alone in their glory" without carriages, to an eminence on the castle. These guns were under the direction of bailies Simpson and Pringle. A shrewd by-stander observing, that they went to fight in a more barbarous manner than pirates, having no colours, one of the bailies sent for an ensign belonging to the Princess of Wales Greenland-man, which was immediately hoisted on that eminence where Scotland's standard flamed of yore.

Provost Fall having ordered away all *useless hands* from the island above mentioned, prepared for action. The veteran, Spiers, was not long in sending a well-

directed shot under the enemy's bow; the second shot told still better, going betwixt the mast and the foresheet; and the third was observed to drop into the ocean, right astern. The party on the castle did not succeed so well. Having no shot large enough for the calibre of their pieces, they put in four or five six-pound shot into one gun; the consequence was, that the powder hanging loosely about the balls, had little effect, and they were scattered like ponderous lead-drops at the back of the island, to the no small consternation of the brave party stationed there. The first shot of Captain Fall, fell into Provost Fall's garden, which was situated at the back of his house, now the front of the present mansion of the earl of Lauderdale. Striking the ground, it covered a person working there with gravel; the second shot struck a log of Memel timber lying at the road leading to the castle; and the third and last shot fell at the Lammer-haven. The well-directed shots sent from the shore had their due effect, and the enemy, after remaining an hour and a-half off the town, and within half a mile of the shore, sheered off. He proceeded to the Isle of May, about fifteen miles distant, and carried off all its sheep. A party of volunteers had, in the meantime, provided themselves with muskets, and proceeding to the end of the pier, fired a volley by way of bidding him good-bye.

CHAPTER XIV.

To horse! to horse! the standard flies,
 The bugles sound the call;
 The Gallic navy stems the seas,
 The voice of battle's on the breeze,
 Arouse ye, one and all!

SIR W. SCOTT.

The Volunteers.—The Camp.—The Barracks.

IT was now found necessary to do something to put the burgh into a state of defence against the visit of privateers. On the 22d June, 1781, the magistrates and council met for this purpose; and the plan of a fortress drawn by Mr Fraser, engineer, was adopted, and the present battery was erected on the Lammer-island.* The battery mounted sixteen guns, of different calibre, the largest two were long eighteen-pounders. The last public occasion on which they were fired, was on the lamented death of the Princess Charlotte; the government guns were afterwards removed to Edinburgh on the general peace.

After the alarm created by this vessel, in the following year, 16th July 1782, the South Fencibles, commanded by the duke of Buccleuch, left Edinburgh castle, and entered into encampment for a short time on the East Links of West Barns. This regiment was 1000 strong; and besides it, there was

* Afterwards no merchant was allowed to have more than four pounds of gunpowder in his possession; the rest to be deposited in the fort.

a park of artillery, under Captain Dickson, formed in the field west of that occupied by the infantry. On Wednesday, September 18th, the soldiers were reviewed by General Mackay, along with his own regiment, the 21st, which was in quarters at Dunbar. At this time the arrival of the Baltic fleet, which consisted of about forty sail, was anxiously looked for, and on their appearance off Dunbar on the 20th, an express was immediately sent to Edinburgh with the happy intelligence. They came under convoy to Shields. On the 11th of October the camp was raised, and the South Fencibles went into winter quarters at Linlithgow, the artillery being removed to the castle of Edinburgh.

In 1763, there was another encampment at West Barns; consisting of the Essex Light Dragoons and a regiment of Black Horse.

Long after the rebellion was subdued, there was a secret grudge betwixt the Saxon and the Gael; the former felt the superiority of united numbers, and the latter the pangs of wounded pride in the fallen fortunes of his prince: hence a Highland and English regiment seldom came in contact without a scuffle. On one occasion, in consequence of a part of a highland regiment and a body of dragoons coming into billet-quarters at Dunbar, a serious affray took place, in which several of the men were wounded; and the consequences might have been still more serious, had the highlanders not been withdrawn from the town by their officers.

The era of the French revolution, however, in

time buried the animosities of both nations in their efforts against the common enemy. The success of the republican arms in Germany, and the uncompromising attitude which Great Britain assumed, made it necessary that individuals should associate together and arm in their own defence. Accordingly, a corps of volunteers was raised in 1793, by Major George Hay. They were called the "Dunbar Defensive Company;" were furnished with arms and accoutrements by government; drilled twice a-week; and received 2s. weekly of pay. The corps consisted of one company of 73 men, which was afterwards augmented to 100. On the appointment of Major Hay to a militia regiment, the command devolved on Christopher Middlemass, Esq., as the next senior officer. At the same time, a gentleman-company was enrolled, who furnished themselves with clothing, and served without pay. As a mark of distinction, they were placed on the right of the corps.*

The East Lothian Yeomanry Cavalry was enrolled in 1797, under the command of Sir James Gardiner Baird, Bart. It consisted of three troops, averaging 50 men each. The fourth, or Dunbar troop, was raised by Mr Hay of Spott, in 1803, and was 75 men strong.†

* This regiment was disembodied in April 1802.

The gentleman-company wore blue coats with red collars, white vests, white breeches and stockings, with short black gaiters. The other companies had blue coats with red facings: and blue striped trowsers, which were afterwards changed to tight pantaloons, and round hats with cockades.

† The yeomanry are now disembodied, with the exception of the Dunbar troop, which serves under Mr Hunter of Thurston without pay.

Every precaution was now used to guard against invasion, or of being surprised by the enemy. Telegraphs and signal-stations were erected on the heights of St Abb's and Blackcastle, which communicated with Dunbar battery, North-Berwick Law, and Gargeton-hill, and thus commanded the whole extent of the coast and inland country all the way to Edinburgh. The first encampment during the revolutionary war was formed at West Barns, in 1796. It was composed of the Scots brigade in two battalions, (afterwards the 94th foot,) under the command of General Francis Dundas, and the 4th regiment of dragoons. These were relieved on the same ground, when the Scots brigade embarked at Dunbar, by Fencible cavalry; viz. the Dumbarton, Lanark and the Dumfries. During the interval between this period and the peace of Amiens, the Dutch and French fleets were destroyed by Duncan and Nelson, and the noise of invasion gradually died away; but after the rupture of 1803, nothing but Napoleon and his bridge of boats were dreamt or spoken of; and the greatest military force ever assembled on these shores in these latter days was now encamped at West Barns Links under the vigilant command of General Sir George Don. The regiments consisted of the Lanarkshire, Perthshire, and Fife militias; the Galloway as gunners; and a few dragoons to do the general's duty.

The volunteers were reïmbodied in the month of June, in a more effective manner, by Major Middlemass, under the name of the "Dunbar Loyal Volun-

teers." The battalion consisted of four companies of eighty men each, rank and file, which, for the convenience of field movements, were subdivided into eight companies of forty men each, including a grenadier and light company. They had muskets, haversacks and canteens; and were allowed the common rate by government for clothing, which being of a finer fabric than that used by the regular army, the difference was defrayed at their own expense. Their clothing was scarlet, faced with green, and white lace; with white breeches and long gaiters. The corps drilled twice a-week, on Wednesdays and Saturdays; and, as they had a good band of music, they drew forth on all occasions plenty of the young and the gay as spectators. In short, the smart appearance of this little battalion, with its music, and its spirited manœuvres, gave it considerably the lead of all the neighbouring volunteer corps.

The determined principle which the country had adopted in prosecuting the war against the "modern Cromwell," rendered it necessary that more substantial cantonments should be found for the soldiery than the tented field; accordingly, barracks were erected at Dunbar and Haddington, in the autumn of 1803, with wonderful celerity. At Dunbar they were begun ere the crop was off their site, and were occupied by the 1st of November. The infantry and artillery barracks were situated on the Heugh Heads, a high ground overlooking the sea, west from the castle park. The huts were capable of containing 1200 infantry; and 300 artillery. The cavalry barracks were situ-

ated in the park betwixt the Gallowgreen and Belhaven, and were capable of containing 300 men.* The first regiments that occupied the barracks were the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire militias, and a light brigade of artillery.

In regard to the barracks, one thing is worthy of remark, that a more healthy situation, independently of other circumstances, could not have been chosen. A regiment has been known to march into the barracks with 170 in the sick-report, which, in a short time, was reduced to six; and, in one instance, a regiment of 1360 men had not one man in the hospital. It was a general complaint all over Britain, that the hospitals could not contain the sick; but at Dunbar, the hospital, though only constructed for one-half of the regulated number, would have answered the purpose had it been one-fourth of the size.

Dunbar was now pretty well prepared to meet the threatened invasion; and a more vigilant officer than General Don could not have been appointed. Ha-

* The *Infantry Barracks* consisted of 104 huts; viz. 2 mess-rooms, with kitchen, cellars, &c.; 8 field-officers' rooms, 42 for officers, 45 for soldiers, 25 for servants; and 2 for staff-sergeants. Besides stables for 40 horses; an hospital, store-houses, guard-houses, &c.

The *Artillery Barracks* consisted of 34 huts; viz. 1 mess-room, 2 field-officers' rooms, 12 for officers, 12 for soldiers, 7 for servants; besides stables for 140 horses: gun-shed, smiths', farriers', wheelers', and saddlers' shops, guard-house, stores, &c.

The *Cavalry Barracks* consisted of 44 huts; viz. 1 mess-room, 4 field-officers' rooms, 16 for officers, 4 for quarter-masters, 4 for sergeants, 12 for soldiers; besides stables for 320 horses, hay-sheds, granaries, guard-house, store-rooms, &c.

had already been severely wounded in actual service ; and he both knew the care and circumspection necessary for the important post which he filled. On the 19th November, 1803, he issued instructions for the regulation of the yeomanry and volunteer infantry of the county of Haddington, in the event of being called into service, which will be found in the Note at the end of this chapter.

General Don seems to have taken a great interest in the volunteers ; and, accordingly, on the 29th of the same month, he entered into a correspondence with Major Middlemass respecting their equipment, in order that they might feel as comfortable as possible when on duty. The articles recommended were, great-coats, knapsacks, havresacks, canteens, and camp-kettles. To carry this into effect, the town of Dunbar contributed fifty guineas, General Don thirty guineas, and each man 40s. It was considered, that a sum not less than £.600, would be required for this purpose. It was also the wish of Lord Moira that each man should carry sixty rounds of ball-cartridges. The boxes, however, were only enlarged to carry forty.

On the evening of the 2nd February, 1804, a circumstance occurred, which at least placed the zeal of the yeomanry and volunteer corps beyond a doubt. The person who kept watch at Hounamlaw in Roxburghshire, mistook some accidental light which arose at a *house-heating*, situated in a conspicuous spot in the neighbourhood of Dunse, for the beacon of Dunselaw, and she in her turn lighted up, when she beheld the former in a blaze ; or, according to another

version, in a note to the Antiquary, it was the person stationed at Home Castle, who was deceived by some accidental fire in Northumberland ; consequently the signal was immediately repeated through all the valleys on the English border. Luckily the watch stationed at St Abb's Head considered, that had there been a descent on the eastern sea-coast, the alarm must have come from that quarter, and did not fire his beacon ; otherwise the alarm would have blazed from Blackcastle to Garleton, and alarmed the whole of the north of Scotland.

In Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, and Selkirkshire, the volunteers got under arms with wonderful rapidity ; and next morning, the inhabitants of Dunbar were surprised by the arrival of the Berwickshire yeomanry at an early hour ; some of whom were no doubt chagrined at the hoax, while others were agreeably disappointed. The same day the Dunse volunteers came to Haddington, being their appointed place of rendezvous in the event of an invasion, and the Selkirkshire yeomanry, notwithstanding their remote distance from the alarm-post, reached Dalkeith by one o'clock.

On the 7th May, 1804, the Haddington volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Hay Mackenzie, went on permanent duty into the North Barracks of Dunbar for fourteen days ; and on the 19th, the whole of the military stationed in the neighbourhood of Dunbar, including the garrison of Haddington, were reviewed on Westbarns Links, by the Earl of Moira, then commander-in-chief of the forces in

Scotland. The regiments reviewed, were the first and second battalions of the 18th or Royal Irish; the Perthshire and Galloway militia, the latter as gunners; and a brigade of the Royal Artillery; also a brigade of volunteer infantry; viz. the Dunbar, Haddington, North Berwick, Dunse, Eyemouth, and Coldingham regiments; and the Berwickshire and East Lothian yeomanry; the whole amounting at least to 5000 men.

This military parade continued but a few years. Napoleon got so much embroiled with the continental powers, that our brave countrymen, in junction with their allies, met the enemy in other lands, and on other shores, and the alarm of an invasion ceased.

In 1808, the Haddingtonshire Local Militia was embodied under the command of Lord Sinclair, and the volunteer regiments of the county transferred their services to that corps. The regular military force was concentrated at Haddington under Brigadier-general John Hope. This place, from its situation between the capital and the coast, was the most central for any accidental movements; hence the garrison of Dunbar, now consisted only of the 94th regiment, of 676 men, while that of Haddington, which was composed of cavalry, infantry, and artillery, amounted to 2000. In a few years more, a revolution in human affairs took place, as remarkable as that which gave it birth. This was the abdication of Bonaparte and the general peace of Paris. After this event, the barracks, which had arisen with the celerity of magic, to live the brief space of eleven years, were disposed of by public auction, and totally removed in November 1814.

In conclusion, we may notice, that on King George IV.'s visit to Scotland in August 1822, the squadron attending his majesty appeared off St Abb's Head, about nine o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the 14th. On passing Dunbar, a salute was fired from the battery, and from some pieces of cannon placed on Doonhill by Mr Hay, and where a bonfire was lighted in the evening. Several persons went off in boats, and had an opportunity of seeing the king, who bowed with his usual affability to the spectators.

At a meeting of the magistrates and council, held on the Friday preceding, a dutiful and loyal address was voted; and it was agreed that the town should be illuminated, which took place on the Thursday after the king's arrival.

On Monday the 19th, the Berwickshire yeomanry went into quarters at Musselburgh; and next day the East Lothian yeomanry assembled at Haddington. Both regiments, with the rest of the military, were reviewed by his majesty, at Portobello Sands, on Friday the 23rd.

The king's departure from Scotland was announced about seven o'clock on the evening of the 29th, by some guns placed on the Bass. A bonfire was immediately lighted at Dunbar pier-head, and a salute fired from the battery, which was echoed by the guns placed on Doonhill; but the wetness and darkness of the night precluded any view of the squadron, save the glimpse of a solitary light at one of their mast heads.

NOTE TO CHAPTER XIV.

" INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CORPS OF YEOMANRY CAVALRY, AND REGIMENTS AND CORPS OF VOLUNTEER INFANTRY IN THE COUNTY OF HADDINGTON.*

" On the signals being made for an enemy's fleet being off the coast, or that a descent has been effected in the north of England or in Scotland, or that positive intelligence is received to that effect, the corps of yeomanry and infantry will instantly assemble at their respective alarm-posts, where each horseman is to be provided with a cloak, great-coat, or blanket; and with two days' provisions for himself, and two days' corn for his horse; and where as many ball cartridges and flints are to be issued to the infantry as each man can carry, (60 rounds if possible,) and where each soldier of infantry is to be provided with two days' provisions, (to be carried in a havresack or knapsack,) and with a great-coat or blanket, to be rolled up and slung over his shoulder. Such of the infantry as have not yet been armed with firelocks, or pikes, must be provided with pitchforks, or any other weapon which can be procured for them.

" *East Lothian Corps of Yeomanry Cavalry.*—The first, second, and third troops of this corps, will, on an alarm, assemble at Haddington, and join and act with the brigade stationed at that town; and should the brigade have marched from it, these troops will follow the column and endeavour to join it as soon as possible. The fourth troop of this corps will assemble at Dunbar, and join and act with the brigade stationed at that town; and should the column have marched from thence, the troop will follow and join it as soon as possible.

" *Dunbar Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.*—This regiment will, on an alarm, assemble at Dunbar, and immediately join and act with the brigade at that town.

* The author is indebted to Hugh Fraser, Esq. Haddington, for this document, as well as for other information.

" *North Berwick Corps of Volunteers.*—On an alarm, this corps will immediately assemble at North Berwick, and join and act with any troops that may be stationed at that town.

" Should the enemy land to the eastward of Dunbar, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed by Whitekirk and Tynningham Bridge to Dunbar, where the Commanding Officer will inform himself of the march of the brigade from that town, and follow the direction of the column, and endeavour to join it as speedily as possible.

" Should the enemy land at Tynningham Sands, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position of Lawhead.

" Should the enemy attempt to land at Peffer Sands, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position on Whitekirk heights; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy at the said sands, taking care to secure a retreat to the above-mentioned heights.

" Should the enemy attempt to land at Dirleton Bay, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the high ground and woods to the westward of Archerfield; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy in the above bay, taking care to secure a retreat to the heights at Fenton-tower.

" Should the enemy attempt to land at Gulane or Aberlady bays, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed to and occupy the strong position at Gulane heights; and, if in time, will oppose the landing of the enemy in these bays, taking care to secure a retreat to Killduff-hill, and afterwards to the strong position at Garleton-hills.

" Should the enemy land between Aberlady Bay and Prestonpans, this corps will march from North Berwick, and proceed along the coast and act upon the left flank of the enemy, taking care to secure a retreat to Garleton-hills.

" Should the enemy land at Musselburgh, or to the westward of that town, this corps will march from North Berwick, and will proceed along the coast, and endeavour to join the brigade at Musselburgh, under the command of Major-general Sir James St Clair Erskine.

" On the taking up of any of the foregoing positions, the commanding officer of this corps will send forward a guide on horse-

back, (who must be previously secured at North Berwick) to Major-general Sir James St Clair Erskine or myself, according to the line of march the corps may have moved on, and to report its situation, and receive further orders.

“ In the above movements and operations, this corps will act as a light corps: and when opposing the enemy, will take extended order behind hedges and walls, and in ditches or in woods, and endeavour as much as possible to conceal its force.

“ On the march of this corps from North Berwick to any of the above-mentioned positions, the corps will kill all the live stock which may not be driven from the coast or employed on the public service, particularly horses.

“ *Haddington Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.*—This regiment will assemble at Haddington, and join and act with the brigade stationed there. Should the brigade have marched from thence, the regiment will follow the column, and endeavour to join it as speedily as possible.

“ Given at West Barns, this 19th day of November, 1803,

“ Gzo. Don, Maj.-Gen.

“ *The Hon. Lieut.-Colonel Hay Mackenzie, commanding the Haddington Regiment of Volunteer Infantry.*”

END OF PART L.

THE
HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

PART II.

Ecclesiastical.

I see nothing now
That minds me of old times, except the stones
In the church-yard.

SOUTHEY.



THE HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

PART II. ECCLESIASTICAL.

CHAPTER I.

Monastic Antiquities.—The Collegiate Church.

THE first notice we have of the church of Dunbar, is in the Taxatio of Lothian in 1176, where Ecclesia de Dunbar cum capella de Whytingeham, is assessed at 180 merks; and it was the highest in the deanery, Haddington being rated at only 120 merks. The following places, now in Dunbar presbytery, are thus rated in the same taxatio:

	<i>Mercas.</i>
Ecclesia de Haldhamstok,	60
Ecclesia de Innerwyk,	30
Ecclesia de Tynningham,*	40
Ecclesia de Hanus (Petcoks)	10
Ecclesia de Aldham,	6

According to the Chronicle of Melrose, Adam, the parson of Dunbar, died in 1179.†

* According to Bede, there was a Saxon monastery at Tynningham so early as the sixth century. In 635, the bishoprick of Lindisfarn comprehended the whole of Lothian.

† On the 26th April, 1209, Randolph, sacerdos de Dunbar, accepted the cure of Eccles.—*Chalmers' Cal. ii.*

At this period the deanery of Lothian belonged to the diocese of St Andrews, which comprehended the whole parishes of Haddingtonshire, and nearly half of the churches of Mid-Lothian. Before 1275, the deanery of Lothian had changed its name to the deanery of Haddington; but it still retained its ancient limits under the jurisdiction of the bishop of St Andrews till the era of the Reformation; and on the bishoprick of St Andrews being transferred to Edinburgh by Charles I., the ministers of Dunbar, Haddington, and Tranent, were constituted three of its nine *prebendaria*.

MONASTERY OF RED FRIARS.

In 1218, Patrick, sixth earl of Dunbar, founded a monastery of Red or Trinity friars in Dunbar. These friars were also called Matharines, from a house which they had in Paris, dedicated to St Matharine; also, "*De redemptione captivorum*," as their office was partly to redeem Christian slaves from Turkish bondage. They were first established by St John of Malta and Felix de Valois, the latter of whom was an anchorite at Cerfroid, about three miles from Grandалу. By a bull of Pope Innocent III. in 1209, it appears they had six monasteries in Scotland. Their houses were called hospitals or ministries; and a third of their substance or rents was appropriated for the redemption of slaves, as above mentioned. Their habit was white, with a red and blue cross upon their scapular or short cloak.*

* Keith's Catalogue, 242.

It appears from the researches of General Hutton, who has thrown much light on the monastic history of Scotland, that this house was suppressed previous to the Reformation. In the inventory of the late duke of Queensberry's papers, is the following extract: "Gift by K. James V., under the Great Seal, to the Holy Cross Church at Peebles, of a house in Dunbar, built by Christian Bruce, countess of Dunbar, and given by her to the brethren of the order of the Holy Trinity, formerly at Dunbar, then translated to Peebles, dated 5th July 1529."*

The lands belonging to the Trinity friars were acquired by George Hume of Friarslands, ancestor to Hume of Furde.†

This monastery is supposed to have stood in the field, called the Friar's Croft. Part of the belfry still remains, which is converted into a pigeon-house, and the ground where it stands has obtained the more rural, but less classical appellation of the Do'cot Park. It is mentioned in the town charter as being situated near the burgh.

At the back of the new buildings of Delisle-street, fronting this park, was a pond, (drained within the memory of man,) called the Parson's Pool; and a little farther west; at the foot of the gentle eminence of Knocking-haer, is a stripe of ground, called the Priest-fauld Baulk.

* Letter from General Hutton, to W. H. Ritchie, Esq. Dunbar. Besides this letter, the author is indebted to the latter gentleman for many other valuable papers.

† Keith's Can.

A wynd or passage, leading to the friary, lay betwixt the site of the New Inn and the present manse. An old house situated at the head of this wynd, fronted the high-street, and contained a niche in the wall, once the sentinel station of the blessed virgin. The marks of a gateway may also be distinguished at the foot of the minister's garden, on the left of which is the remains of an alms-house, about the size of a watch-box. This was probably either the place, styled in ancient charters, "the Blessed Lady's Wynd," or led to it. Indeed, all the lands lying westward from the church, bounded by the Common, and extending as far as the West-port road, were holy ground, and are designated "the Blessed Virgin's land," "St John the Baptist's land," &c.

MONASTERY OF CARMELITES.

In 1263, Patrick, seventh earl of Dunbar, (the same year in which he was severely wounded, while leading on his division against the Danes and Norwegians at Largs,) founded a monastery for Carmelites, or White Friars, at Dunbar.

These personages were the third order of begging friars; and derived their name from Mount Carmel in Syria. They came to Scotland during the reign of Alexander III., and had nine convents. They were called White Friars from the colour of their outer garments.

No vestiges remain to mark where the Carmelites' Friary stood. In 1766, when digging a found for the reservoir, some Roman medals were discovered, with

the inscription "Judea Captiva." It was conjectured at the time, that this was the foundation of a religious house; probably the remains of the Carmelite friary.

MAISON DE DIEU.

About 1728, the remains of a religious house, vulgarly called "the Maiden Dew," were cleared away to make room for the old Bowling-green, which was situated at the head of the high-street. Keith does not notice this hospital in his catalogue; but the antiquarian zeal of General Hutton has placed its existence beyond doubt.

This gentleman, after ransacking the British Museum for information respecting our monastic establishments, discovered a paper among the Harleian MSS., entitled: "An Act anent the College Kirk of Dunbar," wherein a *Maison Dieu*, or hospital, is distinctly noticed.

The ground immediately adjoining was purchased from Lord Belhaven, and is designated the lands of *Maison Dieu* in the title-deeds.

These hospitals were erected either for receiving strangers or for maintaining poor people.

In 1818, some copper coins were found in the Bowling-green, marked "C. II. R." and on the reverse a thistle, with a Scottish motto, which appear to belong to the time of Charles II.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH.

Collegiate churches were unknown in Scotland, till the reign of David II. The first establishment of this kind, (according to Chalmers,) was founded in Dunbar in 1342, by Patrick, tenth earl of Dunbar and March, who converted the parochial church into a collegiate form. It was confirmed by William, bishop of St Andrews, and was the first establishment of that kind known in Scotland.*

The constitution of the collegiate church was vested in a dean, an archpriest, and eighteen canons. For their support were assigned, together with its own revenues, the incomes of the chapels of Whittingham, Spot, Stenton, Penshiel (in Lammermoor,) and Hetherwick. In addition to these, were annexed the chapels of Linton in East Lothian, and Dunse and Chirnside in Berwickshire, while the founder reserved to himself and his heirs the patronage of the whole. By a new regulation in 1492, the chapels of Dunbar, Pinkerton,† Spot, Belton, Petcokis, Linton, Dunse and Chirnside, were appointed as prebends to the collegiate church; and, with the exception of Pin-

* Spotswood says, that the college of Dunbar was founded by George earl of March. He succeeded his father in 1369. These colleges were erected for secular priests, and amply endowed with revenues. The chief person was called the provost, and the college the provostry. It is possible that Earl George merely augmented what his father had established.

† Master John Fleming was prebendary of Pinkerton on the 20th. March, 1478-9.—*Parl. Rec. Chalmer's Cal.*

The chapel stood at the farm-town of Little Pinkerton.

lerton, were all settled churches ; and, in Baginot's Roll, these component parts were thus assessed :

DEANERY OF HADDINGTON.

Decanatus de Dunbar, . . .	L. 13	6	8
Archiepiscopus, . . .	8	0	0
Rectoria de Dunbar, . . .	8	0	0
Prebendaria de Pinkerton, . . .	5	6	8
Rectoria de Spot, . . .	5	6	8
Rectoria de Beltoun, . . .	4	0	0
Rectoria de Petcokis, . . .	2	13	4
Rectoria de Linton, . . .	20	0	0

DEANERY OF THE MERSE.

Rectoria de Duns, . . .	10	0	0
Rectoria de Chirnside, . . .	4	0	0

Soon after this arrangement, the chapels of Spot, Stenton, and Hetherwick,* were converted into parish churches, yet still remained dependant as prebends of the college.

On the forfeiture of the earldom of March in 1434-5, the patronage of the church fell to the crown. During the reign of James III. it was enjoyed, with the earldom of Dunbar, by the duke of Albany. It again reverted to the king, on the forfeiture of his traitorous brother in 1483 ; and now belongs to the duke of Roxburgh, as principal heritor of the parish.

The church of Dunbar ceased to be collegiate at the Reformation, in 1560 ; and while its monasteries

* When Hetherwick was made a distinct parish, it was called Beltoun, which is the name of two villages in the neighbourhood, and of the estate. At the Reformation, this parish was annexed to Dunbar.—*Chalmer's Cal.* ii.

were levelled with the ground, it escaped the ravages of religious zeal and popular fury.*

This church, as before noticed, was anciently the richest in the deanery of Lothian. With its subordinate chapels, it was valued at 180 merks, a greater valuation than any other church in Scotland could bear at the same period. At the Reformation, the archpriestry of Dunbar, was stated at £80; and the following is a table shewing how the stipend was proportioned in 1618.

DUNBAR STIPEND, PER DECRET OF LOCALITY, 1618; OF VICTUAL
6½ CHALDRS; OF MONEY 350 MERKS.

	Bar.	Wheat	Oats	Rye	Pease and Beans	Merks.		
	Bolls.	Bolls.	Bolls.	Bolls.	Bolls.			
Dunbar parsonage,	25	10	0	10	5	100	0	0
Pinkerton, . . .	12	6	6	0	0	21	0	0
Belton,	6	3	3	0	0	33	4	5
Broxmouth, . . .	4	2	2	0	0	16	8	11
Communtie Tienda by Spot,	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0
Archpriestry, . .	0	0	0	0	0	140	0	0
Sum,	47	21	21	10	5	311	0	0

The surplus number of merks, above the 311, would probably go for communion elements. In 1755, the minister's stipend was £98:1:10; in 1798, it rose to £223:4:9; and has since been considerably augmented.

* In 1592, the General Assembly appointed Mr Robert Hepburn for Dunbar, to make a careful advertisement of all kinds of practices against religion of all papists, jesuits, and ressetters of them.

A church, partly Gothic and partly Saxon, it may easily be conceived, was ill adapted for accommodation; and, accordingly, in 1779, the old church underwent a thorough repair. It was ceiled in the roof, new floored, part of the long body cut off by a partition, and regularly seated.

This venerable fabric had all the appearance of being the workmanship of different ages. It was built in the form of a cross, measuring one hundred and twenty-three feet in length, while it was only from twenty to twenty-five feet broad. The transept or cross aisle measuring eighty-three feet.

The west end of the church, beyond the transept, was probably the ancient chapel of Dunbar. The entry lay through a Saxon arch,

“On ponderous columns, short and low,
Built ere the art was known,
By pointed aisle and shafted stalk,
The arcades of an alley'd walk,
To emulate in stone;”

while the east end of the church, including the south aisle of the transept, was a species of the Norman or Gothic style.

within their bounds; and all other gross enormities that shall fall out and come to his knowledge.

In 1594, Alexander, Lord Home, having incurred the suspicion of the kirk, was summoned before the twelfth session, when it was ordained that he should “hold out of his house all papists and traffickers against the true religion; and entertain in his house Mr Archibald Oswald, as his ordinary pastor; and failing of him, some other by the advice of the presbytery of Dunbar.”—*Culderwood*, 303.

The case of the old tower, which was fifty feet high, was built in the form of a square, with four turrets like watch-towers on the top. In the annexed view of the collegiate church, a slender steeple is seen rising about thirty feet above this tower, which was built by John Cochran, town-mason, in 1789, and consequently formed no part of the Saxon tower.

As the interior of churches, as well as of domestic buildings, had been much improved within the present century, this edifice had long been found inconvenient for a modern audience. Early in 1818, plans and estimates were taken in for a new church, which was appointed to be built on the site of the old one, and the fate of this venerable fabric was thereby sealed. The last sermon preached within its walls, was on Sunday the 7th March, 1819, by the Reverend John Jaffray, present minister of Dunbar, then assistant to Dr Carfrae, to a crowded audience. The text was in Psalm 84, verse 1st.

In taking down the east part of the church, which is supposed to have been the main body of that founded in 1342, several sculptured stones were found, that had been used in building the foundation and otherwise, which strengthens the supposition, that this was only an addition to the old Saxon church of the eleventh century.

Several sepulchres were discovered near the altar, and in the body of the church; but they contained nothing but a few scattered fragments of their mouldered tenants.



FRONT VIEW OF DUNBAR COLLEGIATE CHURCH.



SOUTH EAST VIEW.



THE NEW CHURCH.

The foundation-stone of the new church was laid on the afternoon of Saturday, the 17th April, 1819, by Provost Hume, in presence of the magistrates, some of the heritors, and a vast assemblage of people. This stone is situated in the north-east corner of the building, in the cavity of which a small bottle, hermetically sealed, is deposited, containing the coins of the realm, and a list of the heritors and magistrates.

Mr James Gillespie, Edinburgh, was the architect. The work was contracted for by Messrs M'Watt and Dickson, of Haddington, at L.4990; but it cost about L.1000 more before the burial-vaults and other additions were completed. One fifth of the expense was paid by the town of Dunbar, and the rest by the heritors. The church is a handsome building, in the Gothic style, built with a red stone brought from a quarry near Bowerhouses; and is capable of containing 1800 hearers. From the steeple, which is about ninety feet high, five counties may be distinguished.

The church was opened on the 20th April, 1821, before it was quite finished, for the ordination of Mr Jaffray, by the Rev. David Logan of Innerwick, who preached and presided upon the occasion. The very reverend Principal Baird introduced the minister to his congregation on the Sunday ensuing, and preached two hours and a-half to a highly delighted and excessively crowded audience, from these words: "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel;" after which, the Rev. John Jaffray addressed his parishioners in a discourse from the text: "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord."

THE MONUMENT.

The first object which arrests the stranger's attention on entering Dunbar church, is a superb monument, immediately behind the pulpit, erected to the memory of George Home, earl of Dunbar, third son of Alexander Home of Manderston. This nobleman was in great favour with James VI., and successively held the offices of high-treasurer of Scotland and chancellor of the exchequer in England; and, while in the latter capacity, he was created a peer of his native land. It was on him that "the British Solomon" chiefly depended for the restoration of prelacy in Scotland; and, at the parliament held at Perth, in 1606, he had the skill to carry through the act for the restoration of the estate of bishops. He was on several occasions high-commissioner to the General Assembly, wherein acts were passed unacceptable to the presbyterians;* and, as a matter of course, drew down the rancour of that party. His death took place suddenly, at Whitehall, on the 29th January 1611, when he was

* "Bribery, as well as artifice, was practised on the members of this assembly, which obtained the name of the *angelical* assembly, in allusion to the names of the coins distributed on the occasion. Sir James Balfour says, the earl of Dunbar distributed among the ministers '40,000 merks to facilitate the matter and obtain their suffrages.' Nothing, it was said, was to be seen about Glasgow, for some time after the assembly, but *angels*. A travelling pauper, named James Read, who had been there in the course of his profession, having heard what a country minister got for his vote, railed on him as a fool for selling his Master for two angels, when he (the pauper) had got three for nothing."—*McCrie's Life of Andrew Melville*.

about to solemnize his daughter's marriage with Lord Walden in a magnificent manner. A writer in the "Biographia Scoticana, or Scots Worthies," imputes this circumstance to the judgment of heaven, while Sir John Scott, in his political epitome of slander, ascribes it to some poisoned sugar-tablets, which were given him by Secretary Cecil, for expelling the cold.*

"His body," says Crawford, "being embalmed, and put into a coffin of lead, was sent down to Scotland, and with great solemnity interred in the collegiate church of Dunbar, where his executors erected a very noble and magnificent monument of various coloured marble, with a statue as large as life."

The monument is twelve feet broad at the base, and twenty-six feet in height. Above the pedestal, Lord Dunbar is represented, kneeling on a cushion, in the attitude of prayer, with a bible open before him. He is clad in armour, which is seen under his knight's robes, and on his left arm is the badge of the order of the garter,—head uncovered. Two knights in armour stand on each side as supporters. The figure on the right bears a shield, emblazoned

* Be this as it may, the earl of Dunbar, like the generality of courtiers, was well versed in Machiavellism. Andrew Melville, the celebrated scholar, seems to have been duped by him. When a prisoner in the Tower for non-conformity, he says, in a letter to his nephew : "Through the kind offices of Sempill, I now enjoy more healthful air, though still confined in the Tower. I am put in hopes that I shall have greater liberty within a month or two on the return of *sine quo nihil*; (Earl of D.) You know whom I mean. Your friend, forsooth, who did not even deign to salute you lately. Sure you admire the prudence and caution of the hero."

with three parrots, and at his feet are a sword, halbert, helmet and mace; while the figure on the left has a shield with a white lion rampant, on a green field, and at his right foot a lion's head and battle-axe, and on the left a gauntlet. Immediately beneath the arch of the niche, the following inscription is cut on a tablet of black marble:

HERE LYETH THE BODY OF THE RIGHT
HONBLE. GEORGE EARL OF DUNBAR, BARON
HOWME OF BARWICK, LORD HIGH TREASURER
OF SCOTLAND, KNIGHT OF THE MOST
NOBLE ORDER OF THE GARTER, AND ONE
OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONBLE. PRIVIE COUNSELLERS,
WHOM DEPTED THIS LIFE THE XXIX DAY
OF JANNUARY, MDCCL.

Above the knights in armour, are two female figures; the one represents Justice, and the other Wisdom in the person of Minerva with her owl. Betwixt these figures, and immediately above the cupola, Fame, in the form of a cherub, sounds her trumpet; while, on the opposite side, Peace, with her olive wand, sheds a laurel wreath on his lordship.

Above the last figures, in the centre of the pediment, the arms of Home are quartered; viz. a lion rampant on a green field in the first and fourth quarters, (Home;) in the second quarter three parrots, (as representative of the family of Pepdie of Dunglas;) and, in the third quarter three green escutcheons, in a silver field, (as representative of Hay of Broxmouth.) The shield is adorned with a helmet, and is supported by two lions *seiant*, with a tree at their backs; and for crest a horse's head and neck.

Immediately beneath the monument is the vault, where the body is deposited in a leaden coffin.

CHAPTER II.

The Ministers of Dunbar.—The Schools, &c.

COLUMBA DUNBAR, a descendant of the earls of Moray, was dean of the church of Dunbar in 1411. He is designated, Decanus ecclesiæ collegiatæ de Dunbar, penultimo Februarii 1411, when he was promoted to the see of Moray.

He was bishop of that place in 1429; and in 1433, a safe-conduct was granted him by the king of England, to pass through his dominions on his way to Rome, with thirty servants in his retinue; and again, on the 10th May, 1434, he was permitted to return when on his way to attend the council of Basil. Columba died, in his castle of Spynie, in 1435, and was buried in the isle of St Thomas the Martyr (Becket).*

JOHN MANDERSTON was canon of the college church of Dunbar in 1567, and was one of those appointed by the archbishop of St Andrew's, to attend the court on a divorce sued for by Lady Jean Gordon against the earl of Bothwell, whilst Queen Mary was detained at Dunbar.

In 1566, the queen presented GEORGE HOME, son to George Home, the laird of Broxmouth, to be parson of Pinkerton. In 1569, he was translated to be

* Spotswood's MS.—Keith's Catalogue.

rector of Dunbar, which he afterwards resigned in favour of JASPER HOME of Lawfield.

ANDREW SIMPSON appears to have been the first minister of Dunbar after the Reformation. He was originally master of the school of Perth, where he taught Latin with much success. He had sometimes under his charge 300 boys, many of them sons of the principal nobility. He left Perth at the Reformation in 1560, and became minister of Dunning and Cargill, from which he was translated, in 1564, to Dunbar, where he sustained the double office of master of the grammar-school and minister of the parish, which was not an uncommon circumstance at that period. He was the author of *Latin Rudiments*, which were taught in the schools till the time of Ruddiman, and were much esteemed by that excellent scholar. It does not appear that this venerable person understood the Greek language; but he was careful that his son Patrick should not labour under the same defect. He was sent to the University of Cambridge, where he made great proficiency, and after his return to Scotland, taught Greek at Spot, near Dunbar.* The conversion of Mr Simpson to the reformed faith, is as-

* Andrew Simpson had five sons, who, like their father, distinguished themselves in asserting the rights of the presbyterian church against the lordly encroachments of prelacy. In 1564, when there was an express charge given by the king to the clergy, either to acknowledge Adamson as archbishop of St Andrews, or lose their benefices, Patrick Simpson, opposed the order with all his power, although the archbishop was his uncle by the mother's side. He was one of the forty-two ministers who signed a protest against the proceedings of the parliament at Perth, and with his own hands delivered it to the earl of Dunbar.—See *Biographia Scoticana*.

cribed to the influence of Sir David Lindsay's poems, in alienating the pupils and their master from popery.*

In 1570, Mr Simpson was called to attend the Rev. John Kello, minister of Spot, in his sickness, who was shortly after convicted, and executed for the unnatural murder of his wife. This unhappy person having related a remarkable dream he had had to Mr Simpson, the latter had no hesitation in applying to him the language of Nathan unto David,—*Thou art the man!* This struck so deep into the culprit's heart, that he made instant confession; and, when on the scaffold, he ascribed the disclosure of this horrible deed, to the soul-piercing discernment of this pious priest, in these memorable words: "Ther was not small support in the mouth of some faythfull brethren, to bring me to this confessione of my awin offence. Bot, above all, Mr Andro Symson, minister of Dumbar, did so lyvlie rype foorth the inward cogitationes of my hert, and discover my mynd so planeke, that I persuaded myself God spak in him; and besydis vtheris notable coniecturies which he trulie dedvced befor my eyes, he remembrit me of ane dreame, which in my grit seikness did appearandlie present the self. at this tyme did God move my hart to acknowledge the horror of my awin offence, and how far Sathan had obteneit victorie ower me."†

* M'Crie's Life of Knox.

† Bannatyne's Trans. Scot.—Mr John Kello was libelled in the indictment, as "committeer of the murthour of vniq^l Margret

Mr Simpson's prophetic intelligence was no less remarkable than his skill in oneirology. In 1577, when the fishing boats were wrecked off Dunbar, he prognosticated that dreadful calamity.*

ALEXANDER HOME of Houndwood, succeeded Mr Simpson, on the 13th September 1582, and held the situation till 21st May 1601. He died in December 1623, and appears to have been a half brother of Sir George Home of Broxmouth.

On his demission, Mr JAMES HOME was appointed to the vacant charge; and was styled minister of Dunbar, while the former retained the designation of

Thomesoune, his spous; committit be him within his awin lugeing in the town of Spot for the tyme, be strangling of hir with ane towale, vpoun the xxiiij day of September last bypast, befor noyne.

"*SENTENCE.* For the quhilk he was adiugit be dome pronunceit, to be hangit to the deid, and thairefur his body to be cassin in ane fyre and brint in assie: and his gudis and geir quhatsumeir (pertening to our soueran lord) to be confiscat, &c."—*Pitcairn's Crim. Trials.*

The above circumstance is alluded to by Nicol Burne, the Popish professor of St Andrews, in his "Admonition to the Antichristian Ministers in the deformit Kirk of Scotland," (which was published at Paris in 1581,) in his "Disputation with certain ministers of the reformed kirk of Scotland:"

"Symson of Dumbar, quhat sall I say of thee!
I know thou waitis Lieutenentis place to have;
I grant thy wisdom soeld for to be,
As Kellochis dreame bearis witnes ouer the lave.
Sa may thou baldlie ane hear place cum crave,
War not thou seis full ill the band to leik:
The less experience hes thou thy flock to saue:
Kilt up thy connie, to Geneve haist with speid."

Kello's Dying Speech and Confession is printed in Bannatyne's Journal. Bartilmo, his son, and Barbara and Bessie Kello, his daughters, got a gift of his eacheat.—*Reg. Sec. Sig.*

* See Extracts from the Session Records.

parson of Dunbar.* He does not appear to have enjoyed this situation long; for, Mr MANDERSON was admitted in 1604, and was succeeded by Mr WILLIAM MAXWELL in 1635.

Mr ANDREW STEVENSON appears to have succeeded the latter incumbent. On the authority of his epitaph, which is printed in Monteith's Theatre of Mortality, he was for thirty years "a most famous professor of philology and philosophy in the college of Edinburgh,† and thereafter, for the space of

* M'Crie's Life of Andrew Melville.

† The following, is Monteith's translation of the Latin inscription prefixed to Professor Stevenson's monument. The tablet was placed in the wall, on the right of the door leading into a roofed aisle on the south-east side of the collegiate church,—see plate, p. 193.

EPITAPH.

"To the sacred dust, here reposed, of his most famous and most dear father, Mr ANDREW STEVENSON; first, for thirty years, a most famous professor of philology and philosophy in the college of Edinburgh; thereafter, for the space of twenty-five years, most faithful minister at the church of Dunbar, (to whom, the short dawning of a natural life began to appear, or he was born, October 29th, 1588, and the noonday of eternal light began to shine, or who died, December 13th, 1664,) Mr Archibald Stevenson, doctor of medicine, of the defunct's eight children, (whereof Mr Thomas, James and Jonet, rest here at their father's feet,) only surviving with his sister Agnes, drenched in tears, have dedicate and consecrate this homely tomb.

"Here Mr Stevenson lies, of high renown,
To learning a great ornament and crown;
Full five-and-fifty years he was in charge,
And wisely did all offices discharge;
In youth, the school-difficulties he broke,
And, in his fresh old age, himself betook
To divine eloquence; which did extol
His reputation, and enrich his soul.

Who seeks a crown of life, let this man be,
For his good life, a pattern unto thee."

twenty-five years, most faithful minister at the church of Dunbar."

The Rev. **ANDREW WOOD**, son to the Rev. David Wood, by Miss Guthrie, sister to John Guthrie of Guthrie, was minister, first of Spott, and then of Dunbar in 1665; and was created Bishop of the Isles in 1678. He received a dispensation from the king to hold the benefice of Dunbar together with the said bishoprick. He was translated to the see of Caithness in 1680, where he continued till the revolution in 1688. He died at Dunbar in 1695, aged 76 years.*

Mr **THOMAS WOOD** succeeded the bishop of the Isles in 1681.

Mr **JAMES CRAIG** was admitted in 1718. He was succeeded by Mr **GEORGE LOGAN** in 1722, who was afterwards translated to Edinburgh.

Mr **ALEXANDER PYOTT** was admitted in 1733. The ordination of this gentleman was very unpopular; and the opposition of the congregation was carried with so much virulence, that, on the minister and elders proceeding to the church, they found the people assembled, the doors locked, and themselves excluded. For the purpose of gaining admittance, the session-house window had to be broken open, and as the minister passed along, one of the congregation arose, and exclaimed: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is

* Keith's Catalogue.

as a thief and a robber." Galt introduces a similar anecdote into his *Annals of the Parish*. It was on this reverend gentleman that the satirical *Memoirs of Mago-Pica* were written, by Dr Halyburton, chaplain to the Royal Regiment of Foot, in consequence of some dispute about a soldier's marriage.

Mr GEORGE BRUCE was admitted in 1766, and died in 1794. He drew up the account of Dunbar parish for Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

In the ensuing year, the Rev. PATRICK CARFRAE, D.D. was admitted as his successor, being translated from Morham, presbytery of Haddington. The doctor possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualifications requisite to form an accomplished orator. He died at his retirement of Bowerhouses on the 5th March, 1822, having previously, on the 4th October, 1820, resigned his benefice in favour of his assistant, the Rev. JOHN JAFFRAY, the present minister, who was ordained 20th April, 1821.*

* The new church, as formerly noticed, was opened on this occasion before it was quite finished, and the good nature of the parishioners forms a striking contrast to the tumult raised on the ordination of Mr Pyott. After Principal Baird had ended his introductory discourse, an old lady declared; "that she put on her kail-pat when she left home; that her bit meat would be boiled to *tavers*; but," added she, "it made nae odds, if he had kept her lang, she didn't weary; and if the meat would not *eat*, it would *sup*!"

The church was completed, and opened for public worship on the 16th of September following. Mr Dods of Belford preached in the forenoon, and Mr Jaffray in the afternoon from these words: "This is the house of God; this is the gate of heaven."

The presbytery of Dunbar, in the synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, comprehends the following parishes,—all situated in East Lothian, except Cockburnspath and part of Oldhamstocks, which are in Berwickshire:

FARMERS.	PATRONS.
Dunbar,	The Duke of Roxburgh.
Innerwick,	Mrs. H. Nisbet Ferguson of Dirlston.
Oldhamstocks,	James Hunter, Esq. of Thurston.
Prestonkirk,	Miss Dalrymple of Hailes.
Spott,	James Sprott, Esq. of Spott.
Stenton,	Mrs. H. Nisbet Ferguson of Dirlston.
Whitkirk and Tynning- ham,	The King and the Earl of Haddington.
Whittingham,	James Balfour, Esq. of Whittingham.
Cockburnspath,	The King.

Besides the established church in Dunbar, there are three meeting-houses belonging to dissenters:

The burghers, or secession church, (connected with the Associate Synod,) was established in 1766. Their first minister was the Rev. John Henderson, who died in 1816, and was succeeded by the Rev. Alexander Jack. The minister's stipend was originally L.70, including L.10 for communion elements, with a free house and garden. The present meeting-house, which accommodates 700 hearers, was built in 1814.

The anti-burghers erected a meeting-house at East Barns in 1763. The Rev. Robert Cunningham of Balgonie, in Fife, was the first minister of this infant establishment. Upon his demise, the Rev. Andrew Bayne was chosen to the vacant charge; and, in 1820, the place of worship was transferred to Dunbar, a new

meeting-house having been built for the accommodation of the congregation. Mr Bayne continued to discharge his clerical duties until prevented by indisposition, when, in 1823, the Rev. John Scott was ordained his assistant and successor.

Dr James Hamilton, a physician, whom we formerly had occasion to mention, and Mr Andrew Affleck, tenant in Chesterhall, formed a connection here with the Wesleyan methodists in 1752, and a chapel was built about 1764, now capable of containing 300 hearers. The Rev. William Ellis was their first stationary preacher. This is the oldest congregation of the kind in Scotland.

THE REV. JAMES KIRKWOOD.

"We were a while told, that they had an old translation of the Scriptures; and told us that it would appear necessary to inquire again. Yet by continued accumulation of questions we found, that the translation was nothing else than the Irish Bible."

DR. S. JOHNSON'S TOUR.

A LIBRARY, belonging to the presbytery of Dunbar, was kept in the old grammar-school, consisting of some hundreds of volumes, chiefly in Latin, and on theological subjects. To this library, in 1708, the Reverend James Kirkwood, minister of Astwick, in Bedfordshire, bequeathed a number of letters and papers, detailing his efforts, in conjunction with the Honourable Robert Boyle, (the celebrated chemist and philosopher,) in disseminating the Scriptures in the Irish character throughout the highlands of Scotland. Five hundred copies of the Irish

bible, by William Beddell, bishop of Kilmore, were printed in 4to, at London, in 1685, at the expense of Mr Boyle. This excellent person presented Mr Kirkwood with 200 copies, one copy of which was sent as a church-bible to each parish in the highlands, that it might be read to the people in their own language on the Sundays. Mr Kirkwood afterwards printed 3000 copies of the same bible by private subscription, in the Roman character, and 1000 copies of the New Testament separately, for gratuitous distribution. This edition was printed in small 12mo, by R. Everingham, London, in 1690. Mr Boyle, for the same purpose, printed 6000 catechisms and Prayer Books at his own expense. A library was also established for the clergy in the highlands by Mr Kirkwood, in 1699, a catalogue of which is preserved in his MS. papers.

Great events frequently spring from simple causes, and the efforts of a few philanthropic individuals have laid the foundation of those societies, which are now established for the propagation of knowledge in every shape, and in ample abundance. A few years after Mr Kirkwood had passed his probationary trials at Haddington, he was called to preach in the earl of Breadalbane's family in the highlands, most of the servants of which did not understand Gaelic. It was when here that he beheld the ignorance of the natives; he found the parishes without schools, the people without bibles, and the clergy with indifferent libraries, and immediately set about the remedy. Fortunately, he was invited to a small living in England by Bishop Bur-

net,* in 1684, and was thence promoted to the rectory of Astwick, where he formed an acquaintance with the honourable gentleman before mentioned, who was well fitted to aid him in his benevolent projects. But, notwithstanding this happy friendship, he met with the usual discouragements that "flesh is heir to," from the carelessness of friends and the malice of enemies. Amongst other objections to the plan, it was mooted, that it would obstruct the extirpation of the highland language, which the partisans of government devoutly expected to take place in the course of thirty years; but the Gaelic still exists, and will exist, without any danger to the state. This opposition, however, is a reason assigned by Mr Kirkwood, for bequeathing his papers to the care of a public body, that the detail of his efforts might be preserved, and the whispers of calumny, if necessary, refuted. He had been indebted to the schools of Dunbar for his education, and both there, and in that neighbourhood, he had many friends and relations. This circumstance induced him, at an earlier period, to bestow several books and MSS., with "some other things," on the library. In short, Mr Kirkwood was one of the virtuous obscure,—one of those talented individuals who set the secret springs in motion, which afterwards move the weightier machinery of higher men, that they may reap the honour and the reward.

* Dr Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, was originally minister of Saiton in East Lothian. On publishing his History of the Reformation, he, also, was indebted to the munificence of Mr Boyle, in bringing that work forward.

THE SCHOOLS.

Mr ANDREW SIMPSON, as formerly noticed, held the office of minister-schoolmaster in 1564. There seems to have been a substantial reason for pluralities at this time; for Mr James Carmichael, who held the same office at Haddington, in 1572, was only allowed L.40 Scots yearly as stipend, and 10 merks to pay his "chalmer maill," with xiid. quarterly from "ilk toun bairn," as school-fee; so that Goldsmith's country curate, with his L.40 sterling, held a lucrative office when contrasted with the presbyterian clergy of this period.

After an interval of thirty years, we find a notice of ANDREW DISHINGTON, schoolmaster of Dunbar, in the Records of the Presbytery of Haddington. "The act of the last synodall assembly, giving the presbyterie commission to try Andro Dischingtoun schoolmaster of Dunbar, not only in his hability to travell in the ministry, but also to teache ane grammer-schoole; being presentit to the presbyterie, the brethren ordainit him to cum heir yis day aucht dayes, and for beginning of his tryall to teache ane piece of the first book of the Georgyckes of Virgill, at the beginning yrof, to try quhither he be able to teache ane grammer schoole or not."—Sept. 4. 1594. "It was ordainit be the presbyterie, that the hail schoolm^{en} w^{thin} yair bounds sould be chargit to compeir befor thame, that thay myt not only knaw how yai wer abill to instruct the yowt, bot also charge thame to keip the exercise, that yai myt be the better frequented with the heids of religioun."—June 2. 1596.

ALEXANDER HOME, the grammarian, appears to have been master of the grammar-school of Dunbar in 1615. He was principal master of the high-school of Edinburgh from 1596 to 1606, when he removed to Prestonpans; and left the latter place in 1615, and appears as schoolmaster of Dunbar, in witness to a deed, June 24, 1623, and to another in November 1627. He published a Latin Rudiments and Grammar, which it appears were in much repute; for, in 1614, it was ordained by the town-council of Edinburgh, that the Dunbar Rudiments "be onlie teached, as maist approved and ressavit in the cuntrie." This grammar was likewise appointed to be used in all schools, both by the privy-council and parliament. Home also revised "*Bellum Grammaticale*," a humorous tragi-comedy, in which the different parts of speech are arrayed in opposite sides, in a contest concerning the respective claims of the noun and verb to priority. He left behind him, in MS., a compend of Buchanan's History, (in *Bibl. Jurid. Edin.*) and a grammatical tract.*

The following extracts from "School Regulations," adopted by the burgh in 1679, give a view of the discipline and usages then in force:

"Whatever public damage ye schollars doe, either to glass windows, (especially about the church or schoole,) or by brakeing ye desks, locks, or any thing in the schoole, they are to make up the same; and if the particular persone cannot be found out, then are they all to contribute for ye damage done, and if hee be afterwards knowne, then to receive double punishment,

"Whomsoever shall, through contempt, turne fugitives, it shall

* Life of Andrew Melville.

be lawfull for the masters to censure, haile them to schoole, and punish them as he shall judge convenient.

" All those that refuse to submit to discipline, but maliciously rebell against their masters, ye masters, with the greatest severitie, are to make them ane example to the rest, and if the stubbornne partie be too strong, then to call for help from ye magistrats.

" If children may be wonne by words or threatenings, it is expected that ye masters will make use of prudence in their actions, and to spare ye rod as long as it may consist with ye good of ye children; but if neither fair words nor threats will gaine them, then shall ye masters show, both by their words and countenance, ane aversation to passions, and a dislike to ye actions, with suitable expressions to that purpose, in which humor they may correct; soe y^e they may be as angrie as they will when they intend not to correct, but not to be passionat when they correct; meer necessity, (being for the weelfair of the children,) compelling them to it; but not for every triffe to stupifie them with strokes.

" That the masters assume nothing to themselves, that may render them obnoxious to ye clamour of ye vulgar, as they are to instruct and correct, according to our order and command; soe by ye same authority they are to give ye accustomed liberty to their scholars, that the children be not used as slaves, but as freemen: And that their labour may be sweetened unto them, upon every Tuesday and Thursday, the dayes being fair, they shall be suffered to play at the place appoynted for that end, from halfe-three till four afternoone; after which tyme they are to returne to schoole, where they are to remaine till sex: these dayes, being unfit for recreation, it may be delayed untill the first fair weeke, with every Saturday's afternoone; together with the accustomed festival dayes, observing the ancient rites of their oblations (to testifie their thankfulness) to their masters; att and after which tymes, the schollars may, with a kyndly homelines, mediat for the play by the mouth of their vices: as alsoe at the entry of a new schollar, (if earnestly intreated) they maye have it for all night. The lyke may be granted to any of the masters, superiors, or for a complement to strangers, or when any necessarye occasions requyre it, that thereby the masters show their clemency to their schollars, and gaine them by such demonstrations of their affectione towards them; but the masters shall nowise give

them whole dayes play, without they be permitted or commanded by their superiours.

"It hath beene ane ordinary custome, that three or foure dayes in the summer quarter, the children had libertie to goe and cutt downe bent, or rushes, for the schoole; but accompanied with this inconvenience, that often tymes they fall a wrestleing with hooks in their hands, that sometymes they wrong themselves, other tymes their neighbours; soe that, to prevent this evill, and the schollars to have their former liberty, every schollar shall bring at least twelve pennies Scots, and give to ye master, and that upon the first Monday of May, the lyke to be done upon ye first Mondays of June and July, which is commonly called ye Bent-silver-play; with which money, ye masters are to buy bent, or other things needfull for the schools."

Mr JAMES KIRKWOOD, who is mentioned by Rudiman, as author of several elementary books in the Latin language, appears to have been a native of this parish. He was author of a grammar, entitled: "*Grammatica Despauteriana, cum nova novi generis glossa,*" and "*Rhetoricæ Compendium; cui subijcitur de Analyti Tractatiuncula,*" wherein he styles himself, "*Jacobo Kirkwodo Dumbarensi.*" He was schoolmaster of Linlithgow in 1689, where, after having filled the office fifteen years, he quarrelled with the magistrates, whom he styles "bigoty presbyterians," and refusing to attend their meeting-house, which, in opposition to the public place of worship, was kept in the provost's hall or kitchen, after a long and expensive plea with the town, he found it expedient to remove with his family to Edinburgh, where he taught a private school with great success, and was much patronised by the nobility and gentry. A vacancy having occurred in the grammar-school of Kelso, he was invited by the Countess of Roxburgh

to that situation, which he accepted, "chiefly," as he observes, "because he was born under that family, and his relations were feuars or tenants to her ladyship in the neighbourhood of Dunbar." At the time that he accepted this charge, he refused a Greek and Latin professorship in a college about to be erected at Virginia. Mr Kirkwood was scarcely settled in Kelso, when he had a dispute with the minister regarding the offices of session-clerk and precentor, which had been withheld from him, and led to a great deal of angry vituperation on both sides. On this occasion he published his defence in a large pamphlet, dedicated to his patroness, entitled: "Mr Kirkwood's Plea with the Kirk-session and Presbytery of Kelso,"—printed at London, in 1698.*

There are two public seminaries in Dunbar, a Grammar and English-school conjoined, and a Mathematical one; the masters of which are appointed by the magistrates. The old English and Grammar schools were situated immediately behind the town-house; but, in 1824, new schools were erected in a more healthy and airy situation, close by the sea-side. Adjoining to them is a boarding-school for young ladies, and there are several other private seminaries in the town.

Dunbar had no parochial school till 1790, when it was established at Westburn, for the purpose of accommodating that populous district of the parish. There is a private school at Eastburn, with a small salary, being the interest of £100 sterling, mortgaged

* Mr Kirkwood had also passed his probationary year at Haddington as a preacher, and appears to have been a relation of the Rev. James Kirkwood, with whom he was contemporary.

for that purpose by Mr William Hume, late farmer in that village.

DUNBAR.

Hector Ford of Branxton, in 1678, mortified in the hands of the town of Edinburgh, 1200 merks Scots, for the education and maintenance of six bursars at the university of Edinburgh. His own relations, and the surname of Ford, to be preferred, and afterwards any young men born in the parishes or educated at the schools of Dunbar or Innerwick, whom the ministers of these places may appoint.

Thomas Bryson, merchant and baillie in Dunbar, in 1702, mortified in the hands of the presbytery of Dunbar, 4500 merks Scots, for two bursars. To be applied solely to young men born in Dunbar parish, or educated at the town schools, after those of his own name and kindred.

William Hume, tenant in East-barns, in 1784, mortified L. 400 sterling, in the hands of the presbytery of Dunbar, for the maintenance of two bursars as aforesaid at Edinburgh, or any other college in the kingdom.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SESSION RECORDS.

July 27. 1712. This day the minister (Rev. T. Wood,) had been ordaining elders, when they were "exhorted to walk exemplary in their good behaviour before the people, and to be carefull to delete scandalous persons or such as break the Sabbath-day. Moreover he read to them a minute left be his predecessors, mentioning how dreadful a disaster had fallen upon the people of this place for breaking the Lord's day, ordains the same to be regarat. Qch is as followeth:

"Mr Simpson, minister of Dalkeith, sent to Mr Andrew Simpson, minister at Dunbar, in his exposition of the XXXII Psalm,

bath these words: A fearfull judgement of God fell furth at Dunbar, about the year of God 1577, qrof I was an eyewitness. My father, Mr Andrew Simpson, of good memory, being minister thereof, qho, going to the church, saw a thousand boats setting their netts on the Sabbath-day. He wept and feared that God would not suffer such contempt. It being a most calm day as ever was seen at that season ;—at midnight, when they went forth to draw their netts, the wind arose so fearfully, that it drowned eight score and ten boats, so that there was reckoned in the coast-side fourteen score of widows."

" Sunday, 3d April, 1659.—Margaret Home, rebuked for her fall in fornication, anno 1651, with John Bahill, trooper in General Cromwell's regiment, and paid penalties L.3 Scots,"

" August 7, 1709 —It is enacted this day, for the better observing the Lord's day, that two elders, w^t ane officer, go through the town after sermon in the afternoon, and reprove such as they find going or parading either in the streets, shore, or castle, or any who sitt at their dooers intertaining idle discourses, and reprove such; and to bring in a list of those who will not refraine."

" January 29, 1710.—The elders, whose dutie it is to search the town, found severall persons in Janet Hunter's drinking a glass of twopenny beer and smoaking the tyme of divine service. The persons were cited before the session, and confessed they were humbly sorrie for such a heinaiss breach of the Lord's day; but they declared they would drink no more twopenny beer or smoak tobacco again on Sundays, so they were absolved."

" 29th March, 1710.—A proclamation for a fast to be kept on Wednesday, that the Lord might prosper our armys against the bloody Frenchmen, was read."

" Nov. 1710.—Two hundred and sixty pounds Scots was collected at the church-door of Dunbar, for erecting schools in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland."

1755, Feb. 12. To erecting a new stool of repentence, L.1 0 4

Aug. 3. Altering ditto, " " " " 0 3 10½

1763, March 24.—The session purchased 100 bolls of oat-meal, at 15s. per boll, for the relief of the poor. It was dealt out at 9d. per peck.

THE
HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

PART III.

Civil and Domestic.

" Commerce brought into the public walk
The busy merchant; the big warehouse built;
Rais'd the strong crane; choak'd up the loaded street
With foreign plenty."

THOMSON.

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

1891

THE
JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

1892

THE
HISTORY OF DUNBAR.

PART III.
CIVIL AND DOMESTIC.

CHAPTER I.

The Parish.—Agriculture.—Population.

THE town of Dunbar is situated at the mouth of the frith of Forth, in the county of East Lothian, and sheriffdom of Haddington, twenty-eight miles east from Edinburgh; in latitude nearly 56° north, and longitude $2^{\circ} 30'$ west from Greenwich. The parish, which takes its name from the town, is rather more than eight miles long, and in some places three miles broad. It is separated from Innerwick parish by Dryburn water on the south; it is bounded by the frith of Forth and Tynningham parish on the north; by the German ocean on the east; and by the parishes of Spot, Stenton, and Prestonkirk, on the west. A considerable portion of land, called Dunbar Outer Common, lies about five miles from the town, and is surrounded by the parishes of Innerwick, Whittingham, and Stenton. It is situated on the skirts of Lammer-

moor, and is four miles long, and in some places three, and in general two and a-half miles broad. The marches are perambulated yearly by the magistrates and council, which occasions a scene of much merriment to the lieges.

Fanned by the undulating breezes of the Forth, the situation of Dunbar in summer is healthy and pleasant; in winter, when the north-eastern blast, wrought up into the flickering mazes of the storm, desolates its rocky shores, it is chill and gloomy. The face of the country rises gradually from the sea, interspersed with green hill and gentle dale, till it is lost in the Lammermoors. Its shores are rugged and picturesque; the most striking objects seen at a little distance being the Bass and the Isle of May, while many a little isolated rock, situated immediately upon the beach, such as the Pin-cod, Delves, &c. appear once to have formed a junction with the mainland. Eastward, at the extremity of this rocky and lofty coast, the eye reposes on the blue promontory of St Abb's Head, where the Princess Ebba once had her solitary house of prayer; southward we behold the pastoral Lammermoors and the high grounds of Whittingham; and, in the west, Traprain-law, the Garleton-hills, and North Berwick-law, close a beautiful amphitheatre; while beyond it are seen the shadowy outlines of the Pentland hills, the shores of Fife, and the mountains of Angus.

A little eastward from Dunbar, immediately on the beach, we meet with a considerable extent of low rocky ledges, generally of the red sandstone forma-

tion, dipping so gently in some places, in their angle of inclination, as to appear almost horizontal; farther on, however, they assume a more vertical shape, till at length the strata shoot up into almost perpendicular peaks, after which they are lost, and succeeded by what Professor Jameson calls, "a bed of porphyritic basaltic greenstone," which runs a considerable way into the sea. Beyond this, the red sandstone ceases to be visible, but beds of limestone now begin to make their appearance in the greyish-white sandstone to which the former has given place.*

The isle, or rock, upon which Dunbar Battery is built, is situated between the harbour and castle, and consists of basaltic columns, or a stratum of stone, resembling the Giant's Causeway in Ireland. Mr Penant describes it as consisting of "red grit stone, either triangular or hexangular; their diameter from one to two feet; their length at low water thirty, dipping or declining a little to the south; they are jointed, but not regularly or so plainly as those which form the Giant's Causeway; the surface of several that had been torn off, appears as a pavement of numbers of convex ends, probably answering to the concave bottoms of other joints incumbent on them. The space between the columns are filled with the septa of red and white sparry matter, the veins of the same per-

* For an account of the geological structure, and other highly interesting peculiarities and natural appearances of this part of the coast and neighbourhood, the reader is referred to "Popular Philosophy;" a work recently published by a native of the place, and to be had of the publisher of this volume.

vading the columns transversely.²³ This range of columns faces the north with a point to the east, and extends in front above two hundred yards. The other parts of the rock degenerate into shapeless masses, regularly divided by thick septa.

Limestone being the prevailing rock in the eastern district of the parish, it is quarried at the Clamber-hill, Skateraw shore, East Barns, and Oxwell-mains. Near the Clamber-hill, there are some small seams of coal; and adjoining to the harbour of that place, there are some very curious specimens of limestone. There are draw-kilns for burning lime-shells at East Barns, the Catcraig, and Oxwell-mains. When in operation, it is supposed they produce 400 balls daily.*

The soil is rich and fertile, and the harvests, in general, early. It produces plentiful crops of wheat, and lets so high as from £3, 10s. to £5 per Scots acre. The burgh-acres in the immediate vicinity of the town bring from £6 to £7. The fields are mostly enclosed with stone walls or thorn hedges. The lands are dry, of a rich loam, and partly of a light mould. Sea-ware is much used as a manure on the eastern coast, and by some it is reckoned equivalent to an equal quantity of dung.

The only eminences worthy of notice in the parish, are the Brunt-hill above Spott and part of Doonhill,

* Limestone abounds every where in the county. In 1668, Charles II. granted a charter to John Cant, confirming to him several lands in Innerwick, with the privilege of burning limestone.

from the latter of which there is a beautiful panoramic view of Dunbar and its suburbs.

The Tyne is the only stream of any consequence in the neighbourhood. It rises in the parish of Crichton, in Mid-Lothian, and after winding its sluggish way through many a verdant mead, makes a leap, or rapid fall, at the village of Linton, over some broken rocks, and empties itself into the Frith of Forth a little below Tynningham. This river produces trout through its whole extent; and below Linton, and at its mouth, salmon are taken. The tide ebbs and flows about two miles; and the sea has encroached upon several acres of land adjacent to West Barns, which, it is supposed, a little Dutch skill or industry might have preserved. An attempt was made some years ago, by the late Mrs Fall, to repel these encroachments, which did not succeed. Within these few years, Mr David France has made a similar attempt below Rosebank, which, from the art and perseverance displayed, seemed to promise success; but on the occasion of some late high tides, the waves made several tremendous breaches in the dike or wall, and completely gorged up the forthcoming soil. The small rivulet of Beil, after winding by Whittingham and Belton, falls into the sea at Belhaven, while Spott-water runs into the sea at Breanmouth, and Dryburn-water washes the southern boundary of the parish. On the stormy evening of the 3d of August last, the gentle streamlet of Beil, came roaring and boiling down, and laid the one-half of West Barns under water.

The following is a list of the ploughgates of land in Dunbar parish, with the names of the proprietors:

FARMS.	PROPRIETORS.	PLOUGHG.
Howmuir,	Mrs H. Nisbet of Beil,	2½
Ninewar,	Ditto,	2
Gateside & Tynefield,	Miss Hunter,	2½
North Belton,	Robert Hay, Esq. of Belton,	4
Hetherwick,	Mrs Nisbet,	3
Hetherwick-hill,	Lieut.-gen. Geo. Hardyman,	0 7-10ths
Linkfield,	John Allan, Esq.	4
Belton,	Captain Hay, R. N.	1 3-10ths
South Belton,	Ditto,	8 1-5th
Westbarns,	J. Hume & C. Middlemass, esqrs.	3 2-5ths
Westbarns-mains,	John Thomson, Esq.	1
Ewsford,	Sir George Warrender, Bart.	4 11-24ths
Hallhill,	Ditto,	2 13-24ths
Lochend,	Ditto,	2
Newtonless,	Ditto,	4
Chesterhall,	Ditto,	1
Brandensill,	Duke of Roxburgh,	0½
Oxwell-mains,	Ditto,	4
Broxmouthe,	Ditto,	3
Little Pinkerton,	Ditto,	4½
Brunt,	Ditto,	2
Meikle Pinkerton,	Ditto,	10½
East Barns,	Robert Hay, Esq. of Lawfield,	9
Barnyhill,	William Sandilands, Esq.	3
Winterfield-mains,	Capt. Richard Anderson, R. N.	2
Dunbar-house,	Earl of Lauderdale,	0½
Rosebank,	Heirs of Mr T. Mitchell,	0½
Burrowdales,	Town of Dunbar,	1
Underedge,	Christopher Middlemass, Esq.	0½
		Total,.....87½

The valued rent of the parish is only L.16,826:17:5 Scots; but the land rental is supposed to be at least L.21,000 sterling.

It has been customary in East Lothian, since 1627, annually to fix, by public authority, the *fiar* or average prices of each species of corn sold and purchased in the county. The *fiars* are struck by the sheriff in the month of March, and by these the ministers' stipends are regulated, and other rates payable in grain apportioned.

FIARS.—CROP 1828.					
Description.	Quality.	By the Imperial Measure.		By the Lin- thgow or County Measure.	
WHEAT.....	First	76s.	0d.	5-12ths	37s. 11½d
	Second	70s.	5d.	10-12ths	35s. 2½d
	Third	62s.	5d.	2-12ths	31s. 1½d
BARLEY.....	First	41s.	4d.	7-12ths	30s. 1½d
	Second	39s.	2d.	4-12ths	28s. 6½d
	Third	36s.	9d.	7-12ths	26s. 9½d
Oats.....	First	28s.	1d.	3-12ths	20s. 5½d
	Second	26s.	4d.	3-12ths	19s. 2½d
	Third	24s.	5d.	8-12ths	17s. 9½d
PEASE.....	First	35s.	7d.		17s. 9d.
	Second	33s.	3d.		16s. 7½d
	Third	31s.	6d.		15s. 2½d

There is a weekly market at Dunbar, which is held on Thursday, at which the grain is sold by sample.—This market was anciently held on Friday.

FAIRS.

There are two *fiars* annually at Dunbar, at the terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, old style, which were conducted somewhat in the manner of the ancient fairs, where the people were wont to be supplied with luxuries and useful commodities, and the children with toys; but these are fast going to decay. There is also a market for hiring farm servants on these occasions, and a traffic is carried on in the buying and selling of milch cows. In the olden time there was a fair on the 8th September, called *latter Lady-day*, in harvest, and one on the 11th November, with the privilege of continuing each fair during the space of the two market days immediately following.

POPULATION.

In 1755, the population of the parish amounted to 8281; by an accurate survey in 1792, the inhabitants were 3700, being an increase of 419; in 1811, they amounted to 3982; in 1817, they were 4499; and by a census taken in 1821, agreeably to an act, 1. Geo. IV., entitled: "An Act for taking an account of the population of Great Britain, and of the increase or diminution thereof," the number of inhabitants was 5272. This remarkable increase may partly be accounted for from the establishment of the cotton manufactory at Belhaven, which contained a population of 550 people in 1818; and partly from the return of soldiers and sailors at the end of the war. The following is an abstract of the return given in to the county, for the parishes in Dunbar presbytery, in 1821:

Parishes.	Houses inhabited.	Number of families.	Houses uninhabited.	Occupations.				Persons, including children, of all ages		
				Families chiefly employed in agriculture.	Chiefly employed in trade, manufactures, and handicraft.	Others not comprised in the two preceding classes.		Males.	Females.	Total.
Dunbar,.....	728	1207	22	283	871	53		2490	2782	5272
Spott,.....	125	130	8	102	18	10		271	311	582
Innerwick,.....	193	196	18	122	52	22		431	493	924
Oldhamstocks,...	135	135	10	84	32	19		330	296	626
Prestonkirk,.....	330	392	3	227	147	18		883	929	1812
Whitekirk,.....	222	232	17	140	33	59		487	561	1048
Whittingham,...	134	135	24	105	12	17		367	383	750
Stenton,.....	140	151	18	113	29	9		333	354	687

Subjoined is an enumeration of the various ages contained in the preceding abstract:

MALES.													
Parishes.	Under 5	5 to 10	10 to 15	15 to 20	20 to 30	30 to 40	40 to 50	50 to 60	60 to 70	70 to 80	80 to 90	90 to 100	Total.
Dunbar,.....	431	328	284	268	333	264	224	165	126	55	11	1	2490
Spot,.....	34	39	31	26	45	27	26	11	23	6	3	1	271
Innerwick,	60	55	56	46	64	44	48	26	18	11	3	1	431
Oldhamstocks, ..	42	55	40	37	46	39	23	12	16	6	3	1	330
Prestonkirk,	113	142	129	94	150	93	89	43	44	19	6	0	883
Whitekirk,	78	65	54	41	95	46	39	31	26	13	1	0	487
Whittingham, ..	47	52	55	40	57	40	39	16	14	6	1	0	367
Stenton,.....	36	42	37	42	57	34	35	25	18	7	1	0	333
FEMALES.													
Dunbar,	841	389	344	276	492	336	297	202	164	79	16	6	2782
Spot,	44	30	25	28	68	41	25	24	15	5	4	2	311
Innerwick,	59	61	57	49	78	60	51	43	23	11	1	0	493
Oldhamstocks, ..	42	37	28	31	40	37	31	16	14	18	3	1	296
Prestonkirk,	136	112	99	93	144	110	98	64	43	18	12	0	929
Whitekirk,	61	75	57	56	108	63	36	48	38	17	2	0	661
Whittingham, ..	61	47	44	40	62	42	37	28	11	7	3	1	383
Stenton,.....	20	55	39	48	56	32	37	22	11	10	2	1	354

As an extraordinary instance of longevity, Magnus Reid of Dunbar, when about eighty years of age, commenced travelling-chapman, and followed this profession till within eight weeks of his death, which happened in 1786, at the advanced age of 114 years.

The following calculations taken from existing data, in the records of mortality, by Mr James Watson in a late survey, preparatory to publishing a plan of the church-yard of Dunbar, will serve to shew the average length of human life in that parish. In order to ascertain the medium number of years that the persons lived whose ages are on the grave-stones, Mr Watson collected 207 of these together, and divided them into six classes as under :

Class.	Years.	Years.	Months.
1. from 15 to 30 years 27 lived 613, average 22	3		
2. — 31 to 45 — 40 — 1507 — 37	8		
3. — 45 to 60 — 42 — 2668 — 52	4		
4. — 60 to 75 — 60 — 4002 — 65	9		
5. — 75 to 90 — 31 — 2396 — 77	3		
	207	11193	
6. — 90 to 105 — 6 — 385			
	213	11578	

By this table it appears, that the medium number of years the above 207 persons enjoyed life, from the ages of 15 to 90, was nearly 63 years 10 months each.

CHAPTER II.

The Town.—The Harbour.—Shipping, &c.

THE town of Dunbar was evidently at first a fishing-village which gradually sprang up under the shelter of the castle, and rose into notice under the influence of the powerful family to which it belonged. So early as the reign of Alexander II. it appears to have acquired some importance; for, in 1216, according to the Chronicle of Melrose, King John, penetrating into Lothian, burnt Dunbar and Haddington. In 1369, the principal trade of the borders was monopolized by the English, then in possession of Berwick and Roxburgh, who carried out of the kingdom wool, skins, and other goods, the chief produce of the pastoral districts of the Lammermoors, which otherwise would have paid a duty to the king. To counteract this traffic, Dunbar was created a free burgh by David II., "with limits as extensive as the earldom of March, with a market-cross, with power to buy and sell, with a *coquet* and *trone*, and with a free port at Belhaven,"* and was also entitled to a reciprocal commerce with Haddington. During the succeeding reign of Robert III., William Danielstoun was granted a pension of 20 merks sterling out of the great customs of Dunbar, till the king should

* Chalmers' Cal. ii.

provide him with ten marks of land. When Dunbar was made a free burgh, it was admitted, with other corporations, to send a representative to the Scottish parliament; and, since the Union, it joins with Haddington, Jedburgh, Lauder and North Berwick, in bringing up a member for this purpose.

The earls of Dunbar were anciently the sheriffs or justiciaries of Lothian. They held their baronial courts at Whittingham (the dwelling on the white mead,) probably because it lay in the bosom of their territories, which comprehended Dunbar, Spott, Pinkerton, Beil, Hailes, Merkhill, Fortoun, and other places in the county. After the Revolution, the sheriffdom of Haddington was filled by the marquis of Tweeddale and the earl of Haddington successively; and, although these trusts were not hereditary, yet this bondage was entailed on the lordships of baronial courts; for, on the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions in 1748, we find L.800 sterling was paid John Hay as an equivalent for the bailiery of Dunbar, and L.500 to John Hamilton for the regality of Drem. The sheriff-court is now held at Haddington.

The affairs of the burgh are managed by the magistrates and town-council. These consist of a provost and three bailies; a treasurer, town-clerk and chamberlain; and fifteen members of council. The provost is, *ex-officio*, a member of the justice-of-peace court, which is held at Haddington. The magistrates hold a weekly court in the burgh every Saturday. The

armorial bearing of the town is very properly a tower or castle.

The following is a list of charters, under the Great Seal, granted to the burgh and burgesses of Dunbar, from 1368 to the 23d October 1618:

1. *Lit̃ra quod Georgius Comes Marchie, apud Dunbar Liberum Burgum habeat, cum certis privilegiiis burgensibus ibidem.* David II. 8th Feb. 1368. Book 1. No. 244.
2. *Carta Con. vni capellano in ecclesia collegiate Sancte Bae de Dunbar, de annuo redditu, de terris in lie Cowgate.* James IV. 9th June, 1501. Book 13. No. 512.
3. *Carta Con. Burgo de Dunbar—de eorum terris et privilegiis.* James IV. 1st March 1603. Book 43. No. 299.
4. *Carta—Burgo de Dunbar—de eorum terris et privilegiis.* James VI. 23d October 1618. Book 49. No. 127.

The annual revenue of the burgh is about L.1300, which arises chiefly from customs, impost, shore-dues, cess, feu-duty, water-pipes, property, &c.; and is generally sufficient to meet the expediture, unless when new and expensive works are undertaken. The town's property is valued at about L.8000, independent of the wide pastoral range of Dunbar Outer Common, which contains about 10,000 acres. Some of the burgesses lately entered into a speculation for pasturing the common with sheep and black cattle; but this concern is yet too much in its infancy to hazard an opinion on its ultimate success.

Dunbar consists chiefly of a spacious street, extending nearly the whole length of the town, from which the others branch off towards the shore or the harbour. The houses are mostly modern, very few remaining of that Flemish description which stood

with their dove-tailed gables to the street. The town is situated on an eminence, gradually rising from the sea; and, as a proof of the salubrity of the climate, several instances of longevity occur. The most ancient part of the burgh evidently lay towards the harbour, under cover of the castle, from which it appears to have gradually extended southward. Among the old houses was a tenement, called Bamburgh-castle, which latterly stood near the head of the high-street, but at one time was probably detached. Tradition affirms, that it had a subterraneous communication with the castle, the entrance to which is still shewn; and that, in later times, a foolish piper, in attempting to thread his way through this intricate labyrinth, was supposed to have been suffocated by pestilential vapour; for his bagpipes were only heard to vibrate as far as the bottom of silver-street, when their dying notes ceased. This tenement, and the lands adjoining, belonged to the Knights Templars.

In the itinerary of Fynes Moryson, gent., who perambulated Scotland in 1598, in search of the picturesque in man-millinery and cookery, we find that Dunbar still laboured under the desolating effects of the invasion of 1548, when it was burnt by the English. "Being to return from Barwicke," says he, "I had an earnest desire first to see the king of Scots court; so from hence I rode in one day forty miles to Edinburgh, the chief city of that kingdom; and in this said day's journey, after four miles riding, I came to Aton, a village where the lords of Humes dwell, whose family was powerful in those parts.

After sixteen miles more, I came to Dunbar, which they said to have been of old a town of some importance, but then it lay ruined, and seemed of little moment, as well from the poverty, as the small number of inhabitants."

"The battle of Dunbar, and the more fatal "Tysday's chace," by which epithet it was long remembered, had no doubt a ruinous effect on the burgh, and would be sensibly felt for some time.

From the journal of a medical officer, who was attached to the army of the duke of Cumberland in 1745, Dunbar appears to have been surrounded by a stone-wall: "This Dunbar is a pretty large town, upon the sea-coast, and hath been fenced in with a stone-wall of great strength, though by the frequent batteries it hath of late years received, it is much impaired and gone to decay. The houses here, (as generally most of their capital towns,) are built with stone, and covered with the slate, and are well supplied with provisions, by reason of a weekly market which is held here. The inhabitants talk much of great losses and calamities sustained in the late civil wars; the very thoughts of it do, to this very day, still strike a terror into them, whenever they recal that bloody day to remembrance, and think what great havoc and spoil was made amongst them. The magistrates here made a grand entertainment to every regiment that passed through. The private soldiers had all a certain quantity of bread, meat, and drink allowed them; the officers were treated in their town-

house, where we had many kinds of their most curious dishes, but some of them were oddly cooked up, that it was but few many of us could eat of. We had also claret and punch in great plenty ; but with all these, they had a table-cloth so dirty, that, at other times, I should with great reluctance have wiped my hands on it."

Had this fastidious tourist accompanied Smelfungus to Turin, he would, doubtless, have agreed with that gentleman, that the amphitheatre was a cock-pit ; but he was here taught an important truth, that fatigue and hunger " need nae kitchen." After leaving the champagne fields of England, and the fair ladies of Berwick, every thing appeared to our Englishman cold and hungry, gloomy and desolate. He entered upon the heaths and moors of the Press, " so strangely rotten and barren, that they bore only a sort of moss, and some gorse, ling, or furze, and some parts of these, even on hills, would swallow up a horse !" Such are the exaggerated accounts we are perpetually meeting with in the military journalists of this period ; and yet exaggeration is sometimes mixed up with a little matter of fact. The frontiers of Scotland represented a large battle field, covered with a number of detached parties of skirmishers ; here no village could thrive—no corn-field fertilize. The beautiful village of Dunglass, and the now thriving one of Cockburnspath, are represented as miserable places, with houses without chimnies.

Dunbar is never mentioned as a fortified town of

any importance. The "strong stone-wall" alluded to, was probably less for martial purposes than to keep out predatory wanderers. The castle was its stronghold, where, gazing like a vulture, perched on a rock, she was ready to pounce upon her prey. Every town, however, had its ports or gates for the receipt of customs, &c. Three arches of the town gates were standing in 1768, which were partly removed when pipes were laid down to bring water into the town. The first stood at the east entry to the high-street; the second at the west end of the west-port; and the third, on the north-side of the foot of the high-street, leading to the harbour. The boys were wont to dress them with festoons of flowers at the Whitsunday fairs.

In regard to the buildings of Dunbar, there is nothing remarkable, with the exception of the church, which we have already had occasion to notice. The mansion of the earl of Lauderdale is a large plain building, extending across the foot of the high-street, with a handsome portico in the front, looking towards the sea, and the figure of a lama on the elevation next the town. The town-house is an old inconvenient edifice, the jail being situated immediately beneath the council-chamber.* At each end of the room are the arms of the Union, richly painted,—the figures

* Dunbar, in former times, had its Jack Ketch. The hangman's house and kiltyard stood across the head of silver-street. *En passant* we may notice, that silver-street got its name from some coins being found there, when the workmen were laying out the street. The Gallowgreen was the place of execution.

gilt : the date of one is 1686. In 1822, handsome Assembly Rooms were built by subscription, at the foot of Craw's wynd. The two principal inns are commodious and spacious houses.

The entry to Dunbar from the Edinburgh road is extremely awkward and narrow ; but a plan for widening the West-port is about to be put in execution, which will be a material improvement, and add to the value of that street as well as to the beauty of the town.

Adjoining the burgh are about 50 acres of land, called Dunbar Inner Common, including the Kirkhill and Gallowgreen, where the burgesses have the privilege of pasturing their cows and horses. In 1758, a piece of ground was laid out in a corner of the field as a washing-green or bleachfield, and a drying-house was built. It is customary to perambulate the Inner Common on the king's birth-day.

Dunbar was but very imperfectly supplied with water till August 1766, when an agreement was entered into by the town with Mr Hay, to bring water by means of leaden pipes from St John's Well and the Smithywell; two excellent springs in the neighbourhood of Spott, about two miles south from Dunbar. This improvement cost about L.1700, and was carried into effect in the course of a twelvemonth from the date of its commencement. By the 9th September, 1767, the water was flowing in a pure current through the streets, and the pipes were laid in about two weeks thereafter. On laying the foundation-stone of the

reservoir or main cistern, there was a masonic procession. This useful measure was carried into effect by Robert Fall, Esq. and the other magistrates, aided by contributions from the inhabitants.

Dunbar causeway was laid in 1787; and, again, in 1769-70, the streets were new causeyed and side-pavements laid, yet they were not lighted with lamps till the 7th October, 1785. While the burgh was thus progressively improving itself, it was not unmindful of its neighbours; and, 10th July, 1778, the town subscribed fifteen guineas towards building a bridge at the boat-house of Tynningham, and something considerable towards building the bridge over the Pesse.

THE PORT OF DUNBAR.

THE port of Dunbar was originally situated at Belhaven, probably because it was of easier access from the west than the rugged entrance of Lammer-haven, and probably because in these warlike times the garrison of the castle would view with jealousy the arrival of foreign vessels, even although of the most insignificant description. So early as the middle of the twelfth century, betwixt the years 1147 and 1166, Gospatrick, earl of Dunbar, granted for the commercial accommodation of the monks of May, "a full toft near his port of Bele," free from all customs.* This toft appears to have been situated in Dunbar, where

* About 1168, William the Lion confirmed to the monks of May, "Unam mansuram, cum tofto, in Dunbar."—*Chalmers' Cal. ii.*

these monastics built a house. The burgh continued with little variation in its shipping till the epoch of the Revolution, when it had only two barques and sixteen herring boats.

The town, however, seems early to have been a place of importance as a fishing station; and in 1577, it was the rendezvous of the Dutch as well as of the Scots fishery, when 1000 boats were wrecked on the coast. In 1598, the assize of herring from the east coast amounted to £.1120 for dry killing; and, in 1614, it paid L.2000 Scots, and L.1510 of fine; and, in 1656-59, L.130 sterling.

Tucker, in his communication to the commissioners appointed by Cromwell, gives the following account of the trade of Dunbar in 1656: "The town of Dunbar is a fisher-town, famous for the herring fishing, which are caught thereabout and brought thither, and afterwards cured and barrelled up, either for merchandise or sale to the country people, who come thither, far and near, at the season, which is from about the middle of August to the latter end of September." And, in 1661, John Ray observes in his Itinerary: "there is a great confluence of people at Dunbar, to the herring fishery; and they told us, sometimes to the number of 20,000 persons; but we did not see how so small a town could contain, indeed, give shelter to such a multitude." This multitude, however, would not be stationary at one point, but come and go according to circumstances.

Campbell, in his Political Survey of Great Britain

in 1774, says, (speaking of the port of Dunbar,) "The herring fishery is sometimes very profitable: these herrings in point of quality, as well as size, being generally esteemed superior to those caught by the Dutch."

The herring fishery in the Forth, commences annually about the beginning of August and continues nearly two months. About the beginning of the present century, the herrings were taken in such plenty, that they were sold at $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per dozen; and as there was a greater quantity caught than could be immediately cured, the refuse was absolutely driven to manure the fields. In 1819, there were employed at Dunbar alone, about 280 boats, and in them nearly 2,000 men. The following year (1820) the fishery, though not so well attended, employed upwards of 200 boats, which brought daily from thirty to sixty crans each,—price from 4s. to 5s. per cran. It is computed that nearly 35,000 barrels of herrings were cured there in a season.

The manner in which this fishery was carried on, is similar to the plan of the old Dutch fishery, which renders it extremely beneficial to the country. The boats belong partly to fishermen, who employ the rest of the year in catching white fish, and partly to landmen, who build and equip them in the way of adventurers. An adventure of this kind is called a *Drave*; and is thus managed: Two or three fishermen associate with five or six landmen; for there are commonly eight or nine men to a boat. Each

fisherman has at least two nets of his own; one is appointed as skipper, who lays in provisions and other necessaries, and receives the money for what is sold. When the season terminates, the accounts are made up, and after discharging the expenses, what remains is divided into eight or nine shares, or as they call them, *deals*. The proprietor of the boat draws one deal, every fisherman half a deal, every two nets half a deal, every landsman, who is capable of working two nets, half a deal: thus all parties are interested in profit and loss.

In ancient times a certain quantity of herrings were taken for the king's kitchen, which was afterwards commuted into a tax of ten shillings upon every sizeable boat. There was also a duty paid to the High Admiral's deputy, who presided over the fishery. This has fallen into desuetude; but the town exacts the 1-15th fish as vicarage-tennd. The fishers still appoint one of their number, whom they style Admiral, to arrange the order of sailing, &c. and two chancellors, to whom all disputes are referred.

The herring, however, is a furtive little animal, and for these some years bypast has either completely deserted the coast, or come in such small shoals that the Dunbar fishers now prefer going to Holy Island or to the Caithness fishery. Various reasons are assigned for this dereliction of the silvery fry. Some alleging that the fishers, for purposes best known to themselves, think foreign fowls have the fairest feathers; and others surmising, that those terrible leviathans;

the steamers, that come so often and so near the shore in summer, frighten them away with their noisy wheels.

There are at present 133 open boats belonging to the custom-house district of Dunbar, (*i. e.* betwixt Gullane Point and Berwick bounds,) licensed to be employed in fishing within certain limits. All boats require to be licensed, except such as are employed in inland navigation, or those used by pilots. The fishing on the coast is chiefly for white-fish and lobsters.

HARBOUR AND SHIPPING.

THE harbour of Dunbar, although of difficult access, is excellently adapted both by nature and art as a place of security. It has in depth nine feet of water in neap, and fourteen feet in spring tides; and admits vessels of 800 tons burthen. Before the Revolution, it appears only to have been capable of accommodating vessels of a very small description, or such as were employed in the herring fishery. In December 1655, it suffered so severely by a tempestuous storm, that the inhabitants were compelled to petition parliament for aid in its reparation;* and in 1658, when the "outer

* The following is the copy of a letter, which was addressed by Mr Lorrain, preses of the Council, on the state of the harbour :

MY LORDS,—The inhabitants off Dumbar, in Scotland, heir by y^r supplie to his Heines, represent the great damidg and prejudice qch they and the whole cuntry, from Berwik to Leith, and a great p^t of that natione have sustened through demolishing off the harbo^r off Dumbar by a great & tempestuous storm in the moneth off

head" and the "cross dike" were demolished, they applied, for the same purpose, to the magistrates and town-council of Edinburgh. It was probably these disastrous circumstances, that induced Cromwell to grant L.300 towards defraying the expense of the east-pier, which was begun during the time of the protectorate.

On January 14th, 1774, a tremendous breach was made in that part of the pier called the Round Head, by a raging sea, accompanied with a strong north-easterly wind; when, as a temporary barrier against the waves, 409 bags of sand were collected to fill up the opening. In the ensuing year, they commenced boring at the island, for the purpose of widening the harbour, when one man was killed and another wounded. It was probably about this time, too,

Dec^r 1655, y^r being left, as is alledged, no saiff shelter ffor the hering fisching, q^{ch} being yeirlj at that plaice is the onlj lyvlyehood of many persones in that natione. And, albeit, yor lo^{ps} did, vpon that considerone, grant the pet^{ers} sum ease off y^r ceas-monj, q^{ch} was ane incouradgement to them to endevo^r the repairing theroff; yet the same hath proved ineffectuall throw the greatnes off the work and the indigencie off the pe^{ls}, and thrfor they ar humble suto^{rs} for additionall help either out off the excyse off y^t brought, the cyse off herringes, or in such vy^r way as shall be thot fitt. His Henes and the Counsaill have y^rfor tho^t it fit to recomend it to yor Lo. to consider off the caille, and off the public detriment y^t heath rissen by distroying off the s^d herbor, and to afford sum additionall assistance, in such way & proportone as you shall judg fitt, for enabling the petitioner to repar the same.

" Signed in name, and by ordor off his Henes and Counsaill,

" HE. LAURAIN, Pres.

" WYTHALL, 7th May, 1657.

that the harbour was enlarged and deepened, by digging, upon an average, eight feet deep into the solid rock, when very commodious quays were built. In 1785, the harbour was farther improved and deepened; and a new pier was built on the rock that forms the west entry, to which the convention of royal burghs, with a laudable munificence, voted L.600; and a few years afterwards a convenient dry-dock was also built.

The custom-house was established in 1710, and comprehended in its jurisdiction the whole coast from Berwick bounds to Scoughal shore. On the abolition of the custom-house at Prestonpans, North Berwick was also added to the district, which now extends as far as Gullane Point, and is ranked as a member-port of Leith.

In 1752, the East Lothian and Merse Whale Fishing Company was established at Dunbar, and consisted of the principal landed gentlemen in the neighbourhood, in all 199 shares. At one time they had five ships engaged in this trade of 1532 tons burthen, which employed 238 seamen. While the company was in a flourishing condition, the rigging out and furnishing of these vessels created a considerable bustle about the place; but this firm, like other joint-stock concerns, when people enter into a traffic that they do not understand, failed in its object. No dividend was paid after 1785; and the company dissolved itself by mutual consent in 1804, with a debt of L.3383 on its head,—*minus* L.17 sterling per share.

The export trade of Dunbar was principally confined to the produce of an agricultural district; while its imports were chiefly wood and iron for the supply of the adjacent country. In 1792, there were only 16 vessels belonging to Dunbar, amounting in all to 1505 tons burthen and 100 men, employed in the foreign and coasting trade; and two Greenland ships of 675 tons and 97 men; but it will be seen by the subjoined statement that the trade of Dunbar is now materially increased.

There are at present six vessels belonging to Dunbar, generally employed in the foreign trade, which are navigated by 41 men, whose principal traffic is the importation of wood and grain from the Baltic; and there are other two vessels, with a crew of nine men, occasionally employed in the same manner, and at other times in carrying whisky to London. There are twenty-seven vessels, with a crew of 88 men, employed solely in the coasting trade, in carrying coals, corn, whisky, herrings, &c. from one port to another in Great Britain.

There are also five vessels belonging to the creek of Eyemouth, navigated by 15 men, and four vessels belonging to North Berwick, with a crew of 13 men. These vessels are confined to the coasting trade, and are employed in a manner similar to those of Dunbar.

The quantity of coals imported at Dunbar in the year 1828, including her creeks, was

13,974 tons of Scotch coals; and

8,500 imperial chaldrons of English ditto.

The fir timber, imported from foreign ports, was

715 loads, 24 feet, (50 feet to a load).

129 long hundreds of deals and battens (long hundred of 120.)

The quantity of corn imported, was of

Wheat, 1662½ quarters,

Barley, 19,905½ ditto,

Oats, 842 ditto,

Wheat Flour, . . 220 sacks,

Buck Wheat, . . 561 quarters.

The corn exported in the same year, was

Wheat, 9068½ quarters,

Barley, 1958½ ditto,

Oats, 3105½ ditto,

Beans and Peas, . 3962½ ditto,

Malt, 2173 ditto,

Wheat Flour, . . 2178 sacks.

The whisky exported, was

303,276 gallons.

The trade of the port has evidently improved since the market was thrown open for the exportation of whisky to England. There are now five distilleries in the county, which readily consume the barley imported.

In 1827, the ballast of the harbour yielded a revenue of L.31, 15s., and the boom-pier and pier-rope L.48: 19: 4.

Ship-building is carried on to a moderate extent in Dunbar, being chiefly confined to vessels for the accommodation of the port; and there is also a manufactory for cordage and sail-cloth.

SHIPWRECKS.

" Think you now behold
Upon the hempen tackle ship-boys climbing,
Hear the shrill whistles, which doth order give
To sounds confused. Behold the threading sails
Borne with the invisible and creeping wind
Draw the huge bottom through the forrow'd sea,
Breasting the lofty surge."—SHAKSPEARE.

THE rock-girt coast of Dunbar has been the theatre of many shipwrecks, and the sands of Tyne the grave of many a gallant vessel. Our limits, however, will only allow us to notice a few of the most remarkable. In a strong gale from the north-east, during the night of the 14th November, 1746, the Fox man-of-war, Captain Beaver, commander, was cast away near Dunbar, and all on board perished. At the same time, the Trial sloop-of-war was lost at Holy Island, and one of the custom-house yachts. The last time the Fox was discovered was to the eastward of the May. It is supposed that she struck upon some of the half-ebb rocks near the castle, and lost her bottom, and that the wreck afterwards drifted to Tyne Sands, where she was swallowed up in the Horner's-hole, about one mile east from Tyne-water mouth, part of her rigging having at times been seen there. Most of the corpses were found at the back of the castle, and others at West Barns Links, where they were buried. The Fox fireship, under Captain Killingworth, had been engaged in the battle of La Hogue. She was at the period of this disaster one of the guard-ships stationed in Leith Roads, during the time of the rebellion, and had on board great

part of the plate and other property belonging to the nobility and gentry engaged in the king's cause, as also the fire-arms and other accoutrements belonging to the burgh of Dunbar.

Before proceeding farther with our short narrative, we must, in the first place, take some notice of the life-boat, as she was actively engaged in the disasters we have to record. The want of a boat of this description had long been severely felt on the coast of East Lothian, and it was in consequence of the inhabitants of Dunbar and its vicinity, having witnessed the "pelt-ing of the pitiless storm," on a stranded vessel at Thorntonloch, when one of the exhausted crew was brought on shore, only to exchange a watery for an earthy grave, that their sympathies were awakened to the necessity of some remedy. Accordingly, an "address to the public," was drawn up by Mr G. Miller, Dunbar, and by him printed and circulated gratuitously; and at the same time a committee was formed for transacting the business attendant on this benevolent scheme;* and in a short time, L.371, 19s. 1d. was collected by public subscription, thus shewing that the public were feelingly alive to the necessity of the undertaking. It is a singular fact, that the boat was declared to be in readiness, on the 14th of October, 1808, (just one year from the first meeting of the committee) and the following morning she was

* The committee consisted of Mr G. Miller, bookseller; Mr William Brown, then accountant of the British Linen Company's Bank, Dunbar; and the late Mr David Laing, shipbuilder.

put into actual service under Mr David Laing, long the hero of these shores, for the purpose of rendering assistance to his majesty's sloop-of-war *Cygnet*, then in a state of great jeopardy on the coast. The boat, in this her first journey, had to be conveyed to Lumsden-shore, more than twelve miles east from Dunbar, the nearest point from which she could be launched, and horses were readily furnished by the tenantry on this meritorious occasion. Happily the wind shifting from the shore, the vessel was enabled to weather the storm; but the appearance of the boat over the rocks on the evening of the 15th, as Captain Dix states, in his certificate to Mr Laing, "gave great hopes to all on board, who had been so long in expectation of being dashed to pieces;" while the seamen welcomed her approach by repeated discharges of cannon.

On the night of the 18th December, 1810, about half-past 10 o'clock, some people on the shore of Dunbar were alarmed by the appearance of blue lights or rockets to the eastward. This proceeded from the *Pallas* frigate, which, in company with the *Nymph* frigate, was returning from a cruise in the North seas, when, mistaking the lights of some limekilns in the neighbourhood for the Isle of May, and the May for the Bell Rock, they both ran ashore to the eastward of the town. The *Nymph* ran so close up to the draw-kiln below Skateraw, that the sailors landed by means of the masts when they went overboard. The tenantry, alarmed by the signal guns, had previously come to their assistance. The *Pallas*, however, was less fortunate. She had struck on a reef of rugged

rocks a little to the east of Broxmouth-park and the Vault shore; her keel was literally torn asunder, and from the rate the vessels were going, which was calculated at ten knots an hour, the shock must have been dreadful. From the pitchy darkness of the night, it was impossible to render the crew any assistance, or even to ascertain their situation till the dawn of day, when they were beheld clinging to the wreck, and exposed to the breakers of a tremendous sea, while the strand was strewn with planks, beams, spars, casks, and all the machinery of a shipwreck.

A party of the Royals, then in quarters in the barracks, mounted guard over the wreck, and, along with the inhabitants who had come to the spot, gave every other necessary assistance. As soon as it was practicable, the life-boat was launched, under the direction of Mr Laing, and succeeded in landing two cargoes, to the number of from 40 to 50 men, and in a way that called forth the greatest encomiums from the spectators. On taking in her third cargo, considerable confusion ensued, partly from the number of people crowding into her, by which she was overloaded, and from the difficulty of getting on board the captain, who had fallen down in a state of complete exhaustion. On observing this accident, Mr Laing, unfortunately quitting the important post of steersman, rushed to his assistance, when the boat broaching-to, upset; and being, by this accident, thrown into water too shallow for her recovering, in consequence of her projecting stems getting entangled among the rocks, from which the tide had so much ebbed, it was mo-

rally impossible she could regain her right position.* Mr Laing himself made a narrow escape; he caught hold of a rope from the frigate, but a drowning man seizing it at the same instant, got his legs over Mr Laing's shoulders, and completely immersed him in the waves, from which with difficulty he extricated himself, and got on board the frigate.

Next to the exertions of Mr Laing, the conduct of the duchess of Roxburgh was above all praise; the rooms of Broxmouth-house were prepared with mattresses and hot blankets for the reception of the half-drowned crew, as they were carried from the shore in a helpless state; and through the unremitting attention of Drs Johnson and Turnbull, the whole, (with the exception of the first lieutenant of the *Pallas* and two sailors,) were so far recovered as to be able to leave Broxmouth in the evening. When the first lieutenant was brought on shore, he was apparently dead, and an hour and a half elapsed before he was able to move from the beach. Ten of the seamen, and a man belonging to the port, perished; amongst whom were some of the best swimmers, who, in attempting to reach the shore, were dashed against the rocks. The *Nymph* mounted 36 guns, and the *Pallas* 32. The latter was taken from the French by Lord Cochrane in Basque Roads, who mounted two of his favourite

* For a most satisfactory account of the cause of this accident, and of the impossibility of the result being otherwise, see *Cheap Magazine*, vol. ii., a work published soon after, and edited by Mr G. Miller.

brass guns on her bow. It is somewhat singular, that a ship of this name, (probably the same vessel,) belonged to Paul Jones' squadron when he was off Dunbar. The Pallas was such a complete wreck, that she was sold in lots on the spot; but the Nymph, being in a better condition, was purchased by a ship-builder from Sunderland, who built a ship and loaded a brig from her remains, and besides got more from government for the old copper, at a fair price, than he had paid for the whole lot! A small vessel, called the *Lovely Ann* of Aberdeen, came ashore shortly after, and lay stranded between these vessels, upon which it was roguishly observed, that the goddess of Wisdom had led the two ladies astray.

In 1816, another shipwreck occurred in Tyne Sands, under very melancholy circumstances. On the night of Saturday, the 9th November, the *John and Agnes* sloop of Newcastle, David Bell, master, was stranded in a severe storm. The master of the vessel swam ashore in quest of assistance, leaving a brother and sister on board, who had been on a visit to him at Newcastle. The life-boat, as usual, was brought to the beach, under the command of Mr Laing; but, alas! the brother and sister of Mr Bell had, during his absence, been washed from the deck, and the mate, in attempting to reach the shore, also found a watery grave; while a poor fellow, who had lashed himself to the shrouds, remained frozen in the speechlessness of death. The solitary remnant of this little crew was saved by the life-boat, the last office of the kind she was doomed to perform; for, by the

time the Lady Anne Murray of Gate-house-of-Beet came on shore in the month of October 1821, she had got into such a state of disrepair, that her services were no longer available; and it is exceedingly painful to think, that, on that particular occasion, they might, under other circumstances have been available, and the means of adding another life to the number of those she had already saved.*

* How the Dunbar life-boat, or, more properly, "the Life-boat belonging to the county of East Lothian," with her carriage, &c. had been allowed to lie by in such a state of disrepair, after having been so judiciously consigned by the original committee, upon the completion of their voluntary task, to the care and future disposal of those distinguished individuals, who were, in the words of the printed address, issued to the subscribers on that occasion, "possessed of so much ability and influence, to make them productive, on every emergency, of the greatest possible good;"—and how matters have been suffered to get worse with her since, until the *ill-fated* boat, and her appurtenances, with the exception of "the apparatus for restoring suspended animation," originally purchased from the same funds, were brought to the hammer, and disposed of for what they could bring, on the 15th October last, it is not our present business to inquire; but consistent with our general plan, we simply record the short-lived history of the boat, and now that it has passed away, we would only express a hope, that the "Apparatus for saving the Lives of shipwrecked Seamen," recently presented by government to Dunbar, in common with a number of other situations along the coast, may prove effectual in the hour of danger, and be better fostered than its hapless precursor;—as it is an apparatus that seems peculiarly adapted for the rocky part of these shores; and which, it may be here remarked, they would have been put in possession of, or of something very similar, so long back as 1793, had the exertions of one of the individuals, who afterwards took an active part in procuring the life-boat, been at that time crowned with success.—See *Useful information in cases of Shipwreck*, p. 476, vol. ii. Cheap Magazine, formerly quoted.

CHAPTER III.

Public Institutions.—Villages, &c.

As it is obvious that the chief commerce of a maritime town lies in its shipping, and that any other traffic it may possess must arise solely from its local advantages, there is little more to record of the trade of the burgh. We may state, however, that there are a soap-work ; an iron-foundry and steam-engine manufactory in the place ;—that fish-curing is carried on to a considerable extent ;—and that there are not a few respectable merchants, which add much to its prosperity. The unhappy termination of the East Lothian Bank was a severe blow to the town, as most of the capitalists and agriculturists in the neighbourhood were connected with it ; but from this unexpected occurrence, it is to be hoped that it is gradually recovering.

There is but one bank-office in Dunbar, a branch of the British Linen Company, which was established in 1788. The East Lothian Bank was instituted in 1810, and was dissolved by the company in 1822, in consequence of the cashier absconding with bills and specie to a considerable amount. There is a branch of the Edinburgh post-office, and an agency for the retail of stamps.

PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS, &c.

THERE is a library, as we formerly had occasion to notice, belonging to the presbytery of Dunbar; but it has no printed catalogue. Previous to 1780, there was no regular bookseller in Dunbar; the mental wants of the community being then supplied from the shops of the general merchant, in the same manner as they are at present in the country villages. About this time, Mr A. Smart came from Edinburgh, and commenced business, but he left it again in 1788, and was followed in the book trade by Mr G. Miller, who published his first circulating library catalogue in October 1791; and so much had his collection increased by the month of September 1811, that his catalogue, of that date, contained upwards of 2500 volumes, including an account of his news and reading-room; forming, perhaps, one of the most complete establishments to be met with in any town of equal size in this part of the united kingdom. The situation, however, being too local and circumscribed to afford lasting encouragement for such an extensive concern, after the departure of the military, the greater part of the books were removed to Haddington. To this has succeeded a *Subscription Library* in Dunbar, but upon a much smaller scale, which was instituted in December 1815.

A *Mechanics' Institution* was formed in the burgh in the autumn of 1825. This useful branch of national improvement has no stated lecturer, but it has a regular apprentices' school, which must be of vast utility to that part of the community. The funds,

after other incidental expenses, are applied to the purchasing of books, and the society has now a respectable library of 600 volumes in the different departments of science and general literature. The institution is at present under the patronage of Captain Basil Hall, R.N., who has bestowed on it several valuable donations; and his "Address to the Students," which was printed last year, is characterized by the Quarterly Review, as by far the best and most appropriate that has been delivered to similar institutions.

Nearly akin to instruction, we may notice, that the first printing-press was erected in the county, by Mr G. Miller, at Dunbar, in 1795.* This establishment was removed to Haddington in 1804, under the name of the East Lothian Printing-office, from its being a more central situation for the county business.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

THE *Sailors' Box*, (now called "the Society of Sailors of the Port of Dunbar,") existed in the seventeenth century. In 1705, when the magistracy found it necessary to interfere, in consequence of its funds being dilapidated, it was said to have existed beyond

* The Dunbar press was among the first in Scotland that issued Cheap Tracts, at once of an amusing nature, and calculated to promote the interests of religion, virtue, and humanity among the lower orders; which were successively followed up by the Cheap Magazine and Monthly Monitor, works by the same editor, and which, particularly the former, had a most extensive circulation, (more than 21,000 copies being printed of the first number,) and were highly approved of by the Philanthropist and other Reviews.

the memory of man. The magistrates, who had then the power of sheriffship within themselves, granted the society a new charter on the 15th September 1730. The funds of the institution were originally derived from a duty of eight pennies on the pound Scots, out of all wages paid to the masters, mates, and sailors, frequenting the port; but, in January 1807, a new supplement of by-laws was adopted more agreeable to the times. For the purpose of encouraging the science of navigation, the society formerly paid a salary of L.3 sterling to the mathematical teacher.

As the other societies are in general conducted upon the same principles as those of other places, it will be sufficient merely to enumerate their names:

	INSTITUTED.
Dunbar Mutual Assistance Society,	1805
Industrious Savings Society,	1820
Church-yard Association,	1821
There was a Parish Watch established about a year and a-half before this association was instituted.	
Beneficent and Savings Society,	1824
Mutual Assistance and Savings Society,	1828

The *Dunbar Bible, Missionary and Tract Society*, was instituted in December 1812; and a *Sabbath-school Society* was formed in 1819; but it is about forty years since Sunday schools were first established in the place.

PUBLIC CHARITIES.

THE poor are chiefly paid by assessments on the heritors, agreeably to the valued rent of the parish, and by contributions at the church doors. Of this sum the town pays one-sixth part, and the rest is made

up partly by the landlords, and partly by the tenants. The only mortified money for the poor of the parish of Dunbar at present, is L.75, left by a person of the name of Binning, and which sum is in the hands of the town, who regularly pay the interest to the kirk-session; and the interest of 100 merks, mortified by Lauder of Beilmouth for the like benevolent purpose. There is a sum of 2000 dollars bequeathed to the old and indigent of this parish by the late Mr James Murray of New York, in America. There is also a sum of L.100, bequeathed by Mr William Hume for the benefit of the school at East Barns; as also L.50, left by the Rev. George Bruce, minister of Dunbar, for the same purpose.

The assessment for the poor increased to an enormous degree from 1790 till 1821, since which period it has decreased; yet the poor are equally well attended to as formerly, and, in some respects, their circumstances bettered.

The *Ladies' Destitute Sick Society*, was established at Dunbar in 1818, and a *Charity School* in 1823.

EMINENT MEN.

THE parish of Dunbar has been rather distinguished for men of mercantile enterprise than of literary acquirements; and amongst the former we may rank the Messrs FALL, who, during the last century, rose to great commercial importance, and whose names were well known in the principal ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic. Some of this fami-

ly, (which is now extinct,) served in the navy and in parliament, and had the political sway of the burgh for many years.

The origin of the Falls has excited some speculation, which does not appear to be founded in fact. We allude to the beautiful ballad of the gipsy chief:

“ The gypsies they came to my Lord Cassillis’ yett,
And O! but they sang bonnie;
They sang sae sweet, and sae complete,
That down came our fair Ladie.

“ ‘ I could sail the seas with my Jockie Fae,
I could sail the seas with my dearie:
I could sail the seas with my Jockie Fae,
And with pleasure could drown with my dearie.’ ”

The next individual we have to notice, has distinguished himself in the lighter paths of literature. RICHARD GALL, a promising Scots poet, was born at Linkhouse, near West Barns, in December 1776, where his father exercised the profession of a notary. At five years of age, Gall was sent to a school in Haddington, where, as he states, on “ the dewy leas of the Tyne” the bard first “ breathed his heaven-taught sang.” His parents being in poor circumstances, he was engaged at the early age of eleven as apprentice to his maternal uncle, who was a house-carpenter and builder, and who was shortly afterwards employed at Gosford-house. The drudgery of a profession purely mechanical, did not suit the young poet’s disposition, so relinquishing it for the business of a printer, he entered himself as an ap-

prentice to the publisher of the Edinburgh Evening Courant; but his new occupation, though in some measure adapted to the purposes of literature, was attended with an engrossment of time incompatible with study. He, therefore, on the expiry of his apprenticeship, engaged with his employer, Mr Ramsay, as travelling clerk, and had then an opportunity of viewing the landscapes of his native land, and "gazing on nature with a poet's eye."

Gall was on terms of intimacy with Burns and Macneil, and lodged in the same house with Campbell, when the latter was preparing his exquisite poem of the Pleasures of Hope for publication. Some of our bard's songs are ascribed to Burns, particularly his "Scenes of wo and scenes of pleasure," which appeared in the character of Burns's "Farewell to Ayrshire;" and "My only jo and dearie, O!" was long a favourite, and deservedly popular. His larger poems scarcely possess the merit of his lyrical effusions. He died at the premature age of 25 years, in 1801.

ROADS, &c.

THE Great Post Road runs from east to west the whole length of the parish, and is kept in excellent repair. There are three toll-bars; one at Kirkhill, another at Belhaven, and the cross-bar at Click-im-in.

The first vehicle of the description of a stage-coach, which journeyed between Dunbar and Edinburgh, was a caravan or covered cart, started by Duncan McCulloch, vintner in the burgh, during the time of

the camp, in 1781. This machine carried six inside passengers, and performed its journey in one day, and returned the next.

But the first stage-coach, properly so called, exclusively confined to run between Dunbar and Edinburgh, was started by Mr Henry Laidlaw, in October 1804. It was originally a four-seated light coach, which left Dunbar at 8 morning, and joined the East Lothian long-coach at Haddington at 10, and reached Edinburgh at half-past 12 o'clock. It returned from Edinburgh the same day at 3 o'clock afternoon, and reached Dunbar about 8. This has since been succeeded by a six-inside seated coach, which performs the journey much quicker. Another coach, called the Enterprise, started a few years ago, and now runs upon alternate days, and at the same hours with the former. The fares of both coaches are moderate; and they perform the journey with as much expedition as the London coaches. The Royal Mail, the Union, and the Berwick coaches, also pass through Dunbar on their way to the metropolis. There are likewise Berwick waggons and Edinburgh carriers twice a-week, and a Dunse carrier weekly.

VILLAGES.

THE principal villages in the parish, are Belhaven, West and East Barns, and Broxburn. The ancient villages of Belton, Hetherwick and Pinkerton, fell to decay with their chapels, and have been partly removed to make room for agricultural improvements. An aged tree or a solitary dovecot, is all that now

remains in some places to mark where the inmates of the onstead "laugh'd loud in the village ring."

BELHAVEN, which was originally the port of Dunbar, has still the appearance of a thriving village. Its healthy situation renders it a good retreat for the valetudinarian; and besides Winterfield, the seat of Captain R. Anderson, R.N. several villas have recently been erected in its neighbourhood. The range of houses immediately opposite Winterfield-park, across with the barracks.

A brewery has been long established here, and is still carried on to a considerable extent; and a spinning-mill was erected in 1806, which is, however, for the present given up. After the removal of the military, the artillery barracks, which were situated at Belhaven, were purchased from government, and converted into a factory for cotton goods. This factory was established in 1815, and gave employment to two hundred and fifty looms, and maintained a population of 550 people, chiefly Irish; but this establishment fell to decay on the disastrous termination of the East Lothian Bank. Belhaven is situated within the royalty of Dunbar, and gives title to a Scottish baron.*

* Part of the lands in this neighbourhood belonged to the family of Lauder of Bass. In 1745, the son of Lauder of Beilmouth, took part in the rebellion, while his father, like the head of many other families, acted an equivocal part, and remained at home. Particular favour, it is said, was shewn by the rebels on this account to the tenantry of West Barns and Belhaven. Young Beilmouth was taken at Carlisle and executed. Search was made for the laird, who by means of a concealment in his house, (which was situated in Belhaven,) evaded discovery till the heat of pursuit was over. He

WEST BARNs is a respectable village, and has been on the increase for some years. The parochial school of Dunbar was established here in 1790, for the purpose of accomodating this populous portion of the parish. A cotton and flax mill was erected in 1792, under expectations which were not realized. On its establishment, the cotton trade was in a flourishing state; and, from the number of young people it employed, it was hailed as a patriotic attempt at the time. There is a flour mill at West Barns, to which the town of Dunbar and some estates in the neighbourhood are thirled. A distillery was erected here in 1806.

EAST BARNs is chiefly a farm-village, where, as formerly mentioned, there is a respectable school. This place is remarkable in the annals of witchcraft, as being the residence of Isobel Young, wife of George Smith, portinmer in that village, who was convicted and burnt for witchcraft in 1629.* It will scarcely be credited, that the dark art was the general belief of the same age that produced Milton, and that the most learned part of the community joined with the most illiterate in persecuting the deluded wretches who were accused of the crime.

was a firm believer in the dark science of astrology; and, when on a visit to Ireland, endeavoured to read his destiny by means of the horoscopes. He was buried at the foot of the pulpit-stair in Dunbar old church.

It may be farther noticed, that, in consequence of some dispute between the owners and the crown, a cargo of wine, which lay in the laird of Spott's cellars, on the key of Dunbar, was carried off by the rebels *sans ceremonie*.

* For a concise account of the witches and magicians of East Lothian, see St Baldred, p. 266.

GENTLEMEN'S SEATS.

ON entering Dunbar parish by the Edinburgh road, Tynningham-house, the seat of the earl of Haddington, appears the most conspicuous. This mansion, to which additions have been made by ten different earls, is a spacious building, and stands at the mouth of the Tyne, about five miles west from Dunbar. Tynningham is justly celebrated for its extensive plantations, which cover at least 800 acres of ground. Old Evelyn, that prince of arborists, would have rejoiced in her gigantic hollies, spreading their broad prickly and varnished leaves, and stretching into ample avenues everlastingly green.

South from Tynningham, Beil-house is situated in one of those beautiful secluded dells, which we so often meet with in Scotland, but which give no indication of their existence till we stand in the midst of their beauties. A few years ago, this elegant mansion was renovated in the Anglo-gothic or cathedral style, with a square tower and handsome conservatory. In short, when we view its light velvet lawn, watered by the gentle Bele, which contrasts so finely with the dark umbrage of its lofty cedars and weeping cypresses, together with its hanging-terraces, blooming with the rarest exotics, we cannot help considering this place as the *beau ideal* of a little oriental paradise.

Lochend, the seat of the right honourable Sir George Warrender, Bart. M.P. is situated in the immediate vicinity of Dunbar. An elegant new mansion, in the Anglo-gothic style of architecture, was erected in 1825.

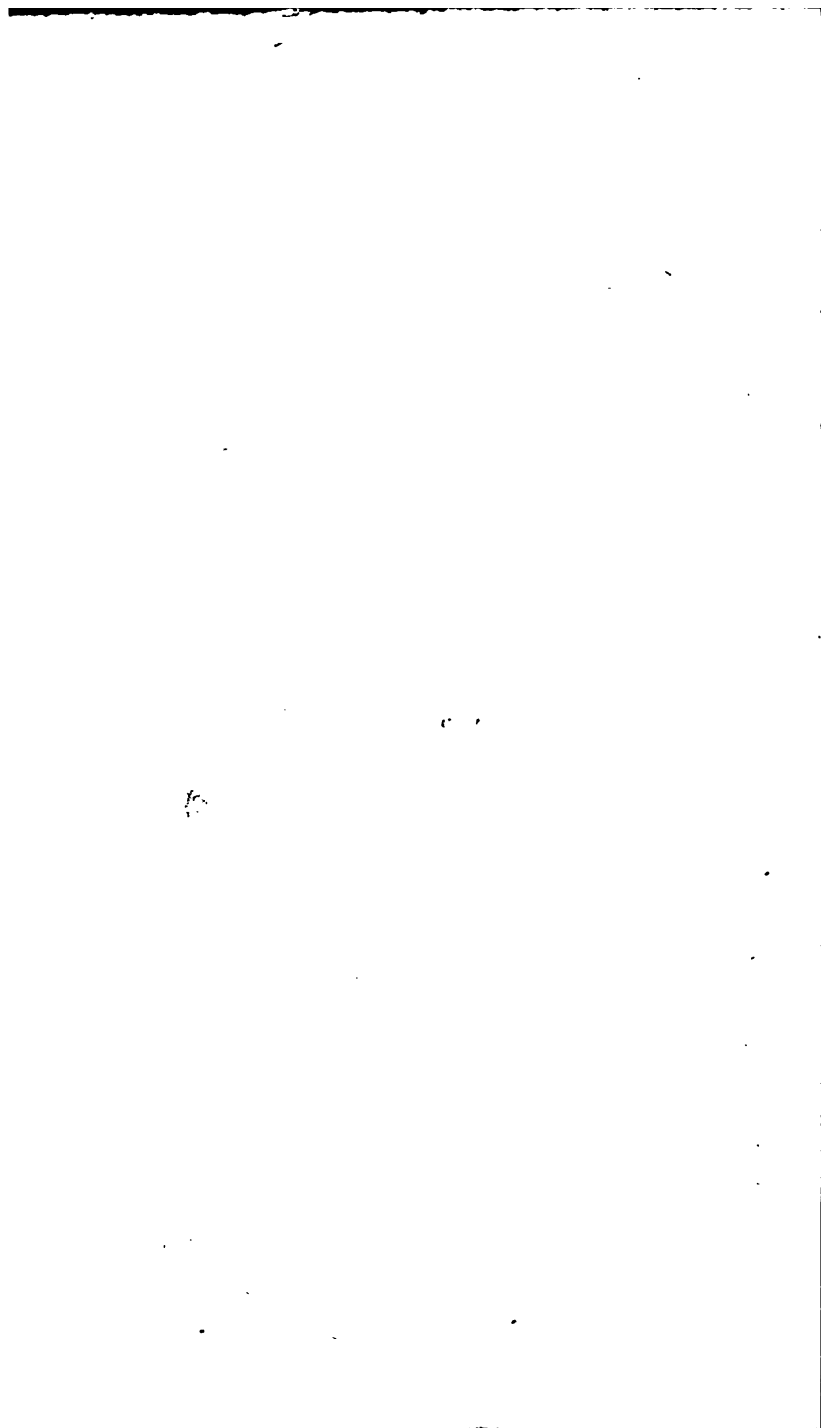
There is little wood in the vicinity of Dunbar, which gives the country in general a denuded appearance; but at Broxmouth-house, one of the seats of the Duke of Roxburgh, there are some thriving plantations.

Spott-house, the seat of James Sprott, Esq. is romantically situated on a precipitous rock, in a deep glen, nearly a mile long, adorned with a variety of trees entwined with lichens and ivy. It commands a delightful prospect of the rich coast of Lothian, with its lofty picturesque islands of the Bass and the May.

PRESSMENNAN LAKE.

THE edges of the Lammermoors are skirted with natural wood, chiefly of oak and hazel, which in many places conceal the most delightful scenery. On the estate of Mrs Hamilton Nisbet of Beil, in the parish of Stenton, four small lochs have been united into a beautiful sheet of water, called Pressmennan Lake. It is about two miles in length; but, from its serpentine windings appears much longer, and averages 400 yards in breadth. At noon, when "the vertic sun intensely glows," this is, indeed, a sweet secluded spot,—the lofty banks covered with wood, and rising on either side, shut out every far off prospect—nothing remains but the clear lake and the blue sky. Many parties of the gentle and the fair visit this place in summer, as the proprietor kindly allows them the use of a boat kept ready moored in the lake, with the additional liberty of walking in the plantations.

ANCIENT CASTLES
AND
Picturesque Scenery.



THE PEASE BRIDGE.

Upon thy lofty banks, no more are seen
The Anglian warriors, in their red array,
Threading, with Somerset, the intricate way,
Sprinkling with burnished arms thy covert green;
All now looks tranquil, save when the lark springs
Scared by the angler in the depths beneath,
Or when the thunders growls long vales between,
Like lions in the desert breathing death!
Or when the blithe and ale-inspired swain,
Drives o'er thy ponderous arch the loaden wain;
Or when the buxom milk-maid homeward roves,
Wafting her artless strains to the dark spreading groves.—MS. POEM.

THE Pass of Peaths, or, as it is now called, Pease, is a ravine or wooded chasm, upwards of one hundred and sixty feet deep, about two miles east from Cockburnspath, on the old post road, leading by the Press inn to Berwick. The gentle river of Pease runs at its bottom, the banks of which are so steep, that they can only be descended in a winding direction, by intricate paths, from whence, it is said, the stupendous glen derives its name. During the border wars it presented an important obstacle to an invading army, where the mountaineers hung round like mountain foxes watching their prey, till an opportunity occurred that they might slay them in detail.

On the return of the English army, under the earl of Hertford, in 1544, from their desolating inroad into Scotland, we have the following account of their passage of the Pease, in their way to Berwick:

“About two of the clock at afternoon, the sun

brake out, the fog went away, and a clear day was left us, whereof every man received as that were a new courage, longing to see the enemies, who being ready for us at the said passage, and seeing us come in good order of battle, as men determined to pass through them, or to leave our bones with them, abode us but two shots of a faucon, but skaled every man his way to the high mountains, which were hard at their hands, and covered with flocks of their people. The passage was such, that having no lette, it was three hours before all the army could pass it. The same night, the army encamped at a pyle called Ranton (Renton,) viii miles from our borders, which pyle was a very ill neighbour to the garrison of Berwick. The same we razed, and threw down to the ground. The next day, being the xviii of May, the whole army entered into Berwick, and ended this voyage with the loss vnneth of forty of the king's majesty's people, thanks be to our Lord.*

This important pass is farther noticed in the diary of William Patten, Londoner, in his account of the duke of Somerset's expedition into Scotland, in 1548: "We marched an viii. mile till we came to a place called the Peaths. It is a valley running from a vi. mile west, straight eastward and toward the sea, a xx. skore broad from bank to bank above; and a v. skore in the bottom, wherein runs a little river; so steep be these banks on either side, and deep of the bottom, that who goeth straight down shall be in dan-

* "Expedition to Scotlande, under the conduit of the earl of Huntlyde, 1544."

ger of tumbling: and the comer up so sure of puffing and pain; for remedy whereof, the travellers that way, have used to pass it, not by going directly, but by paths and foot-ways leading slopewise, of the number of which paths, they call it, (somewhat nicely indeed,) the Peaths. A brute report a day or two before, was spread among us, that hereat the Scots were very busy a working, and how here we should be stayed, and met withall by them; whereunto I heard my lord's Grace vow, that he would put it in proof, for he would not step one foot out of his course appointed. At our coming, we found all in good peace; howbeit, the side-ways on either side, most used for ease, were crossed and cut of in many places with the casting of trauers treches (transverse trenches,) not very deep, indeed, and rather somewhat hindering, then utterly letting; for whether it were more for policy or diligence, (as I am sure neither of both did want,) the ways by the pioneers were soon so well plainned, that our army, carriage, and ordnance, were quite set over soon after sunset, and there as then we pight our camp."

A bridge of four arches, 123 feet in height, was built over this immense pass in 1785-86. Two of the arches rest on the banks of the chasm. The bridge is 300 feet long, and only 16 feet broad, and is protected by an iron balustrade.

There is a view in Grose's *Scottish Antiquities*, drawn in 1788; and another is extant, drawn by Mr Alexander Carse, an excellent painter, and a native of the neighbourhood.

DUNGLAS CASTLE.

THE castle of Dunglas stood on the west side of a rivulet which separates East Lothian from Berwickshire, on the same spot where the elegant modern mansion, the seat of Sir James Hall, Bart. is now situated. The banks of the streamlet are steep and rocky, clad with trees and verdure, through which a variety of pleasure-walks wind their devious course; and at the chasm, where the bridge spans the romantic glen, the scenery affords a pretty good specimen of the stupendous Pease in miniature.

This fortlet was originally one of the many strongholds of the earls of Home, and still gives its title to Lord Dunglas. After the attainder and execution of Lord Home in 1516, it appears occasionally to have been held by the Douglasses: for, according to Patten, it was held by George Douglas during the expedition of Somerset in 1548. Sir George Douglas, who was slain at the ensuing battle of Pinkie, was brother to the earl of Angus, who, after his banishment from the court, had retired to the borders.

Patten relates, that while the army was passing the Pease, "my lord's Grace, willing to lose no time, and that the enemies as well by deed as by brute, should know he was come, sent an herald to summon a castle of George Douglas, called Dunglas, that stood at the end of the same valley nearer the sea, and a mile from the place of our passage. The captain thereof, Matthew Hume, a brother's son of the Lord Hume's, upon

this summons, required to speak with my lord's Grace. It was granted, and he came. To whom, quoth his Grace, since it cannot be but that ye must be witting both of our coming into these parts, and of our proclamation sent hither before, and proclaimed also since, and ye have not yet come to us, but keep this holde thus, we have cause to take you as our mere enemy. And, therefore, be ye at this choice, (for we will take none advantage of your being here now,) whether ye and your company will render your holde and stande, body and goods, at the order of our will, or else to be set in it again as ye were; and we will assay to win it as we can. The captain, being about this riddle brought in great doubt what answer well to make, and whether best to do, at last strucken with the fear of cruelty that by stubbornness he should well deserve, and moved again with the hope of mercy, that by submission he might hap to have, was content to render all at his Grace's pleasure, and thereupon commanded to fetch his company, returned to the castle. In the time of tarrying for fetching his guard, we saw our ships, with good gale and order, fair sailing into their Firth, which is a great arm of the sea, and runneth westward into their country above iiii. score mile. Upon this standeth Leith, Blackness, Stirling, and Saint Jho's road, and all the best towns else in the south part of Scotland. This captain came and brought with him his band to my lord's Grace, which was of xxi. sober soldiers, all so apparelled and appointed, that, so God help me, (I will say it for no praise,) I never saw such a bunch of beggars come

out of one house together in my life. The captain and vi. of the worshipful of the company, were stayed and commanded to the keeping of the Provost Marshal, more (hardly) to take Munday's handsell, then for hope of advantage; the residue were licensed to go their gate with this lesson, that if they were ever known to practise or do ought against the army, while it was in the country, and thereupon taken, they should be sure to be hanged. After this surrender, my Lord John Gray, being captain of a number, (as for his approved worthiness right well he might,) was appointed to seize and take possession of the manor, with all and singular the appurtenances, in and to the same belonging, with whom (as it hapt) it was my chance to go thither. The spoil was not rich sure; but of white bread, oaten cakes, and Scottish ale, whereof was indifferent good store, and soon bestowed among my lord's soldiers accordingly. As for swords, bucklers, pikes, pots, pans, yarn, linen, hemp, and heaps of such baggage beside, were scant stooped for, and very liberally let alone; but yet sure it would have rued any good housewife's heart, to have beholden the great unmerciful murder that our men made of the brood geese and good laying hens that were slain there that day, which the wives of the town had pend up in holes in the stables and cellars of the castle, ere we came. In this meantime, my lord's Grace appointed the house should be overthrown; whereupon the captain of the pioneers, with a iiiC. of his labourers, were sent down to it, whom he straight set a digging about the foundation. In the

town of Dunglas, (the which we left unspoiled and unburned,) we understood of the wives, (for their husbands were not at home,) that it was George Douglas's devise and cost, to cast these cross trenches at the Peaths, and stood him in iiii. Scottish L., which is as much sterling as iiii. good English crowns of V.s. a piece; a mete reward for such a work."

Next day, Patten continues, "Our pioneers were early at their work again about the castle, whose walls were so thick, and foundation so deep, and there too set upon so craggy a plot, that it was not any easy matter soon to underdig them; our army dislodged and march on."

After the destruction of Dunglas, it was probably rebuilt and enlarged in a manner surpassing its ancient bearing; for, in 1603, it was sufficient to lodge James VI. and his whole retinue, when on his journey to London; and, on his return, in 1617, he was welcomed by the *Muses Dunglasides*.

In 1640, the earl of Haddington, and several of the neighbouring gentlemen, who had joined the covenanters, took possession of Dunglas castle, for the purpose of watching the garrison of Berwick. His lordship, having received a letter from General Leslie, was standing in the courtyard reading it to the company, when the powder-magazine blew up, and one of the side-walls falling, overwhelmed his lordship and his auditors, who all perished in the ruins. Scotstarvet states, that a report prevailed, that the deed was effected by a faithless page, who, having thrust a hot iron into a barrel of gunpowder, perished with the rest.

INNERWICK AND THORNTON CASTLES.

THE castle of Innerwick belonged to a younger branch of the ducal family of Hamilton, who were thence styled Hamiltons of Innerwick; and produced that eminent lawyer and statesman, Sir Thomas Hamilton, who acquired an immense fortune, and founded the earldom of Haddington. It is a ruinous fortress, romantically situated on the edge of a rocky glen, and was only divided by a small rivulet from the fortlet of Thornton, which is now entirely obliterated. Of these fortalices, according to Major, there were two in every league, less calculated for defence in any serious insurrection, than to defend the borderers from any sudden attack; and these two fortlets, that stood like haughty veterans, front to front, as if frowning defiance, were evidently built for the very different purpose of mutual protection.

While a portion of the miners were sapping the stubborn walls of Dunglas, the army having marched on, Patten observes: "In the way we should go, a mile and a half from Dunglas northward, there were two pyles or holdes, Thornton and Inderwicke, set both on craggy foundation, and divided a stone's cast asunder, by a deep gut wherein ran a little river. Thornton belonged to the Lord Hume, and was kept then by one Tom Trotter; whereunto my lord's Grace

overnight, for summons, sent Somerset, his herald, toward whom iiii. or v. of his captain's prikkers, with their gaddes ready charged, did right hastily direct their course; but Trotter both honestly defended the herald, and sharply rebuked his men; and said for the summons he would come speak with my lord's Grace himself; notwithstanding he came not, but straight lockt up xvi. poor souls, like the soldiers of Dunglas, fast within the house, took the keys with him, and commanding them they should defend the house, and tarry within, (as they could not get out,) till his return, which should be on the morrow, with munition and relief, he with his prikkers prikt quite his ways.

"Innerwick pertained to the lord of Hambleton (Hamilton,) and was kept by his son and heir, (whom of custom they call the Master of Hamilton,) and an xiii. more with him, gentlemen for the most part, as we heard say. My lord's Grace, at his coming nigh, sent unto both these pyles, which upon summons refusing to surrender, were straight assailed. Thornton, by battery of iiii. of our great pieces of ordnance, and certain of Sir Peter Mewtus hakbutters to watch the loop-holes and windows on all sides, and Innerwick by a sort of the same hakbutters alone, who so well bestirred them, that where these keepers had rammed up their outer doors, cloyd and stopped up their stairs within, and kept themselves aloft for defence of their house about the battlements, the hakbutters gat in, and fired them underneath; whereby being greatly troubled with smoke and smother, and brought in desperation of defence, they called pitiful,

ty over the walls to my lord's Grace for mercy ; who notwithstanding their great obstinacy, and the ensample other of the enemies might have had by their punishment, of his noble generosity, and by these words, making half excuse for them, (Men may sometimes do that hastily in a gere, whereof, after, they may soon repent them,) did take them to grace, and therefore sent one straight to them. But ere the messenger came, the hakbutterers had got up to them, and killed viii. of them aloft ; one leapt over the walls, and running more than a furlong after, was slain without in a water. All this while, at Thornton, our assault and their defence was stoutly continued ; but well perceiving, how on the one side they were battered, mined on the other, kept in with hakbutterers round about, and some of our men within also, occupying all the house under them, (for they had likewise shopt up themselves in the highest of their house,) and so to do nothing inward or outward, neither by shooting of base, (whereof they had but one or two,) nor tumbling of stones, (the things of their chief annoyance,) whereby they might be able any while to resist our power, or save themselves, they plucked in a banner that afore they had set out in defiance, and puts out over the walls, a white linen clout tied on a stick's end, crying all with one tune for mercy ; but having answer by the whole voice of the assailers, they were traitors, and it was too late, they plucked in their stick, and stuck up the banner of defiance again, shot of hurled stones, and did what else they could, with great courage of their side, and

little hurt of ours. Yet then, after being assured by our earnesty, that we had vowed the winning of their holde before our departure, and then, that their obstinacy could deserve no less than death, plucked in their banner once again, and cried upon mercy ; and being generally answered, Nay, nay, look never for it, for ye are arrant traitors ; then made they a petition, that if they should needs die, yet that my lord's Grace would be so good to them as they might be hanged, whereby they might somewhat reconcile themselves to Godward, and not to die in malice with so great danger of their souls : a policy sure, in my mind, though but of gross heddes, yet of a fine device. Sir Miles Partrick being nigh about this pyle at this time, and spying one in a red doublet, did guess he should be an Englishman, and therefore came and furthered this petition to my lord's Grace the rather, which then took effect. They came and humbled themselves to his Grace, whereupon, without more hurt, they were but commanded to the Provost Marshal. It is somewhat here to consider, I know not whether the destiny or hap of man's life, the more worthy men, the less offenders, and more in the judge's grace, were slain ; and the beggars, the obstinate rebels, that deserved nought but cruelty, were saved. To say on now, the house was soon after so blown with powder, that more than the one half fell straight down to rubbish and dust, the rest stood all to be shaken with riftes and chynkes.

“ Innerwick was burned, and all the houses of office, and stacks of corn about them both. While this

was thus in hand, my lord's Grace, in turning but about, saw the fall of Dunglas, which likewise was undermined and blown with powder.

"The semblance and sign, whereby a stranger might discern a villain from a gentleman, was not among them to be seen! Not one with either chain, broach, ring, or garment of silk, that I could see, only chains of latten drawn four or five times along the thighs of their hosen and doublet sleeves for cutting; and of that sort I saw many."

There is a view of Innerwick castle in Grose's Antiquities, drawn in 1789; and in the Provincial Antiquities, drawn by the Rev. J. Thomson, in 1822.

A considerable portion of the north-west part of the wall fell suddenly in the summer of 1828, and nearly buried some people in its ruins.

NOTE,

NEAR BRANXTON, in the parish of Innerwick, on a hill, a little above the bridge, vulgarly called *Edinken's*, but properly *Edwin's* bridge, stood, what Ossian would have called, the "four grey stones," to mark the burial place of Edwin, prince of Northumbria, who was killed and buried in a field in the neighbourhood. It was the same Edwin, who gave his name to Edinburgh. It is much to be regretted, that these stones were removed for agricultural purposes, before the reverend gentleman, from whom the author had the above information, had an opportunity of exploring the spot.

In a field, near Dryburn-bridge, on the farm of Skateraw, two stone-coffins were lately discovered, containing a dagger and a ring.

COCKBURNSPATH TOWER.

THE ruins of this fortalice stand upon an angle of the high-way, a short distance east from Cockburnspath, and overlooks a deep woody glen and a small rivulet of water. It was evidently built to protect this pass, which has now a bridge over it.

In the words of Grose, "the castle consists of a small strong square tower of rough stone, having a circular staircase in its south-west angle. Adjoining to its southernmost side is a gate with a circular arch; on entering it, on the right hand, are a number of vaulted buildings, all in ruins. If the appellation of Cockburn's Path, by which it is at present called, is a corruption of Colbrand's Path, this was once a place of great note and consequence."

So early as 1073, this fortress belonged to the earls of Dunbar and March; and, from its situation, was considered one of the keys of the kingdom.

In 1488, James III. having proposed to annex the earldoms of March and Annandale, with the baronies of Dunbar and Colbrand's Path to the crown, excited a revolt among the border chieftains, which led to a rebellion in which the king was slain.

This tower is now the property of Sir James Hall, Bart. of Dunglas, late president of the Royal Society,—a gentleman distinguished for his skill in geological science, and for his knowledge of our early architecture. There is a view in Grose's Antiquities, drawn in 1789.

FAST CASTLE.

FAST CASTLE is situated on the verge of a lofty rock, that overhangs the German ocean, near St Abb's Head. It is a moderate tower, surrounded by flanking walls, only accessible by one path, which is but a few feet wide, bordered by frowning precipices. It was an ancient fortress of the earls of Hume. In 1410, it was held by Thomas Holden, who had long infested the country by his pillaging excursions, with an English garrison, when Patrick, second son of the earl of Dunbar, with a hundred followers took the castle, and captured the governor.

According to Holinshed, Fast Castle again fell into the hands of the English, till it was recovered by the following stratagem in 1548: "The captain of Fast Castle had commanded the husbandmen adjoining to bring thither at a certain day great store of victuals, the young men thereabouts having that occasion, assembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from their horses, and laying them on their shoulders were allowed to pass the bridge, which joined two high rocks, into the castle, where laying down that which they brought, they suddenly, by a sign given, set upon the keepers of the gate, slew them, and before the other Englishmen could be assembled, possessed the other places, weapons, and artillery of the castle, and then receiving the rest of the

company into the same, through the same great and open gate, they wholly kept and enjoyed the castle for their countrymen."

So impregnable was this little eagle's nest of war, that Sir Nicolas Throgmorton characterizes it as a place "fitter to lodge prisoners than folks at liberty;" and, in 1570, when only tenanted by ten Scots, Drury, marshal of Berwick, after taking Home Castle, was sent to invest it with 2000 men, it being the next principal place that belonged to Lord Home. It surrendered on the first summons to this formidable host; and was garrisoned by an equally small number of English, which, from the strength of its situation, were considered a sufficient protection against the power of Scotland.

Even after a cessation of arms had been agreed on by Elizabeth and Mary's rebellious lords, English garrisons were kept in Home and Fast Castles, on the plea that Lord Home maintained the English rebels, and assisted them in invading their country; and that these fortresses should be so held till restitution was made by his lordship for the injury sus-

* Sir Nicolas Throgmorton, the English ambassador, thus writes to Secretary Cecil:

"SIR,—As you might perceive by my letter of the 11th July, I lodged at Fast Castle that night, accompanied with the Lord Humble, the Lord of Ledington, and James Melvin, where I was intreated very well, according to the state of the place, which is fitter to lodge prisoners than folks at liberty; as it is very little, so it is very strong.

"By my next I hope to send you the bond concluded by Hamilton, Argyle, Huntly, and that faction; not so much to the prejudice

tained ; but it was agreed, that these garrisons should commit no hostilities.

“ In the reign of James VI.” says Sir Walter Scott, “ Fast Castle became the appropriate stronghold of one of the darkest characters of that dark age, the celebrated Logan of Restalrig. There is a contract existing in the charter-chest of Lord Napier, betwixt Logan and a very opposite character, the celebrated inventor of the logarithms, the terms of which are extremely singular. The paper is dated, July 1694, and sets forth, ‘ Forasmuch as there were old reports and appearances that a sum of money was hid within John Logan’s house of Fast Castle, John Napier should do his utmost diligence to search and seek out, and by all craft and ingine to find out the same ; and, by the grace of God, shall either find out the same, or make it sure that no such thing has been there.’ For his reward he was to have the exact third of what was found, and to be safely guarded by Logan back to Edinburgh. And in case he should find nothing, after all trial and diligence taken, he refers the satisfaction of his travel and pains to the discretion of Logan.”* So much for the credulity of philosophers.

Logan was next engaged in the mysterious plot of the Gowrie conspiracy. It was proposed to force

of the lords of Edinburgh, as that which was sent into France : Thus having no more leisure, but compelled to leap on horseback with the lords to go to Edinburgh, I humbly take my leave of you, from Fast Castle, the 12th of July 1567.”

* Provincial Ant. vol. ii. p. 190.

the king into a boat from the bottom of the garden of Gowrie-house, and thence conduct him by sea to the ruffian's castle on the shores of Berwickshire, there to await the disposal of Elizabeth or of the conspirators.

Logan's connection with this affair was not known till nine years after his death, when the correspondence betwixt him and the earl of Gowrie was discovered in the possession of Sprott, a notary public, who had stolen them from one John Bour, to whom they were entrusted. Logan's letters are dated Gun's-green, a place near Eyemouth.* The barony of Dirleton was to be his reward for these iniquitous services.

* "My Lord,—You may easily understand, that such a purpose as your lordship intendeth, cannot be done rashly, but with deliberation. And I think, for myself, it were most meet to have the men your lordship speaks of ready in a boat or bark, and address them as if they were taking pastime on the sea on such fair summer time. And if your lordship could think good; either yourself to come to my house at Fast Castle by sea, or to send your brother, I should have the place very quiet and well provided, after your lordship's advertisement; where we shall have no scant of the best venison can be had in England. And if your lordship doubt of safe landing, I shall provide all such necessaries as may serve for your arrival within a flight shot of the house; and persuade your lordship you shall be as sure and quiet here, while we have settled our plot, as if you were in your own chamber; for I trust, and am assured, we shall hear word in a few days from them your lordship knoweth of; for I have care to see what ships come home by. Your lordship knoweth I have kept the Lord Bothwell quietly in this house in his greatest extremity, say both king and council what they liked. I hope, if all things come to pass, as I trust they shall, to have both your lordship and his lordship at one good dinner before I die. *Hac*

Sprott was executed, and maintained the truth of these documents on the scaffold, clapping his hands three times in the death struggle, as a proof of his veracity. Logan was condemned for high treason, even after his death, his bones having been brought into court for that purpose.

Fast Castle now belongs to Sir James Hall of Dunglas, Bart.

James, to animate your lordship; I doubt not but all things will be well. And I am resolved whereof your lordship shall not doubt; yea, to peril life, land, honour and goods; yea, the hazard of hell shall not affray me from that; yea, although the scaffold were already set up. The sooner the matter were done it were the better; for the king's buck-hunting will be shortly, and I hope it shall prepare some dainty cheer for us to dine against the next year."

And, in another letter, he continues, "I think all matters shall be concluded at my house of Fast Castle; for I and Mr Alexander Ruthven concluded, that ye should come with him and his lordship, and only another man with you, intil one of the great fishing boats by sea to my house, where ye shall land as safely as on Leith shore; and when you are but half a mile from the shore, as it were passing by the house, to gar set forth a *waff*. I think there is none of a noble heart, or carry a stomach worth a penny, but they would be content and glad to see a contented revenge of Greysteil's death." Meaning the earl of Gowrie, who had obtained that chivalrous epithet for his personal bravery.

THE BASS ROCK.

"The fierce Dane

Upon the eastern coast of Lothian landed,

Near to that place where the sea-rock immense,

Amazing Bass, looks o'er a fertile land."—HOME'S DOUGLAS.

THIS romantic island is situated at a little distance from the shore of East Lothian, nearly opposite the fishing village of Cantybay, and about three miles east from North Berwick. Few scenes can be more picturesque or beautiful. On the east, the massy towers of Tantallan castle frown on the edge of the beetling cliff; while, on the west, we behold the conical hill of North Berwick Law, clad with verdure to its very summit, rising 800 feet above the level of the sea, and the Bass itself, rising above 400 feet above the surface of the German ocean, and covered with water-fowl of almost every variety of plumage.

Boece describes the Bass as "ane wondrousful crag, risand within the see, with sa narro and strait hals (passage,) that na schip nor bait may arrive bot allanerlie at ane part of it,—unwinnabill be ingine of man. In it ar coves, als profitable for defence of men, as they were biggit be crafty industry." The same description is still applicable to the Bass. It is inaccessible except by a narrow passage on the south-west. The base of the rock is computed to be an English mile in circumference. From the depth of the water, extending from 30 to 40 fathoms, its entire height may be estimated at 600 feet. A cavern runs through the rock from east to west, which may be explored

at ebb-tide. It is dark in the centre, where there is a deep pool. While sailing on the west side of the rock, opposite the opening of this cove, it is delightful to contemplate its sublime scenery. The rock appears piled in tremendous masses, while myriads of birds sit secure on their lofty perches. The side of the rock next the shore, is of a conical shape, but much flatter, and resembling the formation of Tra-pene rather than that of North Berwick Law.

Having described the appearance of the Bass, we shall inquire a little into its history. During the predatory warfare of the Picts, the islands of the sea were the retreats of the pious, both as a measure of safety, and also that they might be near the spot where they wished to pursue their missionary labours. So early as the end of the sixth century, the venerable Baldred, the disciple of Kentigern or St Mungo, the tutelary saint of Glasgow, took up his abode in this solitude.

This rock appears originally to have belonged to the bishoprick of St Andrews; for, in 1316, Robert Lauder obtained a charter for one half of the island from William de Lambert, bishop of St Andrews, which shews, at least, that she claimed the superiority; and, in 1491, Agnes Fawlaw, wife of Robert Lauder of Bass, granted an annuity of 15 merks for supporting a chaplain at the Virgin Mary's altar in St Andrew's kirk, North Berwick, which was confirmed by James IV.

In 1405, the Bass sheltered James, the infant heir of Robert III., when it was judged expedient to send

him to France as a security against the dark intentions of the duke of Albany. Henry Sinclair, earl of Orkney, was appointed the prince's guardian in this voyage, and a ship was ordered to the Bass to receive the exile; but he had only proceeded so far as Flamborough-head, when he was captured by the English, and nineteen years elapsed before James saw the end of his captivity.

Beague, a French officer, gives the following description of the Bass in 1550, which he very significantly calls, *The Isle of Goose*: "The island is so exorbitantly uneven, that till one reach the wall of the castle, he cannot have sure footing in any one place; so that, as I have often observed, those that enter it must climb up by the help of a strong cable thrown down for the purpose; and when they have got with much ado to the foot of the wall, they sit down in a wide basket, and in this posture are mounted up by strength of hands. There is no getting into this wonderful fortress by any other means. Formerly it had a postern-gate which facilitated the entry; but it is now thrown down, and fortified in such a manner as is incredible." This authority farther states, that the garrison consisted of 120 men; and he had the credulity to believe, with many others, that they subsisted on the fish the solan geese brought to the island; and had no other firing but the sticks with which they built their nests.

James VI. seems to have been anxious to obtain this "rock immense" at any price, and offered the laird what he might please to ask for it, upon which

Lauder replied: "Your majesty must e'en resign it to me; for I'll have the auld crag back again." In the wars between Mary and her son, the Regent Murray is represented as desirous to strengthen his party by the possession of the Bass. The family of Lauder having merged into that of Lauder of Beil-mouth, the island passed into the hands of Sir Alexander Ramsay, from whom it was purchased by the crown in 1671, for L.4000 sterling, and converted into a state prison, where the western Covenanters or Cameronians, and others accused of treason during the arbitrary reigns of Charles II. and James VII. were confined. The earl of Lauderdale was appointed captain of the Bass, which was garrisoned by eighteen soldiers, besides officers. Betwixt the years 1673 and 1684, no fewer than fifty, if not more, ministers and gentlemen were incarcerated here, for holding or attending conventicles and field preachings.

This solitary fortress was the last place that held out for the Stuart dynasty in Great Britain. It was defended by a gallant officer, David, third son of James Blair of Ardblair, who afterwards joined his royal master in France, where he died. After the Revolution a desperate band of pirates maintained possession of it till 1694.*

* The following letter, from the lord chancellor Tweeddale, is preserved in the burgh archives of Dunbar:

"FOR BAILLIES FARR AND KIRKWOOD, PRESENT MAGISTRATES OF DUNBAR."

Edinr., the 8. Feby, 1693.

"Sirs,—Haveing sequented the Privie Counsell of your cair and diligence in seasing the vessell and apprehending the seamen, who

The new government awarded the command of the place to Fletcher of Salton; and, on the demolition of the castle, the island was bestowed by the crown on Sir James Dalrymple, lord President of the Court of Session, to whom the neighbouring barony belonged. It is now the property of his descendant, Sir H. D. Hamilton, Bart.

A view of the fortifications of the Bass is preserved in Sleser's *Theatrum Scotiae*. They consisted of a curtain and four square towers. The governor's house and barracks were situated on the west side, and that part of the building situated on the east was a prison. Nearly opposite it, was the crane bastion or landing place, which bristled with three guns. Behind the ramparts, which still remain, the ascent is by three flight of stairs, each of which is protected by a strong gate. About half way up the rock, a little below the old garden are the remains of a chapel pretty entire, in which the ammunition of the garrison was kept.

The most remarkable inhabitant of the Bass, is the gannet, or solan goose. It resembles the cormorant and pelican, both in its manner of fishing, by diving from a great height, and the method of securing its

had been with coalls at the Bass, and came into your harbour y^r after, and your examinatione of them whereby some discovery is unaid of mor persons conserned, who are all now under examination. The Counsell wer pleased to order me to returne you the thanks of the board for this testimony of your good affections to the government. And I am your affectionat friend,

"TWIRDBALL, cancel."

prey in a dilatable pouch, of sufficient size to contain four or five herrings.

Daniel de Foe, in his tour through Great Britain, made the following shrewd observation : " Their laying but one egg, which sticks fast to the rock, and will not fall off, unless pulled off by force, and then not to be stuck on again, though we thought them fictions, yet being there at the season, we found true ; and also their hatching by holding the egg fast in their foot. What Nature meant by giving these singularities to a creature, that has nothing else in it worth notice, we cannot determine."

The Bass pays annually twelve geese to the church of North Berwick as part of the minister's stipend, and two to the schoolmaster. The birds are sold without the feathers at 9d. each. The annual rent of the rock for the birds alone is L.30 ; and the pasturage, which feeds 21 sheep, is let at L.10.

The best season for visiting the Bass is during the incubation of the geese, in the months of June and July ; and the most propitious time is shortly after sunrise, when the waves are calm and the greatest variety of birds to be seen.*

* For a further account of the Bass, see St Baldred, p. 82.

THE ISLE OF MAY.

" And now we gain the May, whose midnight light
Like vestal virgin's offerings undecay'd,
To mariners bewilder'd acts the part
Of social friendship, guiding those that err
With kindly radiance to their destined port.

SUCH was the apostrophe of Ferguson the poet, to the island of May, in his expedition to that place, on board the Blessed Endeavour of Dunbar, Captain Roxburgh, commander.

The isle of May lies at rather too great a distance from Dunbar, to be visited with any degree of pleasure in an open boat; but as parties sometimes take a voyage thither in summer, a short account of it may not be unacceptable.

David I. founded a monastery on the island for the monks of Reading in Yorkshire, to whom it originally belonged, and dedicated his benefaction to "all the saints." It was afterwards consecrated to St Adrian, who along with Glodian, Gaius (or as others write Monanus,) archdeacon of St Andrews, and bishop of Stobrand, was martyred here by the Danes.

It was afterwards purchased from the abbot of Reading by William Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, who bestowed it on the canons regular of his cathedral, notwithstanding the remonstrance of king Edward, who was displeased with the transaction. Although endowed to all the saints, the monastery

has suffered the fate of all terrestrial things, for not a vestige remains.

The May was granted in feu by Charles I. to Cunningham of Burns, for erecting a light-house for the benefit of mariners. A tower of forty feet was built for that purpose. The first builder is said to have been cast away in a tempest raised by witchcraft while returning from thence to his house in Fife, for which some unfortunate old women were executed.

The western extremity of the island consists of perpendicular cliffs, of a blackish colour, in some parts 160 feet high, irregularly fissured, and of a columnar structure. Behind these rocks, on the highest eminence, the new lighthouse is erected, which is a handsome structure, with a square tower, where the reflecting lights are placed.

The southern coast has the most fertile appearance: in the words of Ferguson,

" Here, the verdant shores
Teem with new freshness, and regale our sight
With caves, that ancient time, in days of yore,
Sequester'd for the haunt of druid laws,
There to remain in solitary cell.

Towards the east, the island slopes in a long low ridge of rocks into the water. The birds found here are chiefly such as frequent the Bass, with the exception of the gannet, which, after skimming the waves, returns to nestle in her favourite rock.

THE END.

A most suitable Companion to the History of Dunbar.

Recently published, and to be had at the shop of W. MILLER, Dunbar,
and of J. MILLER, East Lethian Printing-office, Haddington,

Price 10s. 6d. the *superfine* in 2 vols., and 9s. the *fine paper* in 1 vol. 8ds.

ILLUSTRATED BY EMBLEMATICAL ENGRAVINGS,

Popular Philosophy;

OR, THE

BOOK OF NATURE LAID OPEN

UPON CHRISTIAN PRINCIPLES,

AND AGREEABLY TO THE LIGHTS OF MODERN SCIENCE AND THE PROGRESS
OF NEW DISCOVERY,

BY A NATIVE OF DUNBAR :

IN WHICH IS DESCRIBED,

THE Geological Structure of the sea-coast, not only in the immediate neighbourhood of Dunbar, and so far as the county of East Lothian extends to the eastward; but, of that interesting portion of the adjoining coast of Berwickshire, which formed part of what the author has been pleased to designate as the *Geologist's Alphabet*, where he may learn from Nature the first rudiments of the science, and he thence brought forward to the comprehension of her sublimer studies; and embracing within its bounds, a spot, that, of late years, has been deemed of sufficient importance to attract the attention of, and to be visited by, three of the most eminent luminaries of modern science.

And this, the reader will observe, is not given in a dry systematical detail abounding with abstruse terms and technicalities of difficult comprehension by the untutored mind, but in a way pleasing and familiar to the most simple student of nature. In the alluring forms of some delightful sea-side rambles in the neighbourhood of Dunbar,—of a walk along the coast at the Cove shore—a visit to that geological curiosity, the Siccar Point—and the result of a voyage along the base of that stupendous natural break-water, formed by a cross section of the Lammermoor hills, and which, in the words of the author, “forms so striking an object, when seen to the eastward of Dunbar, stretching into the bosom of the ocean, like some enormous mole of truly gigantic dimensions, until it is lost to the view at St Abb's Head.”

If, in addition to the information to be derived from this highly amusing as well as truly interesting *sea-side survey*, the reader is disposed to accompany the author in his researches more inland, and to add to it, the lessons to be learned from “the Fairy Castles, that have emerged, or are now emerging with a little assistance from art, from under ground, in the mountainous district, to the west of the village of Oldhamstocks,”—the appearance of the *Granite* upon Fasney water, near Sparkleton, the highest hill in that part of the Lammermoor range—the internal conformation of those enormous masses of clinkstone porphyry, shooting up in the likeness of two huge excrescences, under the names of *Traprain* and *North Berwick Law*, and forming such striking objects amidst the surrounding scenery,—it is hoped

that *Popular Philosophy* will be considered as well entitled to the above appellation; especially by those who are led to haunt these rocky shores, incited, it may be, no less by a wish to contemplate the objects which nature there presents to the view, in so many instructive and engaging forms, than a desire to muse over the theatre of so many daring and bloody exploits, though rendered now, doubly interesting, from the many well-attested traditional recollections, and historical records with which they must henceforth be associated. For, although the work, as its name implies, certainly takes by far a wider range,—yet, from the graphic descriptions therein given of many of those localities, which otherwise might have escaped the notice of even the most careful casual visitor;—the numerous remarkable interesting natural appearances, peculiarities and curiosities, which it collects, concentrates, and brings forward into a more prominent point of view, in this particular page of the *Book of Nature*, arising no doubt from the author being a native of the place, and the less likely, on that account, to overlook any thing remarkable in its neighbourhood, cannot fail to render the work peculiarly interesting, to the more permanent resident, as well as to the occasional visitor of these parts.

Indeed, but for it, the vegetable curiosities of Tynningham and of Bell might, as to many, have put forth their beauties, like the rose in the desert, unseen or unknown;—but for it, the entombed forest in the neighbourhood of West Barus—the still more recent disappearance of the walls of the old chapel from the links at Skateraw shore,—and other indications of the progressive encroachment of the sea on this part of the coast might, as to most, have remained a sealed letter;—and, but for it, and the information given by the same author in the *Cheap Magazine*, the solitary wanderer by these rocky shores, might have returned from his excursion, unaware that those wonderful anomalies of creation, known by naturalists under the denomination of Animal Flowers, had there, in such abundance, “a local habitation and a name.”

But there is another point of view, in which *Popular Philosophy* must become exceedingly interesting as a companion to the History of Dunbar; it may be considered, as an extension or prolongation of the history of that once important fortress,—carrying the mind back to an epoch, when the very rocks themselves upon which that proud castle once frowned defiance, and upon which its mouldering ruins now totter,—may be supposed as emerging from the bosom of the mighty abyss, propelled by the powerful and energetic impulse of the artillery of the Almighty!—and, bringing matters downwards to a period, when lonely and deserted by its former noisy and turbulent inmates,—the solitary *Animal Flower*, described in the work, alone stands sentinel, or holds its court, or receives its visitors within its darksome cavern.

But, the local descriptions of this work, it will be seen, are not its chief recommendation—the following extracts, (all that we can make room for,) from more than a full sheet of printed Testimonials, in favour of the work as a whole, are respectfully submitted to the reader :

“This is a useful, meritorious, and unpretending little work, on Natural Philosophy, by the author of that much valued Poor Man’s Friend, ‘The Cheap Magazine.’ We have perused it with much sa-

* Speaking of the magnificent series of Holly-hedges at Tynningham, Mr Chambers, in his recently published *Picture of Scotland*, says in a note, “For this information we are indebted to a meritorious work by a native of East Lothian, entitled, *Popular Philosophy*, or the *Book of Nature* laid open.”—See vol. ii. p. 150, edit. 1837.

satisfaction, and do not hesitate to state our conviction, that it will be found one of the most beneficial works of the kind which has yet come before the public."—*Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine*, July 29, 1826.

"We are satisfied, a greater quantity of sound matter, pure instruction, and good feeling, has not been submitted to the public."—*Inverness Courier*, October 18, 1826.

"The mind stored with the useful and incontrovertible facts so abundantly diffused through them, and the conduct guided by the lessons of wisdom and genuine religion which they contain, will form a character not altogether unlike that which the lord of the creation ought to possess."—*Edinburgh Observer*, 5th December 1826.

"The writer takes a wide range through the various animal, mineral, and vegetable kingdoms; and has, we think, happily succeeded in condensing within a manageable compass a great mass of scientific information."—*Caledonian Mercury*, December 25, 1826.

"This appears to us to be a very useful and ingenious book, written in an easy, chaste, and sometimes elegant style. The author's motives are praiseworthy in the extreme; and while he points out to us the visible wonders of the creation, he endeavours by numerous appropriate and forcible scriptural quotations, to raise the mind from nature up to nature's God."—*Dumfries Courier*, Jan. 2, 1827.

"A vast deal no doubt, has been, of late years, written to excite the curiosity of ingenious youth, and lead their minds to the contemplation of the higher and nobler works of nature; but we do not recollect to have seen any thing fall from the press in our time—comprising so much in so little a compass."—*Ayr Advertiser*, Jan. 25, 1827.

"This very modest and unobtrusive work, which is fraught with the best feelings of the human heart, is highly creditable to its author, who has bestowed upon the composition of it no little erudition and science; and the inference he draws to support his views of a superintending and beneficent providence, are sometimes original, and at all times ingenious."—*Edinburgh Weekly Chronicle*, Jan. 31, 1827.

"We are indebted for 'The Book of Nature Laid Open' to the ingenious author of the Cheap Magazine, a work which has the merit of having powerfully aided in calling into existence those numerous undertakings, of a similar kind, which have since been so successful in diffusing knowledge among the lower classes. We know of no work that can be placed with more propriety in the hands of the young. It is impossible to read it and not have the mind improved, and its conceptions of the Great Ruler of the Universe enlarged and elevated."—*Stirling Journal*, Feb. 1. 1827.

"I know few things better calculated to open the minds of youth, and inquiring artisans, than the study of the great Book of Nature; and the Christian feeling which runs through your 'Popular Philosophy' renders it tenfold useful."—*Rev. Dr Duncan of Ruthwell*.

"A talent for compressing; for extracting the quintessence of important subjects, has enabled the author of 'Popular Philosophy' to familiarise our youth with the elements of science, in subservience to the noblest exercise of reason and affection."—*Mrs Grant, late of Duthil*.

"The great moral end of all philosophy, too often overlooked by its students, is kept continually in view; and the work is therefore calculated to have a peculiarly beneficial effect on the minds of the young."

Dr Davidson, Professor of Civil and Natural History in the Marischal College, Aberdeen, has given his valuable testimony to the character of the work as "a very excellent and instructive treatise, and, from the popular and easy manner in which the various subjects are treated, calculated to become extensively useful."—*Leeds Merc. Mar. 3. 1827.*

"A book which does credit both to the author's judgment and taste, while it tends to counteract the pernicious influence of frantic *Materialism* and gloomy *Infidelity*."—*From a minister of the Church of Scotland.*

"The subjects it embraces are numerous and important, and the manner in which they are treated appears to me to reflect the highest credit on the talents and the principles of the author, who possesses no ordinary powers of successful condensation; since few books contain so much important matter in such small bounds. I know no class of readers to whom this valuable little work may not be with propriety recommended."—*Rev. James Thomson, one of the ministers of Dundee.*

"The two volumes, entitled '*Popular Philosophy*,' I have perused with much satisfaction, I have no hesitation in expressing my approbation of the design and execution of the work, and hope it will receive, as it well deserves, the approbation of the public."—*Rev. J. Brown.*

"During last winter, I delivered a short course of popular lectures in our philosophical institution, on the subject of *Geology*. Had your publication come under my notice in the course of these lectures, I would not only have warmly recommended it to my hearers, but have enriched my lectures with some interesting quotations from its pages."—*Rev. Robert Burns, minister of Paisley.*

"Your excellent work, entitled, '*Popular Philosophy, &c.*' I have looked at with some attention, and really think it well calculated to answer the ends you have in view,—the promotion of science, and its subserviency to a religious education."—*Rev. Dr Mavor, near Oxford.*

"I have read your '*Popular Philosophy*' with much pleasure, it presents within a small compass, a great variety of useful instruction; explains many of the operations of nature in a perspicuous and pleasing manner, and by its judicious and appropriate reflections, associates knowledge with that piety which is the perfection of wisdom."—*Rev. Dr Henry Belfrage, author of Monitor to Families, &c. &c.*

"In this age when the spirit of inquiry is so keen, and when no effort is left untried to disseminate knowledge, these volumes must meet with a cordial reception from all the genuine friends of physical science."—*Berwick Advertiser, May 6th, 1827.*

"The free, conversational, and sometimes humorous manner of the writer of '*Popular Philosophy*;' the total absence of every thing alarmingly abstruse, the careful avoidance of theory where downright certainty can be obtained, and the mass, or more properly speaking, we ought to call them, the orderly array of illustrations from almost every possible source, join to form altogether one of the most interesting works we have ever perused."—*Newcastle Magazine, August 1827.*

"We have examined this work throughout, with much care, and we do not hesitate to affirm, that it is highly excellent."—*Evangelical Magazine, Sept. 1827.*

"This has been strongly recommended; and has been sent to us as '*peculiarly adapted for village, itinerating, or garden Libraries.*'"—*Loudon's Gardener's Mag. Nov. 1827.*

"The approaches to knowledge, no longer steep and rugged, have now multifarious avenues, and these have been concentrated in two small volumes, justly entitled, '*Popular Philosophy.*'"—*Inverness Courier, 11th June, 1828.*

"We have been much pleased with a perusal of these volumes, and would strongly recommend them, as containing a valuable compendium of useful knowledge."—*Imp. Mag. Aug. 1828.*

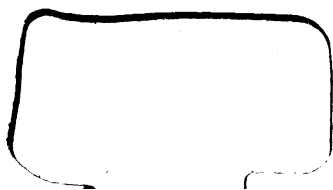
"I have read with pleasure that little book which you handed me a short time ago, called '*Popular Philosophy, &c.*' and I certainly consider it a publication, possessing no ordinary degree of merit, and highly deserving the attention of the public."—*From a Minister.*

"I wish to have another copy of '*Popular Philosophy*' to make a New Year's Gift of it to some young persons. To me it appears to be an excellent book."—*Rev. Eben. Brown.*

"I have looked into your work at about a dozen different places, and have always found something to interest and instruct me."—*Letter from Captain Basil Hall, to the Author.*

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48
49
50
51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59
60
61
62
63
64
65
66
67
68
69
70
71
72
73
74
75
76
77
78
79
80
81
82
83
84
85
86
87
88
89
90
91
92
93
94
95
96
97
98
99
100
101
102
103
104
105
106
107
108
109
110
111
112
113
114
115
116
117
118
119
120
121
122
123
124
125
126
127
128
129
130
131
132
133
134
135
136
137
138
139
140
141
142
143
144
145
146
147
148
149
150
151
152
153
154
155
156
157
158
159
160
161
162
163
164
165
166
167
168
169
170
171
172
173
174
175
176
177
178
179
180
181
182
183
184
185
186
187
188
189
190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200
201
202
203
204
205
206
207
208
209
210
211
212
213
214
215
216
217
218
219
220
221
222
223
224
225
226
227
228
229
230
231
232
233
234
235
236
237
238
239
240
241
242
243
244
245
246
247
248
249
250
251
252
253
254
255
256
257
258
259
260
261
262
263
264
265
266
267
268
269
270
271
272
273
274
275
276
277
278
279
280
281
282
283
284
285
286
287
288
289
290
291
292
293
294
295
296
297
298
299
300
301
302
303
304
305
306
307
308
309
310
311
312
313
314
315
316
317
318
319
320
321
322
323
324
325
326
327
328
329
330
331
332
333
334
335
336
337
338
339
340
341
342
343
344
345
346
347
348
349
350
351
352
353
354
355
356
357
358
359
360
361
362
363
364
365
366
367
368
369
370
371
372
373
374
375
376
377
378
379
380
381
382
383
384
385
386
387
388
389
390
391
392
393
394
395
396
397
398
399
400
401
402
403
404
405
406
407
408
409
410
411
412
413
414
415
416
417
418
419
420
421
422
423
424
425
426
427
428
429
430
431
432
433
434
435
436
437
438
439
440
441
442
443
444
445
446
447
448
449
450
451
452
453
454
455
456
457
458
459
460
461
462
463
464
465
466
467
468
469
470
471
472
473
474
475
476
477
478
479
480
481
482
483
484
485
486
487
488
489
490
491
492
493
494
495
496
497
498
499
500
501
502
503
504
505
506
507
508
509
510
511
512
513
514
515
516
517
518
519
520
521
522
523
524
525
526
527
528
529
530
531
532
533
534
535
536
537
538
539
540
541
542
543
544
545
546
547
548
549
550
551
552
553
554
555
556
557
558
559
560
561
562
563
564
565
566
567
568
569
570
571
572
573
574
575
576
577
578
579
580
581
582
583
584
585
586
587
588
589
590
591
592
593
594
595
596
597
598
599
600
601
602
603
604
605
606
607
608
609
610
611
612
613
614
615
616
617
618
619
620
621
622
623
624
625
626
627
628
629
630
631
632
633
634
635
636
637
638
639
640
641
642
643
644
645
646
647
648
649
650
651
652
653
654
655
656
657
658
659
660
661
662
663
664
665
666
667
668
669
670
671
672
673
674
675
676
677
678
679
680
681
682
683
684
685
686
687
688
689
690
691
692
693
694
695
696
697
698
699
700
701
702
703
704
705
706
707
708
709
710
711
712
713
714
715
716
717
718
719
720
721
722
723
724
725
726
727
728
729
730
731
732
733
734
735
736
737
738
739
740
741
742
743
744
745
746
747
748
749
750
751
752
753
754
755
756
757
758
759
760
761
762
763
764
765
766
767
768
769
770
771
772
773
774
775
776
777
778
779
780
781
782
783
784
785
786
787
788
789
790
791
792
793
794
795
796
797
798
799
800
801
802
803
804
805
806
807
808
809
810
811
812
813
814
815
816
817
818
819
820
821
822
823
824
825
826
827
828
829
830
831
832
833
834
835
836
837
838
839
840
84

i



Br 9876.12.5

The history of Dunbar, from the ear

Widener Library

006089847



3 2044 081 264 749