

THE FAMILY OF
INGLIS OF AUCHINDINNY
AND REDHALL

BY

JOHN ALEXANDER INGLIS



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INTRODUCTION

THIS book has been written primarily for members of the family, and while I do not pretend that it touches the general history of Scotland at many points, I hope it may be of interest as a contribution to genealogy.

My authorities will be found in the footnotes, but I have also used certain sources of information so often that I have not given detailed references. For instance, the career of Admiral Inglis is mainly based upon the log-books, muster-rolls and other documents in the Public Record Office, London, and for the account of his services on the *Coromandel* and the *Belliqueux* I have made great use of Lord Duncan's papers, which the Earl of Camperdown very kindly allowed me to see. The late Countess of Seafield gave me access to John Philp's letters, and to Mr. H. M. Cadell of Grange I am indebted for the letters of his ancestress, Katharine Inglis, and also for permission to copy the portraits of Archibald Inglis and his wife.

The early history of both Auchindinny and Redhall largely depends upon documents in my own possession.

I must acknowledge the kindness and help which I have received from three successive Keepers of the Historical Department of the General Register House, Edinburgh.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

R. M. S. = Registrum Magni Sigilli, Register of the Great Seal of Scotland.

P. C. R. = Register of the Privy Council of Scotland.

R. S. S. = Registrum Secreti Sigilli, Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland.

G. R. S. = General Register of Sasines.

P. R. S. = Particular Register of Sasines.

CHAPTER I

EARLY HISTORY

INGLIS is the old Scots form of the word 'English.' As a surname it does not denote a clan claiming a common ancestry, but it is a record of the fact that many Englishmen settled in the border counties of Scotland towards the end of the thirteenth century, and founded families which came to be known as Inglis (English).

While 'Inglis' has long been the accepted way of spelling the name, it seems to have been always pronounced 'Ingles,' for many old documents spell it in that way, and sometimes as 'Ingels' or 'Ingls.'

The Inglises of Auchindinny and Redhall claim descent from the Inglises of Murdostoun in Lanarkshire. The connection cannot be proved, and if the claim is correct they must have separated from the parent stock before 1542, for by that time they were settled as an independent family at the farm of Langbyres next to Murdostoun.

The eighteenth-century writer of the article on 'Inglis of Inglistarvit' in Chalmers's genealogical collections¹ gives some support to the family tradition; he says: 'Inglis of Lochbyres (*sic*) . . . was a son of Manners, and being the letter² caddet, then Eastshiel of the house of Manner, I suppose is the heir male of this antient family. . . . But I understand that whoever are their representators are the heirs of the antient house of Branxholm, Murdeston and Manner, who

¹ Vol. iii. (Advocates' Library MSS.).

² *i.e.* later.

were always repute the principal family of the name of Inglis.'

A brief sketch of the Murdostoun family may be given, but it must be taken only as a provisional contribution to the history of the Langbyres, Auchindinny and Redhall branch.

Their earliest home was at Branxholm on the Teviot in Roxburghshire, and their founder was Sir William Inglis, who at a Border foray in 1395 answered the challenge of an English champion, Sir Thomas Struthers, and killed him in single combat.¹ The scene of this exploit was Rulehaugh on the Rule Water, half-way between Jedburgh and Hawick. As a reward for his prowess King Robert III. made 'his cousin,' Sir William Inglis, a grant of the barony of Manor or Mennar,² which seems to have included the whole Manor Valley, a glen running south from the Tweed about three miles west of Peebles, and known to readers of Sir Walter Scott as the scene of *The Black Dwarf*.

Branxholm, which had been acquired by the Inglises some time after 1335, lies about three miles south-west of Hawick, and is also celebrated by Sir Walter Scott in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*. It was held of the Earls of Douglas, the superiors of the barony of Hawick, and Nisbet says³ that the three stars-in-chief, which appear in the Murdostoun and Manor coats-of-arms, are arms of patronage, signifying that the family were under vassalage to the Douglasses.

Not long after the affair of Rulehaugh the Inglises seized opportunities of getting rid of Branxholm. On January 31, 1420 John Inglis of Manor, son of Sir William, granted a charter⁴ conveying half of Branxholm to Sir Robert Scott of Murdostoun in Lanarkshire, who already owned an extensive domain in Ettrick Forest and Teviotdale.

¹ Fordoun's *Chronicle* (ed. Goodall), ii. 420; *Liber Pluscardensis*, i. 332.

² *R. M. S.*, 1306-1424, App. 2, No. 1723.

³ *Heraldry*, ed. 1816, i. 83.

⁴ *Scotts of Buccleuch*, Sir Wm. Fraser, ii. 22.

Thomas Inglis, John's eldest son, found the frequent incursions of the English cattle-raiders a source of annoyance; accordingly he arranged with Sir Walter Scott, Sir Robert's successor, to exchange the rest of Branxholm with the Scott lands in Lanarkshire, and on July 23, 1446 the bargain was embodied in a charter of excambion.¹ Sir Walter thereupon remarked significantly that the Cumberland cattle were as good as those of Teviotdale.

The Scotts settled at Branxholm, which forms part of the Buccleuch estates to this day; while Thomas Inglis removed to Lanarkshire. On his death Murdostoun went to his eldest son, Thomas, and his heirs, who also held for a time the superiority of Manor. The property of Manor went to John, the second son, but in time it became restricted to Manorhead, a farm at the top of the glen, which remained in the younger branch of the family till 1709, when it was sold.²

Murdostoun lies on the South Calder Water in the parish of Shotts, and is an oasis in the midst of a coal and iron field.

The old stock of Inglises ended with Thomas Inglis of Murdostoun, who succeeded about 1696, and sold the estate to Alexander Inglis, merchant in Edinburgh,³ second son of David Inglis of Fingask, and a descendant of the Inglises of Inglistarvit, Fife.

The new laird had no family, but he entailed the estate in 1719 in favour of his grand-nephew, Alexander Hamilton, a son of Gavin Hamilton of Cleland, and Alexander's three sons succeeded in turn. The eldest, Alexander Inglis-Hamilton, died on April 27, 1783; the second, Gavin Hamilton (1730-97), was the historical painter and archæologist at Rome; the youngest, Major-General James Inglis-Hamilton, distinguished himself in the American War, and died on July 27, 1803. He re-entailed Murdostoun on his adopted son, James Anderson, who took the surname 'Inglis-Hamilton,'

¹ *Scotts of Buccleuch*, Sir William Fraser, i. 32, ii. 33 (facsimile of charter).

² Douglas, *Baronage*, p. 199. ³ W. Grossart, *Historic Notices of Shotts*, pp. 134-44.

and rose to the command of the General's old regiment, the Scots Greys.¹ He was killed at Waterloo.

Murdostoun then passed to a distant cousin of the old General, Admiral Sir Alexander Inglis-Cochrane, tenth son of the eighth Earl of Dundonald, and his grandson, the first Lord Lamington, sold it for £55,000 to Mr. Robert Stewart, ex-Lord Provost of Glasgow, and father of the present proprietor.

¹ *Reminiscences of Glasgow*, Peter Mackenzie, i. 553-610.

CHAPTER II

THE INGLISES OF LANGBYRES

THE Inglises of Auchindinny appear first as tenants, and afterwards as proprietors, of the farm of Langbyres, which adjoins the west side of Murdostoun in the parish of Shotts, Lanarkshire.

It had formed part of the barony of Bothwell, which the Douglasses inherited from the Earls of Moray.¹ In 1455, when King James II. crushed the house of Douglas, the barony was forfeited, and was managed by James, Lord Hamilton, who in rendering his account of rents for 1478 includes the item, 'Langbyre, Wyndyegis, Knochkublis, xx li.'²

In 1480 James III. granted to Stephen Lockhart, his esquire, afterwards Sir Stephen Lockhart of Cleghorn, a life-rent of twenty merks of the lands of Bothwell, including two merks of 'Tota Lang Biris.'³ At that time the 'Lang Biris' was let to Patrick Hommylton senior for 20s. money and 20s. *grassum*, and 'Westir Lange Biris' to Agnes Martyn for 13s. 4d. money and a corresponding *grassum*.⁴ Three years later, on September 27, 1483, the grant was made absolute in favour of Stephen Lockhart and his heirs,⁵ and the lands formed part of the Cleghorn estates for a hundred and sixty years.

The first mention of the Inglises in connection with the place is found in the Lord High Treasurer's accounts for 1543,⁶ when John Inglis in Langbyres and James Kneland in

¹ *Exchequer Rolls*, ix. p. lxviii. ² *Ib.*, viii. 501. ³ *Ib.*, ix. 128. ⁴ *Ib.*, ix. 578.

⁵ *R. M. S.*, 1424-1513, No. 1567.

⁶ Vol. viii. p. 212.

Swyntre had to pay £13, 6s. 8d. to redeem their movable goods, which had been escheated as a penalty for their absence from the 'convention' at Lochmaben in November of the previous year. This was the army which had been mustered by James v. to invade England and was routed at Solway Moss.

The next reference comes thirty-three years later, on June 10, 1576, when Patrick Inglis, mason, got from Mungo Lockhart of Cleghorn a nineteen years' tack of Langbyres at a rent of eighteen merks, a boll of oats, and six fowls.¹

In November 1627 John Inglis 'in Langbyres,' presumably Patrick's son, or grandson, obtained from James Lockhart and Alexander Lockhart of Cleghorn, his father, for a payment of 3400 merks, a feu charter² of two merks of the lands of Langbyres and the one-merk land called Hornshill, as already occupied by him. The feu-duty was to be £8 Scots, with the usual services of attending the superior at 'weapon-shawings' and 'king's raids weirs.'

The Lockharts were in difficulties at the time, and the charter required the consent of various appraisers and creditors. Ultimately in 1647 the superiority of Langbyres and Hornshill was sold by James Lockhart to William Weir of Stonebyres;³ and in 1810 it passed to a John Inglis of Verehills.⁴

When the Inglis family removed to Midlothian at the end of the seventeenth century Langbyres was let to tenants at a rent of 240 merks; from 1739 to 1853 it was occupied by four generations of the Clelands of Shaws, the rent being £26 until 1787, and afterwards £37, 10s. In 1866, after being in the Inglis family for more than three centuries, it was sold by Captain John Inglis to Mr. Robert Stewart of Murdostoun.

It was never more than a farm of some eighty acres,⁵ lying

¹ *Acts and Decrees*, vol. lxvi. fol. 152.

² *R. M. S.*, 1620-33, No. 1257.

³ *R. M. S.*, 1634-51, No. 1790.

⁴ Greenshields, *Parish of Lesmahagow*, p. 82.

⁵ *Edinburgh Courant*, July 7, 1779.

round what is now Omoa station on the Caledonian Railway between Edinburgh and Glasgow. Langbyres proper and Hornshill are on the south side of the line : Scarhill, a 'pertinent' which first got a separate name in the titles about 1747, is to the north. There is a coal seam under the property, but it was not worked in the Inglises' time. The district now has the unlovely features of a mining locality, and the farm buildings have been pulled down, the stones being used to build the east end of a row of cottages which stand at the south-east corner of Cleland Established Church.

Little or nothing is known of the Langbyres dynasty of Inglises beyond the facts of genealogy, which appear with tolerable completeness from the title-deeds and public records.

Patrick Inglis, the tenant of the farm, died in February 1589, and by his will,¹ made at Langbyres the last day of the previous year, he divided his property between his widow, Agnes Robesoun, and his three sons, John, James, and Thomas.

John Inglis, the original feuar, was twice married ; first, to Janet Waddell, who was alive in 1628, and by whom he had four sons—Patrick, James, John, and William ; and secondly, to Margaret Rankine in Kinkaidzow, by whom he had a son, Robert, and two daughters, Agnes and Helen. He died in May 1649.

His will has the usual picturesque introduction : ²

' At Langbyres the first day of May the 3^{er} of God 1649 3^{ers} : The q^{lk} day I Joⁿ Inglis in Langbyres, being sick and heavily diseased in bodie bot of perfect memorie, knowing nothing mair certane nor death and nothing mair uncertane nor the ho^r and tyme th^rof, doe hereby th^rfoir make my testa^t and tre [latter] will as followes, whereby in the first I lieve my soull to God Almi^g^{tie} believing th^t the same shall be savet in and threw the bloode of Jesus Christ my blessed Savio^r and Redeamer.'

¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, July 15, 1589.

² *Glasgow Testaments*, May 23, 1650.

He appointed his widow and her brother, Patrick Rankine in Kinkaidzow, his executors ; and James Turner, portioner of Knownoble, and Patrick Inglis in Murdostoun tutors to his second family. He left his movable property to be divided equally among his six children other than Patrick, his eldest son, who had predeceased him before December 1644.

Patrick had married Agnes, daughter of Thomas White-law in Bothwellshiells, their marriage contract being dated September 13, 1628, and he left a son John, baptized on June 30, 1640,¹ who succeeded to Langbyres on his grandfather's death, under the guardianship of his uncle, James Inglis.²

This John Inglis was the first head of the family to adopt the law as a profession. He was admitted a notary public on July 20, 1661, and began by practising at Hamilton. Some time before 1680 he moved to Linlithgow, and acquired a considerable practice before the Sheriff Court there as a writer and notary.

He was twice married. His first wife, whom he married in April 1661, was Anna, daughter of David Hamilton of Auchtule, or Auchintool, in the parish of Lesmahagow, Lanarkshire.³ Her marriage portion was 2000 merks, but it seems never to have been fully paid.

David Hamilton was also laird of Letham, near Strathaven, Lanarkshire, and his family connection with this place goes back to 1520, when it was owned by Archibald Hamilton.⁴ Archibald died about 1543, and was succeeded by Andrew, his son,⁵ who married a Margaret Hamilton, and died in May 1571.⁶ Andrew was followed by two more Andrews, his son and grandson,⁷ the last being the father of David.

¹ *Cambusnethan Register*.

² *Inquisitiones de Tutela*, No. 691.

³ *Reg. of Deeds* (Mackenzie), July 24, 1673 ; *Lanarkshire Inhibitions*, June 17, 1657.

⁴ *Protocol Book of Gavin Ros* (Scottish Record Soc.), Nos. 398, 680.

⁵ *Treasurer's Accounts*, viii. 248, 347.

⁶ *Edinburgh Testaments*, February 6, 1580-81.

⁷ *P. C. R.*, iii. 171 ; Sir Wm. Fraser, *Chiefs of Colquhoun*, i. 229 ; *Inquisitiones, Lanark*, No. 154.

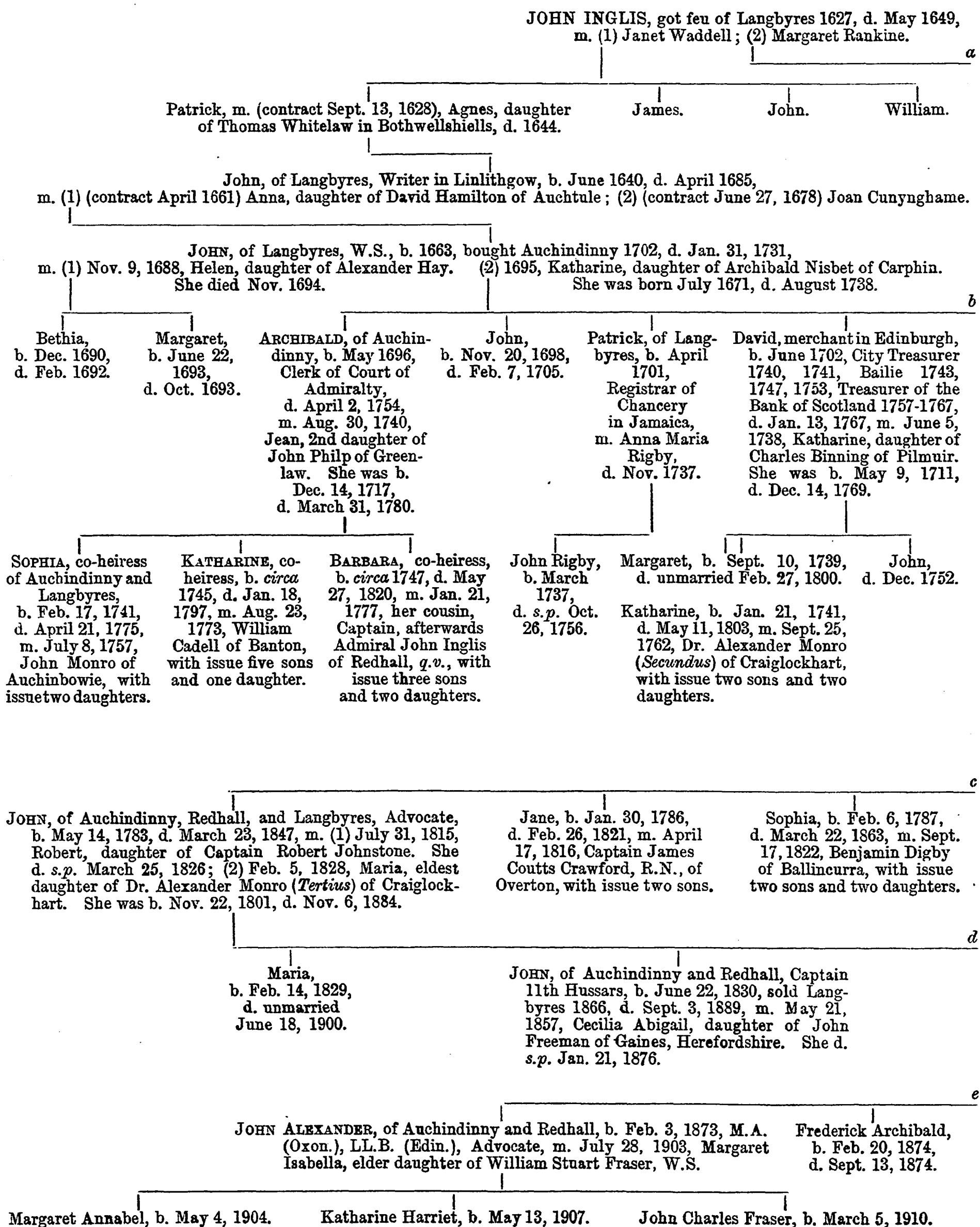
So far as is known, John Inglis had by his first wife only one child—John, the future laird of Auchindinny.

His second wife is a mere name—Joan Cunynghame—and it is not known whether they had children. Their marriage contract was dated June 27, 1678.¹

He died in April 1685, leaving a burden of debt upon Langbyres, and his son took up the succession to his movable property only as creditor.²

¹ *P. R. S., Lanarkshire*, July 2, 1678.

² *Edinburgh Testaments*, February 2, 1713.



a

Robert. Agnes. Helen.

b

Eupham, b. Dec. 1704, d. unmarried July 1738.

Anne, d. 1747, m. April 18, 1740, John Preston of Gorton, with issue two sons and one daughter.

John, merchant in Philadelphia, b. July 1708, d. Aug. 20, 1775, m. Oct. 16, 1736, Catherine, eldest daughter of George M'Call. She was b. 1717 or 1718, d. December 1750.

Katharine, b. Feb. 1710, d. Jan. 25, 1778, m. Oct. 10, 1729, Alexander Oliphant, Town Clerk of Kelso, with issue Elizabeth, b. Oct. 17, 1740, d. 1745.

GEORGE, King's Attorney in Exchequer, b. April 6, 1711, m. Oct. 24, 1753, Hannah, daughter of Captain John M'Queen, bought Redhall 1755, d. *s.p.* Sept. 7, 1785. Mrs. Inglis d. Dec. 16, 1785, aged 50.

Ann, b. Aug. 1737, d. Sept. 25, 1801, m. Dec. 31, 1761, Gilbert Barkly, with issue one daughter.

JOHN, R.N., b. March 20, 1743, Lieutenant 1761, Captain 1781, Rear-Admiral 1801, Vice-Admiral 1805. Succeeded to Redhall, and bought Monroshare of Auchindinny and Langbyres, d. March 11, 1807, m. his cousin Barbara Inglis, co-heiress of Auchindinny and Langbyres.

Samuel, b. Nov. 3, 1745, d. Sept. 14, 1783, m. June 30, 1774, Ann, daughter of William Aitchison, of Norfolk, Virginia.

Katharine, b. Oct. 1749, d. unmarried July 10, 1821.

George, b. 1750, d. unmarried Feb. 7, 1832.

George b. and d. April 1739.

Margaret, b. March 3, 1740, d. Aug. 1741.

Archibald, d. March 1741.

David, b. July 10, 1744, d. Jan. 1745.

Katharine, b. Dec. 14, 1746, d. June 1747.

c

George, Lieutenant R.N., b. July 10, 1788, d. unmarried Sept. 16, 1849.

Archibald, Lieutenant-Colonel Madras Army, b. May 25, 1790, d. May 21, 1856, m. (1) Dec. 5, 1826, Catherine, daughter of Peter Warburton of Blackhill. She died April 18, 1843, having had issue Barbara, b. Nov. 2, 1827, d. Feb. 1829; m. (2) Sept. 24, 1844, Catherine Hartland, daughter of Rev. Arthur Mahon. She d. *s.p.* Sept. 22, 1893.

Rebecca, d. young.

Katharine, b. 1781, d. March 1783.

A boy, d. 1778.

d

ALEXANDER, of Auchindinny and Redhall, M.D. (Edin.), M.R.C.S.E. and L.R.C.P.E., b. Sept. 17, 1833, d. Nov. 13, 1897, m. (1) Feb. 1, 1872, Florence, second daughter of John Frederick Feeney. She was b. Feb. 24, 1853, d. August 11, 1875; (2) Oct. 3, 1883, Margaret Helen Thornton, elder daughter of Lieut.-Col. George Ryley. She d. *s.p.* Aug. 13, 1884; (3) April 29, 1891, Ella Shirley, second daughter of Lieut.-Col. Nathaniel Steevens (Connaught Rangers).

Barbara, b. Jan. 23, 1835, d. unmarried March 7, 1913.

Jane.

e

Charles Edward, b. July 31, 1875, M.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, m. June 12, 1901, Eleanor Mary, younger daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Herbert B. Moffat (South Wales Borderers).

Alice Maria, b. April 3, 1892.

George Steevens, b. July 16, 1894.

Beatrice Rosemary, b. Dec. 19, 1910.

Eleanor Bridget, b. Aug. 17, 1912.

CHAPTER III

JOHN INGLIS OF AUCHINDINNY, WRITER TO THE SIGNET

JOHN INGLIS, the first laird of Auchindinny, was born in 1663, and was apprenticed to Archibald Nisbet of Carphin,¹ a W.S. in Edinburgh, and one of his father's neighbours in Lanarkshire. On January 3, 1689 he was admitted a notary public, and on August 7, 1691 a Writer to the Signet. He seems to have worked in partnership with his former master until the latter's death in July 1695.

On his father's death in 1685 he succeeded to Langbyres under burden of three bonds amounting to 1100 merks, one being in favour of Archibald Nisbet, and in January 1688 Mr. John Kincaid of Crossbasket, advocate, who then held the bonds, obtained a decree adjudicating the lands, but four years later John Inglis was able to clear off the encumbrances and regain possession.

His first wife, whom he married on November 9, 1688 according to the Episcopal form, 'by warrant of my Lo: Edir to Mr. John M'Queen,' was Helen, daughter of Alexander Hay, king's bowyer (bowmaker), and Bethia Law, his wife. John Inglis and Helen Hay had two children—(1) Bethia, born December 1690, died February 1692; and (2) Margaret, born January 22, 1693, died the following October. Mrs. Inglis died in November 1694, and was buried in 'Fowls' tom' at Greyfriars Churchyard, Edinburgh.

Next year John Inglis married Katharine, younger daughter of Archibald Nisbet, and by her had nine children, eight

¹ For the Nisbets, see Chapter xvii.

of whom grew up. John, the second boy, who was born on November 20, 1698, died on February 7, 1705.

The early years of John Inglis's professional career were eventful. In 1695 he was one of the defenders in an action brought by William Morison of Prestongrange,¹ who alleged that the cabinets of his sister, Lady Dirleton, had been broken open during her sickness and her papers abstracted, and that he had reason to suspect Mr. Robert Bennet, advocate, John Inglis, W.S., and others. Apparently the defenders cleared themselves from the imputation, for Mr. Inglis was subsequently agent for Dirleton,² and Mr. Bennet became Dean of Faculty.

In 1696 the keepers and commissioners of the W.S. Society gave him a 'publict rebuke' for subscribing letters for 'young men that keeped ane wryter's chamber, that hade noe master since the deceise of William Dykes who wes ther master.'³

On April 12, 1697 he was found to have made 'ane transaction with Sir Alexander Anstruther, ane of the Clerks of the Bills, for the half of his place, and received from the said Sir Alexander ane deputation for the exercise of the said office.'⁴ This transaction was considered to be 'very prejudiciall to the rest of the bretheren,' and Inglis was warned that if he persisted in it he would be deprived of his office as a Writer to the Signet.

An echo of this ancient scandal was heard more than twenty years later, when Sir Alexander Anstruther wrote to John Inglis: 'I understand there is a Report in Town industriously handed about by my Enemies, as if, within these few Months, I had made a Transaction with you to get back the half of my Office, which I had formerly sold you, and to effectuate the same I had feigned myself sick, of purpose to

¹ Morison's *Dictionary*, p. 2413.

² *Scots Courant*, August 2, 1710.

³ *History of the W.S. Society*, p. 344.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 346; *Fountainhall's Decisions*, i. 772.

fright you to a Compliance in the most disadvantageous Terms.' He accordingly asked John Inglis to write a denial of the story, which the latter did in unqualified terms, and the two letters were published in the *Scots Courant*¹ 'for satisfying the World.'

At another meeting of the W.S. Society in 1697, John Inglis was found to have 'raised unwarrantable letters against James Boswall, glazier,' and for this offence, and also for 'using opprobrious language against Mr. James Anderson, procurator fiscall,' he was fined £10 Scots.²

In spite of these misdemeanours, which he seems to have outgrown, his business prospered, and he quite realised the motto which he adopted when he became a notary public—'*meliora spero.*' The public records show that he had a large practice before the courts, and was factor on many estates; and like other successful lawyers he added to his profits by discounting bills and lending money on bonds and heritable securities. His credit must have been above reproach, not a single protest being recorded against any bill of his.

Among his most notable clients were, John, Earl of Rothes, Vice-Admiral of Scotland, Archibald, first Earl of Rosebery, who borrowed 5000 merks, 'money of North Britain formerly called Scotland,'³ the Earl Marischal, Sir Alexander Brand of Brandsfield, and the Cockburns of Langton, Heritable Ushers of the White Rod, whose embarrassed affairs must have been a perennial source of fees.⁴ At the Union he was appointed Clerk to the Commissioners of the Equivalent.

He quickly made a fortune, as fortunes were reckoned in those days of scarcity. He cleared the encumbrances off Langbyres; he bought Auchindinny; he had a town house, first in Bell's Wynd, and afterwards in Niddry's Wynd; he owned two 'writing Chambers' at the Cross; he brought up

¹ March 26, 1720.

² *History of the W.S. Society*, pp. 346, 356.

³ *Register of Deeds* (Dalrymple), January 4, 1709.

⁴ *Edinburgh Courant*, May 28, 1707; *Edinburgh Gazette*, June 3, 1707.

and provided for eight children; and at his death he left an additional £1000 sterling. He also acquired in 1695 the farm of Overpollmuckshead, or Monkshead, at Douglas in Lanarkshire, by adjudication from a defaulting debtor of his father's.

He was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for the shire of Edinburgh in 1704, and for Lanarkshire in 1706. On April 6, 1703 he was admitted a burgess and guild brother of Edinburgh in right of his first father-in-law, Alexander Hay, and he had many friends among the leading merchants.

Perhaps the most prominent was George Watson (*ob.* 1723), one of Edinburgh's 'founders and benefactors,' who 'mortified' the bulk of his fortune, £12,000 sterling, to found a hospital 'for entertaining and educating of the male children and grandchildren of decayed merchants in Edinburgh.' The settlement was drawn up in the office of John Inglis,¹ who was himself appointed a trustee in conjunction with John Osburn, merchant, afterwards Lord Provost, and the Solicitor-General, Charles Binning of Pilmuir, whose daughter afterwards married Inglis's son David. The trustees drew up a scheme of management, and bought ground at Lauriston, on which they started to erect a building capable of accommodating eighty children, but as it was not finished till 1741, John Inglis did not live to see it.

Bell's Wynd, where John Inglis lived from 1692 to 1698, was on the south side of the High Street, about half-way between Parliament Square and the Tron Church. It dated from the fifteenth century, and is said to have been named after John Bell, a brewer, who had property at the foot: the whole wynd has now been cleared away.

The house was sold to Inglis and his first wife by Archibald Nisbet of Carphin, and had belonged to the latter's father, James Nisbet of Ladytoun.² It stood on the east side of the

¹ *George Watson's Hospital, Statutes*, 1740 (Adv. Lib. Pamphlets 1071).

² *Edinburgh Protocols*, 2 Home, p. 74.

wynd, and consisted of two rooms and a kitchen, 'entering by ane iron ravel stair.' Inglis continued to own it for twenty years after he moved to Niddry's Wynd.

Niddry's Wynd, where the Inglises lived for many years, ran down from the High Street to the Cowgate, below the Tron Church, and a few yards further west than the present Niddry Street. It also dated back to the fifteenth century, when the salt market used to be held there. It had long been an aristocratic street, and as late as 1699 Lord Chancellor the Earl of Marchmont had his 'lodging' there.¹

About half-way down on the east side was the house of Lord Justice-Clerk Erskine of Grange, who was married to Rachael Chiesley, daughter of John Chiesley of Dalry who assassinated Lord President Lockhart in 1689. She was a passionate and intemperate woman, and after more than twenty years of married life they separated. She took lodgings close by, and her husband, being afraid of her betraying his Jacobite intrigues, arranged for her to be kidnapped. In 1732 she was seized in Niddry's Wynd, and carried off to the Western Isles, where she was kept a prisoner till her death seventeen years later.

Almost opposite stood one of the most magnificent houses in old Edinburgh, forming a quadrangle round a paved court. It was built by Nicol Edward or Udward, who became Provost in 1592, and it was here that King James VI. with his queen and their suite took refuge in January 1591,² when the Earl of Bothwell was setting law and order at defiance. In the seventeenth century it was the home of the Lockharts of Carnwath. Lord President Lockhart was murdered before John Inglis came to live in the wynd, and the house was then occupied by George Lockhart,³ his eldest son, the Jacobite politician and historian.

¹ *Edinburgh Gazette*, March 23, 1699.

² *Moysie's Memoirs* (Bannatyne Club), p. 89.

³ *Caledonian Mercury*, December 20, 1731; *Edinburgh Courant*, November 17, 1746.

St. Mary's Chapel stood on the east side of Niddry's Wynd, below the Erskines' house. It was built in 1505 by Elizabeth, Countess of Ross, but was bought in 1618 for a hall by the Corporations of Wrights and Masons, who were thenceforth known as 'The United Incorporation of Mary's Chapel.' In the early eighteenth century it was the resort of fashionable Edinburgh for concerts, lectures, public meetings, and masonic gatherings.

The Inglises' house is described in the titles ¹ as 'the fourth story above the shops or cellars of that great stone tenement of land called Smith's Land lying near the foot of Niddry's Wynd on the west side thereof, consisting of seven fire-rooms off one floor as the same are already placed therein, having two doors entering thereto from the scale stairs of the said new tenement or building, having five windows fronting to the said wynd with one small closet window angularly to the said wynd, together with three garrets, two whereof with fires, with an entry to the said three garrets from the said scale stairs, with an cellar lying next to the west gavel on the north jamm with a coal fauld.'

The tenement was called 'Smith's Land,' after Mr. James Smith of Whitehill, who about 1690 had pulled down four old blocks of buildings and erected this new 'land' on the site. It apparently contained seven houses, and the one in question was originally sold in 1692 for 4600 merks to Mr. David Graham of Keillour, conjunct Clerk of the Bills. Graham sold it two years later to his colleague, Sir Alexander Anstruther of Newark, and the price rose to 5000 merks, which was also the sum paid by John Inglis in 1698, when he bought the house.

The wynd was demolished in 1785, when the South Bridge was built, and all that now remains of it is St. Cecilia's Hall, which was built in 1762 as a concert hall by Robert Mylne, the famous architect, who took as his model the Teatro Farnese at Parma. Smith's Land stood directly opposite.

After 1707 the Inglis family lived at Auchindinny in the

¹ *Edinburgh Title Deeds* (City Chambers),—Box 'South Bridge I.,' No. 7.

summer, but they kept on the house in Niddry's Wynd as a winter residence.

John Inglis's business premises were two 'writing-chambers' on the first story above the street in Fairholme's Land, a block standing on the north side of the High Street opposite the Mercat Cross and immediately below Adair's Close. He was already tenant in 1700, when he bought the offices from Thomas Fairholme at a price of 2800 merks.¹ The Royal Exchange was built on the site.

As his sons grew up John Inglis took three of them into his office to be trained in business. Archibald and Patrick are described in deeds as 'wryters in Edinburgh' when fifteen and sixteen years old respectively. Archibald was admitted an advocate a month after he came of age, and in the following year was appointed Principal Clerk to the High Court of Admiralty. Patrick was discounting bills and acting as a notary public when he was eighteen; and George, the youngest son, began at sixteen to engross deeds in his father's office, and was also enrolled a notary at eighteen. Both Patrick and George in their applications for enrolment are described as 'aged twenty one years or thereby.'

David and John do not seem to have worked in the office. David was admitted a burghess of Edinburgh on August 28, 1723, when he was just twenty-one, and became a clothier and linen merchant; while John emigrated as a youth to the West Indies, and afterwards settled at Philadelphia. Separate chapters will be devoted to the sons and to the two married daughters—Anne and Katharine.

John Inglis died on January 31, 1731, in his sixty-eighth year. He had granted bonds of provision in favour of his daughters,²—10,000 merks to Eupham, 9000 to Anne, and

¹ *Burgh Court Books*, November 5, 1702.

² *Register of Deeds* (Dalrymple), February 10, 1732; *Burgh Register of Deeds*, December 22, 1726.

8000 to Katharine,—and had provided for three of his sons out of his lands and houses, reserving his own liferent. Archibald got Auchindinny under burden of his mother's annuity of £600 Scots, Patrick was given Langbyres and Monkshead, and George the house in Niddry's Wynd and the writing-chambers at the Cross.

By his last will, dated April 1, 1728,¹ John Inglis appointed his eldest son to be his executor, and left him the residue of his personal estate. He declared:

'I have already given to David and John Inglises, my other two sons, such a portion of bairns' pairt of geir as my estate can bear and allow of, but in regaird I have at several times lent and advanced to the said David certain sums for carrying on his trade upon his bond or bill granted to me for the same, and considering how hard it is for honest trades to get their credit kept, Therefor for the said David his further management, I will and appoint the said Mr. Ard., my sone and exër, to retire and deliver to him any bonds or tickets he has granted to me or shall grant to me.'

In a codicil he said:

'Considering that I have legat and left to the above Mr. Ard. Inglis my eldest son the haill insight and plenishing of my house of Auchindinny that shall be there the tyme of my decease, and considering that that part of the said plenishing of bed cloaths either of wollen or linnen, with sheets, naprie and table linnen, was mostly or all made up by the frugality and vertue of Katherin Nisbet my spouse, and that upon my death it were hard to deprive her of the use and benefite thereof, I therefore dispone the same to my said spouse to be used and disposed of by her at her pleasure, declaring that the hangings of the rouses of the s^d house of Auchindinny, made either of woollen or linnen, are noways disponed to my said spouse, but shall belong to my said son.'

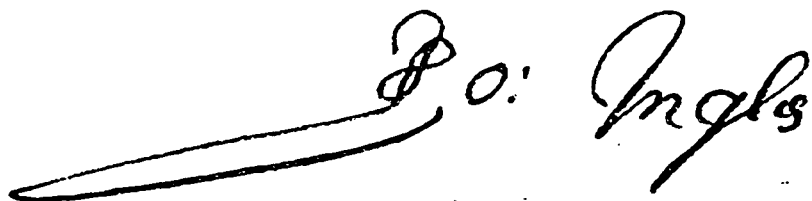
With regard to his funeral the will says:

'I desire my children and friends after my death interr my body decently in the Greyfriar Churchyard in Edin^r near my other relations

¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, February 14, 1745.

lying there, without any pomp or show, and that no more of my friends or acquaintance be troubled to attend my funeral than such as can be accommodated by a dozen of coaches at most.'

He was accordingly buried beside his first wife in ground facing Hay's ground and 'Fowls' tom' on the west side of the churchyard. His widow survived for seven years, and died in August 1738 at the age of sixty-seven. She and Eupham, their eldest daughter, who died a month before her, were also buried at Greyfriars.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "J. O. Inglis". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background. The first part of the signature, "J. O.", is written in a more formal, upright style, while "Inglis" is written in a more flowing, cursive style. The signature is positioned in the center of the page, below the main text.



AUCHINDINNY

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CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY HISTORY OF AUCHINDINNY

THE estate of Auchindinny was bought by John Inglis on November 21, 1702 from Robert Preston of Gorton for £23,100 Scots, or nearly £2000 sterling.

It lies about eight miles south of Edinburgh, on the right bank of the North Esk, and at the south end of the parish of Lasswade, and at that time it extended to seven hundred and thirty acres.

‘Auchin’ means in Gaelic ‘field of’; the derivation of ‘dinny’ is uncertain; the various suggestions are—*dion* ‘refuge,’ *teine* ‘fire,’ or *dinat* ‘wooded glen.’ The charters and other old documents spell the name in many ways—Auchin-, Auchyn-, or Achin-dony, -dyny, -deny, -donnay, -dinnie: in the eighteenth century ‘Auchindinny’ became the accepted form, and it is curious that ‘Auchendinny,’ now perhaps the commonest form, has scarcely any authority older than the middle of the nineteenth century.

The mansion-house, a substantial building of yellowish red sandstone, stands at the north-east end of the property, about five hundred feet above sea-level and facing the west. Its style of architecture is plain even to severity, but it gets character from being flanked on either side by a pavilion standing somewhat forward, and connected with the main building by a dead wall. The walls of the house are immensely thick, the basement is arched, the windows are small, and the doors very low. Its chief charm is the oak-panelled drawing-room, which runs the whole depth on the south side: three

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other rooms on the first floor are also panelled. At present there are about eight bedrooms, all small, but it is clear that some of the rooms are not used as originally intended.

The house was finished about 1707, but there was an older 'manor-place,' which stood on the crest of the hill behind. The stones were used to build the wall round the policy, and some pieces of carving were to be seen there until the middle of last century: these have all now disappeared.

The approach is by a double avenue—two rows of elms and one of beeches. The ground rises steeply behind the house, and falls abruptly to the Esk, which runs one hundred yards to the north. The garden, which lies to the south of the avenue, is about an acre and a half in extent: in the middle stands a tree planted by Lord Palmerston.

The present property includes two farms, one, Maybank or Little Floors, lying along the Esk, and the other, Auchindinny Mains, covering the south end of the estate, and including a stretch of moor beyond the Edinburgh and Peebles railway. The surface of both farms is undulating, and the general lie of the ground is steep, the moor being eight hundred feet above sea-level and three hundred and fifty feet above the Esk.

The property as bought by John Inglis in 1702 was in three divisions, Over or Wester Auchindinny, Nether Auchindinny, and the Firth, with the pertinents of Greyknowe, Pyke, and Pykehead or Sykehead, extending in all to a forty-shilling land. In security of the teinds warrandice was given over the adjacent lands to the south, viz. 'the village and lands of Auchindinnie Brigis commonlie called the Lonestaine,' Uttershill, and Fallhill. These warrandice lands were all sold at the same date to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik.

The boundaries of Over and Nether Auchindinny cannot now be determined: Greyknowe is the part of the Mains beyond the Peebles railway; Pyke is a little triangle of five acres alongside of the Peebles road above Maybank; and Pykehead is the part adjoining it to the east. The Firth, now

a separate property, lies to the north and east of Auchindinny proper.

The warrandice lands of Loanstone were originally Temple lands, and only came into possession of the Prestons about 1650. The old Auchindinny Brigs, which gave them their other name, crossed the Esk near Eskmills,¹ a mile above the present bridge, which was built in 1760. Uttershill, or Outershill, where there are ruins of a castle, is on the east bank of the Esk above Penicuik, and Fallhill is still further away to the south-east.

Auchindinny from the earliest times formed part of the barony of Gorton, which embraced the lands on the south bank of the Esk as far down as Hawthornden. In the middle of the thirteenth century David de Lysurs and his son William were Domini de Gouerton.²

About 1350 Gorton, formerly belonging to Margaret de Goiertoun, was conferred by King David Bruce upon Sir John de Preston,³ a soldier of distinction who had accompanied him on his invasion of England in 1346, and with him had been taken prisoner at Neville's Cross, and afterwards confined in the Tower of London.⁴ The lands were erected into the barony of Gorton or Preston, which through various vicissitudes remained in the Preston family for four hundred and fifty years.

Sir John's son, Sir Simon, bought the lands and barony of Craigmillar in 1374,⁵ and these lands also were held until 1660 by the Prestons, who became one of the most powerful families in the Lothians, and produced several prominent men. William Preston, the second laird after Sir Simon, 'made deligent labour ande grete menis for the gettyn of the

¹ See advertisement of Uttershill, *Edinburgh Courant*, April 1, 1706.

² *Chartulary of Newbottle* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 28, 29.

³ *R. M. S.*, 1306-1424, App. 1, 111.

⁴ Rymer's *Fœdera*, v. 534.

⁵ *R. M. S.*, 1306-1424, No. 455.

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arme bane of Sant Gele, the quhilk bane he frely left to oure mothir kirk of Sant Gele of Edynburgh withoutyn ony condicioun makyn.'¹ The Provost and Council of Edinburgh built the Preston Aisle of St. Giles's Church to receive the relic.

William's great-grandson, Sir Simon Preston, was ten times Provost of Edinburgh between 1538 and 1568. He was one of the leaders in the overthrow of Queen Mary, and it was to his house, the 'Black Turnpike,' close to the Tron Church, that she was brought after her surrender at Carberry Hill.

The direct succession of the Prestons ended in 1639 with the death of Robert, Sir Simon's grandson; and the next laird, David, one of the Whitehill branch, served heir with the remote connection of *pronepotis trinepotis tritavi*.² His son George sold the barony of Craigmillar in 1660 to Sir John Gilmour, Lord President of the Court of Session,³ and had previously, on February 8, 1655, sold Gorton to his cousin Robert, a brother of Sir George Preston of Valleyfield.⁴ This Robert Preston was afterwards knighted, and, though not a lawyer, was by Lauderdale's influence raised to the bench in 1672 with the title of Lord Preston. He died in 1674.

In 1663 he got a Crown charter of the barony of Gorton expressly including Over and Nether Auchindinny and Firth, and it was his second son, Robert, who sold these lands to John Inglis.

While the Prestons were superiors of the barony of Gorton, Auchindinny was for the most part held by vassals in feu. The first extant writ in which it is specially mentioned is dated July 20, 1425,⁵ when John Preston granted a charter of the lands of 'Auchindony' with the pertinents to his 'well-beloved

¹ *Charters relating to Edinburgh* (Burgh Records Soc.), p. 79.

² *Inquisitiones, Edinburgh*, Nos. 852-853; *Thomson's Acts*, vi. (1) 251.

³ *Ib.*, vii. 361a.

⁴ *Ib.*, vii. 523; *R. M. S.*, 1652-59, No. 415.

⁵ *R. M. S.*, 1424-1513, No. 26.

cousin,' Henry Forstar or Forrester, on the resignation of Sir John Forrester of Corstorphine, his father. John Vernour was one of the witnesses. Henry Forrester was also proprietor of parts of the old barony of Redhall,¹ but not of any part that is included in the modern property.

The connection of the Forresters with Auchindinny did not last long, and in 1487 Simon Preston of Gorton feued Over Auchindinny to James Vernour, whose descendants continued in possession for nearly two centuries.

The earliest mention of a ' toure and maner-place ' occurs in a grant in 1557 by the famous Sir Simon Preston ' to ane honorabill man, Maister Johnne Gledstane, licentiat in the laws,' of the casualties of non-entry, ward, and marriage arising on the death of Thomas Vernour and the non-age of Thomas, his son.²

The *Privy Council Register* records various applications regarding the bridges over the North Esk and Glencorse Water carrying the main road from Edinburgh to Peebles. In 1601 there is a supplication by Thomas Vernour, who describes ' Auchindony Brigs ' as ' ruinous and almaist alredie decayit and fallin doun,'³ so that, unless they are repaired, ' puir travellaris, cadgeris, and utheris passingeris resortand to the saidis brigis will be forcit to thair girt skaith to pas thrie or four myllis about.' Vernour undertakes the repairs, and is allowed to levy tolls.

When King James VI. came to Scotland in 1617 the lairds on the route had to provide carriages and horses to convey His Majesty's retinue and baggage, and the Council ordains⁴ ' Mr. Gawane Nisbett for the baronie of Prestoun to haif in reddines in name of the Laird of Craigmillair tuelff horsse and Johne Vernor of Auchindynie constable.'

By this time the Vernours were getting into financial difficulties. In 1625 John Vernour, Beatrix Ramsay his wife,

¹ *Scots Peerage*, Forrester.

³ *P. C. R.*, vi. 207, 677.

² Auchindinny Charters.

⁴ *Ib.*, xi. 117.

and their son George burdened Over Auchindinny with a bond of wadset for 3000 merks in favour of a certain William Frazier in Currie.¹ They still continued in possession of the lands and manor-place, paying Frazier a rent of 300 merks, which was in fact the interest on the bond at the rate of ten per cent.

They were also the tenants of Nether Auchindinny, and an attempt to evict them from possession did not succeed without a struggle. Early in 1632 Robert Preston, their landlord, obtained a decreet of removing against John Vernour, but upon April 6 Vernour assembled together some twenty-four persons, armed with swords, steel-bonnets, hagbuts, pistols, and other weapons, among them being George Vernour, 'apparent of Achindynnie,' and James, his brother, and came with them to the said lands, 'entered plewes upon the same, and sew and harrowed a pairt thairof.'²

Preston sent some of his servants to stop them by peaceable means, whereupon Vernour and his companions 'boasted and minassed' them, and attacked some of them, viz. 'Johne Thomson, who wes sawing, dang him to the ground and gave him manie blae straikes, reft the scheit frome his neck, and rave the same, violentlie continewed in the teilling, harrowing and sawing of the saidis lands,' and would have killed some of his servants, had not the minister of the parish stopped them. The Lords of Privy Council ordained them to be put to the horn and escheat.

The connection of the Vernours with Over Auchindinny came to an end in 1650, when, after an action of apprising, John Vernour resigned his feu to the superior, George Preston of Gorton and Craigmillar. In 1653 George Preston feued Auchindinny, Over and Nether, to Mr. Thomas Henderson, advocate, the disposition expressly mentioning that Nether Auchindinny had never before been dispooned.

Henderson resigned his feu in 1664, and two years later

¹ *Acts and Decrees*, March 4, 1634 (Hay, vol. 470, fol. 8).

² *P. C. R.*, 2nd Series, iv. 472.

Robert Preston, the superior, disposed the lands to Mr. James Deans of Highrigs, writer in Edinburgh, and James Deans of Woodhouslee, his son, in security for a loan of 15,000 merks.¹ Preston continued in possession of the lands, for which he paid a back-tack duty of 900 merks, but the elder Deans possessed the manor-place for the next ten years.

In 1674 Lord Preston died, leaving his affairs embarrassed. John, his eldest son, was charged to enter heir, and the estate was exposed for sale by Sir Robert Dundas of Arniston and other creditors. Robert Preston, the second son, was the highest bidder, and thus became laird of Gorton, subject to the various burdens.

In 1676 David Howisone, merchant burghess of Edinburgh, acquired right to Deans's wadset and to possession of the mansion-house of Auchindinny,² and in 1694 he assigned his rights to Dr. Alexander Dundas. Shortly afterwards Robert Preston's affairs reached a crisis; the whole barony was adjudged, and a long process of ranking followed. Eventually it was arranged that part of the barony should be sold and the rest restored to him, and a purchaser for Auchindinny and the Firth was found in John Inglis, who was agent for some of the creditors.

The price, which was calculated at nineteen and a quarter years' purchase on a rental of £1200 Scots,³ was paid by instalments during the next six years, but Preston's most urgent obligation was removed by an immediate payment of £11,610 Scots to my Lord Arniston, and in 1705 he was able to take a lease of Pykehead and Greyknowe for nineteen years at a rent of '£200 Scots, 24 sufficient hens, and 24 loads of coalls within the town of Edinburgh.'⁴

A Crown charter was granted on January 27, 1703 in favour of John Inglis and his wife in liferent, and Archibald, their eldest son, in fee.

¹ *Register of Deeds* (Dalrymple), July 24, 1685.

³ *Ib.*, March 4, 1713.

² *Ib.*, July 24, 1685.

⁴ *Ib.*, May 12, 1709.

CHAPTER V

ARCHIBALD INGLIS OF AUCHINDINNY

ARCHIBALD, eldest son of John Inglis of Auchindinny and Katharine Nisbet, was baptized at Edinburgh on May 5, 1696 in the presence of Sir Robert Dickson of Sornbeg, Mr. Archibald Dickson of Towerland, Patrick Johnston, merchant, present bailie, George Watson, merchant, James Nesmith, depute town clerk, and Archibald Nisbet of Carphin.

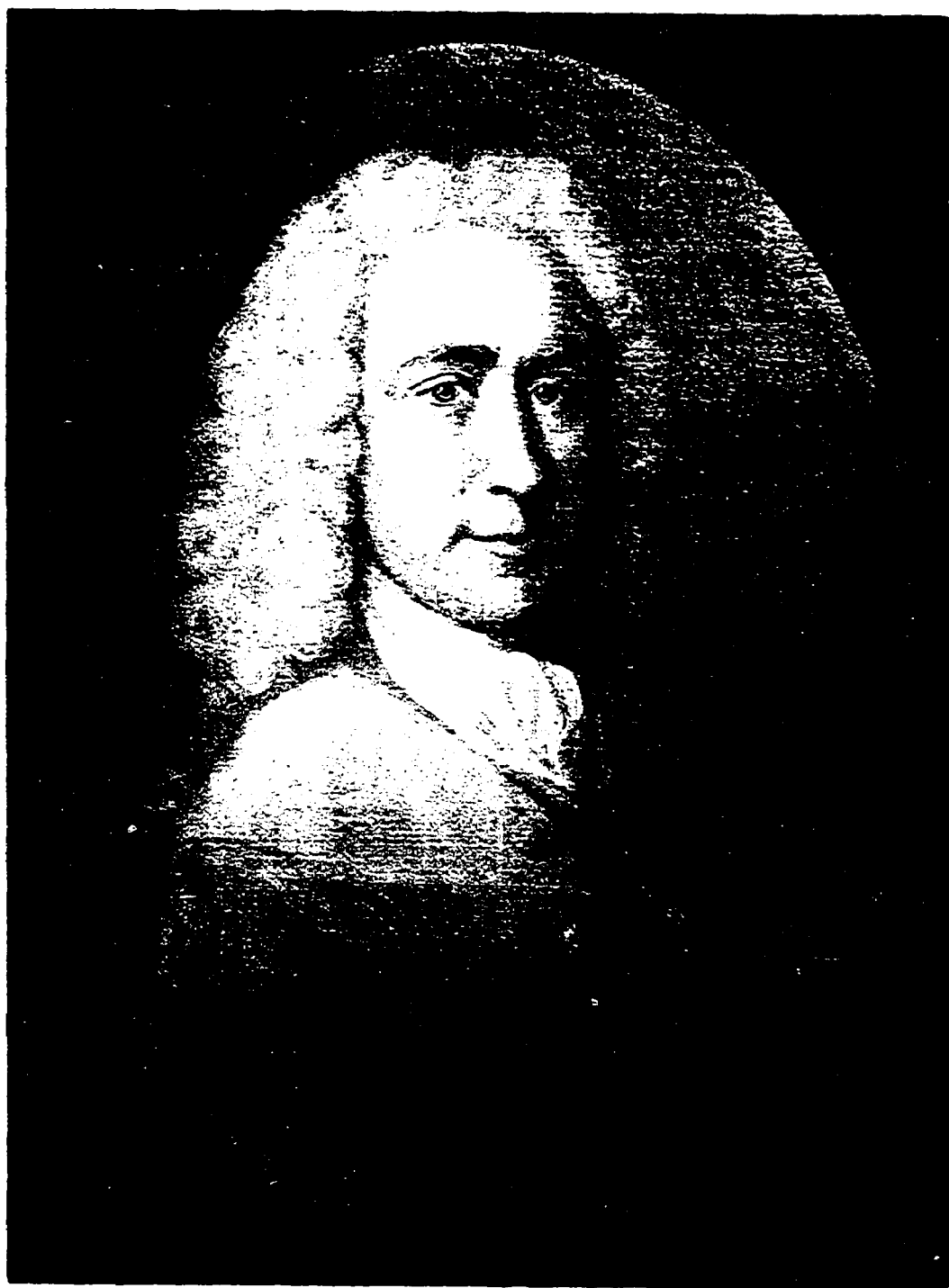
After a training in his father's office he was admitted an advocate on June 17, 1717, and on January 14, 1718 was nominated by the Earl of Rothes, Vice-Admiral of Scotland, to be Principal Clerk in the High Court of Admiralty.

He did not secure his place without a struggle. His commission from Lord Rothes was not accepted by the judge, Mr. James Graham, who claimed for himself the right to appoint, and nominated Alexander Gordon, the Deputy Clerk. When the question came to be tried in the Court of Session, a third claimant appeared, with a commission from Lord Polwarth, Lord Clerk Register. The Court decided in favour of Archibald Inglis,¹ who took his seat on November 18, 1718, and held the post till his death in 1754; whilst Alexander Gordon had the consolation of being reappointed Deputy Clerk, for which privilege he had to pay Archibald Inglis £800 Scots.

There seems to have been no regular salary attached to the office of Principal Clerk, but the perquisites amounted to about £200 sterling a year,² derived from Court dues and from payments for the minor appointments in his gift, which were openly put up for sale according to the custom of the time.

¹ *Arniston Session Papers* (Adv. Lib.), v. 43.

² *Scottish Antiquary*, xii. 13.



Archd Inglis

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On his father's death in 1731 Archibald Inglis succeeded to Auchindinny, and in 1747 he acquired Langbyres and Monkshead by adjudication for debts amounting to £750, which had been borrowed from him by his brother Patrick on security of the lands.¹

Monkshead was all along held under a right of reversion to the superior, James Douglas of Hisleside, and no doubt it was soon afterwards redeemed, for nothing more is heard of it. It was a one-merk land at Douglas in Lanarkshire, bringing in a rental of 'fourscore pounds Scots and three stone good sufficient cheese.'²

In 1748 Archibald Inglis bought from James Scott of Howden, W.S., probably as an investment, the superiority of part of the barony of Kirknewton,³ in the parish of the same name, ten miles south-west of Edinburgh.

On August 30, 1740 he married Jean, second daughter of John Philp of Greenlaw,⁴ a neighbouring laird. She was born on December 14, 1717, and was thus twenty-one years younger than her husband. Their portraits are in possession of Mr. H. M. Cadell of Grange, but of their personalities little or nothing is known.

They had three daughters—Sophia (Mrs. John Monro), Katharine (Mrs. William Cadell), and Barbara (Mrs. John Inglis).

Archibald Inglis belonged to the Honourable Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland, founded in 1723.

He was a seat-holder in the Tron Church.

His town house at the time of his death was the third story, containing eight rooms and a kitchen, of a new tenement called Elphinstone's and Carbistone's Land,⁵ on the

¹ Morison's *Dictionary*, 9073; *G. R. S.*, vol. 189, p. 4.

² *Register of Deeds* (Dalrymple), March 10, 1720, September 3, 1723.

³ *R. M. S.*, February 13, 1749.

⁴ For the Philps see Chapter xviii.

⁵ *Edinburgh Courant*, February 6, 1755.

south side of the High Street, facing the Cross. It had not been paid for when he died, and it was at once offered for sale.

There is an extant inventory of the household 'plenishing' at Auchindinny and in the town house. The silver consisted of a tea-service, a dozen knives, forks and spoons, a posset-dish, two 'juggs,' two flagons and tumblers, a pair of candlesticks, four salts, a mustard-dish, pepper-box and sugar-dish. There is no mention of glass or china, all the 'trenchers' and 'ashets' being pewter. The live stock at Auchindinny included eight kine and a calf, and eight horses and a foal, but no sheep: there were two carts and various saddles, but no carriage.

Archibald Inglis died on April 2, 1754, 'much esteem'd and justly regreted,'¹ and was buried at Greyfriars.

A tribute to him occurs in an anonymous poem, 'The Lairds on North Esk,' written about 1740:²

'Newha'³ he is a weel-faured spark,
The Spittal⁴ he's a silly body,
Penicuik⁵ he is an earl's son,
Greenlaw⁶ he is a fisher's oye.⁷

Young Glencorse⁸ he lo'es guid ale,
Woodhouselee⁹ he winna be the treater,
Auchindinny he bears the gree¹⁰
O' a' the lairds o' Nor' Esk Water,

Young Gourton¹¹ he's a rude, rude youth,
Young Hawthornden¹² is little better,
.
.
.
Roslin¹³ for a glass of wine,
And Dryden¹⁴ for a glass of water.'

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, April 2, 1754.

² *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*, R. Chambers, ed. 1870, p. 250.

³ Robert Fisher.

⁴ Dr. John Clerk.

⁵ Sir John Clerk, married a daughter of the Earl of Galloway.

⁶ John Philp, see *infra* p. 206.

⁷ Grandson.

⁸ Henry Bothwell.

⁹ Patrick Crichton.

¹⁰ Prize.

¹¹ John Preston, see *infra* p. 53.

¹² William Drummond.

¹³ William Sinclair.

¹⁴ George Lockhart.

On Archibald's death, his daughters succeeded as co-heiresses under the guardianship of their uncle, David Inglis.

Auchindinny House was let to a Colonel Gordon, who in 1761 took a lease for fourteen years. Mrs. Inglis and the girls moved to a small house in Milne's Court, off the north side of the Lawnmarket, and in summer used to go to a cottage at Swanston at the north end of the Pentlands.

Sophia, the eldest girl, was married on July 8, 1757, when she was only sixteen, to John Monroe of Auchinbowie,¹ advocate, eldest son of Dr. Alexander Monroe (*Primus*), Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh University. In the same year the Professor's only daughter, Margaret, married Sophia's uncle, James Philp.

John Monroe, who was born on November 5, 1725, had a fair practice at the bar, and on January 21, 1758 was nominated by his brother-in-law, Judge Philp, to be Procurator-Fiscal (Crown Prosecutor) in the Court of Admiralty. He held the post till his death in 1789.

Many years after his marriage Mr. Monroe wrote to his brother-in-law, Captain Inglis: 'I proposed from the first that Mrs. Monroe and I should live by ourselves. But this Mrs. Inglis would not hear of, and Mrs. Monroe inclining also to live with her mother, I gave up the point.' Accordingly Mr. Monroe had to enter the establishment in Milne's Court, which consisted of 'a small dining-room, a very small drawing-room, two small bed chambers, a kitchen, and a closet which I used for writing.' He soon had to take a larger house at the Cross, but he did not succeed in shaking off his mother-in-law, who followed him with her two other daughters.

Mrs. Monroe died on April 21, 1775, when she was only thirty-four years old. One of her sisters erected a monument to her in the field opposite the entrance to Auchindinny House—a triangular monolith, each side having a rectangular

¹ See the author's *Monros of Auchinbowie*, p. 83.

face measuring 9 feet by 2 feet 9 inches, and then tapering to a point about 11 feet 6 inches above the ground. The inscription is as follows : ¹

‘ In remembrance of
SOPHIA INGLIS
eldest daughter of Archibald Inglis
a disconsolate sister caused this to be cut upon
a native stone at Auchindinny
there angel like she spent her infancy.

Man that is born of a woman is of few days and full of trouble : cometh forth as a flower and is cut down, fleeth also as a shadow and continueth not. The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.

SOPHIA INGLIS

Born 17th day of February 1741
Departed this life 21st day of April 1775.

Muse, at that name thy sacred sorrows shed,
Those tears eternal that embalm the dead ;
Call round her tomb each object of desire,
Each purer frame informed with purer fire :
Bid her be all that cheers or softens life,
The tender sister, daughter, friend and wife ;
Bid her be all that makes mankind adore,
Recall her memory and be vain no more.’

Mr. Monro survived his wife fourteen years, and died on May 24, 1789. Their family consisted of two daughters, who succeeded as co-heiresses to Auchinbowie, which they divided : (1) Jane, who married on November 21, 1785 George Home of Argaty, and had one daughter, Sophia, who married her cousin, David Monro Binning of Softlaw ; (2) Isabella, who married on February 23, 1789 Captain Ninian Lowis of Plean, R.N., and had three sons and four daughters.

After David Inglis’s death in 1767 his brother George became guardian to his two unmarried nieces, but Mr. Monro acted as factor for Auchindinny and Langbyres down to

¹ *Scottish Monuments* (Grampian Club), i. 156.



Jean Philp

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1776, when Mr. David Forbes, writer, was appointed by all parties to act as law-agent and 'doer' for the proprietors.

In 1773 the second girl, Katharine, married Mr. William Cadell, and after Mrs. Monro's death old Mrs. Inglis seems to have settled herself and her youngest daughter upon her new son-in-law on boarding terms.

After 1777, when Barbara, the youngest girl, married her cousin, Captain John Inglis (afterwards the Admiral), she and her mother were established at a house in Merchiston, a suburb of Edinburgh, where Mrs. Inglis, who had long been in ill health, died on March 31, 1780, at the age of sixty-two and after twenty-five years of widowhood. She was buried beside her husband in Greyfriars Churchyard. Her brother-in-law, Mr. George Inglis, records her death in his account books with the comment, 'a sober, virtuous woman.'

Her will, the original of which is among the family papers, is signed in her maiden name, 'Jean Philp.' It was made in July 1775, soon after her eldest daughter's death, and constituted her daughter Barbara sole legatee, but the property left by her was probably a negligible quantity.

CHAPTER VI

KATHARINE INGLIS (MRS. WILLIAM CADELL)

KATHARINE INGLIS, second daughter and co-heiress of Archibald Inglis of Auchindinny and Jean Philp, was born in 1744 or 1745, and married on August 23, 1773 William, elder son of William Cadell of Banton, Stirlingshire.

William Cadell the father (1708-77) was a pioneer of mining and engineering enterprise in Scotland,¹ and is best known as one of the founders in 1759 of the Carron Ironworks,² which were long famous for the manufacture of the short-range cannon called Carronades, and all kinds of hardware.

William Cadell the son (1737-1819) was appointed original managing partner of the firm at the age of twenty-two, and on his father's death inherited the mining properties of Banton and Carron Park in Stirlingshire, and Grange in Linlithgowshire. He was most active in pushing his various businesses, and had the full sympathy and support of his wife, who was a clever and energetic woman.

A great many of her letters, written both before and after marriage, survive, owing to the methodical habits of her husband, who kept the correspondence with drafts of his replies.

The earlier letters cover the period of courtship, which must have been an uphill matter for Mr. Cadell, as the lady approached the question from a practical and unromantic standpoint—in fact, to use a phrase of the period, she was

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, April 2, 1777.

² *Story of the Forth*, H. M. Cadell, p. 143 *seq.*



William Cadell

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Ruth Ogden

guided by sense rather than sensibility. She collected the opinions of her relations and friends as to Mr. Cadell's qualifications, and she was quite frank in telling him that 'a genteel and proper settlement' was one of the factors to be considered.

She conducted the correspondence with a severe restraint of language, and never went beyond signing herself 'your sincere and ever-faithfull friend,' or 'your well-wisher and friend, Katharine Inglis.' Mr. Cadell, who would have shown fervour if he had been encouraged, made bold a month before the marriage to call himself 'your affectionate admirer and sincere friend.'

The earliest letter is one from Miss Inglis, written about six months before the marriage :

'SIR,—I received your letter ; your agreeing with me in sentiment gave me pleasure, but am affraid you deem me selfish and mercenary, when in talking of fortune I only meant my having what as an individual would secure independence, but were I ever to meet with that union of mind absolutely necessary in forming so lasting a connexion, it would not be then myself alone being secure that would give peace of mind, for an equal anxiety I am convinced I should feel for the whole. I have a very exalted idea of the inseparable interest of such a connexion.

'After writing these few lines I was in doubt whether to trouble you with them or not, but as an acknowledgement of the receipt of your very civil letter I thought I would, and to assure you that I shall always continue,—Your well-wisher and friend,

'KATH : INGLIS.

'EDIN^R., *Monday*
'Feb^y. 1st, 1773.'

Mr. Cadell replied :

'I have the pleasure of Miss Inglis's Letter, and consider myself much obliged for favouring me with your sentiments. However true, it may look like flattering myself to say that they correspond intirely with my own, and that it was in the hope and confidence of meeting

with that union of Mind, which you justly observe is so essential, that made me wish for so indearing a connection with you. I have too much knowledge of your worth and goodness to have any idea of your being in the least mercenary. If I wrote anything that conveyed a meaning so contrary to my thought I am sorry for it and hope for your Pardon, my Intention only was and is to express what was proper for me to do, in case of being favoured in my addresses to you—in which event I hope you will have no occasion for any anxiety upon my account. . . . Your satisfaction and happiness are very dear to me, I have no wish inconsistent with them.

‘If you will allow a Friend to look at our affairs so as to form your judgment it will be very obliging, and if my dear Miss — sees it consistant w^t her happiness to favour me w^t her hand and heart she will make happy her ever-faithfull admirer and friend.’

Mr. Cadell had by this time been reduced to a state of abject submission. He wrote on February 9 :

‘I have the greatest regard for Miss Inglis, and only wish this most endearing connection in life to take place in the event of its being in every way agreeable to her.’

There is a gap in the correspondence, but when it begins again the lady is still negotiating on business lines.

She writes on June 23 :

‘I beg that you will defer asking a conversation with me till this day fortnight, in which time I will know my friends’ sentiments upon the matter, and you shall then see them all. I am only sorry that I keep you from your business and in a state of suspence, when you might have met with one much more deserving with much less trouble, but as my wishes are confined to independence, ease of mind, and security, I can make no change without much consideration, so I still hope you will not blame—Your sincere friend,

‘KATH : INGLIS.’

Next day she wrote :

‘I have no reason to doubt your father’s proper behaviour on such an occasion, as I have ever heard him spoke of as a very worthy man,

nor far less to think but your way of thinking and acting will be consistent with the generosity and friendship which you have expressed in your sentiments to—Your sincere and ever faithful friend.

‘AUCHIN : ¹ 24th June 1773.’

Mr. Cadell in his reply says :

‘As my dear Miss Inglis’s very obliging Letter appears to me to require an answer I hope she will forgive my troubling her with these few lines. I mean not to hurry or be in any ways troublesome to you. I return you Mr. Monro’s letter with particular thanks for your confidence and good opinion, which it shall ever be my endeavour to deserve. . . . Your conduct in my opinion has been unexceptionable. I shall be sorry indeed if mine has been in any ways blameable towards you. It is my sincere wish to promote your Independence, Ease of Mind, and Security, it being in the Confidence of doing so that I have made free to request your alliance to—Dear M^m, y^r affect^{te} Admirer and Sincere friend.’

A week later the lady’s defences show signs of breaking down :

‘AUCHIN : 1st July 1773.

‘SIR,—I just now receive your Letter with Mr. Monro’s inclosed ; all I have to say is that you positively must make no alteration upon any of your matters, for altho’ I have not the vanity to think it would be done upon my account, yet I could not help blaming myself greatly : at all events every scheme you undertake shall have my best wishes : I hope this meeting will put you to no trouble, as to what you say of having it first upon Tuesday on account of your being to come here on Wednesday, you need not hurry yourself, for it is quite the same to me any day after, my principal reason for writing just now was to tell you so, for I have no commands to trouble you with.—I remain your most sincere friend.’

After this the courtship must have progressed rapidly, for they were married at Auchinbowie on August 23.²

This series of love-letters, if such they can be called, leaves one with the impression that Katharine Inglis was a pedantic,

¹ Auchinbowie.

² *Edinburgh Courant*, August 28, 1773.

matter-of-fact woman, even when allowance is made for the formal language of the times ; but her later letters entirely counteract this judgment. They show that marriage awakened her dormant sentiment, and they reveal her in an attractive light as a most affectionate wife and mother.

These letters were written to her husband between 1783 and 1785 from Greenlaw House, which he had bought in 1782 from the representatives of her uncle, Judge Philp. She and the family, five boys and a girl, lived there, while her husband travelled between his various businesses. One reason for the purchase was that the house was near Auchindinny Paper Mill, which he also bought in 1782, and Mrs. Cadell was able to supervise the work there. It was the earliest paper mill on the North Esk, and dated from about 1716. In 1745 Archibald Inglis feued the site and the buildings to the tenant, William Annandale, who sold the business to Mr. Cadell, Annandale's son, William, continuing to act as manager. The mill never paid, and on December 20, 1785 it was burnt down.¹ It was rebuilt, and remained in the Cadell family for many years : ultimately it was sold by James John Cadell's trustees, and was then turned into a steam laundry.

Mrs. Cadell's letters are long reports about the children, household matters generally, and the business of the paper mill. She always addresses him as 'My dear Sir,' and signs herself with the initials of her maiden name—'K. I.'

A few characteristic extracts may be quoted.

' GREENLAW, *Saturday*
' 15 and 16 *March* 1783.

' MY DEAR SIR,—I take the opportunity of the two eldest boys playing with J. Cookson, and James at his afternoon nap to begin a letter to you, which however I do not propose sending off till Monday, when I am to go to Edinburgh with our friend William Archibald,² who (thank God) I think very well just now : sometimes he gives a

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, December 21, 1785.

² The eldest boy.

kind of noisy cough that at times I say, will that be the chincough ? ¹ but I do not think there is any symtomes that can make one seriously think he has it : and George is gradually getting better and coming to his appetite evidently these two days past. When talking to W. Archibald about going to Carronpark he very reasonably said he would like it very well, but better in a little, when he thinks he would be better at his different parts of education. Now this was my opinion, but I did not dictate to him in the least degree, he really is a rational creature. At the vacation (occasioned by the preachings) he brought me a line of his writing that is surprisely well for being only 2 months at school, and the master says he promises to be an exceeding fine scholar : that indeed is my opinion, but no doubt I have more partiality and less judgment. I keep it preciously, and he is keen to show it to you.'

' GREENLAW, 4 *May* /83.

' MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of your two kind and agreeable letters, and in that I got yesterday you are particularly good in admitting my apology, and saying you was glad always to see my pen on paper again. I grasp at every opportunity of acknowledgeing your distinct letters, and just now my little charge ² is asleep, James and Alex. out in the fields and George accepted of an invitation to drink tea at Auchindinny, which Will^m A^d refused, preferring (I alleged) rambling in the fields to any company, very natural at his time of life.

' But he, as they did all, behaved extremely reasonably to Uncle George Inglis, who was here this forenoon. He was very kind to the young folks, and said he would wish to spend a day here first time you was at home, so if you continue to chuse it as I think you once proposed, you may ask him the end of this week when you goodly purpose coming here. . . .

' I was sorry to hear that Mr. Monro was complaining. Inclosed is a line of each of our young scholars. They wrote them with many disadvantages, an unsteady table, little ink and not good pens, but they are not amiss ; I hope you will think they merit some degree of praise, the copys were their choice. If you please, tell Marion to send a bottle of rennet ; it will carry well enough. Oh ! do be careful of yourself in riding, for fear your horse slips. I hope I will hear of you to-morrow ; you are so good and punctual a correspondent.'

¹ Whooping-cough.

² Philip, born April 14, 1782.

‘ GREENLAW, *Wednesday*

‘ 18 June 1783.

‘ MY DEAR SIR,—I have had the pleasure to receive both yr kind letters and hope you are quite well, but you never mention yourself. I see you have been visiting the new neighbours and approve of them as agreeable familys. The weather has been very bad here ; I have not but once been out, and then only the length of the pond with Philip in my arms, who, sweet creature, seemed to enjoy the air much and looked about finely. He continues to thrive extremely well, thank God, and all the rest of the young folks are very well. W. A. was out as usual looking very happy and really brought some pretty drawings. He seems to enjoy the thoughts of going to Stirlingshire. He, George and me did all we could to make J. McNab write while here, we gave him ink, &c. But he said he would do it in town for certain with the account of both weeks. To do W^m Annandale jun^r justice, he has sent the accounts always to me, wh. I have to show you.

‘ The sacraments in two parishes, William said, had made less work done. I gave him both your letters.

‘ Mr. and Mrs. Hope and Doctor Monro called here on Friday. I regretted them missing you and asked if they cd. dine here on Saturday first, and I said I would send to-day and ask, so whether they will come I am not sure, but I know your social turn will make them welcome.

‘ If there are any garden things nice William might bring them, and I think in the light closet in the entry to the housekeeper’s room there are yet some of the tongues, if yr servant c^d carry one of them in case these company come. . . . Having nothing new to entertain you with and hoping so soon to see you I will add no more. I wish you may get a good day on Friday. I remain yours most affectionately,

‘ K. I.’

‘ GREENLAW HOUSE, *Sunday*

‘ 4th *April* 1784.

‘ MY DEAR SIR,—I rec^d yr kind letter yest^d when I was in Edin. as usual and we brought out W. A. who is quite well (thank God), for he is a charming boy. I bought him Gay’s Fables and he is just now reading them and it is wonderful how so young a creature enters into the spirit and full sense of them. They are indeed very excellent.

On this paper you will see a letter from our friend George. It is more to be regarded as from the heart than for its correctness, but I really have no time to him to try a fairer copy, so please accept of it such as it is. He truly is surprising at the pen for so young, and in many things is a fine innocent creature, but I cannot help being astonished at a certain teacher, who makes the smallest comparison between these two boys at present. What the youngest may brighten up to be I shall not say, but think there is room to hope he may do well, but this night, fond as I am of filthy lucre, I think it would be little risk to give that said teacher £100 to find me one of his 100 boys who compose his class so correct, clever, modest and universally sensible at the early age of $8\frac{3}{4}$ years. But it is an actual fact that some have eyes and see not, though Presbeterians and endowed with inward light. You will think, as sometimes I give you reason, that I am a w^d be wit, so I will tell you that W. Annandale is just now come in and tells me that the wheel is in and that this week it will be fit for work. I am to read him y^r letter and note of yesterday, for, do you know, harness for the plough and no good weather for walking joined with attendance here has made me never been there. I wish you saw them yourself, so I hope you will be here the end of next week, wh. will answer to keeping sweet Philip's birth on Saturday nearest the 14th, when our scholars will be here. We heard G. Peebles bungle the proclamation of the election to-day. Thursday 8th I with difficulty made out.—Your most
sin^y aff^{te} 'K. I.'

'GREENLAW HOUSE

'*Tuesday 13 April 1785.*

'MY DEAR SIR,—I had the pleasure of y^r kind letter with the carrier and canister of fine tea, parcel of tongues and the newspapers. I got them that day I came to attend the young folks to Laurie's publick, where W. A. and George danced each minuet, 2 cotillons, and their high dance or jigg, all extremely easily and well. I go the length to say that George and the youngest Miss Hunter danced the justest time of any in that school. But W. A. keeps always ahead (rightly) of his youngest brother at the more essential parts of education, and is still always about 6th, often higher, in the Latin class, where George too is rising, as you will see by the inclosed from himself. I think he is a more willing letter-writer than his brother, for I read what you

The 'dryness' in question had arisen over the division of Auchindinny among the co-heiresses. Captain Inglis was inclined to be stubborn in insisting on what he conceived to be his rights, and 'dryness' always occurred when any one ventured to dispute them.

Mrs. Cadell died at Greenlaw on January 18, 1797, when she was little more than fifty. Her husband survived till September 17, 1819.

Of their family William Archibald, George, and Alexander did not marry; Philip and Jean Sophia (Mrs. Simpson of Plean) each had a son who died unmarried, so the only descendants of Katharine Cadell are the family of James John, the third son.¹

William Archibald was a man of note in his day.² He was born at Carron Park on June 27, 1775, and became eminent as a scientist, antiquarian, and traveller. He was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society on June 28, 1810. During the Napoleonic war he was made prisoner in France while travelling on the Continent, and escaped after some years by pretending to be a Frenchman. He died at Edinburgh on February 19, 1855.

Greenlaw House was taken by Government in 1804 to accommodate French prisoners, and in 1813 new barracks for them and their guard were begun, but the war ended before the buildings were ready, and they were afterwards used as a depot for the Royal Scots regiment.

Mrs. Cadell's share of Auchindinny, the Firth, was sold by Mr. Cadell to a Mr. Robert Hill in 1801.

¹ Burke's *Landed Gentry*—Cadell of Grange.

² *Dictionary of National Biography*.

CHAPTER VII

PATRICK INGLIS

PATRICK, the second surviving son of John Inglis and Katharine Nisbet, was baptized at Edinburgh on April 3, 1701. He was trained in his father's office, and was admitted a notary on July 9, 1719. On his father's death in 1731 he succeeded to Langbyres and Monkshead, and next year he went to London and emigrated to Jamaica, where he was Registrar of Chancery until his death in November 1737.¹

The circumstances of his marriage are unknown. His wife's Christian names were Anna Maria, and presumably her surname was Rigby, for their only child, baptized on March 6, 1737,² was called John Rigby Inglis, and her son by her second marriage was Francis Rigby Broadbelt.

Before emigrating Patrick had borrowed £550 sterling from his brother Archibald on security of Langbyres and Monkshead,³ as well as £200 on note of hand, and although he left £2284 the debt was never repaid, so in 1747 Archibald made up a title to the lands after a lengthy process of adjudication against his nephew.⁴

Patrick's widow married a Mr. Daniel Broadbelt, one of the Masters in Chancery, and John Rigby Inglis was sent home to Scotland to be educated by his uncle, George Inglis,

¹ General Register Office, Jamaica, *Register of St. Catharine's*, vol. i. p. 231.

² *Ib.*, i. 74.

³ *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), October 12, 1738.

⁴ Morison's *Dictionary*, p. 9073; *G. R. S.*, vol. 189, p. 4.

who entered him at Dalkeith Grammar School, and in 1755 apprenticed him to a Dr. Macfarlane.

Mr. and Mrs. Broadbelt threw over their responsibilities, and ceased to contribute towards the boy's support. On October 26, 1756 he died at the age of nineteen—'the worthy Son of a worthy Father,' as his uncle George recorded. Mr. George took legal steps to recover the money due for his maintenance, but without avail, and he wrote to the step-father :

'If my nephew had been spared he must have been sorry to find that more than two years had past w^tout hearing from his friends in Jamaica. However Providence has otherwise disposed of him, and whilst he lived his friends here took care of him both in point of education and otherwise equal to his merit and his outmost desire.'

CHAPTER VIII

DAVID INGLIS

DAVID, the third son of John Inglis and Katharine Nisbet, was baptized at Edinburgh on June 5, 1702, in the presence of Mr. David Blair, minister of the Gospel in Edinburgh, Sir John Swinton of that ilk, George Warrender, late Bailie, John Blair, writer, and George Watson, merchant burgess.

He was admitted a burgess of Edinburgh on August 28, 1723, and became a prosperous linen manufacturer and clothier, his factory being on the east side of Candlemaker Row, and his shop being at the head of Craig's Close on the north side of the High Street, opposite the Cross. For some years he was in partnership with his wife's first cousin, David Baird, and afterwards his own cousin, John Nisbet, acted as his manager.¹

He was elected to the Royal Company of Archers on July 2, 1726, and to the Society of Captains of Trained Bands on October 30, 1729,² and he was chosen to be Master of the Merchant Company for the year 1748.

In 1728 he was on the jury that tried James Carnegy of Phinhaven on the charge of murdering the Earl of Strathmore. The circumstances excited intense public interest, and to lawyers the trial was important, because the majority of the jury, including David Inglis, vindicated their right to return a general verdict of 'not guilty' on the indictment, and resisted the view that they were only entitled to find the facts 'proven' or 'not proven.'³

¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, February 8, 1755.

² *Society of Trained Bands of Edinburgh*, Wm. Skinner, p. 131.

³ *Arnot's Criminal Trials*, p. 191.

In 1736 he was on the still more famous jury that convicted Captain Porteous of murder for having ordered the city guard to fire on a disorderly crowd at an execution.¹ A reprieve of the death sentence caused the famous 'Porteous Mob,' when the victim was dragged from prison and hanged by the rioters.

On September 27, 1739 David Inglis was elected a Merchant Councillor on the Town Council of Edinburgh, and for the next fifteen years he was prominent in civic life. He was elected City Treasurer in 1740 and 1741, Old Treasurer in 1742, second Bailie in 1743, Old Bailie and Admiral of Leith in 1744, Senior Bailie in 1747, Old Bailie in 1748, Senior Bailie in 1753, and Old Bailie in 1754.

The *Caledonian Mercury*, referring to the elections of 1740, when he first became Treasurer, says: ² 'By this Election a total Revolution of the Government of this City is brought about.' There had been great scarcity of food, and the late magistrates had fallen under suspicion of restricting the sale of grain from corrupt motives, with the result that meal-mobs had done many acts of violence; and even after the election, owing to a corn riot at the end of October, 'the Magistrates made the Council-chamber their Residence for Bed, Board and Devotion.'³

The *Mercury*, referring to the magistrates elected the following year, calls them ⁴ 'Gentlemen of undoubted Affection to His Majesty and Zeal for their Native Country: and whose past Conduct leaves us no Room to doubt of their proving themselves the Fatherly Guardians of the Poor.'

In 1741 the election of a member of Parliament for the city, which was in the hands of the Council, revived an old municipal feud.⁵ Before the Union Edinburgh had two members, one representing the merchants and one the trades,

¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, July 20, 1736.

³ *Ib.*, October 27, 1740.

⁵ Adv. Lib. Pamphlets, vol. 933.

² *Ib.*, September 30, 1740.

⁴ *Ib.*, October 8, 1741.

but the representation was then cut down to one member, and in practice a merchant was always elected. On this occasion the trades claimed their right to have a turn, and put forward as their candidate Alexander Nisbet of Northfield, surgeon, the Deacon Convener of the Trades. However, the merchants were in a majority on the Council, and they brushed aside this contention, and elected one of their number, Archibald Stewart.

Mr. Nisbet thereupon lodged a protest in which he averred that the Lord Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild, Treasurer Inglis, the merchant councillors, and some of the deacons of the trades

‘had none of them Right to Vote in the election . . . because they and every one of them had prelimited and predetermined themselves by promise, agreement or security, directly or indirectly, to a most noble Lord, the Duke of Argyle, that they should at the said election make choice of such a person to represent the said city in Parliament as that noble Lord should name or recommend, and no other—whereby the Freedom of the said election was utterly destroyed, and which apparently resolves into a Disqualification of the said Lord Provost, etc.’

As might be expected, the protest was unavailing.

The Council elected in 1744 had the responsibility of preparing the defence of the city against Prince Charles and his Highland host in September 1745. The *Caledonian Mercury*, the Jacobite paper, stated: ¹ ‘The Magistracy are indefatigable in providing for the Defence of the City, and scarce get any Sleep or Rest two hours of the twenty four.’

In point of fact Lord Provost Stewart and some of his colleagues were, if not actually Jacobites, at least perfunctory in their preparations. The Provost was afterwards tried for neglect of duty, but no allegations were made against David Inglis.²

On September 16 the Highland host reached Slateford,

¹ September 16, 1745.

² *Trial of Lord Provost Stewart*, pp. 122, 127; *Second Trial*, p. 167.

and spent the night at Graysmill Farm, now part of Redhall estate, the Prince himself lodging in the house of the tacksmen, David Wight.¹ He wrote demanding the surrender of the city, and the letter was 'thrown in' at a public meeting in the New Kirk Aisle, while the question was being considered whether the city should be defended, the general feeling being in favour of surrender. The Provost, who presided, refused to allow the letter to be read, and withdrew with most of the Council and some of the other citizens to Goldsmiths' Hall, where the letter was again produced and was read.² It was then decided to try and gain time, in the hope that Sir John Cope's army might bring relief :

'and accordingly Bailie Gavin Hamilton, Bailie Yetts, Bailie Inglis and Conveener Norrie were sent out with instructions to call only for such of the Gentlemen in the Rebell camp as they were acquainted with, and to propose to them to send some of their number into the city to explain what their demands were, assuring them in the name of the Lord Provost that such as should be thus sent should be allowed safe conduct to return ; and these gentlemen went away accordingly about eight at night.'³

No sooner had the deputies started than information came that Sir John Cope's transports had been sighted off Dunbar, so opinion veered round in favour of defending the city. The volunteers had been disbanded and their arms deposited in the Castle, but it was proposed to ring the fire bell, the signal for the volunteers to stand to their posts.

'To this it was answered that the accounts of Sir John Cope's arrival were come too late, for that a Deputation had been already sent to the Rebels to treat with them, that it would be no easy matter now to convene and arm the Inhabitants, and that it would not be safe to ring the fire bell considering that these Deputies were now with

¹ Chevalier Johnstone's *Memoirs*, p. 18.

² *Lyon in Mourning* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), i. 249.

³ Rev. Dr. Jardine's MS. account,

the Rebels, who if they heard it and knew the design of it might thereby be provok'd to use these Gentlemen ill.'

Bailie Mansfield was accordingly sent to overtake them, but he was too late.

Their mission was wholly unavailing. On arrival at the camp they were introduced into the royal presence, and the Prince, after they had kissed his hand, told them he was going to send off a detachment to attack the town, 'and lett them defend it at their peril.'¹ He added: 'I do not treat with subjects,' and he gave them till two o'clock to return with a definite promise of surrender. He asked what was become of the Volunteers' arms, and being told that they were delivered into the Castle, he said with great warmth, 'If any of the Town's Arms are missing, I know what to do.'²

The deputies returned with a letter from the Prince's secretary demanding surrender, and delivered it to the magistrates between eleven and twelve o'clock. After discussion it was decided to try the effect of a second deputation, so ex-Provost Coutts, Bailie Robert Baillie, and three others, David Inglis not being included, started about two in the morning. They returned two hours later, having failed to get an audience of the Prince, but they brought another letter with a peremptory demand for surrender. When the Netherbow Port was opened to let out the carriage which had brought them back, a party of Highlanders, who had crept up to the wall, rushed in, and the city was captured almost without a blow.

In 1752 David Inglis was elected an extraordinary director of the Bank of Scotland, and next year became an ordinary director. The duties of this office combined with his municipal work probably compelled him to give up business, and in the autumn of 1752 his stock was advertised for sale:³

¹ *Affairs in Scotland, 1744-6*, Lord Elcho, p. 256.

² *History of the Rebellion*, A. Henderson, p. 46.

³ *Caledonian Mercury*, November 6, 1752.

‘ On Tuesday the 14th of November instant will be sold off at prime Cost for ready Money by David Inglis at his Shop opposite to the Cross, an Assortment of superfine, middling, and coarse Cloths, Forrest Cloths, German Searges, Devonshire Kerseys, Barrogans, Baratheas, Plain and Corded Druggets, Camblets, Single and Double Alapeens, Hair and Worsted Plushes, Cotton Velvets and other Manchester Goods, Plain Velvets, Flower’d Velvets, and Shag Velvets, Searge D’Soys and Silk Shagreens, Hats, Stockings, Gold and Silver Lace, with several other Kinds of Goods for Men’s Apparel. [A later advertisement adds :¹ ‘ Frizes, Calimancoes and Corded Tabbeys.’]

‘ *N.B.*—Where likewise will be sold Scots Holland of his own Manufacture in Wholesale or single Pieces on the ordinary Conditions practised in Trade.’

The sale continued for more than a year.

In March 1757 David Inglis rose to be Deputy Governor of the Bank of Scotland, but five months later he vacated the post on being appointed Treasurer,² an office which he occupied till his death ten years later.

His father-in-law, Charles Binning, had been on the board for many years ; in 1757 Professor Alexander Monro (*Primus*), whose youngest son married Inglis’s daughter, came on as an extraordinary director, and was an ordinary director from 1758 till his death in 1767, and his brother George Inglis also had a seat on the board from 1766 to 1769 ; so the family was strongly represented in the management of the bank.

The post of Treasurer carried with it a house in Old Bank Close, which stood on the site of Melbourne Place : since 1739 David Inglis and his family had been living in M’Lellan’s Land at the head of the Cowgate, opposite to the north gate of Greyfriars Churchyard.³

He married on June 5, 1738 Katharine, daughter of Charles Binning of Pilmuir, advocate, and Margaret, daughter of Hew Montgomery of Broomlands. Charles Binning, who was

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, November 13, 1753.

² *Scots Magazine*, 1757, p. 439.

³ *Burgh Register of Deeds*, March 18, 1758.

Solicitor-General, 1721 to 1725, was fifth son of Sir William Binning of Wallyford, Lord Provost of Edinburgh 1675-7.¹

David Inglis and his wife had three children—(1) John, the only boy, who died in December 1752; (2) Margaret, who was born on September 10, 1739, and died unmarried on February 27, 1800; she lived for many years at Slateford House; (3) Katharine, who was born on January 21, 1741, and married on September 25, 1762 Dr. Alexander Monro (*Secundus*), Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh University. She died on May 11, 1803, leaving four children—Professor Alexander Monro (*Tertius*), David Monro-Binning of Softlaw, Isabella (Mrs. Hugh Scott of Gala), and Charlotte (Mrs. Louis Henry Ferrier of Belsyde).

There have been three intermarriages between the Inglises and the Monros, and the families are also connected through the Philps and through the Macdonalds of Sleat. An extraordinary feature of the pedigree is that the later generations are descended from three brothers Inglis—Archibald, David, and John. John's son, the Admiral, married Archibald's daughter, Barbara, and their son, John, married David's great-granddaughter, Maria Monro.

David Inglis died on January 13, 1767, aged sixty-four, 'having given proof,' as his brother George records, 'of his Patience and Fortitude under a long and painful Distemper.' The *Courant* says he was 'universally regretted.'

His widow died on December 14, 1769 aged fifty-eight, 'a virtuous good Woman,' says Mr. George, 'who with the greatest Frugality preserved the outmost Decency.'

They are buried in Greyfriars Churchyard.

¹ See the author's *Monros of Auchinbowie*, Chaps. xiv.-xvii.

David Inglis

CHAPTER IX

ANNE INGLIS (MRS. PRESTON OF GORTON)

ANNE INGLIS, second daughter of John Inglis and Katharine Nisbet, was born about the year 1706, and on April 18, 1740 married John Preston of Gorton,¹ eldest son of Captain William Preston of the Scots Dragoons (7th Hussars), and nephew and successor of the Robert Preston from whom her father bought Auchindinny.

Though Gorton included a coalfield, and though Anne Inglis brought her husband a tocher of £760 sterling,² they were in poor circumstances, and Mr. Preston was often borrowing from his brother-in-law, George Inglis.

Mrs. Preston seems to have died about the end of 1747, as the last reference to her is an entry in Mr. George's account books under date September 14 in that year: 'Gave Dr. Sinclair to attend my sister Mrs. Preston, £2, 2s.' She left two sons, William and John, and a daughter, Katharine.

Her husband married again on January 25, 1753,³ his second wife, by whom he had three daughters, being Agnes, daughter of Mr. David Lindsay of Plewlands, late minister of Cockpen.

John Preston died in December 1760, and his second wife survived him.

John, the second son, entered the navy in 1757, but he

¹ *Kirk Session Records of Lasswade.*

² *Register of Deeds* (Durie), August 19, 1740.

³ *Lasswade Register.*

never rose to be a lieutenant, and he died abroad some time between 1776 and 1783.¹

Katharine Preston, the only daughter of the first marriage, married Alexander Adams, 'sclatter' (slater) at Anderson's Land, West Bow, Edinburgh.² He came to an untimely end on September 22, 1781 by falling off the roof of a house in the New Town.³ In 1778 they were living at a house with a garden at Lauriston,⁴ and in 1781 in the fourth story of a tenement which he built in Bristo Street, to the south of the Chapel of Ease.⁵

Mr. and Mrs. Adams had two children—a boy, born on July 25, 1775, and named George after his great-uncle, George Inglis of Redhall; and a girl, Agnes, born in 1777, who married William Molle, W.S., of Mains, Berwickshire.⁶

William Preston, elder son of John Preston and Anne Inglis, was in the army from 1754 to 1766, and in that short time held commissions in five different regiments. When he was only thirteen years old he was appointed Ensign in the 25th Foot (King's Own Scottish Borderers), then stationed in Ireland, but a few months later a Cornet's commission was bought for him in the 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys), in which his uncle, George Preston, was Major. The commission cost £700, and William Preston held it from February 25, 1755 till July 26, 1756, during which period the Greys were moving from place to place in the south of England. This commission was then sold, and he was appointed Ensign in the 44th (East Essex) Regiment, and served a couple of years with them in America during the Seven Years' War. On June 28,

¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, February 26, 1784.

² *Williamson's Directory*, Appendix.

³ *Edinburgh Courant*, September 22, 1781.

⁴ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, December 4, 1778.

⁵ *Edinburgh Courant*, December 31, 1781.

⁶ *Burke's Landed Gentry*—Cadell of Cockenzie; *Nisbet's Heraldry*, i. 319.

1758 he exchanged into the 74th Foot, which was quartered in Jamaica, and he remained there till 1763, when the war came to an end, and the regiment was disbanded.

By this time his father was dead, and William Preston, now a Lieutenant, came home for a few months. On March 9, 1764 he bought a Lieutenant's commission in the 21st Foot (Royal North British Fusiliers), then quartered in Scotland. The purchase money, £350, was borrowed from John Hyslop, merchant in Dalkeith, and was made a burden on the property.¹ The regiment went to America in May 1765, and was stationed in West Florida for five years, but William Preston retired on October 10, 1766, and settled down as a laird.

His father had directed his trustees to sell Gorton, but he persuaded them, as there was a prospect of the coal being worked at a profit, to let him take the property under burden of his father's debts, and of a provision of 6000 merks to his brother, and annuities of £22 to his sister and £10 to his stepmother. In his will, made nearly half a century later, he narrates with pride : ² ' by industry and by money lent by Mrs. Preston and by the credit of a particular friend who stood bound with me, I improved the estate.' The rental latterly stood at £982. In order to develop the market for his coal, he established 'folds' at Lasswade Bridge and at Howgate on the Peebles road, where the price was 2½d. and 3½d. per cwt. respectively; at the pithead it was 2d., and he undertook to deliver it in Edinburgh at 4½d.³

William Preston died unmarried on July 19, 1812; the estate was sold, and after a history of nearly four centuries the Prestons of Gorton became extinct.

¹ *Burgh Register of Deeds*, vol. 122, August 24, 1764.

² *Edinburgh Testaments*, May 22, 1813.

³ *Edinburgh Courant*, July 15, 1775.

CHAPTER X

JOHN INGLIS OF PHILADELPHIA

JOHN, fourth son of John Inglis and Katharine Nisbet, was baptized at Edinburgh on July 25, 1708 in the presence of Mr. David Blair and Mr. William Mitchell, ministers, George Warrender of Bruntsfield, Archibald Nisbet of Carphin, Adam Brown, late Dean of Guild, and Mr. Alexander Nisbet, apothecary.

He left Scotland before his father's death, and started as a merchant in the West Indian island of Nevis, where some of his cousins, the Nisbets, were settled.

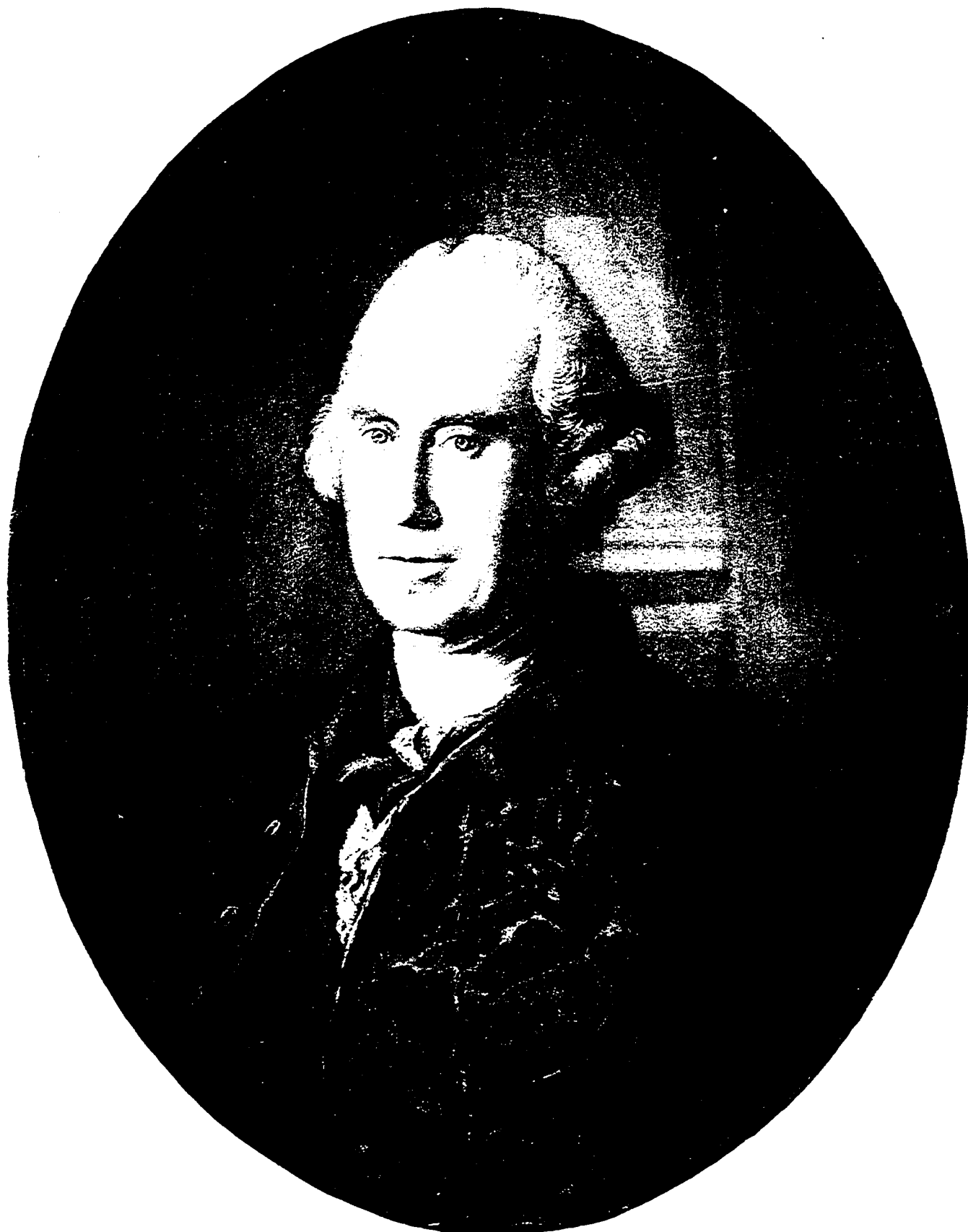
About 1736 he removed to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where he spent the rest of his life, rising to a prominent place in the mercantile and civic life of the city.

On October 16, 1736 he married Catherine, daughter of George M'Call, another leading Philadelphian merchant of Scottish descent, and for some years he was in partnership with her cousin, Samuel M'Call.

On her mother's side Mrs. Inglis was descended from Jöran Kyn, an early Swedish settler on the Delaware, and the ancestor of the largest single colonial stock. The following account of her descent is summarised from a series of articles in the publications of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.¹

Jöran Kyn, whose name is variously spelt Jurian (George) Kijn or, after 1665, Keen, was one of a party of Swedish

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. ii. pp. 325 seq., 443 seq.; vol. iii. pp. 206 seq., 452 seq.; vol. v. p. 335 seq.



John F. Inglis

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emigrants who started from Stockholm with Governor John Printz in the Ship *Fama* on August 16, 1642, and on February 15, 1643, after a stormy voyage, 'by God's grace came up to Fort Christina in New Sweden, Virginia, at two o'clock in the afternoon.'

They settled at Tinicum, where they built a fort called Nya Gotheburg. In a Rulla signed by Printz on June 20, 1644 and preserved in the Royal Archives at Stockholm, Kyn is included, under his nickname of Snöhuitt (Snow-white), among the Governor's guards.

The colonists soon outgrew the situation at Tinicum, and began to scatter. In four or five years Kyn gave up his military duties, and obtained at Upland a large grant of land, which had already been cultivated as a tobacco plantation. The property extended along the eastern bank of Upland Kill, now Chester Creek, for a mile and a half above its mouth: at the north-west end it was three-quarters of a mile broad, and it extended eastward along the Delaware as far as Ridley Creek. In 1665 and 1668 his patent was renewed by the English authorities.

A reference to Kyn's character is found in a letter by the Dutch Commissary Huygen in 1663,¹ telling of a violent assault by Evert Hendreikson, a Finn, upon 'the pious Jurriaen Snewit, a man who has never annoyed a child even.'

The last mention of him occurs in January 1687 in a deed whereby he conveyed ground to 'the people of God called Quakers,' for building the first meeting-house of Friends in Chester. He probably died some time within the next six years, for his name is not found in Springer's list of Swedes living on the Delaware in 1693.

His wife's name is unknown, but he is known to have had two sons, Hans and Jöran, and a daughter Annika, who was twice married. The M'Calls are descended from her through her first husband, James Sandelands.

¹ *Court Minutes, Fort Altena*, April 7 and 16, 1663.

James Sandelands, a merchant of Scottish descent, was born about 1636, and is first mentioned in 1665 in a patent for two lots of land at Upland near the Delaware, upon the north side of the Creek or Kill. Five years later he acquired two other lots adjoining the property of Jöran Kyn, his father-in-law, who in 1687 sold him a further parcel of land in Chester.

In 1675, while serving as a captain in the Upland Militia, he was charged with killing an Indian, but was 'cleared by proclamation.' A few days later, either on a review of this verdict or for some other misdemeanour, he was fined three hundred guilders, 'the one halfe to bee towards the building of the new church at Weckakoe and the other to the Sheriffe,' and he was 'put off from being Captain.'

Nevertheless he took the position of a prominent and respected citizen. In 1681 he was one of the nine members of Council appointed by the Deputy Governor, and was also made a Justice of the new Upland Court. From 1688 to 1690 he represented Chester County in the General Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania. William Penn on his arrival in Delaware visited him, and it was 'talkt among the people that it was intent to have built a city at Upland, but that he and Sanderlin could not agree.'

He died at Chester on April 12, 1692, at the age of fifty-six, and was buried there in the old Swedish burying-ground. His widow married an English merchant named Peter Baynton; on her death in October 1704 she was buried beside her first husband.

James and Annika Sandelands had two sons and four daughters. Catherine, who married for her second husband Jasper Yeates, from whom the M'Calls descend, was the second child, and was born on January 26, 1671. Her first husband, Alexander Creker, died when she was only twenty. The eldest son, James Sandelands, with the co-operation of his brother-in-law, Jasper Yeates, enclosed and covered his parents' tomb, and from this beginning St. Paul's Church

grew. The tablet indicating the burial-place is still to be seen in the new church.

Jasper Yeates, who married Catherine Sandelands, was a Yorkshireman who had spent some time in the West Indies before settling as a merchant on the Delaware. In 1697 he bought the mills and property at the mouth of Naaman's Creek in New Castle County ; and next year he acquired lands in Chester, erected extensive granaries on the Creek, and established a large bakery on a site between the present Edgmont Avenue and Chester Creek, near Filbert or Second Street. He also built a ' venerable mansion ' looking towards the river on the west side of Second Street, about one hundred feet north of Edgmont Avenue.

On erecting the town of Chester into a borough on October 31, 1701, William Penn made Yeates one of the four burgesses, and he was chosen chief-burgess in 1703. In 1694 he had been made a Justice of the Court of Chester County, and during ten years between 1704 and 1720 he was Associate Justice of the Supreme Courts of the Province of Pennsylvania and the Lower Counties on the Delaware.

On September 25, 1696 he got a seat in the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, which he kept with some intermissions till his death, and in October 1700 he was elected a representative of New Castle County in the General Assembly of the Province.

In October 1701, while a new Charter of Privileges for the colony was under consideration, the disagreement between the Provinces and Territories, which had lasted from 1691 to 1693, was renewed, and Yeates became conspicuous in the discussions as a supporter of the Lower Counties. Failing to carry their measures in the Assembly, the representatives of the Lower Counties withdrew from the House, and on October 14, 1701 appeared before William Penn in Council, with Yeates as their spokesman. Penn seems to have pre-

vailed upon the two parties to maintain the unity of government, at least for a time, but on his departure for England in 1703 the representatives of the Lower Counties seceded, and formed a separate Assembly, Yeates being chosen Speaker. He continued to work for complete separation of the Lower Counties from the Province.

Secretary Logan, writing to Penn on January 5, 1709, alleges that his policy was dictated by interested motives: 'Jasper Yeates, a man of working brain for his own interest, found his trade at Chester to fall into a very discouraging decay,' and therefore aimed at giving his property at New Castle the increased value which would result from that town being made the seat of an independent government.

Mr. Yeates was an original member of Christ Church, Philadelphia, and he was among the first vestrymen of St. Paul's congregation at Chester. The church at New Castle called Immanuel was erected in 1703, and his name appears in the earliest extant lists of vestrymen of that parish.

Towards the close of his life he removed to a plantation near the town of New Castle, where he remained till his death in 1720. He left a valuable estate, real and personal. Mrs. Yeates survived her husband, by whom she had six children, four sons and two daughters, all of whom lived to grow up.

Anne Yeates, who married George M'Call on August 9, 1716, was born on December 27, 1697, and was thus quite young when her father removed from Upland to New Castle.

George M'Call, father of Mrs. John Inglis, was the son of a Dumfriesshire farmer, William M'Call, and emigrated about the year 1701. The M'Call family had been settled for several generations in Nithsdale, first at Guffockland, and afterwards at Kelloside, near Kirkconnel.¹

George M'Call became a wealthy and prominent citizen of Philadelphia, and owned large estates in the city and

¹ *Memoirs of my Ancestors*, H. B. M'Call, pp. 8, 81, 106, 107.

county, his town property being chiefly in Front and Union Streets, and near his store and wharf in Pine Street.

On June 20, 1735 he bought from the Honourable John Penn the Proprietary's manor of Gilberts, to which he gave the name of Douglas Manor. He paid 2000 guineas for this property, which covered 14,060 acres, and comprised the whole of the present township of Douglas, the upper portion of Pottsgrove, and about one-third of the borough of Pottstown. Down to 1760 all the old Hanover township, now known as the township of Douglas, was commonly called 'M'Call's Manor.' As early as 1725 George M'Call had, in company with Anthony Morris, erected an iron forge at Glasgow on Manatawny Creek.

Mr. M'Call was a vestryman of Christ Church, Philadelphia, from 1721 to 1724, and a liberal contributor to the rebuilding of the church in 1739.

He was elected a Common Councilman on October 3, 1722. He died on October 13, 1740, and was buried on the 15th in the Christ Church ground at Fifth and Arch Streets. The following obituary notice of him appeared in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of the current week :

'Philadelphia. Last Monday evening died, after a long Indisposition, Mr. George M'Call, a considerable merchant of this city, who in his Dealings justly acquired the Character of an honest, sincere, disinterested, worthy Man ; and with these good qualifications, better known to his Intimates and Relations to be a warm Friend, a tender Husband, an affectionate Father, and a kind Master, whom he has left in the utmost Concern, all sensible of their irreparable Loss.'

Mrs. M'Call survived her husband, and was buried in Christ Church ground on January 16, 1747.

They had fourteen children, ten of whom grew up, Catherine, who married John Inglis, being the eldest of the family. She was born in 1717 or 1718. The other daughters were Ann, who married her cousin Samuel M'Call ; Mary (Mrs.

William Plumstead); Margaret (Mrs. Joseph Swift); and Eleanor, who married Andrew Elliot, afterwards governor of New York, second son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Lord Justice-Clerk. The sons were Jasper, Samuel, George, William, and Archibald.

John Inglis, as has been already mentioned, settled at Philadelphia as a merchant about 1736, and started business in partnership with his wife's cousin, Samuel M'Call. They seem to have dealt chiefly in hardware, and imported large consignments of iron goods from England and Scotland, especially from Bristol. They also conducted a rope-walk, and owned land and houses in Philadelphia and the neighbourhood.

John Inglis also owned some small ships,¹ and was Collector of the Port for many years.

On November 11, 1745 he was elected a Common Councilman, and in 1750 and 1756 he was deputed to settle claims for horses and stores commandeered for the expeditions against Fort Duquesne.

He was one of the merchants who protested, but without effect, against the Act of Assembly passed in 1761 'for laying a duty on negroes and mulattoe slaves imported into this Province,' their chief argument being 'the many inconveniencys the Inhabitants have suffer'd for some time past for want of labourers and artificers, by numbers being inlisted for His Majesty's service, and near a total stop to the importation of German and other white servants.'

John Inglis himself from time to time imported white servants from Scotland, and apprenticed them to various masters under indentures for a term of years, receiving about £18 a head.²

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1903—Ship Registers for the Port of Philadelphia, 1726-75; January 20, 1755; September 16, 1765.

² *Ib.*, 1906 and 1907.

In 1748 he was commissioned Captain in the Associated Regiment of Foot of Philadelphia, but as he fell into bad health about 1772, he took no part in the movement which led to the Declaration of Independence.

He was a member of the congregation of Christ Church, where all his children were baptized, and he contributed to the completion of the building in 1739. Fifteen years later, when the congregation had increased beyond its capacity, he was one of those who petitioned the Proprietaries for a grant of land for a church and yard at the south-west corner of Third and Pine Streets. The site was granted, and St. Peter's Church was built.

His name was also appended to Dr. Franklin's *Proposals for a College*, and in 1749, when the University of Pennsylvania was founded, he was elected one of the original trustees.

In private life he and his wife were among the leaders of Philadelphia society. He was one of the four directors of the first Dancing Assembly, held in 1748, and to the end of his life he was a constant supporter of these entertainments. In 1749 Mr. Richard Peters, in writing to Thomas Penn, says :¹

‘ By the Governor's Encouragement there has been a very Handsome Assembly once a fortnight at Andrew Hamilton's house and store which are tenanted by Mr. Ingliss, make a set of good rooms for such a purpose, and consists of eighty Ladies and as many Gentlemen, one half appearing every assembly night. Mr. Inglis had the conduct of the whole and managed exceedingly well : there happened a little mistake at the beginning which at some other times might have produced disturbances. The Governor would have open'd the Assembly with Mrs. Taylor, but she refus'd him, I suppose because he had not been to visit her. After Mrs. Taylor's refusal two or three Ladies out of modesty and from no manner of ill design excused themselves, so that the Governor was little to his shift, when Mrs. Willing, now Mrs. Mayoress, in a most genteel manner put herself into his way, and on

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. xxiii. p. 527.

the Governor seeing this instance of her good nature, they danc'd the first Minuet.'

Mr. Inglis had his portrait painted about 1770 by Charles Wilson Peale for the City Dancing Assembly. It is now in the possession of his great-grandson, Dr. Henry M. Fisher of Philadelphia, whose father bought it for five dollars in an old furniture shop. Dr. Fisher also has a portrait of Mrs. Inglis.

As late as October 1773, when he was sixty-five years of age and in failing health, his son Samuel wrote: 'I was made very happy in seeing my Father able to dance a much better minuet than any of his sons.'

In a panegyric entitled 'Lines written in an Assembly Room in Philadelphia,' and attributed to Colonel Joseph Shippen, occur the following verses:¹

'A female softness, manly sense,
And conduct free from art,
With every pleasing excellence
In Inglis charm the heart.

'But see another fair advance!
With love commanding all,
She happy in the sprightly dance,
Sweet, smiling, fair M'Call.'

'Inglis' is Katharine, John Inglis's youngest daughter, and 'M'Call' is her cousin, Margaret M'Call, with whom she lived for many years.

John Inglis was one of the founders in 1749 of St. Andrew's Society, the members being colonists of Scottish descent, and he succeeded Governor Morris as president.² His son John (the Admiral) was afterwards an honorary member.

He was also a member of the Mount Regale Fishing Company.

He died at Philadelphia on August 20, 1775, and was

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. xvi. p. 247.

² *Ib.*, vols. v. p. 339, xxvii. p. 88.



MRS. JOHN INGLIS

(CATHERINE M'CALL)

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buried in Christ Church ground beside his wife, who had died nearly twenty-five years before—in December 1750.

The following notice appeared in the *Pennsylvania Mercury* : ¹

‘ On Sunday morning last after a lingering and painful indisposition, which he supported with great equanimity, died John Inglis Esq. of this city, in the 68th year of his age, a gentleman who early acquired and maintained to the last the character of a truly HONEST MAN. Possessing a liberal and independent spirit, despising everything which he thought unbecoming a gentleman, attentive to business, frugal but yet elegant in his æconomy, he lived superior to the world, beloved and respected as an useful citizen, an agreeable companion, a sincere friend, and an excellent father of a family.’

Mr. and Mrs. Inglis had eleven children, six of whom grew up—three sons, John (afterwards the Admiral), Samuel, and George ; and three daughters, Ann (Mrs. Barkly), Mary (Mrs. Hering), and Katharine. As the Admiral’s home was in Scotland before his father died, he will be noticed later : ² the rest are dealt with in the following chapter.

The five children who died in infancy were : ³ (1) George, baptized April 23, 1739, aged two weeks, buried April 27, 1739 ; (2) Margaret, born March 3, 1740, buried August 7, 1741 ; (3) Archibald, apparently born in 1741, buried April 1, 1741 ; (4) David, born July 10, 1744, buried January 5, 1745 ; (5) Katharine, born December 14, 1746, buried June 29, 1747.

Mr. Inglis left a considerable fortune. He had estates in Southwark and Moyamy, and house property in Spruce Street and Christian Street. In 1757 the family were living in a house near the Drawbridge.⁴

By his will,⁵ made on April 14, 1775, when he was ‘ sick

¹ Copied into the *Edinburgh Courant*, October 21, 1775.

² Chapter xv.

³ *Philadelphia Magazine of History and Biography*, iv. 387 ; xvi. 451.

⁴ *Pennsylvania Gazette*, June 16, 1757.

⁵ *Philadelphia Register of Wills*, September 2, 1775 ; March 24, 1800.

and weak in body, but of sound mind, memory and understanding,' he left £1500 to his daughter Katharine, and £500 in trust for his daughter Mrs. Barkly and her daughter Katharine, and he directed the residue to be divided among five of his children, omitting John, who was otherwise provided for. The executors named were his three sons, his son-in-law Julines Hering, and his friend James Craig of Philadelphia, ship-chandler. The estate was administered by Samuel Inglis and Mr. Craig, and afterwards by the latter's son.

CHAPTER XI

THE AMERICAN BRANCH

SAMUEL, second son of John Inglis and Catherine M'Call, was born at Philadelphia on November 3, 1745, and was baptized on April 13, 1746.

He became a merchant in Norfolk, Virginia, where his firm, 'Inglis and Willing,' represented the well-known Philadelphian house, Willing, Morris and Co. They were large tobacco buyers, and dealt in general trade, especially with the West Indies; and they also speculated in land. From 1773 onwards William Cadell of Banton shipped them consignments of nails, files, and other hardware from Carron works, and paper from Auchindinny mill; and several times wrote to Mr. George Inglis that the firm was in good repute.

While he was in Virginia Samuel Inglis lived in close friendship with George Washington.¹

On June 30, 1774 he married Ann, daughter of William Aitchison of Norfolk, Virginia, a prominent Scottish merchant. His brother, Captain John Inglis, speaks of her as 'the same young lady that he once before paid his addresses to.' The failure of the earlier addresses may perhaps have been due to the fact that in 1772 she was 'very near gone off with the yellow fever.'² Mr. William Aitchison, in writing to his friend Mr. Charles Steuart, Surveyor-General of the Customs, says :³

¹ British Museum, Add. MSS., 34,415, fol. 290.

² Letter in possession of James Steuart, Esq., W.S.

³ *American Magazine of History*, iii. 153.

‘ 15th July 1774. . . . Dispairing of ever seeing you here again I could not in reason and conscience deferr Nancy’s Nuptialls any longer, however much I wished to have you present. I therefore gave her away the 30th of last month to Mr Sam^l Inglis. He is her own choice and is also very agreeable to us all. You know his Family and connections as well or better than I do, and there can be no objection to him on that score ; and as to his Capacity and Application to Business he is exceeded by none here. From the few years’ acquaintance I have had of him I have all the reason in the world to believe he will do well and make Nancy very happy.

‘ I had the Honour of Lord Dunmore’s Comp^y at the wedding. He was very pleasant and agreeable all the evening, and told Mrs A. that so soon as the wedding was over and Nancy gone to her own House he would bring Lady Dunmore down to see her.’

Soon after the war broke out Samuel Inglis removed to Philadelphia, and was received into regular partnership with Thomas Willing and Robert Morris, the firm becoming ‘ Willing, Morris and Inglis.’

He was at first opposed to the revolutionary movement, but his views soon underwent a change. In this he was following his partners’ lead. Robert Morris and Thomas Willing were two of the seven delegates to Congress from Pennsylvania, and at first opposed the signing of the Declaration of Independence, which they considered premature. Ultimately they signed it, and Robert Morris, throwing himself into the struggle with great energy, took control of the financial department, and contributed more than any civilian to the successful establishment of the United States.

In October 1777 Captain John Inglis wrote to Mr. William Cadell :

‘ Its not long since I heard from Sammy. He was then at Philadelphia, taking care of what little property we have there, and, from what I understand, things have not turned out so ill for us, as I had great reason to think they woud—which I impute in a great measure to his being on the spot. Sam was then, I understand, confined to the

limits of the city, as he would not take the oaths of alligiance to the Congress. I don't look upon that as any hardship, but on the contrary I hope they may keep him there till the City is in possession of the King's troops.'

The information received by the Government in London puts a different complexion on the matter. It was to the following effect: ¹

'As soon as it was known that General Howe would proceed for Philadelphia, the chief supporters of the rebellion withdrew and called in their agents who had been employed in different provinces, who are to remain in Philadelphia, pretending to be excellent friends to Government. . . . Willin and Morris of Philadelphia, who have been the chief agents for establishing correspondencies for arms, ammunition, &c., all over Europe and in the Dutch and French islands, have called to Philadelphia Samuel Inglis and Marshall from Virginia, who have been considerable buyers of tobacco for the Congress under Willin and Morris. These with several others are to remain in that city—the first a Philadelphian, the last a Scotchman. The pay given those people is high beyond conception.'

Samuel Inglis had been elected a member of the Philadelphia Troop of Light Horse in March 1777,² and though he took no personal part in the war, he gave material help to the cause in several ways. He subscribed £2000 to the National Bank, which was founded at Philadelphia in June 1780 by Robert Morris to supply the American army with provisions, and he became one of the first directors. From 1779 to 1781 he and his partner, George Orr, fitted out eight small privateers under letters of marque, and they also entered into bonds in respect of others which belonged to Willing and Morris.³

Samuel Inglis died very suddenly at Philadelphia on

¹ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, 1904, *American MSS. in the Royal Institution*, i. 163, December 12, 1777.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. v. p. 339.

³ *U.S.A. Library of Congress—Naval Records of the Revolution*, ed. C. H. Lincoln.

September 14, 1783, aged thirty-seven, and was buried in Christ Church ground. He and his wife had three children—a boy and two girls, who all died young. The boy died in 1778; Rebecca, the elder girl, survived her father; Katharine was born in 1781, and died in March 1783. In 1790 Mrs. Inglis married Dr. James Currie, a noted physician in Virginia, and she died a few years later.

GEORGE, the youngest son of John Inglis and Catherine M'Call, was born in the year 1750, and also became a merchant. He settled in Jamaica under the patronage of his brother-in-law, Julines Hering, and was at first in partnership with his cousin, one of the Blairs, and with a Mr. Morris; but the firm did not prosper, and after Mr. Blair's death in 1774 he joined a Mr. Benjamin Blake.

The only letter of his which survives is one written from Bristol to Mr. William Cadell in November 1778 with reference to business transactions. It is not known whether he came to Scotland, or was ever again in England.

Messrs. Inglis and Blake were very unfortunate in suffering twice, with a short interval, from those convulsions of Nature to which Jamaica has always been subject. The first occurred on October 8, 1780, and is described in an appeal to Governor Dalling from twenty-nine leading men, including George Inglis and his partner : ¹

'The weather had appeared very indifferent for some days before, but that morning the wind became more violent than usual, with a most terrible swell of the sea, which by afternoon encreased to such a degree that it has not left the wreck of six houses on both the Bay and Savannah, and not less than 300 people of all colours were drowned or buried in the ruins. The sea flowed up half a mile beyond its usual bounds, even to the heighth of ten feet. . . . What alarms us most at present is the dread of famine, which stares us in the face; and if we

¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, January 5, 1781.

have not some speedy relief of bread-kind, the few that have survived that unfortunate day will most probably fall victims to the more miserable fate of perishing with hunger.'

No sooner had they recovered from this disaster than a violent hurricane on August 1 of the following year swept over the island. 'Messrs. Blake and Inglis's new houses and stores are thrown down; all the provisions and fine crops of corn are destroyed; the canes are all laid flat, and there is hardly an estate in Westmoreland but has suffered in buildings.'¹

George Inglis lived to be eighty-one years of age, but he was for many years totally blind. He never married, but stayed with a family at Abington, Montgomery Co., Pennsylvania, and his relatives contributed towards his support, his cousin, Joseph Swift, taking pains to see to his comfort.

He died, the last of his generation, on February 7, 1832.

ANN, eldest daughter of John Inglis and Catherine M'Call, was baptized at Philadelphia on September 14, 1737, aged five weeks, and was married on December 31, 1761 to Gilbert Barkly, a Scottish merchant who had settled in Philadelphia about six years before. After his marriage Mr. Barkly became a member of the St. Andrew's Society, and in 1763 his name heads the list of subscribers to the Mount Regale Fishing Company, which included many of the leading men in the city.

About 1765 the Barklys moved to Quebec,² but they returned in 1773, and remained at Philadelphia until the outbreak of the war, when they went to Scotland with their only child, Katharine.

At that time they were in poor circumstances, and received help from Mr. George Inglis of Redhall, and afterwards from the Admiral, who was greatly attached to his sister. Latterly

¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, November 6, 1781.

² British Museum, Add. MSS., 21,728, fol. 79.

their position improved, as Mrs. Barkly succeeded to considerable sums of money by the death of relatives.

Two of her letters remain. One is written to the Admiral from Bath in 1799, and mentions that she and her husband had been confined to the house by ill health for a couple of months. She adds: 'I am much flattered by the good opinion you and our other friends entertain of my Daughter. To do her justice she is a good girl, and I hope will ever act so as to merit the good will of all her connections.'

Mr. Barkly died at Bath on August 25, 1799,¹ and his widow died in Edinburgh on September 25, 1801.

Kitty Barkly, who did not marry, continued to live in Bath for a time, but latterly she spent most of her time in Edinburgh, and died in a boarding-house at 36 Castle Street on April 16, 1825. She bequeathed miniatures of her father and mother to her cousin, Mr. Æneas Barkly, merchant, London.

MARY, second daughter of John Inglis and Catherine M'Call, was baptized at Philadelphia on April 30, 1742, at the age of ten weeks, and was married there on April 2, 1761 to Julines Hering, a wealthy Jamaica planter. He was a widower without children. His first wife was Susanna, daughter of Richard Quarrel, also a planter,² and she died on her passage to England in 1754.

Julines Hering joined the 34th Foot (Cumberland Regiment) as Ensign on February 26, 1756. They were stationed at Minorca, and were one of the four regiments which defended Fort St. Philip for over two months against the French. The defence moved the admiration of the enemy, and when at length the fort was surrendered, the garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war. The 34th returned to England, and remained there till the summer of 1758, Julines Hering becoming a Lieutenant on September 27, 1757.

¹ *Bath Chronicle*, September 5, 1799.

² *Jamaica Wills*, vol. 63, fol. 215.

In June 1758 and again in August the regiment was employed in raiding parties, which landed on the French coast near Cherbourg and did much damage, but a third raid in September on the coast of Brittany failed, and the British troops suffered severely. After this the 34th were encamped in the south of England, and on May 25, 1760 Julines Hering resigned his commission on being appointed Captain in a volunteer regiment which was being raised in the Barbados.

Captain Hering stayed there a couple of years after his marriage; in 1763 he and his wife were in London, but soon afterwards they settled in Jamaica, in order that Captain Hering might manage his plantations, which lay at the west end of the island, namely Paul Island in the parish of Westmoreland, and twelve hundred acres near Cabaritta River Head in the parish of Hanover. He had inherited most of them from his father, Oliver Hering, but some were acquired from his kinsman William Beckford of Fonthill, Lord Mayor of London,¹ whose mother was Bathshua, daughter of his great-uncle, Colonel Julines Hering.

Captain Hering also owned an English property, Heybridge Hall, Maldon, Essex, which he held on a leasehold title from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. It had belonged to his uncle, the Reverend Julines Hering (1694-1775), who left it to him by will,² subject to the liferent of another uncle, Colonel Daniel Hering, who, however, only survived till November 1777.³ At that time Captain and Mrs. Hering were at Bristol, and then, or soon afterwards, Mrs. Hering, with the children, settled at Bath, while her husband travelled on trading voyages between Bristol and Jamaica. He died at Paul Island on March 14, 1797, aged sixty-five: his widow survived him for twenty-one years, and died at her house, 12 Russell Street, Bath, on May 31, 1818,⁴ in her seventy-seventh year.

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*. ² Proved October 30, 1775—Somerset House.

³ Proved December 9, 1777—Somerset House, Collier 511.

⁴ *Bath Chronicle*, June 4, 1818.

Dr. H. M. Fisher of Philadelphia possesses portraits of them, and the late Colonel John R. Gordon of Auchendolly had their miniatures.

They had nine children, of whom two sons and four daughters lived to grow up.¹ Three boys died in infancy—Nathaniel Vaughan, born at Barbados in 1762, died the same year ; Julines, born 1764, died 1765 ; and Nathaniel, born and died 1770.

A second Julines, born in Jamaica in 1767, entered the army in September 1782 as Ensign in Captain Riddell's Independent Company of Foot. On February 12, 1783 he was commissioned Lieutenant in the 71st (Fraser's) Regiment, but it was disbanded almost immediately, and for the next seven years he was on the half-pay of the 42nd Highlanders (Black Watch). On March 30, 1791 he obtained a commission as Lieutenant in the 60th (Royal American) Regiment, became Captain on March 19, 1793, and retired in the autumn of 1799.

He was actually gazetted Major by purchase on October 25, 1797, but the purchase did not take place, and the promotion was cancelled six months later.²

He died unmarried in 1813.

Oliver Hering, the younger surviving son, was born in Jamaica in 1768, and succeeded under his father's will to the plantations, which he carried on for a good many years ;³ towards the end of his life he came back to England, and lived at 21 Castle Street, Southampton.⁴ He married in 1793 Mary Murray Ross, but had no family. He also succeeded under his father's will to Heybridge Hall, which he ultimately sold to his brother-in-law, Sir John Peniston Milbanke.

¹ Pedigree recorded at Heralds' College.

² *London Gazette*, 1798, p. 293.

³ *Lady Nugent's Journal*, F. Cundell, pp. 82, 185, 331.

⁴ *Southampton Directory*, 1847 ; *Hampshire Advertiser*, December 25, 1847.

The daughters were famed for their good looks, and as they had red hair they were naturally known as 'the beautiful red Herings.' They all married husbands of good position—three of them Englishmen, and one an American.

Catherine, the eldest, was born at Poland Street, London, on August 28, 1763, and married on January 12, 1787 John Gordon of Stapleton Grove, Bristol, second son of Robert Gordon of Auchendolly. Robert Gordon was a West India merchant, and was Mayor of Bristol in 1773. Mr. John Gordon died on December 28, 1839, and Mrs. Gordon on December 26, 1840. They had seven sons and three daughters.

Anna Maria, the second daughter, was born in Jamaica in 1766, and married on November 5, 1785 the Reverend the Honourable John Lumley, Rector of Winteringham in Lincolnshire and Thornhill in Yorkshire, afterwards Prebendary of York. He was the fourth son of the fourth Earl of Scarborough, and was born on June 15, 1760. Forty-seven years after the marriage, on the failure of his three elder brothers without sons, he succeeded to the title and estates as seventh earl.

'Black Jack,' as he was nicknamed, was an unlovely and unpopular character.¹ He was mean, suspicious, and quarrelsome. He ill-treated his wife, 'his amiable consort,' as his mother calls her, and at one time refused her even the necessities of life. His best recorded act was his gift of the organ to York Minster. He died of a fall from his horse on February 24, 1835: his widow survived till March 17, 1850.

They had three sons and four daughters. The eldest and youngest sons predeceased their father, so the title went to John, the second son, who died unmarried.

Mary Helen Hering, the third daughter, was born in

¹ *Records of the Lumleys*, by Edith Milner, ed. Edith Benham, p. 274.

Jamaica in 1772, and married in 1795 the Honourable Henry Middleton, of Middleton Place, Charleston, South Carolina,¹ eldest son of the Honourable Arthur Middleton, one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence. The Middletons were an old Suffolk family, and the original emigrant was Arthur's grandfather.

Henry Middleton was a member of the legislature of South Carolina from 1801 till 1810, when he became Governor of the State. He then had a seat in Congress from 1815 till 1819, and from 1820 to 1830 he was United States minister to Russia. After his retirement Middleton Place became the centre of social life in South Carolina.² He died on June 14, 1856, aged eighty-five.

He and his wife had five sons—Arthur, Henry, John Izard, Edward, and William; and two daughters—Maria (Mrs. Edward Pringle), and Elizabeth, who married Joshua Francis Fisher of Philadelphia.

Eleanor Hering, the youngest daughter, was born at Bristol in 1777, and was married at Queen's Chapel, Bath, on September 29, 1799, to Captain John Peniston Milbanke (1776-1850).³ She died on July 30, 1819, leaving a son, Ralph, and five daughters. In 1825 Captain Peniston Milbanke succeeded his uncle in the baronetcy, and was succeeded in turn by his son, an ancestor of the present baronet.

KATHARINE, youngest daughter of John Inglis and Catherine M'Call, was baptized at Philadelphia on October 6, 1749, and was sent to Scotland in 1757 to be educated by her uncle George Inglis. She lived at Redhall for six years, and then returned to keep house for her father. Her brother Samuel wrote in 1774: 'Kitt has grown a very sedate, sober, orderly

¹ *Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography*, iv. 317.

² *Charleston, the Place and People*, Mrs. St. Julien Ravenel, pp. 459-63.

³ *Bath Chronicle*, October 3, 1799.

housekeeper, much in the graces of the old gentleman and equally esteemed by the writer of this letter, who is reckoned the sober side of the family.'

She never married, but lived for more than forty years with her cousin, Miss Margaret M'Call, most of the time at No. 91 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

She died on July 10, 1821 at the age of seventy-one, and was buried at Christ Church. Three years later Margaret M'Call was buried in the same tomb, which bears the inscriptions: 'Sacred to Friendship,' and 'United in Life, United in the Grave.'

By her will, made a month before her death, she provided an annuity of £50 to her blind brother George, and left legacies to her niece, Mrs. Lumley-Savile, her cousins Mary Swift and Joseph Swift, the latter of whom she appointed executor, and to St. Peter's Church. Miss M'Call was given a liferent of the rest, and after her death \$1000 was to go to the family of her cousin, George Plumstead, and the remainder to the four younger children of her brother, Admiral Inglis.

CHAPTER XII

KATHARINE INGLIS (MRS. OLIPHANT)

KATHARINE, youngest daughter of John Inglis of Auchindinny and Katharine Nisbet, was baptized at Edinburgh on February 26, 1710, and on October 10, 1729 married Alexander Oliphant, Town Clerk of Kelso, and Commissary Depute.¹ He was the only son of James Oliphant, advocate, of Lantoun, now Belfield, near Midcalder, and Elizabeth, elder daughter of Dr. Alexander Pennecuik of Romanno, the famous wit and versifier.² His grandfather, Charles Oliphant, was fourth in descent from Laurence, third Lord Oliphant.³ When James Oliphant married, his wife brought as her portion the estate of Newhall, near West Linton, but Mr. Oliphant, 'who from high living was considerably involved in debt at the time of his marriage,'⁴ sold it in the following year (1703). He never recovered his position, and Lantoun was sold to Lord Morton in 1734.

Alexander Oliphant, Katharine Inglis's husband, settled in Edinburgh as a 'writer' in 1739, and died on April 1, 1742, in his fortieth year. Their daughter, Elizabeth, was born on October 17, 1740, and died in 1745; they seem to have had another child, who was buried at Greyfriars in October 1741.

Mr. Oliphant left only £120 and a house in Bull's Land,

¹ *Kirk Session Records of Lasswade.*

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1908-9, p. 324 seq.

³ *Scots Peerage*, vi. 561.

⁴ *Works of Alexander Pennecuik of Newhall, M.D., with memoir*, p. 21.

opposite to the Tron Church.¹ The house was afterwards let, and Mrs. Oliphant, who survived for thirty-five years, lived in a lodging, dependent on her brother George, who was much attached to her. For some years she was in a very infirm state, and she died on January 25, 1778, in her sixty-eighth year.²

She and her husband are buried in Greyfriars Churchyard.

¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, May 7, 1742.

² *Ib.*, March 19, 1778.

CHAPTER XIII

GEORGE INGLIS OF REDHALL

GEORGE, the youngest child of John Inglis of Auchindinny and Katharine Nisbet, was born at Edinburgh on April 6, 1711, and was baptized three days later in presence of George Warrender of Lochend, Mr. Alexander Nisbet, apothecary, and George Watson.

The outline of his life is simple enough. He was trained to the law in his father's office from the time he was sixteen, and he became a notary public on January 22, 1730, when he was only eighteen. On his father's death he began to practise as an attorney in the Court of Exchequer, and in 1756 became King's Attorney with a salary of £50 and perquisites, holding the post till his death. He took into his business, first as apprentice and afterwards as partner, the redoubtable Henry Mackenzie, 'The Man of Feeling,' who succeeded him in his official post in the Court of Exchequer.

In 1753 George Inglis married Hannah M'Queen, but they had no family. Two years later he bought the estate of Redhall, and built the house, which became his principal residence, though he continued to have a house and office in town.

He and his wife died in 1785.

This outline can be filled in with some minuteness from his business books, private accounts, and memoranda, and there are many references to him in the letters of his relatives, all pointing in the same direction, to show that he was a shrewd but kind-hearted and generous man, always ready to help any needy member of the family, devoted to his nephews and

nieces and to young people generally, and with interests in agriculture, literature, art, and travel within the limits of Great Britain.

Most of his extant letters are those preserved by Mr. William Cadell of Banton, who also kept drafts of his replies. They are almost all on business topics affecting Auchindinny, but they generally contain references to family events. Similarly, the account books, for the most part a mere list of 'depursements,' are used as a 'diurnal of occurments' such as marriages and deaths, and in the latter case a few words of obituary notice are added. His writing is large and rather ornate, and is always scrupulously neat.

The books are not all in the same series. Two are business books, two are accounts of household expenses, and one is a folio setting forth his capital account.

The folio extends to some fifty pages with an index. It was originally compiled about 1756, and was kept up to date by entries showing the history of his investments and a list of his capital debts. Most of the entries on the debit side were bonds granted in fact by his brothers Archibald and David, or his brother-in-law Preston of Gorton, but he lent them his credit by signing bonds with them, or backing their bills. They gave him letters of relief, and in David's case this may have been a sufficient security; in Archibald's it was certainly not.

The list of investments contains only two industrial undertakings. These are the Edinburgh Sugar House, founded in 1751, in which he had two original shares of £100 each; and the Forth and Clyde Canal, in which he took £500 stock at the original subscription in 1767. In 1773 he was appointed to the Committee of Navigation, and was active in the management. He bought three shares in the Bank of Scotland in 1763 for £350, and was a director for four years, and he also invested in bonds from three sets of turnpike trustees in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh—principal and interest being

secured on the tolls ; but these came very near the ordinary heritable bond, which was his standard investment.

The two business books, small octavos in marbled paper covers, extend from December 1744 to March 1759. They are simply a sort of day book, recording receipts and payments in the course of his business as attorney, and also in connection with his investments, both as to principal and as to interest. There are also various other 'depursements,' such as payments towards the support of his sister, Mrs. Oliphant. There is no attempt to balance the books, or even to separate the entries into credit and debit sides.

The two other books are larger : one is bound in sheepskin and the other in marbled boards, and they are headed 'Accompt of Household Expenses.' They cover the period from October 1, 1750 to April 29, 1780, the earlier of the two thus overlapping for eight and a half years the later business book. The amounts are added up month by month, and at the end of each volume there is a summary of the total expenditure year by year. These four books together give an excellent idea of his private life for nearly forty years.

The first page (December 1744) contains a payment of £1 to Mrs. Oliphant, who had been left a widow two years before, and was in great poverty. Mr. George continued to make these payments at irregular intervals, but on the average about once a month, until in 1758 he granted her a regular bond of annuity. He paid for repairs, taxes, and insurance on her house in Bull's Land, and for many years there is an entry of £1, 5s. for a seat for her in the Tron Kirk. He kept her supplied with coal, and also with tea, which was a serious item, when green tea cost 18s. a pound, Russian tea 16s., and Bohea 7s. 6d. He paid for the funeral of her child Betty, who died in 1745 at the age of five, and he also gave her mournings when their brother Archibald died.

In 1769 fees are paid to Dr. Monro and to a nurse for attending her in 'a pleuratick fever,' and various entries

indicate that she never quite recovered her health. At last, on January 25, 1778, comes the note: 'This day died my sister Mrs. Oliphant, a sober, virtuous, and religious woman.' Her poverty may be inferred from the inventory of her goods, which were valued at £28, 13s. 2d. in all, £5 of this being set upon silver spoons.¹ At the sale which followed, Mr. George bought two diamond rings for £1, 15s. 9d.

The other sister, Mrs. Preston of Gorton, is mentioned three times. Twice she gets the loan of a couple of guineas, and on September 14, 1747 there is an entry: 'Gave Dr. Sinclair to attend my sister Mrs. Preston, £2, 2s.' She died soon afterwards.

Her husband, John Preston, and the family are often mentioned. In 1755 Mr. George Inglis and Mr. George Lindsay, brother of the second Mrs. Preston, helped Mr. Preston to raise £700 to buy a commission in the Scots Greys for the elder boy, William. In less than a year it was re-sold, and a commission was bought for him in the 44th Foot.

John, the second son, is mentioned on May 18, 1757: 'To my nephew, John Preston, upon his going abroad, He being to enter into the navy, £2, 2s. *N.B.*—I gave Him also a Silver Watch and a pair of Silver Buttons being Scots Peebles set in Silver.'

Katie Preston was a great favourite with her uncle, and got frequent presents of such things as ribands, hats, capuchins, and gowns. She is also given lessons on the guitar. These entries become less frequent after her marriage to Alexander Adams, but we find on October 28, 1775: 'To Nawton and Morrison for a Frock, etc., for Mrs. Adams' child, my Name son, £1, 4s.'; and on September 24, 1777: 'To Mrs. Adams' Daughter's Nurse upon the Baptism on the inst, then omitted, 5s.'

During the first three years covered by the household books (October 1750—October 1753), Mr. George was living as

¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, March 19, 1778.

a bachelor at the house in Niddry's Wynd. After his father's death it had been let to one of the most eminent Scotsmen of the eighteenth century, Colin Maclaurin, the mathematician.¹ He was chosen on the advice of Sir Isaac Newton to be assistant and successor to Professor James Gregory the younger, and came to Edinburgh in 1725, attaining great celebrity not only as a profound thinker, but as a popular lecturer and demonstrator of experiments in natural science. He and Professor Alexander Monro (*Primus*) were inducted to their professorial chairs on the same day, and were always close friends: he was also intimate with the Inglis family, especially with David. When the city was threatened with attack in 1745 Maclaurin tried to organise the defences on a scientific plan, and his exertions and disappointment brought on the illness from which he died in the following year.

For some time previous to 1745 the house was let at a rent of £22 to Mr. David Rutherfoord, advocate, and afterwards for a couple of years to Mrs. Carre of Cavers.

Mr. George had undertaken the education of his nephew, John Rigby Inglis, his brother Patrick's son. The boy lived for a time with a family called Calderwood at Dalkeith, and attended the Grammar School there. Mr. George afterwards apprenticed him to Dr. Macfarlane for a fee of sixty guineas, but does not appear to have had the boy to live with him—in fact the books only mention him once or twice, when he gets New Year's gifts. Eventually, on October 26, 1756, we find the note: 'This day at 9 in the morning my Nephew John Inglis died, the worthy Son of a worthy Father.'

The household expenses amounted to £242 in 1751, £367 in 1752, and £342 in 1753. The house was kept by a succession of housekeepers, who were paid £3 a year of wages, and a manservant was also kept at £4 a year. They were also given board and clothes.

Mr. George always opens the year with an item of £1, 1s.

¹ *Proposals for cleansing the city*, 1737 (MS. in possession of Soc. of Antiquaries).

for shaving and dressing, and he annually buys a wig costing about 18s. He bought his clothes from his brother David until the latter gave up his shop, but the various items are not kept distinct. Several articles of his wardrobe, bought elsewhere, are mentioned separately. He paid 15s. 9d. for muslin for six cravats, and £1, 5s. for two and a half yards 'Carolines' for ruffles, and 'To Mrs. Hamilton for making seven ruffled shirts scolipped, £1, 1s.' Worsted stockings, if plain, varied from 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. a pair; if ribbed they cost about 8s.; silk stockings were 14s. or 15s. a pair; 'single-channelled pumps' were 5s., and 'double-channelled pumps' 7s. 6d.

He had some little vanities in his attire. He bought at various times a blue cloth shalloon, a scarlet cloak, a scarlet frieze vest, a gold-laced hat, pearl blue stockings, flowered lace ruffles, a frock of wine-coloured cloth, and a velvet coat and vest.

Among comestibles one notices at first large purchases of honey: sugar first makes its appearance on August 1, 1751, about the time when Mr. George took shares in the Edinburgh Sugar House, and henceforth honey declines. The entry of August 1, 1751 is: 'To Currant-Jelly being 11^{lb} Sugar made into red, and 6^{lb} made into black Berries, cans, etc., in all 14s. 3½d.' Marmalade and gooseberry jam are also mentioned. Loaf sugar then cost 9½d. per lb. and 'powder sugar' 7d. A barrel of herrings was several times sent him as a present.

Various kinds of wine appear—Lisbon at 17s. a dozen, claret at 20s., Malaga 15s., sherry 12s. to 18s., muscadell 19s., red and white port 18s. On August 8, 1752 he enters: 'To my brother David for charges on Madeira wine sent from my brother John, whereof I got 11 chopins and 35 mutchkins, £1, 11s. 2d.'

Coals cost 4s. or 4s. 6d. a cart, and were often bought at Gorton pits.

In the furniture department he spent £2, 18s. 1½d. on a

carpet, a luxury at this period, £12 for a table clock, and £1, 15s. for a weather-glass ; and he paid 'To Malcolm Brown for a Housing of Leopard's Skin w^t silk Fringe, £2, 8s.' On May 20, 1751 comes the suggestive entry : 'To the use of a bathing tub for 13 days, 6s. 6d.'

He bought china and other ornaments, *e.g.*

'A china image of two sheep	£0	9	0
To Mrs. Sked for a small china Bowl flowered	0	3	0
To James Lyon for two alabaster Figures being a Shepherd and Shepherdess	1	1	0
To do. for a pair of sole Candlesticks enameled copper resembling china	0	16	0.

He purchased household silver in 1753—a coffee-pot for £11, 4s. 6d., six breakfast knives with silver handles for £1, and a dozen knives and a dozen forks, 'silver-hafted,' for £6, 6s.

Pictures other than family portraits are only mentioned twice—once when he buys 'a sett of prints of the 12 months' for £4, 16s., and again when he buys a portrait of the Duke of Cumberland, the scourge of the Jacobites ; and this is almost the only indication of his political leanings.

The office at the Cross was let to Messrs. Hamilton and Balfour, booksellers. Mr. Gavin Hamilton and Mr. Inglis were close friends, and the name of the former often appears in the accounts in connection with purchases of books. In these three years Mr. Inglis bought the works of Pope, Swift, Hobbes, 'Molier' in French and English, 'the book called *Manners*'¹ (price 3s. 6d.), Pultney on the *Constitution and Laws of England* and on the *Rudiments of Law and Equity*, *State Trials* (£6, 6s.), Boyer's *Dictionary*, Hubner's *Geography*, the *Geographia Classica*, and a globe in a shagreen case.

During this period his health was far from good. In January 1751 he paid a guinea 'to Dr. Macfarlane for advice to procure sleep,' and in 1752 there is a series of entries :

¹ A prohibited satire by Paul Whitehead.

‘ March 18. To Doctor St Clair for his Attendance during my confinement with the Rheumatism with wh. I was seized about the 22nd of Jan^{ry} last and continued till now that I was able to walk in my Room £10 10 0
 ‘ April 1. To Mrs Johnston for attending me as a Nurse during my sickness from the 2nd Febr^{ry} last to the 27th March y^rafter, being 55 Days at 1^{sh} pr. night 2 15 0.’

He also paid Dr. Macfarlane a fee of eight guineas for attendance, £6, 15s. 2d. for medicines, and £2, 2s. ‘for pains,’ and he gave the two servants a gratuity of 5s. each for their attention.

‘ *Note.*—There was stoln from Me out of my Pocket Book during my sickness last spring, of wh. I have never yet made a Discovery of the Person guilty £11 0 0.’

The doctors apparently ordered him to take chocolate, as 1s. 3d. is spent once a week for a quarter of a pound.

In August 1752 he left Edinburgh, accompanied by his servant James Mitchell, for a visit to Bath in search of health. He stayed there ten weeks, and spent £90 in all. He was already a travelled man: five years before he was at Scarborough and went on to London, and in August 1751 he spent three weeks at Duns in Berwickshire, where there were medicinal springs. The preparations for the journey to Bath included the purchase of a pair of pistols with holsters and a bearskin cover, and a pair of ‘Hussar-boots,’ but no details of the journey are given.

The change did not immediately have the desired effect, but on his return he had a course of treatment under Drs. Rutherford and Macfarlane, and by the beginning of 1753 he seems to have completely recovered. In September he

had a jaunt of three weeks to 'Scarsbro', but as soon as he returned he had a fall from his horse, and had half a guinea's worth of Dr. Macfarlane's advice.

He was not fortunate as an owner of horses : he kept one as a rule, sometimes two, and at the end of October 1751 he notes that he has bought and sold three horses in twelve months, and has lost on each. A similar note appears a year later.

There is very little extravagance to be inferred from the accounts. There are occasional 'incidents at Sked's,' a coffee-house, and he had a failing for lottery tickets, a failing which was never encouraged by success. In August 1752 he writes : 'Lost by two Lottery Tickets purchased at £23, 14s. 0d., which being drawn Blanks sold for £12, 0s. 0d., £11, 14s. 0d. In September 1755 he 'paid Mess^{rs} Fairholm and Malcolm for a Lottery Ticket, being No. 34909, £10, 0s. 0d.'; and on December 12 he 'received from Mr. Fairholm for a blank ticket, Lottery 1755, £5, 3s. 0d.'

The explanation of these transactions is that the Government used to raise loans by issuing annuities at three per cent., and to some of the subscriptions prizes were attached, so that even when a subscriber failed to draw a prize in the lottery, he still had his annuity, which could be sold for value.

The only gambling outlays recorded after 1755 were a subscription to an Art Union Drawing in 1761, and a guinea 'to a lottery in the Museum' in 1775.¹

On October 24, 1753, without the slightest warning, begins a series of entries relating to his marriage with Miss Hannah M'Queen :

'Octo^r 24. To Mr. Mitchelson for writing my contract
of marriage £6 6 0

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, May 3, 1775.

GEORGE INGLIS OF REDHALL

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Oct ^r 24.	To his Clerk	£2	2	0
24.	To Mr. Ker the Minister's Serv ^t	0	5	0
24.	To the Town Waits and Drummers	0	7	6
25.	To Mrs. M'Quin's Maid	1	1	0
25.	To my Wife	5	5	0
27.	To the Clerk of the English Chapel for registring my Marriage, wh: was upon the 24 th inst.	0	5	0
27.	To Mr. John Hope for a Hat for Mr. Ker the Minister by whom I was married	1	0	0
29.	To Mr. Walker for a Landeau and six Horses to Auchindinny	0	15	0
Novem ^r 2.	To Alexander Ogilvie, Glover, for Gloves at my marriage	1	1	6
27.	To Tooth Pick Case for my Wife	0	4	6
Dec ^r 21.	To W ^m Ker, Baxter, for a Dish of preserved wet fruit Tarts got 25 th October last	0	7	0
<i>Note.</i> —Bought for my Wife the following particulars, for wh: I paid Dr. Nisbett at London, who purchased them for me, viz.:				
	A sable Tipett and Muff	4	4	0
	A gold-chased watch w ^t an enameled Dial- Plate and Steel chain	27	6	0
	An outside Case and a Packing Box	0	1	3
26.	To Mr. Gordon, Goldsmith, the following articles wh: he depursed for Me in Octo ^r last at the time of my marriage, viz.:			
	To the Kirk Session Clerk	1	0	0
	To the Kirk Session Clerk in the Canon- gate	0	10	6
	To the Kirk Treasurer in Town	1	0	0
1754. Jan ^{ry} 20.	To my Brother David's Wife depursed at my marriage, viz.: For a Ham	0	5	0
	To the Cook who drest the Dinner	0	5	0
25.	To Rob ^t Gordon, Goldsmith, an Accompt for Silver Plate and Jewels got at my marriage, viz ^t :			

Jan^{ry} 25. To an enameled Ring with a Topaz and
Two Diamonds £2 12 6

Note.—This was given in a Present by my
Wife to M^{rs} Semple as being the Bride's
Maid, and has on it her name and the
Day of my marriage.

A silver Tea Kettle and Stand chased	26	1	6
A pair of silver salts	2	16	2
Two pair silver candlesticks	31	12	0
Four silver salt shuffles	0	8	0
A plain gold ring	0	8	0

Note.—This was given to my wife being
her marriage ring.'

Hannah M'Queen, or 'M'Quin,' as the name is often spelt, was the younger daughter of the late Captain John M'Queen and his wife Margaret, second daughter of Sir Donald Macdonald of Sleat, fourth Baronet. Mrs. M'Queen's next younger sister, Isabella Macdonald, married Professor Alexander Monro (*Primus*).

John M'Queen served in the 2nd battalion of the Scots Royals (now the Royal Scots), his commissions being dated—Ensign, May 12, 1694; Lieutenant, June 23, 1704; Captain, January 25, 1717.¹ He fought through Marlborough's campaigns, and was present at the battles of Schellenberg, where he was wounded, Blenheim, and Malplaquet.

From 1715 to 1736, the year of Captain M'Queen's death,² the Royals were in Ireland.

His marriage took place before 1725, and he was survived by his wife, and by a son, Alexander, and two daughters, Margaret and Hannah. By the time Hannah married George Inglis, Alexander had died, and Margaret (Mrs. Vernon) had been left a widow.

¹ *English Army Lists and Commission Registers*, Dalton, v. 50, 51; v. Pt. II., 37.

² *Edinburgh Testaments*, May 7, 1742.

Captain M'Queen's arms are blazoned in Nisbet's *Heraldry*¹ —*vert* a pegasus salient *argent*, a chief *or* ; crest, a wolf's head erased proper ; motto, *Quae sursum volo*.

If the entry of her death in the burial register is correct, Hannah M'Queen was only eighteen when she married, her husband being forty-two. The marriage may be supposed to have been a love affair : Mr. George at any rate did not marry for money, for although his bride in her marriage contract assigned him a debt of £266, 13s. 4d. due to her from the heirs of Sir Alexander M'Donald of that ilk, and a further sum of £233, 6s. 8d. payable on her mother's death, the latter sum was never paid, and Mrs. M'Queen and Mrs. Vernon were added to the list of people who benefited by his charity. They lived together at Bonnington, between Edinburgh and Leith, in a lodging for which he paid. He always paid Mrs. Vernon the interest on the debt assigned to him by his wife ; he settled her doctor's bills, and after her mother's death he allowed Mrs. Vernon to enjoy the whole of her estate. Mrs. M'Queen died on January 6, 1771, 'justly beloved by all her Relations, sober, virtuous, and of a most benevolent disposition.' Mrs. Vernon died at her house in Princes Street on November 25, 1795.

The M'Queens were apparently Episcopalians, as the marriage took place at the English Chapel, where Mrs. Inglis continued to attend.

When the honeymoon was over, Mrs. Inglis began her management of the house by dismissing the former housekeeper. Mr. George notes : '1753, December 12. To Christy Templeton for her Fee from Mar^{ts} last to Whit^y next, she having been turned off for Disobedience, but notwithstanding I voluntarily paid her her wages till next Term, £10.'

Mrs. Inglis was allowed at first £10 and afterwards £20 a month for housekeeping expenses : she was also given an

¹ Vol. i. Plate 20.

occasional £5 or a moyedore or a half-Johannes as pocket-money, but these presents were afterwards commuted for an allowance of £40 a year.

There are unfortunately no materials for constructing a portrait of her. No letters written by her have survived, and the few references to her in her husband's letters and accounts give no clues to her personality. His will, made in 1779, is ample proof that their married life was happy. It begins :

‘ Know all men . . . That for the love and favour I have and bear to Mrs Hannah McQuin, my spouse, of whose great care and attention both to my person and interest I have had long experience, which has induced me to make and grant the following settlement in her favour to testify the due sense of my gratitude and affection towards her, by affording her the means not only to support her in that condition in which I incline she may live as my widow . . . but also to serve as a mark of the trust and confidence I have placed in her future good conduct and behaviour.’

Some of the entries relating to her in the accounts are interesting and curious in themselves :

‘ To my wife, for 22 yds. linen of her own making	. £5	0	0
A head suit of minionnette to my wife	. 2	2	0
For four French-paste Jump-buckles to my wife	. 4	4	0
Blond gaures etc. for my wife	. 5	13	0.’

The accounts show that for the first few years after her marriage Mrs. Inglis's health was not good : she was often attended by her cousin, Dr. Alexander Monro (*Secundus*), and by Dr. Macfarlane, and once she went to Moffat for the waters. Her health seems to have improved afterwards.

Her picture in miniature was painted at least twice, as was her husband's ; but all four, as well as a picture of his father, have disappeared.

After 1753 most of the purely domestic items drop out of Mr. George's account books. The wine list continues in great variety, and includes the following new items : Frontinac,



REDHALL IN 1899

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Cyprus, Languedock, Canary, eau-de-luce, pineapple rum, usque (whisky), Geneva, aqua vitæ, shrub, and peppermint waters. He did not smoke, but he paid £3, 14s. for a silver tobacco box, no doubt given away 'in a present.'

For two years after his marriage he rented 'The Cameron,' a fine old house still standing at Newington, close to Arthur's Seat.¹ It was let furnished with a stable and garden for £26 by Sir Alexander Dick of Prestonfield.

In 1755 Mr. George Inglis bought the estate of Redhall from John Davidson of Whitehouse for £4400. The old castle was in ruins,² and it was not till October 1758 that he accepted plans, which are still extant, and estimates for building the new house.

The entry in the business book runs :

' 1758, Octo^r 31. Granted a letter obligatory to Mr. James Robertson, Architect in Edinburgh for Pay^t of £928 : 17 : 9 St^s for building a House for Me at Redhall, payable as follows, viz^t, £120 upon laying the Foundation, £120 when the Sunk story is built, £120 when the first story above Ground is built, £120 when the second story above Ground is built, £120 when the Roof is finished, and the Remainder of the said sum of £928 : 17 : 9 when the House is compleately finished according to the Plan.'

This is followed on November 30 by another entry : 'Granted an obligatory Letter to Robert Bowie, Nurseryman at Stoneyhill, for £229 for making a Garden for Me at Redhall conform to a Plan and Estimate to which my Letter is sub-joined.'

The new house was placed some fifty yards south-east of the old castle, the ruins of which were used as a quarry for the ashlar work, but as the stones were too porous to stand the weather it was rough-cast. Its front façade was in the French château style, with a bell-shaped slate roof decorated

¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, February 4, 1755.

² For the early history of Redhall see the following chapter.

with stone urns, and the house was considered one of the show places round Edinburgh. Latterly it was painted crimson by Mr. David Chalmers, who was tenant for the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, but otherwise it stood almost unchanged until 1900, when it was enlarged. The enlargement revealed the solidity of the old walls, and their thickness always gave the impression that the house was larger than it really was. The accommodation was suitable for Mr. George and his wife, but in the days of the Admiral and of his son, each of whom had five children, its resources were strained to the utmost.

The garden is nearly two acres in extent, and the wall enclosing it and the tool-house are built of small dark-red bricks with white stone-dressings and urns to reproduce the design of the house. Mr. George also built a grotto to cover a spring of beautiful water in the steep bank of the Water of Leith between the house and the garden. The stables and the lodge are of later date.

From 1756 till 1761, when the new house was ready, Mr. and Mrs. Inglis lived during the summer months at a small house still standing at Millbank, where the road to Bogsmill crosses the Balerno railway. It consisted at that time of 'four fire-rooms and a garret,' and was afterwards the subject of a lawsuit between Mr. Inglis and Mr. Balfour, tenant of Bogsmill.

During this period purchases of furniture bulk largely in the accounts. Mahogany is the almost invariable wood: the very bee-hive was made of it. The purchases included:

' A scrutoir with a case for papers	£6	4	0
A table trea [tray], bought at Baron Edlin's sale	0	6	6
A marble slab in a mahogany stand	4	0	0
A dining table and ten chairs, Gothic back	11	0	0.'

Redhall was evidently hung with 'India paper' costing about 3s. 6d. a sheet: some of it was bought second-hand at

Lady Stair's sale. A Scotch carpet costing three guineas was laid down in the dining-room.

Large additions were made to the stock of china, and many of the items show that taste as well as utility was considered.

' 6 cups and saucers blew china gilded.

Posset dish and cover and punch bowl flowered.

Four dishes ribbed coloured china.

A brown cannister bought at Lady Stair's sale.

A china tea-pot with a silver chain bought at my brother David's sale.

A china pheasant bought at Baron Edlin's sale.

Bought at Mr. Murray's sale 5 cups and 6 saucers dragon china.

Two china figures of Ladies.'

There was only one considerable purchase of silver after 1753, namely on December 12, 1758, when Mr. George bought

' 12 Knives and 12 Forks silver handled	.	.	.	£6	6	0
A Three-dozen case	.	.	.	1	1	0
Six table spoons w ^t 15 ^{oz} at 5/4 p. ounce	.	.	.	4	4	0
Making at 1/- per oz.	.	.	.	0	15	0
Ingraving 12 crests	.	.	.	0	6	0
Six tea spoons w ^t 2 ^{oz} 5 ^{dr}	.	.	.	0	17	4'

Henceforth duty was paid on three hundred ounces.

He also bought a pair of 'pepple' sleeve-buttons set in gold costing a guinea.

The additions to the library include a few works of general literature, chiefly poetry and political treatises, such as *The Staggering State of Scots Statesmen* (2s. 6d.); also Henry Mackenzie's novel, *Julia de Roubigné*. But far the larger number are works on law, and on agriculture, gardening, and bee-keeping. He subscribed to Hume's *History*, Postlethwaite's *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce*, Blacklock's *Poems* ('In Charity to the Author'), and also to Rider's Family Bible, a sumptuous work in three folio

volumes embellished with pictures: it and the *Dictionary of Trade* are now the only complete survivals of his library.

After 1755 he took in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*, and from 1759 it was supplemented by the *Edinburgh Chronicle*, and after 1769 by the *Caledonian Mercury*.

Mr. and Mrs. Inglis lived very quietly. There are references, not more than a dozen in all, to 'incidents' at the play, or a card assembly, or a Ridotto, and the high-water mark of frivolity was reached in 1754 when a charge of £1 is entered 'for a landau and horses to a race.'

Almost every summer they had a holiday 'jaunt.' Sometimes they went to the Highlands or to visit their friends at Auchinbowie or Carron Park, but twice they reached as far as Yorkshire, once in 1766, when they were at York and Harrogate, and again in 1771, when they stayed three weeks at Knaresbro'.

Most of these jaunts were taken in their own chaise, which was set up in 1765 at a cost of £54, 1s. 6d., with a pair of black horses costing 40 guineas, and a postilion. The housing of this equipage became a constant trouble. At first Mr. George rented a stable in the Mint belonging to Lord Belhaven, then he had the use of the stable at the Bank of Scotland attached to his brother David's house, and after David's death he took one from Dr. Monro, but it became so ruinous that the chaise had to find 'stance' at a stable in the Pleasance.

Redhall was a centre of hospitality for all members of the family. In April 1757 Mr. George's niece Katie, a girl of eight, arrived from Philadelphia under the escort of a negro servant, and stayed for six years. She was given the most liberal education of the period, as the accounts show:

Depursed to Mr. Warden for 2 months teaching		
English to Katie	£1	1 0
For Katie Inglis for coal money at the Reading and		
Sewing School, 2 ^{sh} 6 ^d each	0	5 0

To Mrs. Cumming for a Quarter's Pay ^t for Katie for sewing etc. 10 ^{sh} and to the Doctrix 1 ^{sh}	. . .	£0	11	0
For the Doctor of the Writing School	. . .	0	1	0
To Mr. Stewart, Schoolmaster at Colinton, a month's attendance on Katie for Latin and reading	. . .	0	10	6
Handsell to the Doctor of the Arithmetick School	. . .	0	2	6
To Mr. Corsar for a Quarter's Arithmetick for Katie Inglis 12 ^{sh} and for Coal Money 2 ^{sh} 6 ^d	. . .	0	14	6
Mr. Dallas two months' singing for Katie	. . .	0	12	0
To Mr. La Mot for a month's dancing for Katie	. . .	0	10	0
Mr. La Mot for a ball ticket for Katie	. . .	0	5	0.

These accomplishments were not all cultivated concurrently, but cover the whole period. There are many other depursements and incidents for her, and her uncle granted a bond of provision in her favour a year after she arrived.

She stayed over the marriage of her cousin Katharine Inglis to Dr. Alexander Monro (*Secundus*), on which occasion Mr. George gave her a silk gown, and made a similar present to the bride. She then returned to Philadelphia to keep house for her father, and was never again in Scotland.

Her brother Jack (the Admiral) is often mentioned in the accounts, almost always as the recipient of a present on going to sea.

' 1760, May 24. For chequered linen for shirts for my nephew, John's eldest son		£1	2	6
1764, April 9. To a pair of pistols given to my nephew, Lieut. John Inglis		4	14	6.'

From 1773 onwards the young man paid many visits to Redhall, and his uncle takes an evident pride in his exploits.

' 1773, February 27. For figs, almonds and oranges when my nephew was ill, 3s. 4d.

' To Mrs. Cunningham for attending Jack, 4s.

' May 29. My nephew Jack set out this day for London on his way

to America, when I gave him two Gold Medals, viz^t a Jacobus and a Dutch piece.'

In September 1775 Mr. George notes :

'My nephew Jack went from hence for London, when I gave him a £3, 12s. Piece of Gold.

'1777, May 24. To Incidents at Leith upon my Nephew setting out for London as Lieut. of the *Trident*, £1, 14s. *Note*.—I made him a Present of my gold watch.'

An entry on December 29, 1777, 'To ropes for Hanging Jack, 1s. 9d.,' must not be taken as one of this series: a 'hanging jack' is merely a roasting-machine.

The next entry about him is dated February 4, 1779 :

'My nephew Cap^t Inglis arrived here this Day from London, his ship the *Senegal* having been taken in America by the French Fleet in Aug^t last.'

It is very remarkable that no reference is made to the Captain's marriage with his cousin Barbara on January 21, 1777—in fact the omission goes far to show that it was a clandestine affair, and the theory is also supported by the fact that no marriage contract was made until two years later.

After 1782 the Captain was ashore, and living at Auchindinny, but the account books do not cover that period.

Mrs. Barkly and Mrs. Hering and their husbands are mentioned several times. Mrs. Barkly's poverty is reflected in the presents which she gets—a shawl, aprons, and once a bill in her favour for £20 ; and on May 26, 1773 Mr. George notes :

'To my niece Mrs. Barkley's husband (Gilbert Barkley) in a Present, he being at London in indigent Circumstances, £20.'

The Herings were much more prosperous, and are sent hogsheads of strong beer, table linen in damask, and 'furniture' for a cradle.

Samuel and George, of the Philadelphia family, are not mentioned, but their father kept up a correspondence with

his brother, and frequent presents crossed the Atlantic. John sent home Madeira, rum, sweetmeats, forest-seeds, and a mahogany log, and George returned the compliments with stocks, lace ruffles, gloves, and stockings.

The nephews and nieces at home owed many kindnesses to their uncle. The Auchindinny girls got earrings, necklaces, and gold tacks from him. Mrs. Cadell in particular was one of his favourites, and he took a great interest in her children. She describes a visit to Redhall in a graphic letter to her husband :

‘ GREENLAW, 9 Nov. 1784.

‘ MY DEAR SIR,— . . . Will^m A. and George were here till yesterday since Saturday, as the preachings were in Edin. and no schools, and as I told you we dined at Redhall on Saturday. Mrs. Inglis did not come out of town as she was not well, and Uncle himself met us there in the forenoon, and we went to the garden and walked, when he seemed very well and was very good to the young folks and praised them much. We came in, and at dinner, just as he, honest man, had done with taking soup, he was seized with a sort of chocking, which we were indeed much shocked at, but thought it was some accidental crumb of bread. However he said (and seemed extremely uneasy) that he had been in the same way attacked some yrs ago. We parted with him and saw him in his carriage, and yesterday when I was in Edinburgh we called, and he is still very ill and can take nothing but very little liquid. Dr. Monro is often with him and a surgeon constantly in the house, and they seem difficulted about his case. . . . I am much affected ever since, and I know you will be very sorry.’

The old gentleman died the following autumn.

In one of his letters to Mr. Cadell in 1774 Mr. George became quite facetious about Barbara, his youngest Auchindinny niece :

‘ I beg she [Mrs. Cadell] will acquaint her sister M^{rs} Baby that I had the Pleasure of receiving her Letter, which I will not fail to answer when I acquire a share of animal spirits fit for female correspondence. In the mean let her know (which I mean as a compliment) that had I

not seen her Subscription at the foot I wou'd have swore the letter to have been wrote by Mrs. Caddel. If she seems offended at this comparison tell her from me that it proceeds from her own fault, it being the first time she ever wrote me, so that I naturally fell into the mistake, whereas had she been as regular a correspondent as her elder Sister, I wou'd have known better. I will however administer impartial justice by acknowledging that M^{is} Baby never had occasion, at least with me, to communicate in the capacity of a Parent any serious Proposals in that most serious affair of Love, wh. perhaps the elder sister had, and which I wish the younger sister may have speedily upon desirable terms. There are not wanting Reports in that way, but they may resemble the Proof-shot of the Carron-cannon, a mere noise without Execution.'

David's family are not mentioned so often, though they too get occasional presents, and David owed much to his brother, as has been already shown from the business books. When he and his wife died, Mr. George recorded a couple of characteristic obituary notices :

' 1767, Jan^{ry} 13. My brother David died this Day, having given a signal Proof of his Patience and Fortitude under a long and painful Distemper.'

' 1769, Dec^r 14. Mrs. Inglis (my Brother David's Widow) died this Day, a virtuous good Woman, who with the greatest Frugality preserved the outmost Decency.'

It is curious that very few friends apart from relatives are mentioned. There is a reference to the death of ' my good friend and old acquaintance, Mr. Jas. Stevenson, Advocate . . . a man of great honour, friendly and benevolent,' and Mr. Strahan, the King's printer, is mentioned more than once.

As might be expected, the servants were well treated. After Redhall was occupied the establishment was increased to two men and five women, but two of the women servants looked after the house in town, which seems to have been kept open all through the year. The men got £7 of wages, and the women £2, 10s. to £3, except the housekeeper, Mrs. Duncan, who got £5. Their food and clothes were provided

for them. Their master always gave them a New Year's present of half-a-crown each. He sometimes had in a fiddler to play, and at one time he paid Mr. M'Donald 10s. 6d. 'for teaching the servants Church-music for a month.' One entry reads curiously :

' 1767, Feb^{ry} 4. 8 pocks of meal for the spaniel and
3 d^o for the serv^{ts}. . £0 9 2.'

James Whittit, the gardener, kept his place for thirty years : and Mr. George paid for the education of his daughter Hannah, who entered the service of Mrs. Inglis when she grew old enough. He twice sends presents of money to Janet Potter, ' my old nurse,' or ' my nurse-keeper.'

There is not much public or promiscuous charity recorded. He subscribed to the Poor House, the poor of Colinton, and the Edinburgh Infirmary, and there are occasional entries, such as :

' John Thomson from New York in Charity . . £0 5 0
To David Wylie being poor 0 2 0
Charity subscription for Highland emigrants . . 0 10 0
My subscription for raising seamen for His Majesty's
service 4 4 0.'

One weakness of the old gentleman was soon discovered by the servants and neighbours, and was encouraged. He was flattered by having their children called after him, and as his satisfaction took a practical form, ' George ' became a very popular name in the district, as is shown by a succession of entries, not always grammatical :

' Mrs. Robertson's child's nurse, being named George . £0 10 6
Thos. Philp's child's nurse, the child being my name
son 0 5 0
Jas. Whittit upon the Baptism of his first son called
George 0 5 0
Arch^d Inglis, stocking-weaver, he having named his son
George 0 10 6

A frock to my name son George Philp	£0	5	0
W ^m Duncan [one of the servants] upon christening his son George as my name son	0	5	0
John Angus's wife, he having named his child George in compliment to me	0	5	0
A frock for Mrs. Adams' child my name son	1	4	0
Mr. Cadell's young son as a Present a Gold piece value	3	12	0
A hat feather for my name son George Cadell	0	17	6.

The annual household expenses from his marriage to his death varied between £400 and £500, except in 1764, when the chaise was set up and the total reached £580, and in 1770, when for no special reason it was £543. This does not include the estate outgoings, which were separately kept and are now lost.

The laird of Redhall took his position as a county gentleman. He was put on the roll of voters at Michaelmas 1756,¹ and he joined the association of neighbouring lairds for preserving the game on their estates.² He was especially active on the subject of roads and bridges. In June 1763 he was appointed by the heritors of Midlothian to a committee of inquiry,³ and in the following spring he actively supported a scheme to improve the Lanark Road by getting a bridge built over the Water of Leith at the dangerous Slate Ford.⁴

He joined in the movement to break down the conservatism of Scottish farmers and introduce the new English methods of agriculture. The household books show that he collected an agricultural library; he bred horses, cattle, and sheep; he grew lint, which was 'scutched' at Colinton Mill, and was awarded a prize in 1778 by the Trustees for Fisheries, Manufactures, and Improvements in Scotland;⁵ he kept bees, and he stocked a pond with perch from Duddingston.

There had been a stone quarry at Redhall as early as

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, September 4, 1756.

² *Ib.*, August 25, 1757.

³ *Ib.*, July 13, 1763.

⁴ *Ib.*, March 10, 1764.

⁵ *Ib.*, October 14, 1778.

1657. In 1757 Mr. Inglis advertised a quarry in the river bank above the house for the supply of millstones 'of exceeding good quality' up to five feet in diameter.¹ Another quarry to the north of the turnpike road was advertised to be let in 1764, and a third in 1772 and 1775.² In a later advertisement it is stated: ³ 'The excellent good qualities of this stone both for hewn and ornamental work is well known, and has long been in great demand for the buildings in and about this city.'

Inglisgreen Bleachfield dates from 1774,⁴ when Joseph Read set up as a bleacher, and afterwards added the business of printing linen and calico. In 1778 Read became bankrupt, and for the next two years the place was unoccupied, and was even advertised as 'pleasantly situated for a summer residence.'⁵ In 1780 it was taken by Hugh M'Whirter, who came from Trailflat near Dumfries,⁶ and was an ancestor of J. W. M'Whirter, the well-known landscape painter. Mr. Inglis took a great interest in the establishment of the business, and got advice upon working it from Mr. Cadell and other friends.

But the special project upon which he set his heart was landscape gardening. He formed a comprehensive scheme, and laid out both sides of the river with ornamental walks, hedges, shrubberies, and trees. In his will he expressed a wish that his widow should not grant a lease of the house and grounds 'unless with proper clauses inserted for preserving and maintaining the hedges, planting and policies.'

Nothing better shows the jealousy with which he watched over his pet scheme than an action which he raised in the Court of Session in 1777 to restrain the tenant of Bogsmill, Mr. John Balfour, on the ground of amenity, from enlarging the little house at Millbank, where he himself had lived for

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, June 14, 1757.

² *Ib.*, August 13, 1764; July 25, 1772; July 10, 1775.

³ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, May 11, 1781.

⁴ *Edinburgh Courant*, February 18, 1775; March 5, 1777.

⁵ *Ib.*, March 27, 1779.

⁶ *Ib.*, February 16, 1780.

several summers. The printed pleadings are drawn in a most exuberant style by two eminent counsel—for Mr. Inglis by Hay Campbell, afterwards Lord President; and for Mr. Balfour by Andrew Crosbie, the prototype of Scott's 'Counsellor Pleydell.'

There is a long narrative of the history of the house, which Mr. Inglis says was originally intended to be a porter's lodge or gardener's house. Mr. Balfour retorts: 'Small it is, as dwelling-houses are nowadays; but in those days it was considered as no improper residence for the proprietor of Redhall.'

When the laird moved into the new Redhall he let the little house to Mr. Gavin Hamilton, Mr. Balfour's senior partner in the paper works at Bogsmill, and also in the book-seller's shop at the Cross. Mr. Hamilton was 'in intimate habits of friendship' with Mr. Inglis, and as he was a great florist, Mr. Inglis allowed him a small piece of ground for a flower-plot. He also allowed him to add a bed-closet to the house, 'Mr. Hamilton urging that by turning the vent into a Roman vase or urn, it would become a fanciful and pretty ornament to the place.'

Liberties which the laird could excuse in Mr. Hamilton were intolerable in Mr. Balfour. The latter explains how, when he succeeded to the business, he was misguided enough to attempt a further enlargement of the house:

'From the increase of banking companies in this country, the manufacture of paper for bank notes with proper water-checks hath become a considerable article; the carrying on that to advantage hath required an increase of accommodation; for it is usual for these banking companies to get their own frames for making the paper prepared and to send some of their directors or other persons particularly trusted by them with the frames to the milns, who never part with the frames out of their sight.'

In order to accommodate these gentlemen with beds, Mr. Balfour arranged for an enlargement of the house, and had his building materials ready upon the ground, when Mr.

Inglis returned from a jaunt in the Highlands, and at once began hostilities by raising an interdict.

The process had advanced some stages, when, says Mr. Balfour's counsel, Mr. Inglis began to fear that he could not succeed in virtue of the lease, so he shifted his ground and complained that there would be an encroachment on the public road. To settle this question of fact Mr. Balfour called a meeting of the neighbouring road trustees, including Mr. Inglis himself. The account of this meeting may be taken verbatim from Mr. Balfour's pleadings.

'There assembled Sir James Foulis of Collington, Mr. Scott of Malleny, Mr. Carmichael of Hailes, Mr. Davidson of Ravelrigg and Mr. Inglis. They met at the public house of Sclateford, when Mr. Inglis was very clamorous and declaimed much on gentlemen of the county being put to so much trouble, and at the instance of a tenant too. The gentlemen however proceeded to view the road and to measure it, but Mr. Inglis finding that the other four were of opinion that no encroachment was made upon the road, and that it could not possibly suffer any injury from what was proposed on the part of the respondent, in a great passion declared he would not be witness to such a transaction and walked off; the consequence was that five of the trustees being requisite to make a quorum, after he was gone no quorum remained, and therefore the other gentlemen did not chuse to make up any minutes or return any formal report, though they were agreed in their opinion.'¹

The Court ultimately decided the case in favour of Mr. Inglis on the terms of the lease.

The beauties of Redhall and the virtues of its owner are the theme of several poetic effusions in a small volume of verses published in 1780 by Mr. W. Nisbet, presumably Walter, son of Archibald Nisbet III. of Carphin. 'The Author with all the Feelings of Gratitude' inscribes his work to 'George Inglis, Esq. of Redhall, whose Friendship he particularly esteems.'

¹ Morison's *Dictionary*, vol. xxxv. Appendix, Part I., 'Tack,' p. 34.

The volume is probably a testimony to the patron's good-nature : it is to be hoped that it is no criterion of his literary taste, for the quality of Mr. Nisbet's muse may be judged from the following elegant extracts :

‘EPIGRAM ON THE SEAT OF GEORGE INGLIS, ESQ.

‘How much does learning disagree
To fix fair Eden's seat ?
Some think it rose above the sea,
And some 'mid Asia's heat :
But Inglis sure may justly bid
These wrangling contests fall ;
As he must force them to decide
Its relique is Red-hall.’

To Mrs. Inglis he dedicates an ‘Ode on the Death of a favourite Lap Dog.’ The footnotes deserve attention.

‘He 's dead, alas ! ye Graces mourn !
Ye Lap-dogs howl around his urn
And bid your sorrows flow.
Thy praise, O Neatty, let me sing
For thee awake the plaintive string
To speak its tuneful woe.

Another's hope,¹ thy mistress' pride,
By fell disease how soon thou 'st dy'd !
And left the weeping fair.
Ah now thy Dame,² with hanging ears,
Wonders thy bark no more she hears,
And licks thy corse with care.

Then cease, my fair, your loss to grieve ;
Let no vain sigh your bosom heave,
To happier seats he goes :
Where wandering in Elysian shades
With some fond maid the green he treads
Or seeks her lap's repose.’

¹ Intended to have been given away.

² The mother.

An 'Epistle on the Character of the Principal Nations in Europe' begins with an address to George Inglis, Esq.

'How pass the hours with pleasing stealth away !
What care, my friend, deceives the fleeting day !
Dost thou with studious thought pervade the lawn
Some Patriot scheme of rural weal to plan ;
Or sport awhile, in social converse join'd,
While smiling mirth dilates the vacant mind.'

A similar dedicatory stanza is introduced with equal irrelevance into an elegy called 'The Dream,' composed on the death of Mr. James Mackenzie (brother to the 'Man of Feeling').

'While you, Dear Sir, in Redhall's sweet retreat
Enjoy the pleasures Peace and Wealth bestow ;
There bid, with Patriot care, around your seat
The cherish'd arts of Industry to grow.'

The motive of the poem is that Mackenzie's ghost appears to Nisbet in a dream and exhorts him to write a poem to immortalise himself as the subject and Nisbet as a poet. Nisbet objects that his muse is 'by nature form'd for scenes of humble ease'; whereupon the ghost makes the practical suggestion,

' "A Patron seek," the mournful shade reply'd,
"Whose gen'rous soul may bid your fortune rise." '

The poet took the hint, and put himself under the patronage of Mr. George Inglis, who no doubt rewarded him far beyond his deserts.

Appended to the volume is 'A Subscription of a few Persons of Taste, whose Names do honour to any Performance.'

When Captain and Mrs. John Inglis entered into a marriage contract two years after their marriage, they appointed their uncle to be their factor during the Captain's absence at sea ;

and this appointment involved him in the difficult question of dividing Auchindinny and Langbyres between the three co-heiresses. The division was forced by Mr. Monro, whose wife had died in 1775. He had his own property of Auchinbowie, and felt no personal interest in either Langbyres or Auchindinny. The matter dragged on for several years, chiefly owing to Mr. Monro himself, whose lethargy is often referred to in the correspondence. There are also signs of friction between the surviving sisters.

Mr. George, as the friend of all parties, had for some time been trying to induce them to agree upon a sale, but Mrs. Cadell had a strong attachment to Auchindinny and would not part with her share. She had no objection to a sale of Langbyres, which was accordingly advertised during the summer of 1779.¹ As no outside purchaser appeared, it was in July 1780 bought for £800 by Mr. George on behalf of Captain Inglis.

During 1780 and 1781 Auchindinny House was advertised to be let 'to any genteel family.'²

Eventually application had to be made to the Court for a division of Auchindinny, and a scheme drawn up by William Crawford, surveyor, was approved on November 20, 1781 by an interlocutor of the notorious Lord Braxfield, who had visited the place in person.

Mr. Monro, as representing the eldest sister, took 'the mansion-house with the office-houses, garden, and small enclosure, formerly called the Wilderness, and the parks of Auchindinny, as formerly possessed by the deceased Lieut.-Colonel Gordon (excepting the Broomy Brae), and also Dawson's feu, Floor's croft, Shealdean park, croft, field, pasture and wood, Scroggy wood, pasture and Whinny knowe.' His share also included the superiority of Kirknewton.

Lord Braxfield held that the two younger sisters must

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, July 7, 1779.

² *Ib.*, February 26, 1780 ; March 28, 1781 ; October 6, 1781.

cast lots for the remaining shares. Mrs. Cadell appealed, and claimed as second sister to have second choice. She stated in her pleadings that she had a 'predilection for one of the remaining lots, which happens to be mostly situated upon the banks of a rivulet where in the earlier part of life she used to walk and enjoy country amusements'; and added that 'if Mrs. Inglis and her husband were now in this country it is probable they would acquiesce in what she proposes.' She further argued

'that if she has not a right of election, the due course of decision is not by casting lots, which is hardly a judicial or a decent way of proceeding, but by the voice of the judge, who will act in the matter, in some measure, as an arbiter between the sisters, and determine according to what is fit and suitable in the whole circumstances of the case. That Mrs. Cadell will feel more uneasy in losing by an unlucky cast of the dice than by a judgment of the Lord Ordinary or the Court against her on a matter of right.'¹

The Court refused the representation, and ordered the dice to be cast, but Mrs. Cadell seems to have obtained by lot what she failed to obtain by argument. Her share was the farm of Firth, extending to 340 acres, with the little five-acre pendicle of Pyke; and Mrs. Inglis took the remainder, consisting of the farm of Auchindinny Mains (218 acres) together with Little Floors and the Broomy Brae, in all 278 acres.

The total annual value of the estate at this time was stated at £256, 14s. 1½d., but both Robert Baxter, tenant of Firth, and James Birkmyre, tenant of the Mains, were hopelessly in arrears, and Colonel Gordon had often complained of the dilapidation of the house and offices.

As soon as the division was completed, Mr. Monro exposed his share for public sale. The advertisement stated that the lands, which extended to upwards of one hundred acres, were

¹ Hume's *Decisions*, p. 762, 'Succession'; *Ilay Campbell's Session Papers* (Adv. Lib.), vol. 39, No. 52.

‘all inclosed and subdivided except one small field. The house . . . is large and commodious. There is a good deal of planting near the house, which, with the natural wood of oak, birch, ash, beech, etc., on the banks of the Esk and Water of Auchindinny, render this one of the most romantic and delightful places in Midlothian. It is also remarkably healthful. The garden is large, of an excellent soil, surrounded partly with a wall, well stocked with fruit-trees of the best kinds and in fine order.’¹

After one adjournment of the sale, the subjects were on April 5, 1782 knocked down at the price of £3510 to Mr. George Inglis acting for his nephew the Captain. It may be conjectured that Mr. George himself paid the price for this and for Langbyres too.

Mrs. Cadell kept her share till her death, when her husband sold it to a Mr. Robert Hill, and it thus passed out of the family, and became the estate of ‘The Firth.’

The family house in Niddry’s Wynd was sold in 1777 to John Blackadder, accountant in excise, for £250, and thenceforth Mr. and Mrs. Inglis when in town lived in rented houses. Down to Whitsunday 1781 they had a house of eleven rooms with a garden in the Back Row in Nicolson Park,² a street running parallel with Nicolson Street, and further to the east. Their landlord was George Graham of Kinross, and the rent was £42 a year.

They afterwards lived in the first flat of the tenement next the Riding School on the east side of Nicolson Street.³

The office had also been moved in 1774 to Warriston’s Close, the first opening off the High Street above the Exchange.

After he reached the age of sixty Mr. George began to fail in health. The rheumatism from which he had suffered earlier

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, February 11 and March 27, 1782.

² *Ib.*, February 10, 1781 and January 1, 1782.

³ *Ib.*, January 25, 1786.

in life became chronic ; he frequently complained of colds, he was treated several times for rose (erysipelas) in the head, he twice at least had a ' spasm ' in his throat, and he mentions other serious troubles.

As the extant account books do not go beyond 1780, and there are no letters later than 1781, the last four years of his life are a blank.

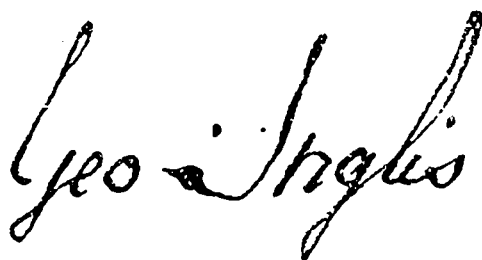
He died at Redhall on September 7, 1785 at the age of seventy-four, and was buried in the ground attached to the Chapel of Ease in Buccleuch Street.

He left his property to his nephew, Captain John Inglis, subject to a liferent of Redhall and an annuity in favour of his widow, and also subject to legacies of £50 or £25 to all the surviving nephews and nieces. He left the furniture at Redhall to his widow, and on her death it went to her sister, Mrs. Vernon, who sold it. Captain Inglis bought ten guineas' worth.

Mrs. Inglis survived her husband only three months. She died at the town house on December 16, 1785, and was buried beside him two days later. Her age was given in the register as fifty, and in the case of both the ' truble ' is entered as ' decay.'

The obituary notice inserted in the *Caledonian Mercury* and the *Edinburgh Advertiser* of September 10, 1785 characterises him accurately :

' On Wednesday last died, at his seat of Redhall near Edinburgh, George Inglis, Esq., a gentleman distinguished, during a long and active life, by the strictest honour and unblemished integrity, in whom society has been deprived of one of its most respectable ornaments, and his relations of one of the best of friends.'



CHAPTER XIV

THE EARLY HISTORY OF REDHALL

THE original barony of Redhall included all the lands lying to the south-east of the Water of Leith in the old parish of Hailes, afterwards Colinton, stretching up to the top of the Pentlands, and embracing, along with the east half of the present Redhall, the properties of Colinton, Woodhall, Dreghorn, Redford, Bonaly, Comiston, Swanston, and Oxgangs. On the opposite side of the Water of Leith lay the lands of Hailes, which formed the north-west half of the parish. Craiglockhart was only added to the parish in 1630.

The earliest reference to Redhall (*Rubea Aula*) was in a conveyance (now lost) of one half of the manor by William le Graunt to Sir Alexander de Meyners,¹ chief of the clan Menzies.² Le Graunt seems to have been one of the English retinue of Queen Margaret, wife of Alexander III. and daughter of Henry III. of England.³

On the death of Alexander III. in 1286 his granddaughter Margaret, 'The Maid of Norway,' was acknowledged Queen, and Sir Alexander de Meyners sat in the Parliament which met at Brigham near Berwick, and ratified on March 14, 1290 a treaty for her marriage with Prince Edward of England, afterwards Edward II.;⁴ but she died the same autumn in Orkney, while on her way to Scotland. The English com-

¹ *Thomson's Acts*, i. 116, line 7.

² *Red Book of Menzies*, D. P. Menzies, p. 35 seq.

³ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, i. No. 2250.

⁴ *Historical Documents, Scotland*, i. 130.

missioners, who had been sent to escort her, were entertained at Redhall for the night of October 23, 1290, on their way home.¹

In the competition for the throne between Bruce and Baliol Sir Alexander de Meyners supported Bruce, and was taken prisoner at the siege of Dunbar by Edward I. in 1296, and kept in the Tower of London for over a year.² After his death about the year 1320, Redhall passed to Alexander, his third son. It was forfeited from him by Edward III. on his invasion of 1334,³ but was restored when King David II. regained the throne.

Alexander de Meyners first leased and then disposed the barony, excepting Dreghorn and Woodhall, to Robert, Earl of Fife and Menteith,⁴ afterwards Duke of Albany, who was a son of King Robert II., and was three times Regent of Scotland. The Earl, having obtained a Crown charter of the whole barony on January 22, 1376,⁵ conveyed it to his son, Sir Murdoch Stewart, who resigned it a few years later; and on December 8, 1396 King Robert III. bestowed it on Sir William Cunningham of Kilmaurs,⁶ grandfather of the first Earl of Glencairn, in whose family the superiority remained for more than two centuries.

Sir Robert Cunningham, son and successor of Sir William, granted a charter of Oxfangs in 1425 to Henry Forrester of Corstorphine on the resignation of John Quytyne,⁷ and Swanston was given off before 1462,⁸ but otherwise Redhall seems to have remained intact until the time of William, third Earl of Glencairn, who had a charter in 1498,⁹ during his father's lifetime. He got rid of all the lands by 1540, and the superiority was reduced to a mere shadow of the old barony.

¹ *Historical Documents, Scotland*, i. 185.

² *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii. Nos. 742, 939, 942.

³ *Ib.*, iii. p. 333.

⁴ *R. M. S.*, 1306-1424, No. 458.

⁵ *Ib.*, No. 562.

⁶ *Ib.*, App. 2, No. 1736; *Scots Peerage*, iv. 229.

⁷ *R. M. S.*, 1424-1513, No. 25.

⁸ *Laing Charters*, Nos. 149, 150.

⁹ *R. M. S.*, 1424-1513, No. 2416.

Early in the century Woodhall and Bonaly were given off to the Cunninghams of Cunninghamhead,¹ and Comiston to the Fairlies. Dreghorn, including the modern Redford, was sold in 1517,² and in 1527 and 1529 Colinton was bought by James, afterwards Sir James, Foulis,³ conjunct King's Advocate along with Adam Otterburne, and a Lord of Session from the institution of the Court. He also acquired Dreghorn and Wester Swanston in 1538 and Oxfangs in 1539, and on June 6, 1540 obtained a Crown charter erecting his lands into the barony of Colinton.⁴

Redhall in the restricted sense, including the old castle and grounds round it, was bought in 1532 by Adam, afterwards Sir Adam, Otterburne, and was taken out of the barony.

The Earls of Glencairn kept up their superiority title as late as 1614, when William, seventh Earl, had a Crown charter including the barony of Redhall,⁵ but it denoted nothing more than the superiority of Woodhall, Bonaly, and Comiston, which were in 1635 erected into the barony of Woodhall in favour of the proprietor of these lands, Adam Cunningham, advocate.⁶

The statement that Adam Otterburne bought Redhall in 1532 is an inference only from the fact that he begins in that year to be designed as 'of Redhall';⁷ previously he was 'of Auldhame,' a place near Tantallon Castle on the Haddingtonshire coast, which he acquired some time before 1521 from the Priory of St. Andrews.⁸ He had, however, a still earlier connection with the Redhall neighbourhood, for he is described as 'of Wester Hailes' in January 1517.⁹

On November 6, 1534 he got a charter from the Abbey of

¹ *R. M. S.*, 1513-46, No. 1811.

² *Ib.*, No. 785.

³ *Ib.*, Nos. 628, 784.

⁴ *Ib.*, Nos. 1785, 2111, 2165.

⁵ *R. M. S.*, 1609-20, No. 1049.

⁶ *R. M. S.*, 1634-51, No. 285.

⁷ *St. Andrews Formulare*, 360.

⁸ Sir Wm. Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 258; *Exchequer Rolls*, xiv. 473.

⁹ *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Marchmont MSS.*, p. 82.

Dunfermline of two-thirds of the lands of Easter Hailes,¹ lying opposite Redhall across the Water of Leith, and in 1546 he acquired the remaining third from the Abbey for the benefit of his son John.² These lands, some of which afterwards got the names of Coldhame, Graysmill, Jinkabout, and Bogsmill, were thenceforth possessed by the lairds of Redhall as part of the property.

Adam Otterburne was the son of Thomas Otterburne, an Edinburgh burgess who was killed at Flodden.³ He graduated Master of Arts, became a notary public of the diocese of St. Andrews,⁴ and about the year 1512 was chosen by the Town Council of Edinburgh to be their Common Clerk, an office which he held for twelve years.⁵ He was elected Provost from 1528 to 1532, and again for the year 1543-4,⁶ and he also represented the city in most of the Parliaments after 1524. In his first year of office as Provost he is recorded to have 'maid greit labouris to suppres the pest [plague].'⁷

He sat as a Lord of Council to hear cases as early as 1517,⁸ and from 1524 to 1538 he was King's Advocate,⁹ his neighbour and kinsman, Sir James Foulis of Colinton, being associated with him after 1527. In 1532, on the institution of the Court of Session, he was also nominated one of the judges.

Multifarious and, to modern ideas, incompatible as were these duties, judicial, executive, parliamentary, and civic, it was in yet another capacity, namely as a diplomatist, that Otterburne was best known. During the minority of James v. and the exhaustion following upon the disaster at Flodden, the great question of Scottish politics was whether the country

¹ *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Bannatyne Club), p. 384.

² *Laing Charters*, No. 516.

³ *R. M. S.*, 1514-46, No. 2.

⁴ *Laing Charters*, No. 315.

⁵ *Records of Edinburgh* (Burgh Records Society), i. 136, 173-5, 210.

⁶ *Ib.*, iii. 289-91, 297, 298.

⁷ *Diurnal of Occurrents* (Bannatyne Club), p. 14.

⁸ Sir Wm. Fraser, *Chiefs of Grant*, iii. 62; *Hist. MSS. Com.*, *Marchmont MSS.*, p. 82.

⁹ *Acta Dom. Concilii*, xxxv. 177.

should depend upon England or France for support. From 1521 onwards Otterburne was repeatedly engaged as negotiator by the party favourable to England,¹ who were then gaining the ascendancy; and Thomas Magnus, the English envoy in Edinburgh, wrote of him in November 1524 as 'a sadde and one of the wisest men in Edinburgh, well lerned and of good experience and practise.'²

On assuming the reins of government in 1528 James v. continued friendly relations with England, and Otterburne was employed in concluding a five years' truce. On its expiry in 1533 he was again sent to London to arrange for its renewal,³ and the next year he was knighted by King James.⁴

In 1536 James definitely refused to follow Henry's ecclesiastical policy, and moreover went to France for his Queen, frustrating Henry's scheme for a marriage with Princess Mary. Lord Angus and the Douglas party made overtures to Sir Adam Otterburne in London, and eventually, on October 12, 1538, he was dismissed from his office of King's Advocate, 'being suspected of being over-good an Englishman,'⁵ and was committed to Dumbarton Castle.⁶ After five months' imprisonment he was set at liberty on payment of a fine of £1000,⁷ and on condition that he remained in Fife during the King's pleasure.⁸

He was again engaged in the negotiations which preceded the outbreak of war with England in 1542. The disaster of Solway Moss occurred in November, James died in the following month, and once more the country seemed at the mercy of Henry VIII., whose policy took shape in a scheme for a child-marriage between his son Edward and the little Queen Mary. After many months' delay a treaty was concluded, and was ratified at Greenwich in July 1543, but Henry failed

¹ Syllabus of Rymer's *Fœdera*, pp. 762, 768, 773, 774.

² *State Papers, Henry VIII.* (Record Commission), iv. 236.

³ *Ib.*, iv. 664.

⁴ *Diurnal of Occurrents* (Bannatyne Club), p. 18.

⁵ Sadler's *State Papers*, i. 316.

⁶ *Diurnal*, p. 23.

⁷ *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, v. 160.

⁸ *Pitmedden's MS.*, i. 35.

to persuade the Scots either to break with France or to surrender their Queen until the marriage should take place on the completion of her tenth year.

Sir Ralph Sadler, the English agent in Edinburgh, met Otterburne during the negotiations, and was warned by him that the Scots would not carry out the terms of the treaty. Twenty years later, in a speech in Parliament, Sadler recounted his conversation with Otterburne, who was, he said, 'reputed to be a wise man as any was in Scotland.'¹

'If, said he, your lad were a las, and our las wer a lad, wold you then, said he, be so earnest in this mateir; and coulde you be content that our lad should mary your las, and so be king of England? I answered, that considering the grate good that might ensue of it, I shoulde not shew myself zelous to my country if I shoulde not consent unto it. Well, said he, if you had the las and we the lad, we coulde be well content with it; but, sayeth he, I cannot beleve that your nacyon coulde agree to have a Scotte to be kyng of England. And lykewise, I assure you, said he, that our nacyon, being a stout nacyon, will never agree to have an Englishman to be king of Scotland. And though the hole nobilite of the realme wolde consent unto it, yet our comen people and the stones in the strete wolde ryse and rebelle agenst it.'

Otterburne's prophecy came true; the treaty was repudiated by the Scots Parliament in December, and he was reported to the English Privy Council by Sadler as 'noted to be of the Cardinal's [Beaton's] faction, and a great enemy of the King's Majesty's purposes.'²

In the following May Henry, furious at the failure of his scheme, sent a fleet under the Earl of Hertford, who entered the Forth and landed at Leith. Otterburne was again Provost, and went out in person to parley with the invader, who demanded unconditional surrender of the city—'To the quhilk the provest, be the command of the Governour and Counsall ansuered that thay wald abyd all extremitie rather

¹ Sadler's *State Papers*, iii. 325, 326.

² *Ib.*, i. 316.

or thay fulfillit his desyris.' ¹ The city was then sacked, and the country laid waste for several miles around.

Sir Adam was again sent to England on diplomatic missions in 1546 and 1547. Henry VIII. died in January 1547; in the autumn the Protector Somerset (Lord Hertford) once more invaded Scotland and routed the Scots army at Pinkie, and in April 1548 Lord Grey occupied Haddington. The Regent Arran was compelled to seek aid from France, and early in the summer a force was sent to relieve Haddington, but the French king demanded in return a marriage between the Dauphin and the young Queen Mary.

Apparently Otterburne opposed the Regent's policy of a French alliance: at any rate on July 4, 1548 a murderous attack was made on him in Edinburgh, and he was 'sore hurt on the head, and his servant slayne at his helys, some thynk by the Governor's commandement.' ² He died on July 6.³ A summons for treason in respect of his 'slauchter' ⁴ was issued against the laird of Annestoun (Patrick Muir) and his son, though no trial seems to have taken place; and it is at least curious that Sir Adam's granddaughter married Patrick Muir's grandson.⁵

For the next century Redhall and its owners are not prominent in history. In the time of Thomas Otterburne, Sir Adam's grandson, during the civil war between James VI. and the supporters of Queen Mary, the 'Queensmen' held Edinburgh Castle, and in April 1572 the 'Kingsmen,' in order to starve out the garrison, 'stuffit the houssis of Craigmillar, Merchingstoun, Sclatfurd, Reidhall . . . with all places about the toun of Edinburgh,' ⁶ and severely punished any of the country people who were caught bringing in provisions. On May 15 eleven boys, 'caryaris of victuall, wes taikin be Boyd, keipar of the Reidhall . . . and thar nages alsua . . .

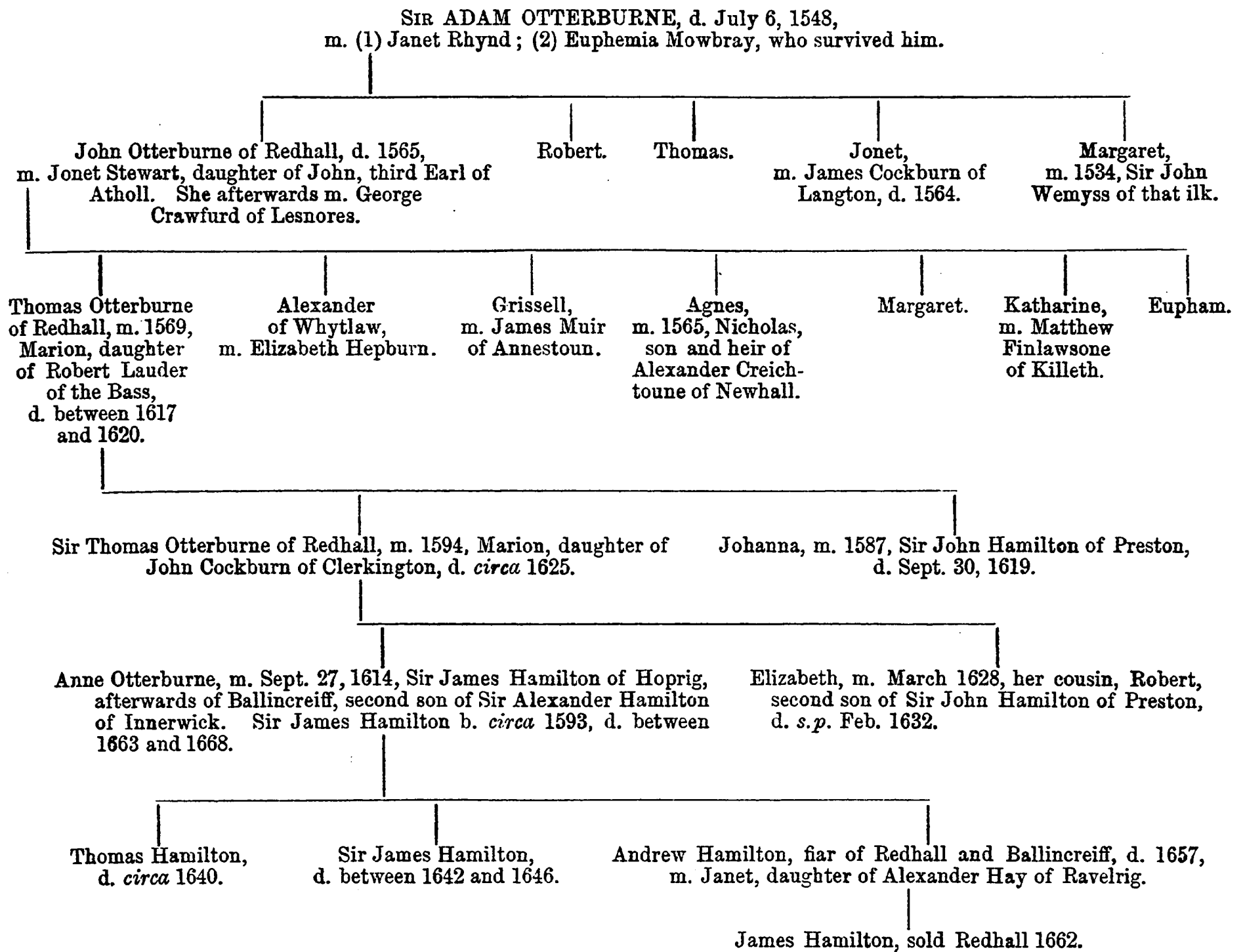
¹ *Leslie's Historie of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 180, 181.

² *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, 1547-63, i. p. 137.

³ *State Papers, Domestic*, Addenda, 1547-65, p. 389. ⁴ *Treasurer's Accounts*, ix. 263, 292.

⁵ *Register of Deeds*, vol. vi. fol. 352; vol. vii. fol. 302. ⁶ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 291.

THE OTTERBURNES AND HAMILTONS OF REDHALL



and cast in presoun thairintill, quhairat the lord Seytoun was heichtlie movit.' ¹

From the end of the century onwards Thomas Otterburne was in pecuniary difficulties, and was the subject of various 'hornings.' ²

Thomas, his only son and successor, had been knighted some time before 1598, and in 1623 was appointed Sheriff-Principal of Edinburgh. ³ He is not mentioned in the records after July 1625.

Sir Thomas Otterburne had no son. His elder daughter, Anne, married on September 27, 1614 Sir James Hamilton of Hoprig, ⁴ second son of Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, East Lothian, and Ballincreiff, Linlithgowshire. His mother, Sir Alexander's second wife, was Christian, eldest daughter of Thomas Hamilton (Lord Priestfield), and sister of the first Earl of Haddington, and Sir James was the eldest

son of this marriage, which took place in 1592.

In implement of the marriage contract entered into on August 2, 1614 between Anne Otterburne and Sir James Hamilton, Sir Thomas Otterburne conveyed to the spouses the fee of Redhall and Easter Hailes, which thus passed on his death from the Otterburne family to the Hamiltons.

A relic of the Otterburnes is to be seen at Redhall in the fine armorial stone, which Mr. George Inglis took from



¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, p. 265.

² *R. M. S.*, 1593-1608, No. 869; *P. C. R.*, viii. 437, xi. 124, 244; xiv. 422.

³ *P. C. R.*, xiii. 333.

⁴ *Melros Papers* (Abbotsford Club), i. 168.

the ruins of the old castle and built into his new dovecot. The blazon is—*argent guttée sable*, a chevron between three otter's heads coupéd of the last, on a chief *azure*, a crescent *or*. Supporters, two wyverns. Crest, an otter's head coupéd. Motto, *De virtute in virtutem*.

Sir James Hamilton of Redhall and Anne Otterburne had three sons—Thomas,¹ Sir James,² and Andrew. The first two seem to have died without issue before 1646, and Andrew thus became 'younger of Redhall.'

At the outbreak of the Civil War Andrew Hamilton was placed by the Estates on the Committee of War for Linlithgowshire in 1646 and 1647, and for Midlothian in 1648,³ but in May 1650 he incurred the displeasure of the General Assembly for his active support of 'The Engagement,'⁴—a natural course for a Hamilton to take. 'The Engagement' was the secret treaty made on December 27, 1647 between Charles I. and three Scottish Commissioners, and its terms were that Charles would establish Presbyterianism in England, in the event of his restoration, as the price of the support of Scottish arms. It was the Duke of Hamilton who led the Scots army, which marched into England to fulfil the bargain, and was cut to pieces at Preston.

Charles II. landed in Scotland in May 1650; so, to stop the Royalist reaction, Cromwell himself invaded Scotland with sixteen thousand men, and for one brief day Redhall occupied the centre of the stage in the theatre of war. Cromwell advanced along the east coast, intending to take Leith and co-operate with his fleet, but he found the Scots army, under General David Leslie, strongly entrenched between Leith and Edinburgh; so, after occupying a position on the Braid Hills,

¹ *Register of Deeds*, vol. 492, fol. 191; vol. 545, fol. 290.

² *Ib.*, vol. 545, fol. 289; *P. C. R.*, 2nd Ser., vii. 556.

³ *Thomson's Acts*, vi. Pt. 1. 562, 815; Pt. 2, 31.

⁴ *Gen. Ass. Commission Records* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), ii. 387.

he decided to make for Queensferry, his object being to cut off supplies from the west and north. Leslie anticipated this move, and marched his army to Corstorphine Hill.

In order to reach the enemy Cromwell had to deal with a fortified post guarding the Slate Ford over the Water of Leith—namely Redhall. On Saturday, August 24, 1650, he gave orders for it to be attacked, and after a stout resistance it was taken the same day. Leslie gave it no support, as it was his policy at all costs to remain on the defensive and wear out the enemy.

There are three contemporary accounts of the siege of Redhall, which may be quoted. The first is from the Scottish point of view, and is to be found in Nicoll's *Diary* : ¹

‘ Upone Settirday, the 24 of August 1650, our airmy resavit a great disgrace in this manner : to wit, Generall Cromwell and his airmy haifing past throw this kingdome fra Berwik to the place of Colingtoun, without ony oppositioun maid be ony of the gentillmenis houssis by the way quhair they past, untill they come to the hous of Reidhall, within thrie myles be west Edinburgh ; in the quhilk hous of Reidhall, the Laird of Reidhall with thriescoir sodgeris lay, with provisioun, and keipit and defendit the hous aganes the Englisches, and gallit his sodgeris, and pat thame bak severall tymes with the los of sindry sodgeris. The Englische Generall, taking this very grevouslie, that such a waik hous sould hald out aganes him, and be ane impediment in his way, he and his airmy lying so neir unto it ; thairfoir, he causit draw his cannoun to the hous, and thair, fra four houris in the morning till ten in the foirnune that day, he causit the cannoun to play on this hous, encampit a great number of his sodgeris about it, with pik and musket, bot all to lytill purpos ; for the Laird and the pepill in the hous defendit valiantlie evir till thair powder failled ; and eftir it failled they did not give over, evir luiking for help fra ovr awin airmy, quha wes then lying at Corstorphyn, within thrie quarteris of ane myle to the hous ; of quhais help thai war disapoynted. Generall Cromwell perceaving thair powder to be gone, and that no assistance wes gevin thame, he causit pittardis to be brocht to the hous, quhairwith he

¹ (Bannatyne Club), pp. 24, 25.

blew up the dures, enterit the hous at dures and windois, and eftir slaughter on both sydes (bot much moir to the Englisches then the Scottis), tuik all that wer in the hous prissoneris, tirmed [stripped] thame naked, seased on all the money and guidis that wer thairin, quhilk wes much, be ressoun that sindry gentillmen about haid put thair guidis thair for saiftie. So this hous and pepill thairin wer takin in the sicht and face of our airmy, quha thocht it dangerous to hazard thameselffis in such ane expeditioun, the enymie haiffing the advantage of the ground and hillis about him for his defence.'

The English accounts of the siege are contained in two newsletters, and differ in some details from the above narrative. The first relates : ¹

'We batter'd the place with our Field-Guns, beginning about seven of the clock in the morning upon the 24 of August ; but our Foot that were appointed to the Assault, beeing verie impatient of the slow proceeding of our Batterie, beeing resolute men, and having by the assistance of God been used to overcom, thought nothing ought to stand long in their waie that was naturally possible for them to carie, they beeing furnished with pick axes ran to the wall, and by undermining the same soon made their entrance, and then cried out No Quarter : which so terrified those within that presently they cried Quarter, and came forth of their Garrison, and had quarter for their lives as they asked it. All this while their Armie looked on, standing in Battalia, stirred not a foot to relieve it.'

The other account professes to be a letter written from Musselburgh on August 26 and intercepted in Holland. It states : ²

'A commanded party of 200 Foot ³ stormed the Garrison of Read Hall the 24th of August. . . . After three hours playing with our great guns, severall Batteries were made, and presently after a Mine was sprung, and our Forces entered with a great shout saying " No Quarter, No Quarter " : at which the Enemy hung out white Sheets

¹ *A brief Relation*, No. 53, p. 810—Burney Newspapers (British Museum), vol. 36.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, No. 13, p. 206—Burney Newspapers (British Museum), vol. 34.

³ Tradition says they were the Coldstream Guards.

and cried Quarter, which was not denied : But one of the enemy and one of ours were slain, many wounded on both sides. . . . The Governor, Laird Hamilton, and his brother Major Hamilton,¹ with 60 souldiers were taken prisoners. In the house were found 60 Barrells of Powder, 100 Arms and great store of Meale, Beere, Wine and other provisions, besides rich Plunder. The House is secured by a Party of ours, it being of great concernment in order to a Passe towards Queen's Ferry.'

Sir James Hamilton was released in consideration of his bravery, and went for a time to Paris, where he was supported by the French Queen, but he often wrote to his kinsman, the fourth Earl of Haddington, lamenting his poverty.² (He had been abroad at least twice before—once in 1619, when he got permission from the Privy Council to leave Scotland for three years 'for the doing of his lawful affairs,'³ and again in 1641.⁴)

He was back in Scotland by the autumn of 1653, when he had to arrange matters with his creditors, his plan being to sacrifice Redhall for the sake of Ballincreiff. The latter property, which lies near Bathgate in Linlithgowshire, had been in the family since 1369,⁵ and Sir James had succeeded to it in 1641 on the death of his father, in terms of an arrangement made so far back as 1615.⁶

On October 29, 1653 he disponded Ballincreiff to his son Andrew,⁷ and on August 28, 1654 he granted in favour of Mr. John Paip, younger of Wallyford, a bond of wadset for 20,000 merks secured upon Redhall and Easter Hailes. Paip granted at the same time a back-bond of redemption, which Sir James made over to his son Andrew in May 1656. In virtue of this transaction Andrew became laird of Redhall ; but he also had his debts, and on November 30, 1657 he assigned his reversion to Alexander Brand of Baberton, merchant tailor in Edinburgh.

¹ Probably Andrew Hamilton of Monktonhall.

² Sir William Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, i. 216.

³ *P. C. R.*, xii. 78.

⁴ *Reg. of Deeds*, vol. 533, fol. 322.

⁵ Andrew Stuart, *Genealogical History of the Stewarts*, pp. 76, 77.

⁶ *R. M. S.*, 1609-20, No. 1325.

⁷ *Ib.*, 1652-9, No. 557.

A few days later Andrew Hamilton died, leaving a widow and an infant son, James. The widow, Janet Hay, was daughter and heiress of Alexander Hay of Ravelrig,¹ and granddaughter of Lord Forresterseat, the judge. The marriage seems to have taken place about 1655.²

Early in 1658 both Paip's wadset and Brand's right of reversion were acquired by the famous Sir Archibald Johnston, Lord Warriston, the leader of the Covenanters in Scotland. He took sasine of the lands, but at the same time he also granted a back-bond enabling the heir of Andrew Hamilton to redeem them on payment of 45,000 merks.

Apparently this was a family arrangement, for Warriston's wife, Helen Hay, was an aunt of Mrs. Hamilton. Lady Warriston and her children occupied the Mains of Redhall; and while her husband was in London 'the familie is committed to the lady Redhall.'³

At the Restoration one of the first acts of Government was the forfeiture of Johnston of Warriston, who was afterwards hanged for treason.

Old Sir James Hamilton went up to London to solicit some recognition of his exertions and sacrifices for the Royalist cause, but without avail; and though Lord Haddington was generous to him, and offered him a home at Tynninghame, he declined the proposal, and dragged on a miserable existence in London.⁴

He came to Tynninghame in the autumn of 1662 on business connected with Redhall. Alexander Brand had acquired right to Warriston's wadset over the property, and in October 1662 a disposition in his favour was granted by 'Lady Redhall,' acting on behalf of her boy, with concurrence of Sir James and certain of the creditors—the final surrender of Redhall by the Hamilton family.

¹ *Inquisitiones, Edinburgh*, Nos. 1106, 1386.

² *R. M. S.*, 1652-9, No. 557.

³ *Hay of Craignethan's Diary* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), pp. 10, 60.

⁴ Sir Wm. Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, i. 216-18.

Sir James died within the next five years, his daughter-in-law married, on February 16, 1671, John Hay of Park,¹ and young James Hamilton, as laird of Ballincreiff, grew up to marry and have a family.

The arms of this branch of the Hamiltons are blazoned in the manuscript of the younger Lindsay, dated about 1600 ²—*gules*, a fess chequy *argent* and *azure* fracted, between three cinquefoils of the second, in middle chief point a round buckle proper.

On October 23, 1667 Alexander Brand obtained a Crown charter in favour of himself and his wife, Sarah Binning. In 1679 he made over the fee of his heritable properties, Redhall, Baberton, and a house and merchant's booth in Edinburgh, to his son James on the occasion of his marriage, and on July 4, 1681 James was granted a Crown charter of Redhall including Easter Hailes, with a liferent reserved to his parents. As it turned out, James died in 1682, and his father survived for nine years.

The Brands took their position as a county family. They changed the name of Redhall to Castlebrand, and they registered a coat of arms ³—*argent*, on a bend *sable*, three mascles of the first, a chief of the second charged with as many spur revells *or* : crest, two proboscides in pale coupé, flexed and reflexed *argent*, that on the dexter charged with three mascles, and the other on the sinister with as many spur revells *sable* : motto, *Ay Forward*.

During the whole Brand régime the state of the titles was complicated by a right of real warrandice over the property, dating from Thomas Otterburne's time, in favour of the neighbouring lands of Gorgie,⁴ which were possessed for three

¹ *Diaries of the Brodies* (Spalding Club), p. 310.

² (Lord Crawford's Library), Plate vii. fig. 10.

³ *Lyon Register*, i. 121.

⁴ *R. M. S.*, 1609-20, No. 365; Thomson's *Acts*, viii. 200; *Laing Charters*, Nos. 2621, 3063.

generations by the Duncans of Ratho. Most of Gorgie afterwards passed to the Chiesleys of Dalry, and about 1696 was acquired by Sir Alexander Brand,¹ merchant and bailie of Edinburgh, a younger son of Alexander Brand of Redhall. Following his father's example he changed the name of his property to Brandsfield.

Alexander Brand of Redhall or Castlebrand died in August 1691, and was succeeded by his grandson Alexander, a son of James.

The new laird immediately suffered a blow from which the family fortunes never recovered. When his grandfather acquired the wadset from Johnston of Warriston and made up a title to Redhall, he assumed that the forfeiture extinguished Warriston's rights in the property. He enjoyed undisturbed possession until July 1690, when the forfeiture was rescinded,² a circumstance which so alarmed the younger Alexander Brand, as fiar of Redhall, that he got a special Act of Parliament affirming the validity of his grandfather's wadset.³

This, however, did not end the matter. Warriston's radical right to the lands revived in virtue of his sasine, and next year two creditors came forward, and, after litigation, constituted their claims against the property by adjudication. The first was George Baillie of Jerviswood, who had bought up thirty-year-old bills and personal obligations of Warriston's, amounting to £12,000 Scots. The other case was even harder for Brand: the debt was larger, viz. £13,500, and the creditor, Joseph Brodie of Aslisk, proceeded upon a bill which Alexander Johnston, Warriston's eldest son and heir, had granted in 1671, eight years after his father's execution.

The result was that in December 1691 young Alexander Brand was faced with the alternative of abandoning Redhall, or paying unforeseen debts of £25,500 Scots. He took the latter course, and, after two years' negotiation, was reinvested

¹ *Register of Deeds*, (Dalrymple), July 5, 1739.

² Thomson's *Acts*, ix. 213.

³ *Ib.*, 194.

in the property, but from that time forth he had to struggle with fast accumulating burdens.

In June 1699 he relieved the immediate pressure by selling Baberton to Mr. John Fairholme, advocate, for £18,338 Scots,¹ and in October 1710 the creditors concurred with him in selling part of Easter Hailes to Alexander Burton for £16,767, the price being applied towards reducing their claims.

Alexander Brand was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for Midlothian in 1704,² and in 1713, two years before his death, he obtained the sinecure office of Under-Falconer for Scotland.³ He married Helen, daughter of Lewis Craig of Riccarton, and had three sons and two daughters.

James Brand, his eldest son and successor, a merchant in Dublin, let Redhall for some years to a Mr. Lewis, Deputy Cashier of the Customs.⁴ He died without issue in 1728, and was succeeded by George, his only surviving brother, a 'residentifier in Edinburgh.'

The new laird made no headway against the ancestral debts, which had swelled to more than £100,000 Scots. In 1742 he sank beneath them, the estate was sequestrated, a factor was appointed by the Court, and Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, the leading creditor, began a lengthy process of ranking and sale.

On March 3, 1744, before matters had gone far, George Brand died, and it was not till July 1746 that the Court ranked Sir John Clerk for a preferential claim of £22,000 Scots, and John Davidson of Whitehouse, W.S., Principal Clerk of Justiciary, for a postponed claim of £86,000. It took another three years for the Court to determine the price at which the estate was to be exposed for sale, but at length this was fixed at £32,062, 9s. 8d.,⁵ about twenty-three years' purchase of the

¹ *Register of Deeds*, (Mackenzie) November 1, 1700.

² Thomson's *Acts*, xi. 139.

³ *Register of the Privy Seal* (English), vii. 106.

⁴ *Kirk Session Records of Colinton*.

⁵ *Caledonian Mercury*, September 12, 1749.

rents. John Philp of Greenlaw and John Parkhill of Craiglockhart, who were called as expert witnesses, deponed that the mansion-house, which was let furnished to George Gordon of Gordonbank for six guineas a year, was so old and ruinous that it ought not to be valued, but ought to go along with the Mains for the encouragement of purchasers.

The sale took place in the Parliament House before Lord Murkle on October 17, 1749, and after brisk bidding, Mr. John Davidson of Whitehouse was declared the purchaser at £44,880 Scots (£3740 sterling).

Mr. Davidson never lived at Redhall, and did not repair the old castle : in fact he only bought the property in order to resell it to the best advantage, and lose as little as possible of his loans to the Brands. Eventually he sold it to Mr. George Inglis by a disposition dated February 19, 1755. He died on April 7 following.

On July 3, 1755 Mr. Inglis obtained a Crown charter of the lands, which are described as 'the barony of Redhall *alias* Castlebrand, . . . comprehending the mains of Redhall, milnstone quarry, Graysmiln, Coldhame, Jinkabout, Boigsmiln, dovecot, with the coat-houses in Powderhall and in Sclateford, . . . together with the teinds.'

CHAPTER XV

VICE-ADMIRAL JOHN INGLIS, R.N.

JOHN INGLIS, afterwards the Admiral, was born at Philadelphia on March 20, 1743. He was the sixth of the eleven children of his parents, John Inglis and Catherine M'Call, but of the six who lived to grow up he was the third child and the eldest son.

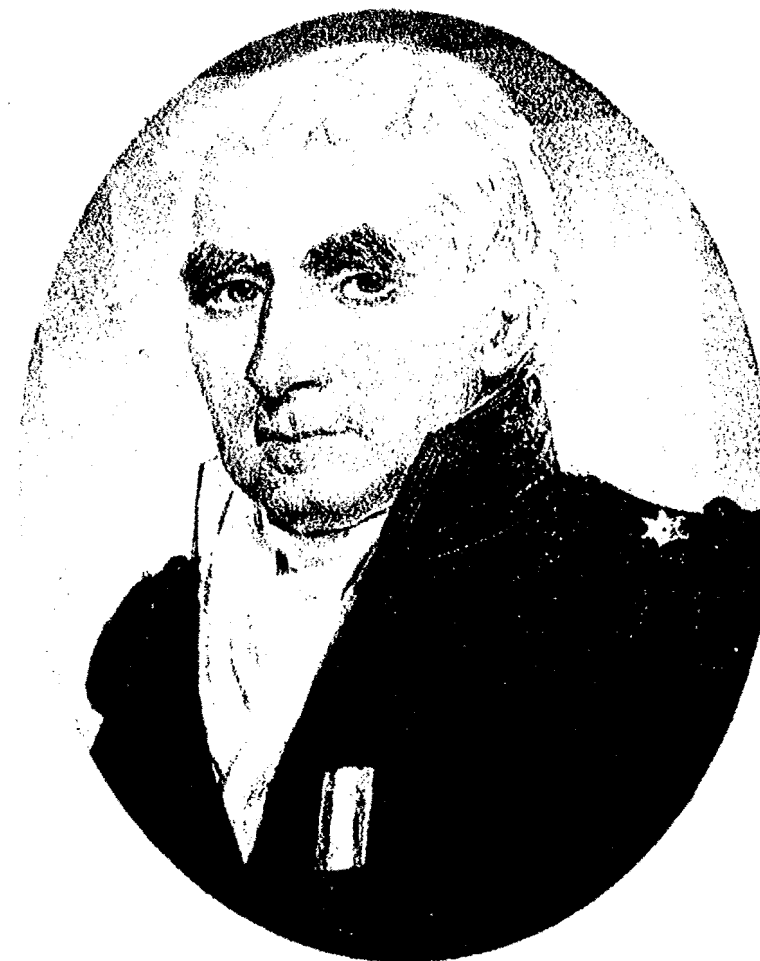
An anecdote of his boyhood is preserved. He was at feud with his schoolmaster, so he made a dummy figure to represent him, and trained his dog to pull off its wig. After due rehearsal the trick was performed on the schoolmaster, and John Inglis was expelled.

On May 1, 1757, when fourteen years old, he joined H.M.S. *Garland* at Philadelphia as a 'volunteer.' Boys who wished to enter the Navy with a view to becoming officers were generally taken aboard a ship of war by the captain commanding, either on grounds of kinship or from some obligation to their parents. They did not become midshipmen until they reached fifteen, or had served two years as 'first-class volunteers.' During that period, though they had separate quarters, they were rated as 'able seamen' or 'captain's servants,' and had to learn reefing, furling, knotting, splicing, and the other duties of the sailor. Their education in navigation, trigonometry, and the other branches of learning necessary for seamanship, was attended to by the schoolmaster, who received from each of them £5 out of their annual pay of £9.

In 1757, when John Inglis first joined, the *Seven Years'*



Mrs. Inglis



John Inglis

War was being carried on between Great Britain and France. It began in 1754 with an attempt on the part of the French Canadians to cut off the hinterland of the British American colonies, and to join Canada on the north with Louisiana at the mouth of the Mississippi, by a line of forts on the west of the Alleghany Mountains. In 1755 and the subsequent years the colonists were supported by their respective mother countries with fleets sent from Europe.

The *Garland*, or *Guarland*, built in 1748, carried twenty guns and a complement of one hundred and sixty men, and was commanded by Captain Marriot Arbuthnot, afterwards Commander-in-Chief of the New York division of the North American squadron. She left Philadelphia on May 17 in charge of five troopships for Charleston, South Carolina, where she arrived on June 16, and she started on the return voyage on the 30th. Hampton Road was reached on July 27, after very heavy weather, and here John Inglis's connection with the ship came to an abrupt end, for four days later a capital R is entered against his name in the muster-book, signifying 'ran away.'

Desertion is, of course, a heinous offence against discipline, but in the eighteenth century it was very common and far from surprising. Life on a ship of war was a matter of intense discomfort and hardship, varying greatly according to the character of the captain, and when we find Captain Arbuthnot described as 'a coarse, blustering, foul-mouthed bully,'¹ desertion is easy to understand. Neither John Inglis nor the authorities seem to have taken a serious view of the offence, for in 1761, when he applied for his Lieutenant's Passing Certificate, he tabled his service on the *Garland* as part of his necessary qualification. The certificate shows that he spent the next year in the merchant service, probably on one of the ships owned by his father.

He reappeared on August 1, 1758, when he joined H.M.S.

¹ Professor J. K. Laughton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Hussar at Plymouth as an A.B. 'from London.' The *Hussar* was commanded by Captain John Elliot, fourth son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Lord Justice-Clerk, and a younger brother of Andrew Elliot, who had emigrated to Philadelphia, and eventually became Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of New York. Andrew married Eleanor M'Call, a younger sister of Mrs. Inglis, and on the strength of this connection, young John Inglis was put under the charge of Captain Elliot, who was a man of a very different stamp from Captain Arbuthnot, and proved a good friend to him. He was the one captain under whom John Inglis subsequently served, and their friendship was only ended by death nearly half a century later.

The *Hussar*, a frigate of twenty-eight guns and two hundred men, was a new ship, but she was built of light timber, and Captain Elliot wrote to his brother Gilbert: ¹ 'If she touches the ground she'll go in pieces directly, for she won't bear her own weight.' He admitted, however, that she sailed well.

The *Hussar* was in Rear-Admiral Charles Saunders's division of the fleet which was cruising in the Channel, and her commission lasted till November, but the only exciting incident was the capture on August 28 of *L'Hereux Maloium* (so the log reads) of St. Malo from Martinique. She brought her prize safely into Plymouth. At the end of November 1758 she was paid off at Deptford, and the whole ship's company was transferred to the *Æolus*, a new frigate carrying thirty-two guns and two hundred men.

After fitting out at Deptford, the *Æolus* took a convoy to Portsmouth and then on to Plymouth, and on March 13, 1759 she started for a cruise in the Bay of Biscay in company with the *Isis* (50). On the 20th, while off the mouth of the Loire, they came upon four French frigates with a convoy in charge. The *Isis* went in pursuit of two of them, which made off with the convoy, while the other two engaged the *Æolus* to prevent her following.

¹ *The Border Elliots, and the Family of Minto*, Hon. G. F. S. Elliot, pp. 442, 444.

The log of the *Æolus* records : ' 4 o'clock. Began to engage the *Blonde* frigate of 36 guns. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 came up the *Mignone* (20 guns) to the *Blonde*'s assistance, at which time she left the *Mignone* engaged with us, and made the best of her way off for Basque Road.' The *Isis* gave up the pursuit of the other two and the convoy, and chased the *Blonde*, but she made good her escape.

At five o'clock the *Mignone*, having received two broadsides, and lost sixteen men killed and thirty wounded out of a crew of one hundred and sixty, struck to the *Æolus*, which had only two men wounded.¹

Next day the *Æolus* started back with her prize, and reached Plymouth on the 27th. On April 3, 1759 John Inglis became a full midshipman.

For the next four months the *Æolus* cruised in the Channel and the Bay of Biscay, returning about once a month to Plymouth. On August 19 she went to join the fleet under Rear-Admiral Rodney (afterwards Lord Rodney), who was watching the flotilla of flat-bottomed boats that were collected at Havre for the invasion of England. She returned to Spithead in the middle of November, and was at once sent to join Hawke's squadron in blockading the remnant of de Conflans' fleet, which had been defeated in Quiberon Bay on November 20 after its escape from Brest.

The *Æolus* cruised about with other ships in the neighbourhood until the middle of January 1760, when she and two other frigates, the *Pallas* (36) and the *Brilliant* (36), were driven from their station by a violent gale and took refuge in Kinsale harbour, co. Cork. There they spent a month in provisioning and refitting, and Captain Elliot wrote to his brother Gilbert : ² ' I had been under sail ten times in order to get away from Kinsail, and the wind was always good enough to prevent me.'

On February 24 an urgent message came from the Lord-Lieutenant, asking for help to repel a French invasion. The

¹ *The Border Elliots*, p. 446.

² *Ib.*, p. 447.

invaders were part of a small squadron of six frigates and corvettes which had assembled at Dunkerque in the summer of 1759 under Commodore François Thurot, a noted smuggler and privateer.¹ His plan was to attack Scottish or Irish ports, and to molest British shipping in the North Sea. He was blockaded throughout the summer by Commodore Boys, but he took advantage of a storm in October to slip out, and made for Bergen to refit before descending on the Irish coast. Owing to accidents his squadron was reduced to three—the *Maréchal de Belleisle* (44) with five hundred and forty-five men (including soldiers), the *Blonde* (32) with four hundred men, an old enemy of the *Æolus*, and the *Terpsichore* (26) with three hundred men.²

After an unsuccessful attack on Londonderry, Thurot captured and sacked Carrickfergus, and burned some shipping at Belfast, where he requisitioned supplies.

As soon as the news reached the three British frigates at Kinsale, Captain Elliot, as senior officer, ordered them to make all haste to reach the enemy. He wrote to his brother :³

‘ It was with the greatest difficulty that we got out (on the evening of the 24th), but I thought it better to risque the loss of a ship than not attempt it. I got sight of the harbour where Thurot was on the 26th, but I could not possibly get in, for it blowed so hard that we could not carry whole courses.’

On the 27th Thurot sailed out of Belfast Lough to return to France, and anchored that night just inside the Mull of Galloway in Luce Bay.⁴ Elliot sighted him at daylight next morning, and gave chase, hoping to cut off his retreat. Thurot at once weighed anchor, but before he had got a league away the engagement began, in full view of the Wigtownshire coast.

Captain Elliot says in his dispatch : ‘ About nine I got

¹ Entick, *History of the late War*, iv. 333.

² British Museum, Add. MSS., 32,902, fol. 440, 444, 486.

³ *The Border Elliots*, p. 447.

⁴ *History of Galloway*, Wm. Mackenzie, ii. 438.

alongside their commodore, and in a few minutes the action became general, and continued very briskly for an hour and a half, when they all three struck their colours.'

The *Æolus* and the *Maréchal de Belleisle* engaged each other at twelve yards distance, and the French made several attempts at boarding before they surrendered.¹ The *Æolus* covered herself with glory, as she was shorter by twenty-seven feet, had twelve fewer guns, and only about half the crew of her opponent. The French ship lost one hundred and sixty in killed and wounded, Thurot, a sailor of high reputation, being among the killed; her masts and rigging, too, were so much damaged that she was kept afloat with difficulty. The *Blonde* had eighty casualties and the *Terpsichore* thirty-six—in all about a quarter of the French force. On the *Æolus* four men were killed and fifteen wounded; the other two had one man killed and sixteen wounded.²

After the fight all six ships put into Ramsey Bay, Isle of Man, for temporary repairs, and the prizes were then taken round to Spithead. The three captains were unanimously voted the thanks of the Irish House of Commons.

The Silurian beds near the Mull of Galloway contain large nodules of iron pyrites of a flattened globe shape. These, when washed out of the rock, are found lying on the beach, and the country folk declare that they are cannon balls fired during the fight between Elliot and Thurot.³

The *Æolus* with her prizes reached Kinsale on March 10, and on March 25 arrived at Spithead, where she stayed till May 5 for a thorough overhaul. She then returned to her old station at Quiberon Bay. On the 17th she cut out a French brig laden with naval stores from under the guns of a battery on Belle Isle,⁴ and on the 27th she took a privateer snow from Bordeaux, the *Meneta*, with sixty-four men on board. The prize, however, capsized the same day, three of the prize

¹ British Museum, Add. MSS., 24,325, fol. 1.

² *Ib.*, 32,902, fol. 486.

³ *History of Dumfries and Galloway*, Sir H. Maxwell, 331.

⁴ *The Border Elliots*, p. 450.

crew being drowned. A fortnight later, while cruising off the north coast of Spain, she captured a French brigantine laden with provisions for America.

From May 6 to July 13 John Inglis acted as master's mate.

During the summer of 1760 the *Æolus* was in the neighbourhood of Quiberon Bay, except for one visit to Plymouth in July, and during the autumn and winter she visited the Azores, Madeira, Teneriffe, and Cadiz. She stayed at the last port from January 18 to March 2, 1761, when she sailed for home with three vessels under convoy. On the 24th, when off Cape Finisterre, she took a French privateer schooner, the *Carnival* of Bayonne, of four guns and sixty-four men, and on April 12 she reached Spithead and was paid off, after having been in commission two years and four months.

John Inglis took the opportunity of being ashore to apply for his Lieutenant's Passing Certificate, which was granted to him on May 6, 1761. On the 17th he was again appointed midshipman under Captain Elliot's command on the *Chichester*, a ship of the line of seventy guns built in 1753.

She was one of Admiral Keppel's squadron which was engaged in blockading the French coast, but at this time she was refitting at Portsmouth, and did not start to rejoin the fleet till the 31st. She arrived at Belle Isle on June 2, and was at once detached to cruise off Ushant in company with five other ships of the line. At the end of August she took a convoy of nine sail from Plymouth to Cork, and then returned to her cruising off Brest till the beginning of October, when she returned to Plymouth.

On October 22, 1761 John Inglis received his commission as Fourth Lieutenant.

At the end of November the *Chichester* sailed from Plymouth to join Sir Charles Saunders's fleet of about fifteen sail, which were cruising off the Spanish coast to prevent a junction of the French and Spanish squadrons, and in the

following September Captain Elliot wrote that he had not been out of sight of Gibraltar since he arrived from England.¹ This commission lasted without incident till February 1763, when the war was ended by the Peace of Paris.

On February 7, 1763 John Inglis left the ship at Gibraltar, closing the first phase of his naval career, and for the next ten years he disappears almost entirely from view. His name is not to be found in the Navy lists, and the references to him in his uncle's account books are too slight to show how he was employed.

He reappears in 1773 at Redhall, where he was laid up during the winter, and it is highly probable that on leaving the Royal Navy he had returned to the merchant service, for in May 1773, on his recovery, he left Redhall for London, whence he sailed for America as master of the merchantman *St. George*. She was a ship of two hundred tons, built and registered at Philadelphia,² and belonged to Willing, Morris and Co., of which firm his brother Samuel was for a time a partner. He came back to London from Jamaica in June 1774, and returned to Philadelphia, which he reached in September after an expeditious voyage of five weeks.

He wrote to his uncle George Inglis: 'To the immortal honour of my ship and my own advantage I beat my whole competitors, won all the wagers that were laid against me, and got here before the Vessels and Pacquet that sailed on my arrival in London.' In October he went to Jamaica, and was at the port of Savannah-la-Mer as late as March 26, 1775. In August, the month in which his father died, he was at Redhall, and left for London.

There still exists a small book in which receipts for payments by him as Captain for work done on the *St. George* are entered, and the last entry is in October 1775, so it would appear that he gave up the command about that time.

¹ *The Border Elliots*, p. 450.

² *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 1904, p. 479.

The revolt of the colonies took place that year, and trade with America was reduced to a standstill. In April 1776 Captain Inglis was again in Scotland, and paid visits to Redhall, to the Monros at Auchinbowie, and the Cadells at Carron Park. He was once more at Redhall in January following, and at that time intended to make an expedition to America if the war permitted.

The family seem to have been opposed from the first to the movement for independence, and to have earnestly desired peace at every stage of the struggle. In 1778 Captain Inglis wrote in answer to a question by his brother-in-law, Mr. Cadell:

‘I’ll ask you why half the terms that the Commissioners are to offer were not proposed to the Americans before they had suffered half so much destruction in their property, before they were half so exasperated, and before half so many riff-raff gentry got into their congress and became their leaders. I suppose they, like many others, are now under the rule of a set of desperate bad men, who will dispose of them in such way as will best aggrandize their own wicked purposes.’

January 21, 1777 was an important day for Captain Inglis, as he then married his cousin Barbara Inglis, the youngest of the three co-heiresses of Auchindinny and Langbyres. As has been already mentioned, the affair seems to have been clandestine, and the lady was probably staying with her sister at Carron Park at the time. Mr. George never mentions the wedding, and the marriage contract was only drawn up in April 1779—in fact the narrative in this deed is the only proof of the exact date of the marriage.

Tradition says that the gallant Captain, who was by this time thirty-three years of age, had previously been unfortunate in affairs of the heart, and had sworn to marry only if he could find a woman ugly enough to frighten a horse. To judge by her portrait, the bride cannot have been conspicuous

for good looks, and she fulfilled the qualification on one occasion when they were starting for a drive together. The horses, so runs the story, caught sight of her and bolted.

Despite her looks, she made an excellent and affectionate wife, of the practical, domestic type. She was a kind-hearted woman with a strong religious bias which her daughters inherited, and at the same time she was thoroughly business-like in managing the property while her husband was at sea. Although in later years she was sorely tried by his irritable temper, she succeeded on the whole in keeping the family life happy and united.

In the spring of 1777 John Inglis abandoned his project of making another trading voyage to America, and, probably at the suggestion and with the help of his old friend Captain John Elliot, he obtained a commission as Fourth Lieutenant on the *Trident*, which Elliot himself was appointed to command. The *Trident* was launched at Plymouth on April 20, 1768, before fifteen thousand spectators, and was considered at that time one of the finest ships of her rating : ¹ her tonnage was 1366, and she carried sixty-four guns and five hundred men.

John Inglis left Redhall on May 24, and his Uncle George marked the occasion by 'incidents at Leith' to the extent of £1, 4s., and made him a present of his gold watch.

He joined the ship at Chatham, where she was fitted out and a crew obtained mainly through the agency of the press-gang. His disgust at the system is strongly expressed in a letter to Mr. Cadell in August :

'I took the first day I ever pressed a man no less than 150 seamen, the crews of three East Indiamen. But I pray to Heaven never to be witness to such a scene again, for I never felt half so much distress after an engagement as I did from the sorrowful countenances of a

¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, May 3, 1768.

parcel of poor fellows dragged away against their will. But tho' I feel for anyone forced under the rigour of the Articles of War, yet there will be this consolation to those that have been brought under the command of Captain Elliot that they will experience from him all the mildness and tenderness that they can reasonably expect.'

For the latter half of 1777 the *Trident* was attached to the fleet of observation, which was watching the movements of the French in anticipation of war, and was protecting British trade in the Channel from American privateers, but in February 1778 she was recalled to Spithead for a hurried overhaul in order that she might take to America the Commissioners who had been appointed to offer terms to the colonists.

They were Lord Carlisle, Governor Johnstone, and Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland, accompanied by his wife, a niece of Captain Elliot,¹ with Professor Adam Ferguson as Secretary. They embarked on April 16, and the *Trident* at once dropped down to St. Helens, Isle of Wight, but had to wait five days for a favourable wind. She arrived in the Delaware River on June 3, after a narrow escape from disaster recorded by Lord Carlisle in the diary which he sent back to his wife : ²

' May 11. Our weather is very warm, but considering the latitude we are now in, nothing more than we had reason to expect. I have this morning walked over the ship ; the heat and stink below is beyond all description : I was obliged to run up for air in a few minutes, and yet some hundred poor wretches are obliged to pass their lives in those infernal regions, and would not part with their existence more easily than a macaroni with all the air of Hyde Park to breathe in, and a thousand nosegays to smell. . . . June 4. At last this great business is accomplished : we are safe at anchor in the Delaware. . . . Now we are safe, I shall tell you a circumstance which occasioned a good deal of alarm at St Helens in the ship. A discovery was made one

¹ *The Border Elliots*, p. 451.

² *Historical MSS. Commission*, 1897, *Carlisle MSS.*, pp. 335, 336.

morning that two of the most material ropes were attempted to be cut during the night. If it had not been found out till the wind began to blow, the consequence would have been that the mainmast would have come down and when covered with men. The accident would have been most dreadful, as in all probability numbers must have lost their lives, and the ship been in great danger, and absolutely incapable of pursuing her voyage without going back into dock. The rope by which the bowsprit is sustained also was attempted. We offered a reward of one hundred pounds upon discovery of the offender, but to no purpose. Nothing [none] ever was made ; only the villain must have been an experienced sailor, as he might have cut half the ropes of the ship without damaging her essentially. So we had the comfort of sailing with perhaps another John the Painter on board, or a person capable of risking everything, when the stopping us was the object.'

As soon as the *Trident* reached America, Captain Elliot, who had been given the rank of Commodore, handed over the command of the ship to Captain Pye Molloy, and John Inglis, who had been commissioned a Commander, took over Captain Molloy's previous ship, the sloop *Senegal*, of eighteen guns and one hundred and twenty-five men. This was in accordance with a scheme suggested to the Admiralty by Captain Elliot, who thought it would be a pacific act to appoint an American-born captain to one of His Majesty's ships, and strongly recommended his protégé, John Inglis.¹

Captain Inglis went on board the *Senegal* on June 12, 1778, and a fortnight later sailed with the rest of the fleet for New York, where he stayed till July 27.

Fleets from Europe were expected by both sides, and the *Senegal* was ordered to meet the British fleet, and deliver despatches to Admiral Byron. Her career, however, came to an abrupt end, for on August 15, 1778 she fell into the hands of the French fleet under circumstances which are fully explained in the minutes of the court-martial on Captain Inglis held at New York in the following November.

¹ British Museum, Add. MSS., 34,415, fol. 290.

The Captain's evidence was :

' On the 14th of August 1778 we were in the Lat. 39°30' about 30 leagues to the S.E. of Sandy Hook, under orders from Lord Howe to cruise for Adm^l Byron's fleet, to let them know Lord Howe had sailed for Rhode Island, and for them to follow him. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon I discovered a sail to windward. I was then lying to under a foresail and mizen upon the larb. tack, the wind about N.W. I ordered the mains^l to be set, and the close-reef'd topsails (just after a heavy gale of wind) and gave chase. At dark the chase bore about W. by S. steering as I judg'd to the northward. She had lost her main and mizen mast. At dark we lost sight of her. I did not see her till next morning at daylight, when I made all the sail I cou'd and renewed the chase. She at that time bore well to the northward.

' At 6 in the morning at daylight saw two sail in the N.E., which appeared to be standing after the ship we were in chase of. When I approached near enough for a signal to be discovered I made the private signal of Lord Howe, which not being answered I altered my course.

' At 11 it falling calm I hoisted out a boat and went myself in the boat to reconnoitre the ships which was nearest us, two of which I perceived were two-deck ships, had English colours hoisted and appeared to be English, and as I judged, supposed them to be a part of Admiral Byron's fleet. Upon my approaching them in the boat I discerned they were French, and returned on board the *Senegal*. A light breeze springing up at the time to the S.S.E., I made all the sail I could to the S.W. The two large ships continued to stand after the dismasted ship which we had been in chase of, and which I saw them take.

' At 4 o'clock in the afternoon saw two sail ahead. I tacked and stood to the N.E. At dark the ships that had taken the dismasted ship were joined by three others. They were all this time hull down bearing from the N.N.W. to the N.W. I continued standing to the N.E., it appearing the clearest quarter.

' At $\frac{1}{2}$ past three in the morning saw three sail to the leeward. I still continued to the N.E., hoping to pass them undiscovered as it was very thick weather and we could but barely see them.

' At a little after 4 they tacked and gave chase to us, the weather-

most being near in our wake. About the same time saw several ships to windward. I then set up studding sails alow and aloft and kept away a little.

‘The ships which were in chace of me astern and to leeward came fast up, one of which at 5 o’clock fired to bring me to. I continued standing on with all sail set, and ordered the people to the guns, and that nothing might be left untried to save His Majesty’s sloop I directed the people to fire at the rigging of the ship which was nearest and was firing at us, hoping to shoot away a topsail sheet or haliards and by that means favour our escape till daylight, so that I might see better about me and bring me in sight of some of His Majesty’s ships.

‘My expectations being disappointed of shooting away any of the enemy’s rigging, and not seeing any of His Majesty’s ships, I ordered with the advice of the officers our colours to be struck at 6 o’clock. The ship I struck to I found to be the *Hector* of 74 guns, on board which ship was the Count d’Estaing, Com^r-in-chief of the French squadron. After I had struck I sunk all my orders and signals in presence of my officers before the French boats came on board, having slung them for that purpose the night before.’

It is said that the Second Lieutenant had to strike the flag, as all the sailors refused.¹ The ship was taken into Boston, and soon afterwards the officers and crew were exchanged under a convention which permitted them to serve again. They were present at the court-martial, and on having the Captain’s narrative read over to them, they agreed that it was true, and that everything was done to save the ship. The finding of the court was ‘that Captain John Inglis acted consistent with his duty in striking his colours to an enemy of such superior force, and therefore they acquit him together with his officers and people for the loss of H.M. Sloop the *Senegal*, the same appearing to have been unavoidable.’ This finding is signed by Captains Thomas Collingwood (President), Hyde (‘Vinegar’) Parker, and nine others.

By a curious coincidence the *Senegal* was retaken from the French off the west coast of Africa in November 1780

¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, December 22, 1778.

by another Captain John Inglis commanding H.M. sloop *Zephyr*. The existence of two officers of identical name and almost equal standing introduces confusion into the navy records. The other John Inglis, who was ten years older, was a son of Charles Inglis of Baberton. He became a Captain in 1781, but did not rise further, and died at Edinburgh in October 1789.

After the court-martial the Captain was sent home. In January 1779 he wrote to the Admiralty from London asking for employment, and then went to Scotland to join his wife, who was living with her mother at Merchiston, a suburb of Edinburgh. On the old lady's death in January 1780, Mrs. Inglis seems to have settled in Thistle Street, Edinburgh.

In May 1779 Captain Inglis was given command of the new-built sloop *Delight* of fourteen guns. He came on board at Spithead on the 28th, and on June 11 the *Delight* and the *Roebuck* (44) safely convoyed thirty-one sail to Cork. The Channel was at this time highly unsafe for merchantmen, as Spain had joined France and had declared war on Great Britain. At Cork the convoy was increased to ninety-three sail, and on July 21 the whole number, with the *Leviathan* (50), started together towards America. A fortnight later about half were taken by the *Leviathan* to the West Indies, while the *Delight* and the *Roebuck* escorted the remainder, consisting of provision ships, to New York, which was reached on September 24.

Admiral Marriot Arbuthnot, the former commander of the *Garland*, a week later sent the *Delight* to cruise to the south in company with the *Perseus* (20), commanded by Captain the Hon. George Keith Elphinstone, afterwards Admiral Viscount Keith. On October 12 they took an American schooner, the *Fly*, and three days later a French schooner, the *Betsy*, and brought their prizes back to New York.

The former capture involved the two young officers in a

situation of difficulty.¹ The prize had on board two Americans with their families, who carried a pretended flag of truce from the Danish governor of St. Croix, with a request from him that they might be allowed to land at Boston for the benefit of their health. The Americans threatened a prosecution for the unwarrantable detention of themselves and their ship, but Captain Elphinstone and Captain Inglis, disbelieving their story, reported the facts to Admiral Arbuthnot, and asked for instructions. The Admiral sent a reply that the right course had been taken, and ordered the ship to be kept for the consideration of the Prize Court.

In November 1779 the *Delight* was sent with despatches from Admiral Arbuthnot to Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney in the West Indies. Two cruises to the south of New York, in March and April 1780, furnished a couple of prizes, American privateers, and two more privateers were taken on May 13. From June to the middle of September the *Delight* cruised to the north, making Halifax her base of operations.

By this time the war was beginning to take its final turn in favour of the colonists. In the spring of 1780 Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis had overrun the Carolinas, and almost crushed out the movement for independence in the south, but later in the year the colonists reorganised themselves, and by the beginning of 1781 began to make headway against the invaders.

In the autumn of 1780 the *Delight* was sent from New York with despatches for the fleet at Charleston, South Carolina, and at the end of the year, after refitting, she returned to Cape Fear on the coast of North Carolina, to take part in an expedition designed to open up sea communication with Lord Cornwallis's army.² The expedition was commanded by Captain Andrew Barkley of the *Blonde* (32), the old prize

¹ *Life of Lord Keith*, Alexander Allardyce, pp. 35-7.

² *Edinburgh Advertiser*, April 6, 1781.

of the *Æolus*, and included the *Delight*, the *Otter* (14), and some smaller craft. Three hundred soldiers, under Major Craig of the 82nd Regiment,¹ and eighty marines were carried.

The flotilla reached Cape Fear on January 26, 1781, and two days later Captain Barkley and Major Craig proceeded up the river with the troops in boats, while the *Delight* was ordered to remain at the mouth with the transports and victualling ships. The troops were landed nine miles below Wilmington, which they occupied without opposition, and held for the next two months as a base of operations from which Lord Cornwallis's army was revictualled.

The *Delight* came up the river as far as Brunswick on February 21, and was moored there till the end of April. Landing parties were often sent up in boats to man the forts or to carry despatches to Lord Cornwallis, and Captain Inglis himself seems to have been at Wilmington during the greater part of April.

On the 28th he was ordered to take on board Captain Brodrick,² aide-de-camp to Lord Cornwallis, and convey him to England with despatches. The *Delight* sailed from Charleston on May 2, 1781, and Captain Inglis left his native land for the last time. Apparently he had not visited Philadelphia since 1774, and he never afterwards saw his brothers or his sister Kitty.

He reached Spithead and landed Captain Brodrick on June 4, and then convoyed fifty-two sail to Sheerness. The ship was refitted, but Captain Inglis was transferred on August 25, 1781 to the sloop *Squirrel* of twenty guns, and at the same time he was gazetted a Post Captain. In the same autumn the *Delight* foundered in the West Indies, while on her way back to America.

The commission of the *Squirrel* lasted till the end of June 1782, and was spent for the most part in convoying traders.

¹ Afterwards General Sir James Henry Craig.

² Capt. Hon. Henry Brodrick (1758-85), younger son of the third Viscount Midleton.

She was built in 1755, and the Captain wrote several times to the Admiralty to complain of her condition. On September 15, 1781 he states that it is two years and eight months since she was docked, and asks for her to be coppered. 'Her bottom has become so foul and out of repair as to make her in a great measure unmanageable, and she sails so ill as with difficulty to keep up with the convoy.'

In October she was sent by Admiral Lord Shulldham from Plymouth with despatches for Admiral Darby,¹ who was cruising in the Channel, and she was then ordered by Vice-Admiral Milbanke to take a convoy into the Bristol Channel. On February 15 she caught a French privateer brig, the *Furet*, but had to put into Cork, 'as we had shipped so much water in our leaks in the hold's upper works in the late gales of wind, as to wash away the whole of the coals that were on board.'

On March 24, 1782 Captain Inglis wrote to their Lordships informing them that he and his convoy of ten brigs and four sloops from Plymouth to Liverpool had been driven into Mount's Bay by contrary winds, and asked for six extra hands,

'as by an unlucky accident in getting under sail yesterday in Falmouth Harbour, when it was blowing fresh, I had one man killed at the capstan and six so much hurt that it will be some time before they will recover, and we have a great number so ill as not to be able to do their duty.'

He arrived at Liverpool on March 29 and returned on April 7 with 'the trade for the eastward,' consisting of eighteen sail, which he saw safely as far as Land's End. He was then ordered to cruise between the Dodman and the Land's End to protect traders, and during the next six weeks took several convoys between St. Ives and Carrick Road, Falmouth. He reported on May 24, 1782 that 'the *Squirrel* is very leaky in her hold and upper works, and wants caulking

¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, October 30, 1781.

very much, as she is with difficulty kept above water when it blows hard and there is much sea.'

He made the best of bad material, and was able to report to the Admiralty on June 26 : ¹

' I fell in with a cutter off the Land's End the 21st instant, and after a chase of sixteen hours took her : she proves to be *L'Amiable Mannon*, mounts 8 guns and 42 men, had been from Brest fourteen days, and had taken nothing. . . . On the 25th instant I fell in with, and retook, the *Penelope* schooner belonging to Liverpool, laden with sugar and salt ; she was taken by *L'Escamoteur*, French privateer, on the 23rd instant, going into Waterford.'

A few days later he gave up the command of the *Squirrel* at Sheerness, where she was broken up.

The war with America was ended in the following November by the Peace of Paris, which secured the independence of the United States, and two months later peace was made with France, Spain, and the Netherlands.

Though Captain Inglis made several applications for active employment, the second phase of his naval career was closed, and his next thirteen years were spent on shore.

As already mentioned,² the Monro third of Auchindinny, including the mansion-house, was bought by Mr. George Inglis for his nephew, and Mrs. John Inglis moved there from Thistle Street in May 1782. On coming ashore the Captain joined her, and they lived there for four years. The two eldest children were born there—John on May 14, 1783, and Jane (Mrs. Crawford) on January 30, 1786.

In June 1786, after the death of Mr. and Mrs. George Inglis, the family moved to Redhall, and three more children were born—Sophia (Mrs. Digby) on February 6, 1787, George on July 10, 1788, and Archibald on May 25, 1790.

The estate accounts from May 1782 were kept by the

¹ *Edinburgh Advertiser*, July 9, 1782.

² *Supra*, p. 110.

Captain, or in his absence by his wife, and when he was at home her household accounts were kept separately. These books are by no means as interesting or as neat as Mr. George's, but they give a fair idea of the family life.

At Auchindinny the establishment consisted of two men-servants and a woman; at Redhall it was increased to a butler at £12, a cook at £6, and a nurse, chambermaid, and dairymaid at £4 each, exclusive of board and clothes. A chariot costing £50 was bought in 1786, and the coachman's wages were £10. Other men were employed in the garden and on the farm.

Schooling began in 1789, when John at the age of six was sent to a dancing-class, and next year a tutor was engaged at a salary of £20. The girls began dancing in 1792, and had a governess from 1794.

Auchindinny House was advertised to be let in 1787, and is described as 'beautifully situated on the banks of the Esk: the Peebles and Dumfries flies pass it regularly';¹ on a later occasion it is said to be 'commodious and fit to accommodate a large family'²—a proof of the modern advance in the standard of comfort. After some delay the house was let to Sir William Dunbar for £25, and afterwards to Captain Donaldson for £40.

In 1784 Robert Monteith got a nineteen years' lease of Auchindinny Mains at a rent of £107, 10s. The farm was described as including all the ground to the east of the turnpike road, except the park round the mansion-house.³ At the end of this lease it was let to John M'Gill for £160 and two dozen good fat hens.

The fields to the west of the turnpike road were let separately or kept in the proprietor's hands till 1800, when John Clapperton, mealmaker, took them at £28; and three years later he got a lease at £43, 10s. and twelve good kain hens.

¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, February 26, 1787.

² *Ib.*, January 15, 1791.

³ Lease dated December 30, 1784.

The holding was raised to the dignity of a farm under the title of 'Little Floors,' afterwards 'Maybank,' and the Clapperton family have remained tenants to the present day.

Captain Inglis was a generous landlord, and often allowed abatements when times were bad.

In November 1793 he bought the farm of Wester Colzium and Cairns from the trustees of William Dick, writer in Midcalder, for £2100, £800 remaining in a bond on the property. It is a bleak grazing farm about twelve miles from Edinburgh, lying on the north-west slope of the Pentlands in Midcalder parish.¹ It lies over seven hundred feet above sea-level, and extends from near Harperrig reservoir to the top of Wester Cairns Hill (1844 feet). It was no doubt bought as an investment, and was sold by the next laird in 1818. During the whole period it was let to John Graham at a rent of £61, 13s. 1d.

Captain Inglis put his legal business into the hands of Mr. Charles Steuart, W.S., who first appears in the account books in August 1789. He was a relative of Mr. David Forbes, who had been agent for Mr. George, and he probably became acquainted with Captain Inglis through his uncle and namesake, Mr. Charles Steuart, who was Collector of the Customs for North America, and knew the Captain's father and his brother Samuel. Mr. Steuart and his successors have been continuously factors for the property, and legal advisers to the family to the present time, and the relations of agent and client have been strengthened by a friendship that has lasted for four generations.

Captain Inglis seems to have taken no active part in politics, but his sympathies were with the Tories, as might be expected. He was summoned as a jurymen for the trial of Thomas Muir, younger of Huntershill, advocate, for seditious practices in attempting to introduce revolution on the French model, and distributing Tom Paine's works. The trial, which was an attack by the Tory party upon the Whigs,

¹ *History of Midcalder*, H. B. M'Call, pp. 139, 140.

took place on August 30, 1793 before Lord Justice-Clerk Braxfield and four other Lords of Justiciary, who sentenced the prisoner to fourteen years' transportation. At that time the jurors were summoned by the Clerk of Court, and selected by the presiding judge without liability to peremptory challenge by the prisoner—'an iniquitous practice,' as Lord Cockburn calls it.

The printed account of the trial records that the Lord Justice-Clerk began by calling on Sir James Foulis of Colinton, Bart., and Captain John Inglis of Auchindinny.¹

'Capt. Inglis on answering to his name, told the Court that he had some scruples as to the propriety of his serving on the present Jury, on account of his being a servant of Government; and as the crime laid to the charge of the pannel was an offence particularly against Government, he doubted whether such a circumstance would be doing Mr. Muir complete justice.

'*Lord Justice-Clerk.*—Captain Inglis, there can be no doubt of your acquitting yourself fairly and honestly on the present trial.

'*Capt. Inglis.*—Certainly not, my Lord; I only mention it on Mr. Muir's account.'

The Captain's scruples were brushed aside by the Judge.

Lord Cockburn relates² that while Mr. John Horner, Francis Horner's father, was passing behind the bench to take his place in the jury box, Braxfield, who knew him, whispered: 'Come awa', Maister Horner, come awa', and help us to hang ane o' thae daamed scoondrels.' He also states³ that Jeffrey and Sir Samuel Romilly were spectators at the trial. 'Neither of them ever forgot it. Jeffrey never mentioned it without horror.'

In 1794 the fear of a French invasion caused meetings to be held in most counties to consider measures of defence. The freeholders, Justices of the Peace, Commissioners of Supply, and heritors of the county of Edinburgh, met in the Parliament House on March 24, to consider the propriety of raising

¹ P. 34.

² *Memorials*, p. 117.

³ *Life of Jeffrey*, i. 58.

two or more troops of horse for the defence of the county. Mr. Clerk (Sheriff of Edinburgh) presided, and moved that, in accordance with the precedent of 1745, an assessment should be laid on the valued rent, to yield £3750. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik seconded the motion.¹

‘ Captain Inglis of Auchindinny disapproved of the measure. Some flat-bottomed boats and a guarda costa would prove a more proper defence of the country. Administration had treated some of the most respectable heritors of Midlothian with sovereign contempt, and it was with a bad grace they now applied to them for assistance. . . . An altercation of an unpleasant nature took place, which was happily terminated by mutual explanations in consequence of a conciliatory speech from Baron Cockburn.

‘ The motion was unanimously carried.’

In 1795 Captain Inglis’s desire for active employment was gratified, and he was once more given a command.

At the beginning of that year a French army overran the Dutch Netherlands, and established a republic which was bound to aid France with troops and a fleet in her war with Britain. On January 19 the British Government laid an embargo on all Dutch ships, and in February Vice-Admiral Adam Duncan was appointed to the command in the North Sea, and was ordered to blockade the Texel, so as to prevent the despatch of any military expedition, and, if possible, to destroy the Dutch fleet.

Owing, no doubt, to the influence of his friend Admiral Duncan, Captain Inglis was commissioned to the *Coromandel* (24), an armed transport recently bought by the Admiralty. He left Redhall on April 12, 1795, and joined his ship at Blackwall on the Thames. On June 17 he sent to the Admiralty a list of seventy men, then at Leith, who were willing to serve under him, many of them coming from his own neighbourhood. On July 3 he reported the ship ready to receive her

¹ *Edinburgh Courant*, March 24, 1794.

guns, but it was a month later before she reached the Nore, where she remained till October 5.

Admiral Duncan then despatched the *Coromandel* with the *Nassau* (64) to join Admiral Pringle's squadron, which was cruising off the Texel to protect British merchantmen and to annoy the enemy. The two ships started on October 18, but on the 24th and 25th they met a violent gale, which drove them out of their course to take refuge at Ekerøe, a little port at the south-west corner of Norway.

Captain Inglis wrote to the Admiralty on the 28th, reporting the occurrence :

‘ At 5 A.M. the bumkin going away the foresail was hauled up. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 the foremast and maintopmast went away and falling aft on the mizenmast carried it away also and stove in a great part of the poop. In addition to this melancholy disaster I had the misfortune to lose Mr. Mitchell, the boatswain, and 17 of my best seamen, who were swept overboard with the wreck. In this situation, wishing to return to England, I kept the ship to the wind, but finding she laboured so much and that it appeared she would fall in pieces, I was then under the necessity of bearing away, and by the great attention of Captain Sawyer [of the *Nassau*] I have been towed into this port (last night at 6 o'clock), where I shall use every possible means to put His Majesty's ship in a state to return to Britain in as short time as possible.’

On November 15 he wrote from Flekkerøe, an island at the mouth of Christiansand harbour, that, after refitting as well as possible at Ekerøe,

‘ I put to sea with her 14th November under jury masts in hopes through the assistance of the *Nassau* to be able to make some port in Britain, but no sooner had we cleared the land and got a favourable breeze than the ship began to roll in her usual unparalleled manner, and when we were but four leagues from the land she rolled both main and fore-topmasts away. Finding the ship in this ungovernable state and the lower masts in danger of being rolled away, I judged it necessary to stand in again for the land, and this day (about 5 o'clock in the evening) came to an anchor in this harbour.’

The repairs to the ship herself were finished in three weeks, and the Captain wrote to the Admiralty several times for masts, mentioning in one of his letters that the crew were beginning to desert. He was promised a frigate to bring out masts, but he was forgotten, and it was not till the following May that he was delivered from his helpless position.

The winter was occupied with an episode which caused a good deal of negotiation and correspondence, and not a little loss of temper, between Captain Inglis and Mr. John Mitchell, British Consul at Christiansand.

In December 1795 there arrived at Christiansand a Dutch frigate, the *Argo* (26), commanded by Commodore von Dirking, with three brigs; Mr. Mitchell suggested that Captain Inglis, with the help of Captain Hale of the *Hawke* (16), which was at Mandel, should attack the brigs, hinting that no resistance would be offered by von Dirking, who was a supporter of the House of Orange and refused allegiance to the new Dutch Republic.

Captain Inglis declined to comply with this suggestion, pointing out to Mr. Mitchell that it would be a violation of international law to engage the enemy in a neutral port, and further, that the *Coromandel* in her present state could not pursue the brigs if they escaped to sea; 'but if the Captain of the Dutch frigate will surrender his ship, I will man her and with the *Hawke* will sail immediately after the Dutch brigs, and will hope to give a good account of them.'

In January the Consul, so far from abandoning his plan, meditated a further development, and, in co-operation with Captain Hale, arranged that von Dirking should be allowed to take all his ships out to sea, so as to fall into the hands of a superior British force, which was to be lying in wait. He also obtained the Admiralty's authority to offer von Dirking £5000 for the surrender of his ships.

On February 20 the Dutch ships moved down from Christiansand to Flekkerøe to be ready to put out to sea, but

the British squadron, under Captain Alms of the *Réunion*, appeared prematurely in full sight of the Dutch ships, and made it impossible for von Dirking to proceed and still to maintain the fiction of an accidental encounter with the British ships.

The Consul persuaded Captain Alms to bring his squadron into the harbour, and tried to make the Dutch officers believe that it had come to the assistance of the *Coromandel*. He suggested that the Dutch ships should surrender to Captain Alms in the harbour, but von Dirking knew that his subordinates were not traitors like himself, and 'he is afraid (or rather sure) that some of the patriotick officers in the squadron would set fire to some of the ships, and might thereby endanger the British squadron as well as the town of Christiansand.'

Captain Inglis had all along been suspicious of von Dirking's true intentions. He foresaw that if the Dutchmen were allowed to put out to sea they would escape, so on February 24, hearing that they were to sail at daybreak, he warned the Consul that he would not allow them to start for twenty-four hours, and was determined to follow them out to sea, 'altho' I have not three days' bread.'

Mr. Mitchell immediately wrote an indignant reply, requiring him 'upon the authority of His Majesty's Ministers' instructions, and upon the authority of Admiral Duncan's letter of the 16th inst. to me,' to allow the Dutchmen to sail without molestation.

Captain Inglis respected Admiral Duncan's authority and promised not to interfere, but he wrote privately to the Admiral complaining bitterly of his treatment :

' H.M.S. *Coromandel*, Flekkery, Norway
' Feb. 24th 1796.

' DEAR SIR,—Captain Alms of His Maj's Ship *Réunion* has arrived off this port, and has delivered me your very kind letters of the 25th of Dec^r and 15th of Feb^y together with the other letters which he had in charge for me, particularly one from my wife, which has been the

first I have received from her since the accident of the loss of my masts, and you may readily conceive what joy the receipt of her and your letters must have occasioned to me after so much anxiety for my family, and so very much to be satisfied of your and the Admiralty's approbation of my conduct in the misfortunes which happened the *Coromandel*, as it would have been severer to me than death had I been deprived of your approbation. For I have done all that is possible to be done in my situation, and shall continue faithfully and cheerfully to exert every power I am capable of for H.M. Service. I am very sorry my former good luck has seemingly left me, for I am much interested not only for my own credit but for those who have been so assistant to me in this command that all should turn out right on my side. But whatever is to happen I shall ever have the most grateful sense of your and my Lord Advocate's ¹ goodness, and so must I and my family of your good lady's (Mrs. Duncan). She has been a great comfort to my family and they never will forget her kindness.

‘ You may readily imagine how very anxious I shall be till I see you. I wait only for my masts, which the Admiralty have mentioned are coming out by the *Serapis*, to make one more trial, and I hope it will be a more successful one. I am sure that all shall be tried that human wit and endeavour can do to succeed in my third attempt.

‘ I am sure the Publick Boards will be pleased with my management. It has not cost ten pounds unless for the Pilotage and victualing the People, and I have not only got the ship ready a second time, but repaired the damages done by the Masts breaking the Deck. I have only to lament that my services had not been more fortunate for you to wish if I got a better ship that I might be continued under your command. I am sure I have every reason to wish that I may have the good fortune of being under your command during this war. It will be my sincerest wish and prayer that it may be so. I am sure your feeling and goodness upon my account has been far beyond what I could have expected. You need be under no earthly concern about any little inconvenience that has befall me. You have made my mind easy in being satisfied that the accident was unavoidable and what no human endeavour could prevent. I did not leave my home to come on a party of pleasure. All seamen know that there must

¹ Robert Dundas, afterwards Lord Chief Baron, brother of Mrs. Duncan.

be little inconveniences in their service. I cheerfully will submit to all that will happen to me if only I return to my fireside at least with credit; and I assure you if I have suffered one way I have recovered another, for my gout seems to have entirely left me, and I believe I am the only one on board who has never had one hour's illness. What crowns all my wishes is that this unlucky affair has shown a number of valuable friends, for they are really so who show themselves so when one is unlucky.

'I had wrote so far when an odd accident, which you will see by my official letter to you which comes by this conveyance, made me informed of directions that the Admiralty and you have sent out to the Consul here about me. I have been sincerely hurt by the directions. I must beg of you to read the copies of the letters which attend my official letter and I hope you will then be convinced that there was no occasion of these directions to me. If there is any bad consequence happens to Mr. Mitchell from my being forced in justification of myself to make you and the Admiralty acquainted with our correspondence, you and the Admiralty must take it to yourselves. I wished to suppress it, because I thought it might hurt Mr. Mitchell. I have never concerned myself in Mr. Mitchell's business further than to offer my services where they might be legally useful, and that is all I shall do. The correspondence will convince you what opinion I had and shall have of his affair and that is all that I shall say of it, and let time bring the whole out.

'I am really anxious for the arrival of the *Serapis* and to be set to work in preparing for our return, and that is the only thing I am concerned for at present.—I am, Dear Sir, Your much obliged and faithful humble Servant,

JOHN INGLIS.

'ADAM DUNCAN, Esq.,

'Admiral of the Blue and Commander-in-Chief

'of his Maj^s Ships and Vessels in the North Sea, etc. etc.'

The Dutchmen remained at Flekkeroe till March 6, when they retired to Christiansand. Captain Inglis reported the fact to the Admiralty in a despatch on the 11th, and stated:

'their ships' companys, as far as I can learn from deserters that I daily get from them, are in a state of downright mutiny, their people

break from them in whole boatloads whenever they can catch the opportunity, and that in the open face of day, and I understand that they have positively refused their officers to take up their anchors to go to sea. The difference that they see in their situation and the comfort of the British seamen being well fed and clad, with plenty of money, I understand is the reason of it. Their Lordships will observe by my former letters that this spirit has been for some time amongst them. I have encouraged it as far as I could by letting my own people go amongst them and other emissaries to encourage their desertion, and I shall continue to do it as the most effectual method of rendering them totally useless.'

Captain Alms and his squadron sailed on March 24, leaving the *Coromandel* as helpless as ever. Meanwhile Mr. Mitchell was preparing another attempt to carry through his plan, and was very peremptory with Captain Inglis. The Captain was already irritated at the Admiralty's neglect to send him masts, and was much more concerned about his own return than about the success of Mr. Mitchell's plot. On March 25 he wrote to Admiral Duncan in some heat :

'I beg to inform you that Captⁿ Alms with the *Isis* and *Squirrel* sailed from this yesterday. The orders which you gave about the *Coromandel* could not be complied with, as the wind was unfavourable for our sailing the day I expected and which I wrote you I should, and as you gave me no power to detain any vessel to accompany the *Coromandel* I could not go to Sea alone, and upon a consultation with all the Captains it was judged improper to detain any of H.M. Ships. All that I can say is that there has been a good opportunity lost of the *Coromandel* returning. But I cannot judge by the way I am directed by the Admiralty and yourself what to do in the directions you give about me to Consuls and Junior Officers, and it places me in such a situation that as an officer I cannot nor will not submit to it, and must beg to be relieved from it by your sending out some other person that will, and suffering me to return. I have done all that a man and officer could do for His Maj^s Service, but I will be disgraced by no one, and I will rather submit to any consequence than it shall be allowed.'

Admiral Duncan did not, however, take him at his word, but held out hopes of assistance being sent, and as the prospect of return to England approached, the Captain's tone became more hopeful, and he wrote apologising for the strength of his former language :

‘ The more I think of your kindness the more I am hurt at what I wrote you. But I hope you will impute it to the true cause. I thought myself hurt in my *Muckle Honour*, but upon reflection I am sure you nor my Lord Spencer never could think of such a thing.’

Early in April the Dutch ships were reinforced by fresh crews which were brought from Amsterdam on board a Danish ship, and Captain Inglis, who was very angry at this infraction of neutrality by the master of the Danish ship, again warned Admiral Duncan that the Dutchmen, if allowed to escape to the open sea, would probably resist capture.

At last the tedious period of waiting ended ; the *Isis* was sent back to fetch the *Coromandel*, and the two ships left Flekkerøe on May 7, and reached the Nore on the 15th.

The Dutch ships left later on the same day, and the result showed that Captain Inglis was right in his forecast, for when they met the *Phoenix* and two other British ships, so far from surrendering they offered a stout resistance, and it was only after a sharp action that the *Argo* was captured and the brigs driven ashore.

When the *Coromandel* reached the Nore, Mr. England, First Lieutenant, and part of the crew were at once transferred to the *Belliqueux*, while the Captain and the rest brought the ship up to Woolwich, and then, on June 12, 1796, they also went on board the *Belliqueux*, which Captain Inglis was commissioned to command.

The two-decker *Belliqueux* (bellicose), a third-rate ship of the line of sixty-four guns and five hundred men, was the second of the name in the Royal Navy. The first was originally a French vessel, which was taken off Ilfracombe in 1758,

and was kept in commission as a British man-of-war until the war ended in 1763, when she was broken up.

The new *Belliqueux* was built on the Thames in 1780, and was consequently sixteen years old when Captain Inglis took command. She had been present in two successful actions against Count de Grasse in the West Indies, one on April 29, 1781, when Admiral Hood (Lord Bridport) was in command of the British fleet, and the other on April 12, 1782, when Sir George Brydges Rodney (Lord Rodney) defeated the French. Her dimensions were:—length of gun-deck 160 ft., length of keel 131 ft. 7 in., breadth 44 ft. 5 in., depth 19 ft., tonnage 1379.

On June 12, 1796, when the Captain went on board, the *Belliqueux* was fitting out at Chatham. A month later she moved down to the Nore, and on August 10 she started for the Texel to join the ships which, under command of Admiral Duncan, blockaded the Dutch fleet throughout the year. She returned twice to Yarmouth in the autumn, and spent most of the winter there. In the spring she resumed her place off the Texel, but the ships of the line returned to Yarmouth Roads in the middle of April and moored there.

All this time there is nothing of much importance recorded in the log of the *Belliqueux*, but in May 1797 a momentous crisis occurred in the form of mutiny.¹

Throughout the war the discipline of the fleet had been most unsatisfactory. The men were to a large extent secured by means of the press-gang, and were in many cases jail-birds and bad characters. They had ample grievances. Their food was abominable in quality and seldom of full weight, their clothing was no better, their pay was not more than ninepence a day and was irregularly paid, the prize money which they had earned was often withheld indefinitely, and while the men were recovering from wounds their pay was stopped altogether.

¹ *Admiral Duncan*, the Earl of Camperdown, pp. 95-171.

A mutiny to obtain redress of these grievances broke out in May 1797 among the fleet at Spithead. For a week the officers were completely terrorised by the men, until Lord Howe was sent down by the Government to concede their demands, and grant them pardon if they returned to duty. His mission was successful, and on May 15 the mutiny at Spithead was virtually ended, but two days earlier the infection had spread to the ships at the Nore, and to Admiral Duncan's fleet in the North Sea.

In the North Sea the mutiny began on board the flagship, the *Venerable*, but it was soon suppressed by the personal influence of the Admiral himself, and the *Venerable* and the *Adamant* were eventually the only ships of the line that remained faithful to him. He visited every ship in the squadron and induced a better spirit for a time, but as the month of May went on the situation became worse, and on the 28th the *Nassau* and the *Montagu* refused to obey the order to put out to sea. Next day the *Belliqueux's* log records: 'Admiral made signal to sail after. Lying by ans^d the sig^l "inability," ' and by the following day all the ships of the line with the two exceptions already mentioned were in open revolt.

Captain Inglis's report to the Admiralty was as follows :

' Yarmouth Roads, 29th May.

' I beg you will be pleased to inform my Lords Comrs. of the Admiralty that H.M.S. *Belliqueux* was after various struggles taken possession of by the crew combined against their officers universally, the officers of the quarter-deck, the boatswain, carpenter and gunner with some two or three others excepted, and brought in from Admiral Duncan's fleet to this road this day.

It would be useless of me to trouble their Lordships with the various struggles I had with the crew to keep them to a sense of their duty, and I hope upon an investigation that I shall have it in my power to justify myself with honour to their Lordships, but finding myself deserted by everyone but those I have mentioned, and trampled down

by such excessive numbers, I found all further resistance in vain, and that it would be only exposing the few deserving officers who remained by me, without the least expectation of coercing the crew, who took the ship by violence out of my hands.'

Two days later the *Belliqueux* and the rest were taken round to the Nore to join the mutinous ships there, the total then amounting to twelve ships of the line, and fourteen smaller craft.

The mutiny gave the Dutch fleet its opportunity to escape, but Admiral Duncan with the *Venerable* and the *Adamant* returned to the blockade, and he was reinforced by degrees. By repeatedly signalling as if to ships in the offing, he made the Dutch suppose that the rest of the British fleet was lying out of sight, and so kept them within the Texel.

The mutineers meanwhile elected delegates and drew up rules of discipline, which they conscientiously obeyed. They were all along ready to fight their country's enemies, and they passed resolutions

'that every obedience must be paid to officers in command when the ship's duty is required, so that they may be convinced and the country at large of these our unanimous exertions for the safety of the ships under their command.'

After the first week in June the mutiny showed signs of breaking down, and on the 10th Captain Inglis forwarded to the Admiralty a resolution of his crew: 'That we shall limit our demands under two articles, namely to receive our wages down to six months, and to receive H.M.'s indemnification for what we have done.'

On the 16th the master's log reads: 'The ship's company relist the officers and gave up the ship to the captain and officers.' Throughout this period of three weeks the log is chiefly remarkable for its omissions. There is not a single mention of the mutiny except the entry quoted above, and the usual remarks are:—'Fine pleasant weather: people

employed in various necessary jobs,' or 'people employed occasionally,' or 'people employed as the service required.'

The *Belliqueux's* men received pardon with the exception of Bryan M'Donough and Robert Preston, the ringleaders, who were put under arrest and sentenced to imprisonment. In forwarding notes of the evidence against M'Donough the Captain related some incidents of the mutiny :

' On Monday the 29th of May last, the Ship being at sea cruising with Admiral Duncan's squadron, he with others of the crew came upon the quarter deck and insisted upon the ship being carried into Yarmouth Roads where she anchored that day. The next morning they acquainted me with their determination to proceed to the Nore and requested it might be done under my direction with the assistance of the officers, which I refused, and from that moment they had complete possession of her.

' The ship was got under weigh and the officers ordered to quit the deck, from which time till she was restored to my command yesterday evening the duty was carried on under the direction of the said Bryan M'Donough.

' One day upon my attempting to make known my sentiments to the ship's company, he told me I could not be allowed to address them, if I did I should be confined to my cabin. He then ordered the pinnace to be manned and went on board the *Sandwich*.

' Since the blue flag was hoisted at the mizentop masthead and some disposition shown on the general part of the ship's company to return to their duty, he came under the stern and ordered the blue flag to be hauled down and the red flag to be hoisted forward immediately.

' Since my application for H.M. pardon he by force took out of my servant's hands a newspaper which I had directed him to carry to the officers of the wardroom, and some letters which I brought off for the officers of the ship he insisted upon taking from me, saying they might be of use to him. These letters were not returned to the officers until they had been broke open, and even since he knew of my application for the Royal Clemency to be generally extended, he had the assurance to tell me, till it was obtained he considered himself in the command of the ship, and had sufficient influence with the ship's company to protect him.'

The Captain was very anxious to show that his ship was not one of the worst-behaved in the fleet. He wrote to the Admiralty :

‘ There is a publication in the newspapers which has hurt me, mentioning the *Belliqueux* being the last ship which submitted. Their Lordships know the contrary. The crew of the *Belliqueux* not submitting sooner unconditionally was owing to the Petition they had sent and waiting the event of it. I don’t mean to exculpate the crew of the *Belliqueux*. Their conduct, like their brethren of the fleet, was of too black a cast, but it was many shades less so than many others. I can testify whenever I am called upon that they saved the *Hound* sloop from being blown out of the water by the *Sandwich*. They had beat to quarters, pointed their guns, had blown their matches and had all things regularly prepared for battle and were in full expectation of its commencing had the crew of the *Sandwich* persisted.’

On July 10 the Admiral came on board and read the King’s pardon, and on the 23rd the Commissioners paid the men their wages. The Captain applied for a fortnight’s leave of absence for the restoration of his health. He wrote :

‘ I have been two years without being one day absent from my duty. This last fortnight or three weeks I have been a close prisoner, and that in the most unpleasant way, as their Lordships will readily imagine. The confinement and the very great anxiety of my mind has shook me very much, and I am sure it will appear but reasonable that I should have some little respite to recruit.’

This request was refused, and the blockade of the Texel was at once resumed, continuing until the beginning of October, when the fleet returned to Yarmouth to be refitted and provisioned. The work had to be done hurriedly, for in the early days of October the Dutch Government changed its policy. It abandoned the idea of invading Great Britain, and ordered the fleet to risk an engagement at sea. The Dutch ships were made ready, and left the Texel at daybreak on October 7. A message was at once sent to Yarmouth, and

on the morning of the 9th the news reached Admiral Duncan, who gave orders for the fleet to put to sea immediately, and started himself with eleven ships of the line including the *Belliqueux*. The rest were left to follow.

Early in the morning of Wednesday the 11th the enemy was sighted, and Admiral Duncan ordered his fleet to prepare for action.¹ The Dutchmen were drawn up in a long line about twelve miles out from Camperdown, with the wind blowing towards the shore. The British ships came up in straggling fashion, and the Admiral gave orders for the line to be formed; but he saw the Dutch preparing to make for the land, so soon after 11 A.M. he signalled his ships to make all sail. His plan was to pass right through the enemy's line, and engage them on the leeward, so that they might not elude attack by escaping into the shallow water inshore. The plan was very bold, for there was a risk of his own fleet being carried on to a hostile shore, but in the event it was justified by complete success.

The Dutch had sixteen ships of the line with ten smaller vessels; the British fleet also consisted of sixteen ships of the line with eight smaller craft, divided into a larboard division under Vice-Admiral Onslow, and a starboard division, in which was the *Belliqueux*, under Admiral Duncan.

The two Admirals led the way, Duncan on the *Venerable* and Onslow on the *Monarch*, and by 12.40 ten British ships were hotly engaged. They passed through the enemy's line, and attacked him to leeward, five miles from the shore and in only nine fathoms of water.

After a fierce engagement lasting for three hours, the Dutch fleet was reduced to a pitiable condition. Eleven ships of the line struck to the ten British ships; the *Vrijheid*, with Admiral de Winter on board, surrendered to Admiral Duncan, and the *Jupiter*, the flagship of Vice-Admiral Reintjies, to Vice-Admiral Onslow, and those that did escape

¹ *Admiral Duncan, the Earl of Camperdown*, pp. 172-237.

were badly damaged. The Dutch, however, had fought with great gallantry, and almost all our ships had suffered severely, the losses in killed and wounded being very heavy. The ten British ships that were engaged lost 193 officers and men killed and 560 wounded, the *Ardent*, *Monarch*, and *Belliqueux* being the chief sufferers; while two of the Dutch ships that carried Admirals' flags lost 250 each in killed and wounded, and the rest suffered in proportion.

The severe damage that the British ships had sustained in hull and rigging, and the advance of night, enabled the remnant of the Dutch fleet, including some that had actually struck, to escape—in fact it was with difficulty that the victorious fleet and prizes were brought to Yarmouth. The prizes were so much damaged that not one of them was worth repairing for use under the British flag, and the *Venerable* herself was broken up.

The *Belliqueux* took a conspicuous share in the battle, and quite redeemed the character which she lost in the mutiny. Her place as the fleet advanced to the attack was in the Admiral's division at the extreme left of the line and the furthest astern.

The *Caledonian Mercury* of December 16, 1797 quotes a letter from an officer on board the *Venerable*: 'The *Belliqueux* was late of getting into action owing to her bad sailing, being an old vessel, but when she got in no ship did more execution or proved more serviceable.'

The story is told that Captain Inglis was puzzled by the Admiral's frequent signals, and at last threw his signal-book on deck, exclaiming, 'Damn the signals; up wi' the hellem and gang into the middle o' it.' He thus anticipated, as Sir Charles Ekins remarked,¹ Nelson's celebrated memorandum that, 'when a captain should be at a loss he cannot do very wrong if he lay his ship alongside of the enemy.' The signal-book was found among the Captain's papers at Redhall.

¹ *Naval Battles*, p. 236.

The *Belliqueux*'s share in the battle is described in a letter from an officer on board : ¹

' By half past twelve the action was general with both fleets ; by one every ship had broken the enemy's line and had got between them and the land, in order to cut them off from getting into the Texel, the land being then distant seven miles. We had now sufficient exercise, and by half past two a large two-decker struck to our ship, we having at the same time a Dutch Admiral on our larboard quarter, another ship on our starboard quarter, and a heavy ship on our larboard bow.

' At this time the *Isis* and the *Powerful* came and took the fire of one of the ships from us and gave us three cheers. At thirty five minutes after, the ship on our larboard quarter sheered off : at 3 P.M. the ship on our bow filled and made sail, and stood from us. During the space of two hours we had supported a most tremendous fire from the enemy and I believe had repaid them with interest.

' At ten minutes past three wore ship and bore down on the Dutch Rear Admiral Bloys, commanding the Rear Division,² which immediately struck to us, hailed us and desired us to send a boat on board of her and take possession. We were so much disabled that we could not get a boat out, but she dropped astern of us.

' At half past three the action ceased, our fleet being to windward with the prizes taken, and our ship with two prizes close in with the land. Three Dutch ships came down, as we supposed with an intent to retake them ; at the same time the *Montagu* and the *Veteran*, who appear to have sustained little or no damage, came near enough to prevent them. At four they beat a retreat.

' All hands were now employed in knotting, splicing and repairing the damages suffered during the action, having neither brace, bowling nor lifthole or very little of the standing rigging : our foremast, bowsprit, main and crossjackyard were besides materially injured.

' At eight a frigate bore down and convoyed our prizes into the fleet : at nine called the starboard watch on deck, the watch below to sleep at their quarters. It being a fine night we discerned the enemy's fleet bearing E.S.E. distant four miles, consisting of twelve sail of the line. Our fleet was at this time bearing N.N.W. distant

¹ *Times*, October 18, 1797.

² On board the *Brutus* (74).

three miles. The watch on deck employed knotting, splicing and clapping a fish on the foremast. A.M. Got down the crossjackyard and rigged a foretopsail in its lieu ; at six called all hands to muster, found we had 23 men killed and 75 wounded and many others slightly. Quarter past six, the *Veteran* bore down and hailed us, said she was sent by the Admiral to know if we wanted her assistance. Our noble Captain's answer was, we wanted no help, and that we should be ready for action as soon as we had bent a new set of sails, the old ones being shot into mere ribbands. Saw the remainder of the Dutch fleet close in with the land in a very disabled condition.

‘ Presently after a favourable breeze sprung up and they got into the Texel. From this time to noon, all hands employed as necessary.

‘ Half past twelve, called all hands to bury the dead. The Purser read the funeral service over one Lieutenant, one Midshipman and nine brother Tars (the other killed being thrown over in the action) who were immediately launched into the deep—tears streaming from all eyes.

‘ From twelve to four bent a new set of sails, and tacked ship to get into our fleet ; many old tars on board, who have been in several engagements, say they never weathered one more dreadful. Two ships of superior force hauled down their saucy colours to the *Belliqueux*. Admiral Duncan could not do more with so large a fleet and so near the enemy's shore and wind in. If they had been some leagues at sea, very few would have got into the Texel again.’

The returns of casualties on board the *Belliqueux* are signed by Captain Inglis himself. Two officers, Lieutenant Robert Webster and Mr. James Milne, master's mate, 20 seamen and 3 marines, were killed, and the wounded included 3 officers, Lieutenant Robert England (slightly), Captain James Cassel of Marines (slightly), and Mr. James Scott, midshipman, with 63 seamen and 12 marines. Total, 103 out of a complement of 491.

From this list the Captain made one omission, namely, the fact that he was wounded himself. He was struck in several places by splinters of shot, and his wounds, particularly one in the leg, were so serious, that on landing at Yar-

mouth he returned home to Redhall, where he arrived on November 9, and was confined to bed for three months. It is said that his speaking-trumpet was shot out of his hand.

The news of the victory was received throughout the country with the utmost enthusiasm. The thanks of Parliament were voted to the officers, Admiral Duncan was made a Viscount, and gold medals with chains were specially struck for presentation to the flag officers and ships' captains. The King presented the chains in person, when he went to review the fleet at the Nore, but Captain Inglis was not well enough to be present. His medal was sold by his grandson, Captain Inglis, and is now in Lord Cheylesmore's collection in the United Service Institution, Whitehall.

Edinburgh claimed a special interest in the victory, as Lord Duncan was an Edinburgh man. The city was illuminated, and the local poets burst into song with rhymes such as ¹

‘ An’ Captain Inglis, just our ain door-neighbour,
Did pelt amang the louns wi’ a’ his vigour.
Nae mair they’ll grien to taste his heavy mettle;
His wounds can tell he fought a bludy battle.’

The Captain was given the honorary freedom of Edinburgh on November 20, 1797, ‘in testimony of his intrepid conduct . . . and of the high sense the citizens of this Metropolis entertain of Captain Inglis’s good services to his country in general and this city in particular.’ The burgess-ticket with the seal appended is enclosed in a japanned tin box emblazoned with the city arms.

The Captain had recovered from his wounds sufficiently to take part in the festivities of February 16, 1798, when Lord Duncan was received in Edinburgh with a complimentary demonstration. The account of the proceedings as given in the *Times* is : ²

¹ *Poems, chiefly in the Scots Dialect*, David Crawford, p, 101.

² February 21, 1798

‘ Yesterday being appointed by the Lord Provost and Magistrates for giving a grand entertainment to Admiral Lord Duncan, the brigade of Royal Edinburgh Volunteers accompanied by the Royal Edinburgh Light Dragoons, and the Royal Edinburgh and Midlothian Artillery, assembled in the Meadow Walk and Lauriston-road at 2 o’clock in the afternoon.

‘ When the front of the column came opposite Lord Duncan’s house, the different regiments marched past to slow time in open order, the officers saluting his Lordship who stood at his door with his hat in his hand to return the compliment, attended by the Lord Provost, his Grace the Duke of Buccleuch and a number of other Noblemen and Gentlemen.

‘ About a quarter of an hour after the Volunteers left George’s Square, a second Procession commenced, in which were several Noblemen and Gentlemen’s carriages. A large carriage with three masts, on the centre one the Noble Admiral’s Blue Flag ; Lord Viscount Duncan in his carriage accompanied by John Inglis Esq. of Redhall, Captain of the *Belliqueux*, who was wounded on the 11th of October.

‘ On the North Bridge the people and sailors took the horses out of his Lordship’s carriage, and drew it along all through the New Town to Fortune’s Tavern, where the entertainment was provided. When he alighted from his carriage, he was saluted by the Volunteers with presented arms ; and at the door of the Tavern he was received by the Magistrates in their robes, attended by the City Sword, etc.

‘ The invitations to the entertainment were very numerous, comprising a great number of the Nobility and principal Gentlemen of this city and its neighbourhood, naval and military Officers, etc.

‘ Immediately after dinner the Lord Provost presented the Noble Admiral with a complimentary letter from the Magistrates and Council. The evening was spent with a degree of convivial and social enjoyment worthy of the occasion.’

Captain Inglis rejoined the *Belliqueux* in April 1798. He wrote to the Admiralty from Redhall on the first day of the month, complaining with justifiable indignation that his pay had been stopped while he was on the sick list. He then went up to London, and on the 19th wrote again to say that he was not well enough to resume command, but he must have

been given a strong hint that if he did not rejoin at once he would lose his post altogether, for the very next day he wrote that, finding himself recovered in health, he was ready to go on board.

The *Belliqueux* was at the Nore from April 21 to May 12, when she went to Yarmouth. For the next two months she was in Admiral Onslow's squadron cruising off the Texel, and from July 20 till the end of the month, while in Yarmouth Roads, she flew the flag of Lord Duncan before he went on board the *Kent*, his new flagship.

The whole of the rest of the year and the following spring were spent between Yarmouth and the Texel, but the Dutch fleet, taught by the lesson received at Camperdown, did not venture out.

At the end of February 1799 Captain Inglis's command terminated. His health, and apparently his temper too, had been permanently affected by his wounds at Camperdown. The log during this last year is a dreary record of floggings, generally for 'insolence' or 'mutinous expressions,' and it may well be that the Admiralty preferred to put him on the unemployed list rather than provoke another outbreak of mutiny.

This was the end of his naval career, for though he made frequent applications by letter and in person for employment during the next four years, he was unsuccessful. He was promoted in due course to be Rear-Admiral of the Blue on January 1, 1801, Rear-Admiral of the White, April 23, 1804, and Vice-Admiral of the Blue, November 9, 1805.

The *Belliqueux*, commanded by Captain Bulteel, continued in the North Sea Fleet, and was in the squadron which in August 1799 forced Admiral Storey to surrender the whole Dutch fleet in the Texel. In 1805 and 1806, under the command of Captain Byng, she was engaged once more against her old enemy the Dutch, first at the taking of the Cape of Good Hope, and afterwards in the East Indies. She passed

out of commission in 1812, after a service of more than thirty years.

The accounts kept by Mrs. Inglis while her husband was at sea deal *inter alia* with the children's education.

John went in September 1795 to the Royal High School, of which the famous Dr. Alexander Adam was rector. In 1798 he began to attend classes at the University, and he also had private instruction in French and mathematics. In 1804 he presented his petition to be admitted an advocate, and in March 1805 he 'passed lawyer,' as the Admiral puts it.

The two younger boys had a tutor. The girls had a governess, and were taught the usual accomplishments. A 'forta pianna' was hired for them, and they were given plenty of dancing lessons and tickets for the 'Publicks' at the Assembly Rooms, and for the circus and the play.

After Mrs. Cadell's death in 1797, her daughter, Jean Sophia, came to live at Redhall, and was educated with her cousins.

During the Admiral's absence Mrs. Inglis did a great deal of planting, both at Redhall and at Auchindinny. She planted oaks, Scotch firs, larches and elms at Redhall in 1796, and at the same time put in three hundred Scotch firs 'to compleat the bonny brae at Auchindinny,' as well as 'six hundred young trees to replace a piece of planting that was burnt down.'

As early as 1769 Bishop Forbes of Ross and Caithness wrote of Auchindinny as a 'beautiful seat, adorned with plantations of wood in great plenty.'¹

In 1797 Mrs. Inglis started peaches, apricots, and pear trees at Redhall garden, and another similar lot with some cherry trees the following year. She also planted on the rubbish of Redhall quarry, and put in more oaks, ashes, and elms in the grounds.

¹ *The Lyon in Mourning* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), iii. 243.

She managed the cows with success, for in December 1801 we find that £5, 16s. 6d. is paid to a china merchant 'for a set of tea china out of the Profits of the dairy.'

The price of farm labour may be seen from an entry in September 1796 :

'Paid for sheerers wages 3rd September for cutting down barley wheat and corn for three weeks, the wages was 9 pence with a penny halfpenny for their supper and the last week 10 pence besides suppers, with their meat. The harvest began here 3rd Sep^r and ended 16th Sep^r—£2, 18s. 3½d.'

A few special subscriptions and imposts were paid by the Admiral and his wife during this period. Mrs. Inglis enters :

' 1795, July 4 th . Paid Mr Norris for trying to get volunteers for the Govomand	£1	1	0
1796, June 27. Paid £5, 5s. 0d. subscribed by Captain Inglis along with the other gentlemen and farmers in Colinton Parish for buying meal to be distributed to the Poor at a low price	5	5	0
1799, April 20. Paid for two Lizences for wearing hair powder for Captain Inglis and myself	2	2	0.'

The Admiral adds :

' 1801, August 11. Paid Mess ^{rs} Sivewright and C ^o for insuring my son against being balloted in the militia	1	11	6.'
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A further payment of £5, 5s. 0d. with the same object was made in 1803. He subscribed ten guineas to the County Volunteers, a guinea annually to the Society, founded in 1795, for Relief of the Industrious Blind, and five guineas 'to the widows and orphans of those slain at the Battle of Trafalgar.'

It will have been noticed that Mrs. Inglis, whose business capacity is above reproach, has an independent system of spelling. Her grammar also is shaky at times ; for instance, she enters a payment of £2, 8s. 2d. 'for a seat in the Little Church at Edinburgh that holds 6 people.'

At Martinmas 1795 Auchindinny House and grass lands were let to the redoubtable Henry Mackenzie of the Exchequer, 'The Man of Feeling,' who lived there till 1807. He paid a rent of £120, afterwards £150—£40 for the house and £110 for the grounds.

Auchindinny in his time was a resort of the literary set. His friends included John Home, author of the *Douglas*, and Dr. 'Jupiter' Carlyle of Inveresk. Sir Walter Scott, who lived at Lasswade for a short time after his marriage in 1797, used to come over, and has immortalised 'Auchindinny's hazel glade and haunted Woodhouselee.'¹

The Woodhouselee family were also on intimate terms. Miss Ann Fraser-Tytler, daughter of Lord Woodhouselee and sister of Patrick Fraser-Tytler, the historian of Scotland, records in her diary:² 'Drinking tea there [Auchindinny] one evening we waited some time for Mr. Mackenzie's appearance: he came in at last, heated and excited. "What a glorious evening I have had!" We thought he spoke of the weather, which was beautiful, but he went on to detail the intense enjoyment he had had in a cock-fight. Mrs. Mackenzie listened some time in silence; then, looking up in his face, she exclaimed in her gentle voice: "Oh Harry, Harry, your 'feeling' is all on paper."'

The war had been a lucrative matter for the Admiral: he received in prize money £3000 for Camperdown and £1000 for other prizes, and he spent this and some of his pay in buying £6750 stock in the three per cent. consols. He also had the five original shares in the Forth and Clyde Canal, left him by his uncle George, and valued at £835 in 1807 and at £2500 in 1825. The total value of his movable estate, including furniture and farm stock, was estimated at his death to be £7391.

His investments would bring in about £250; his pay as

¹ *The Grey Brother*, line 67.

² *Portrait of a Christian Gentleman*, Rev. John W. Burgon, p. 35.

Captain of the *Bellicieux* was about £240, and his half-pay as Rear-Admiral about £400, and as Vice-Admiral £500. Besides this he drew rents from Auchindinny, Redhall, Langbyres, and Colzium amounting to about £800.

The expenses of the family when he retired were £700 or £750 a year, but rose to more than double that amount in his last few years, when the boys were being put out into the world, so that he was able to save but little.

He spent a good deal of his capital in buying heritage. The purchase of Colzium has been already mentioned, and in 1799 he bought Katesmill adjoining Redhall from Sir James Foulis of Colinton: the purchase with repairs cost nearly £3000. The mill was named after Katharine Cant,¹ wife of Mr. John Balfour, partner and successor of Mr. Gavin Hamilton in the paper-making business.

The Admiral greatly improved the appearance of Redhall in 1803, by closing the public road which used to run past the stables down to Katesmill, and carrying it round the outside of the two fields to the south-east of the house.

In 1802 he bought No. 13 George Square as a town house for winter residence. The previous year he had rented a house 'at the southern end of the earthen Mound.' The house in George Square was bought from the trustees of Mr. Claud Alexander of Ballochmyle, and the Admiral seems to have paid £1280 for it; but he notes that with repairs and furnishings it cost him £2500.

The house was originally built in 1770 for Lord Justice-Clerk Robert M'Queen, Lord Braxfield. It is significant that ten years after the Admiral's death, when his widow was letting the house, the tenant complained that the wine cellar was constantly full of water, and she explained that Lord Braxfield had found the cellar too small and had deepened it.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century George Square

¹ *The Balfours of Pilrig*, Barbara Balfour-Melville, p. 130.

had lost the place which it held fifteen or twenty years before as the most fashionable quarter of Edinburgh ; but the residents were still people of good position, and the houses to this day have an eminently respectable, if austere, appearance.

Lord Duncan lived at No. 5, 'The Man of Feeling' at 55, Lord President Blair of Avontoun at 56, and Lord Chief Baron Dundas next door. David Ewart of Balgray (afterwards Lord Balgray) lived at No. 30, and Dr. Adam of the Royal High School at No. 39. Sir Walter Scott left No. 25 on his marriage in 1797.

The Admiral and his wife, in contrast to their uncle, were not patrons of literature or art, but Redhall was famed for its collection of china, most of which is said to have been taken out of prizes captured during the war: the only remains are a few broken pieces of two dinner services—one of oriental china, the other of Lowestoft ware decorated with the Inglis coat of arms. These are almost the only relics of the Admiral, except his sword, a 'sarcophagus' wine-cooler, and miniatures of him and his wife.

The Admiral bought four proof prints of Lord Howe, Lord St. Vincent, Lord Duncan, and Lord Nelson, and an engraving of Lord Duncan's action at Camperdown, but he seems to have made no important additions to the library except Hume's *History*, though we find on April 28, 1801: 'Paid James Thomson, poet, for three copys of his poem, 12s.'

Little is to be learned from the books as to other members of the family. An occasional present is sent to Miss Kitty, the Admiral's sister in Philadelphia, and he paid the funeral expenses of his sister Mrs. Barkly in October 1801. Mrs. Vernon's death in November 1795 is also mentioned.

During the last few years of his life, as his health failed, the Admiral abandoned his attempts to get employment for himself and began canvassing for his youngest boy, Archibald, for whom he was anxious to obtain a writership in the East India Company's service. He applied without success to

Lord Cornwallis, Lord Melville, and his son Robert Dundas, but in November 1805 he succeeded through the influence of Mr. Edward Parry, one of the directors of the Company.

Archy, then a boy of fifteen, was fitted out, and left for India almost immediately; and George, who was two years older, had been sent into the Navy earlier in the year and joined H.M.S. *Texel*.

The account books give many indications of the Admiral's failing health; in fact he never really recovered from the effects of the mutiny and Camperdown. He was laid up during May and June 1802, and for a couple of months in the summer of 1803. Mrs. Inglis kept the accounts during March and April 1805, 'the Admiral being taken ill of the gout.'

The last entry in his writing is on March 4, 1807, just a week before he died, and relates to his son George joining H.M.S. *Ganges*.

He died on March 11, 1807 at the age of sixty-three, and was buried in Colinton Parish Churchyard, and John, his eldest son, ruled at Redhall in his stead.

The Admiral made at least four settlements of his property subsequent to his marriage contract, and, as his will stood at his death, his two younger sons were entitled to legacies of £3000 and his daughters to £2000 each. Mrs. Inglis was left a liferent of Auchindinny and an annuity of £300, and John took the whole of the heritage.

He appointed as tutors to his children his widow, Lord President Blair, his old commander Admiral John Elliot of Essenside, who died the next year, Dr. Monro of Craiglockhart, and William Cadell the elder and William Cadell the younger of Banton.

He left debts to the amount of £2500; the furniture, plate, etc., were valued at £650, and the farm stock at about £300, but as the whole personalty amounted to £7391, and the debts and legacies to £12,500, there was a large deficit. It would appear, however, from the receipts given by the legatees,

that Mr. John generously made good the deficit, and ultimately paid the legacies in full.

The Admiral always took an affectionate interest in the family, and his descendants in their turn may well be proud of him, as one of the men who contributed to form the type of the British naval officer of the eighteenth century—as a man who during the most critical half-century of his country's history was able to put at her service the two qualities that were most required—courage and seamanship.

He was, like most gouty subjects, sensitive and hot-tempered, but it would be unfair to judge him by the last few years of his life, when ill health and exposure had begun to tell their tale.

He himself acknowledged the disadvantage which he suffered from want of early education, but his native shrewdness and his manifold experience at sea went far to compensate for this, and no better testimony of his sterling qualities can be required than the lasting friendship which he enjoyed with such good judges of men as Lord President Blair, Chief Baron Dundas, and Admiral Lord Duncan.



John Hughes

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CHAPTER XVI

THE ADMIRAL'S FAMILY

JOHN INGLIS, eldest son of Admiral Inglis, was born at Auchindinny on May 14, 1783. He passed advocate on March 5, 1805, and on the same day was admitted a member of the Speculative Society, a literary and debating club founded in 1764, with rooms in the Edinburgh University buildings, and numbering among its members almost all the lawyers eminent in Scotland since its foundation. It appears from the minutes that he attended the meetings with great regularity, but seldom spoke in the debates—in fact to the end of his days he was quite unable to make a speech under any circumstances, and under pressure of the slightest excitement became utterly incoherent.

It is therefore not surprising that he did not get practice at the bar; his total fees seem to have amounted to five guineas, and in 1818 he gave up attending the Parliament House.

In appearance he was rather short and very thick-set, and he spoke in a stammering fashion, and in a cracked and unmodulated voice. Although he had no ear for music, he considered it his duty to sing in church, to the astonishment of the Craiglockhart dog, which used to jump on the seat in the next pew to watch the performance. He had no literary or artistic tastes, and his only vehicle of instruction was the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, the reading of which was a solemn rite, not to be lightly interrupted.

He was strictly upright in all his dealings, but he had an

irritable temper, and an exaggerated idea of his position as Laird of Redhall. He would willingly do a favour, but if any request was made as a matter of right, whether the right was well founded or not, he would certainly refuse.

In spite of his failings he had the power of inspiring affection, especially with young people, probably because he was a kind, almost soft-hearted, man. He was most sympathetic to people in trouble ; and any love affair or other romance interested him keenly.

In his bachelor days Mr. John Inglis enjoyed a reasonable measure of dissipation. His account books record numerous club dinners at Fortune's and Oman's taverns, balls at Dalkeith and assemblies in Edinburgh, visits to the play, and 'jaunts,' on one occasion in 1810 so far afield as Ireland. He belonged to the Faculty Club, one of the many convivial societies which flourished among the young men of Edinburgh ; he hunted with the Linlithgow and Stirlingshire hounds, and he joined the Midlothian Yeomanry.

Besides continuing the hereditary series of account books, he kept letter books in which all his business letters were copied in his large straggling hand. He affected an extremely pompous style, regardless of grammar and spelling, and he had the unhappy failing of being unable to disagree with his correspondents without displaying excessive irritation and in too many cases sheer insolence. It is, however, fair to his memory to say that after his marriage, and still more after his second marriage, his style becomes less truculent, and those who knew him agree that the letters do not represent his true character.

A good many of the letters, particularly in 1812, are applications to Lord Melville and to Sir George Clerk of Penicuik, the county member, on behalf of his sailor brother, George.

GEORGE INGLIS entered the Navy on August 27, 1805 at the age of fifteen as a second-class volunteer on board the *Texel*

(64) at Leith. He became midshipman in May 1806 on the *Ganges* (74), and during the next six years saw much service on various ships in European waters. He was present at the capture of Copenhagen in September 1807, and at the blockades of Toulon, Barcelona, Brest, and Flushing. In 1812 he was transferred to the *Marlborough* (74) on the North American station, where war with the United States was in progress. On March 25, 1813 he was promoted to be Lieutenant, and was appointed to the *Royal George*, which was one of the ships in Commodore Sir James Lucas Yeo's squadron on Lake Ontario.

Unfortunately he had by this time begun to give way to intemperance and outbursts of violent temper, and towards the end of June he was guilty of a serious breach of discipline. While the senior officers were away from the ships on a landing party, he left the *Royal George* contrary to orders, and went to the *Beresford*, where he was found intoxicated. The Commodore put him under arrest, but as there were not enough captains available to form a court-martial, he was allowed to return to duty, and was ordered to join the *Detroit* (19), Captain R. H. Barclay, on Lake Erie.

The British squadron consisted of six small vessels carrying sixty-three guns of a broadside weight of 459 lbs., and with 345 men, of whom only fifty were British seamen. At the beginning of September they were blockaded at Amherstburg near Detroit city, by nine larger vessels under Commodore Perry. The guns of the American ships were of longer range and threw a broadside weight of 928 lbs., and the crews numbered 580 men.

On September 10, 1813 Captain Barclay was reduced by starvation to risk an engagement, which ended in the complete defeat and capture of his squadron.¹ He himself was severely wounded and his first lieutenant killed early in the

¹ *History of the Royal Navy*, Laird Clowes, vi. 120-7; Wm. James, *Naval History*, vi. 249-51.

fight, so the command of the *Detroit* devolved upon George Inglis. Captain Barclay reported to Sir James Yeo :¹ 'Lieut. Inglis shewed such calm intrepidity, that I was fully convinced that on leaving the deck I left the ship in excellent hands ; and for an account of the battle after that, I refer you to his letter, which he wrote me for your information.'

Lieutenant Inglis's report was as follows :

'On coming on the quarter-deck, after your being wounded, the enemy's second brig, at that time on our weather beam, shortly afterwards took a position on our weather bow, to rake us ; to prevent which, in attempting to wear, to get our starboard broadside to bear upon her, a number of the guns of the larboard broadside being at this time disabled, fell on board the *Queen Charlotte*, at this time running up to leeward of us. In this situation the two ships remained for some time.

'As soon as we got clear of her, I ordered the *Queen Charlotte* to shoot ahead of us, if possible, and attempted to back our fore-topsail to get astern ; but the ship lying completely unmanageable, every brace cut away, the mizen-top-mast and gaff down, all the other masts badly wounded, not a stay left forward, hull shattered very much, a number of the guns disabled, and the enemy's squadron raking both ships, ahead and astern, none of our own in a situation to support us, I was under the painful necessity of answering the enemy to say we had struck, the *Queen Charlotte* having previously done so.'

George Inglis was kept a prisoner for four months, and was then exchanged and sent home. He was appointed to the *Pique* (36), and might have made a fresh start in his profession, if he had not been misguided enough to institute a civil action of damages for slander against Sir James Yeo. In October 1815, while this suit was pending, he also applied for a court-martial, and on his withdrawing the civil action, this was granted, but before the court met he abandoned proceedings and was placed on half-pay.

¹ *London Gazette*, 1814, p. 331.

In June 1819 he went on a trading voyage to Valparaiso with a cargo of wine, wearing apparel, and mixed goods, on which he sunk some £2000 of his capital. He was abroad for eighteen months, but his venture was a failure, and he lost a good deal of money.

On his return he found that he had forfeited his half-pay for absence without leave. He drifted into evil courses, and at one time was so violent that he had to be kept under restraint. He never married, and had no house of his own. He died in lodgings at Leith on September 16, 1849, leaving no less than nine wills, which bear traces of his eccentricity. One clause, which is common to almost all, disinherits the Redhall family,—a signal proof of ingratitude, as his brother John had done his best for him, and he himself was constantly at Redhall down to the last.

The letter books show that Mr. John Inglis also used his influence on behalf of his brother ARCHIBALD, who was in the military service of the East India Company, on the Fort St. George or Madras establishment.

He received his cadetship in 1805, and became Ensign on June 27, 1806, and Lieutenant on January 9, 1808, in the 20th Regiment of Native Infantry. He was transferred on September 1, 1808 to the 24th Regiment, in which he remained till 1824, reaching the rank of Captain on May 1 of that year.¹

During the greater part of these nineteen years he had been in the field, and in 1817 he was one of a force of 1200 men who resisted an attack of 20,000 natives under Aga Sahib, Rajah of Nagpur. On November 26 and 27, 1817 the small garrison of Nagpur had to withstand repeated attacks, and when reinforcements were sent, a great battle was fought, and the Rajah's troops were completely defeated and disbanded.

¹ Dodwell and Miles, *Indian Army List*, 1760-1834.

In 1824 Captain Inglis came home on leave, and on December 5, 1826 he married his first wife, Catherine, third daughter of the late Peter Warburton of Blackhill, Staffordshire. They had one child, Barbara, who was born November 2, 1827, and died in India in February 1829.

On his return to India Captain Inglis was transferred to the newly formed 48th Native Infantry: he served as Major in this regiment from October 17, 1830, and on March 5, 1836 was promoted Lieutenant-Colonel of the 3rd Native Infantry. On April 3, 1837 he retired after thirty-two years' service, and came home with his wife. They rented Gorton, and afterwards Kersehill near Falkirk, where Mrs. Inglis died on April 18, 1843 in her thirty-eighth year.

On September 24, 1844 Colonel Inglis married his second wife, Miss Catherine Hartland Mahon, daughter of the Rev. Arthur Mahon of Cavetown, co. Roscommon, but they had no children. Mrs. Inglis, an evangelical of a very strict type, survived her husband for many years, and died at Richmond, Surrey, on September 23, 1893.

In 1846 Colonel Inglis bought a small property called Carlingwark, near Castle Douglas in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, but in 1856 he sold it for £2020, and bought a house in Dublin. By this time he was a martyr to the family complaint—gout, and when he moved to Ireland in April he was taken seriously ill, and died on May 21, 1856 at 10 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin, the house of a friend.

Like his brothers, he had an uncouth voice and a hot temper, but he was a simple-hearted and kindly man.

The Laird of Redhall married on July 31, 1815 Miss Robert Johnstone Brown, only child of Captain Robert Johnstone of the 31st (Huntingdonshire) Regiment, who was killed on May 17, 1796 at Sir Ralph Abercromby's attack on St. Lucia. She was a posthumous child, and was given her father's name—Robert. Her mother took the additional

surname of Brown on succeeding to her uncle, James Brown, in the entailed property of Milton, in the parish of Pencaitland, East Lothian.

Mrs. Inglis had no children, and after a period of ill health she died at Redhall on March 25, 1826, aged twenty-nine.

An old Mrs. Aitchison, a relative of hers, who lived in Broughton Place, Edinburgh, till the end of the century, used to tell how she met the Laird after his wife's death, and, not noticing that he was in mourning, asked how she was. He simply replied: 'Do ye no see ma breeks?'

Mrs. Johnstone Brown used to come to Slateford House every summer till 1838; in the winter she lived at 16 Lynedoch Place, and died there in 1848.

When the Laird married, his mother and sisters went to live at Auchindinny. 'The Man of Feeling' had vacated it in 1807, and it had been let to other tenants. The house in George Square was also let, and eventually in 1846 it was sold for £1600 to the Rev. Dr. John Paul of St. Cuthbert's, who had been tenant since 1828.

On May 27, 1820 old Mrs. Inglis died at Auchindinny, after a fortnight's illness, at the age of about seventy-three, and was buried at Colinton.

JANE, the elder daughter, a gentle, amiable girl, had married on April 17, 1816 Captain James Coutts Crawford, R.N.,¹ of Wester Overton near Strathaven, Lanarkshire, a widower with one daughter, Mary Simpson, who married in 1823 Sir Henry Dundas Duncan, fourth son of Admiral Lord Duncan. By his second wife Captain Crawford had two sons—James Coutts, born January 19, 1817, and John Inglis, born May 3, 1818. The latter child only lived till June 29.

After Mrs. Inglis's death Captain Crawford took Auchindinny for a year, and went to live there with his wife and boy

¹ Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 7th ed., i. 426.

and her sister, but that summer Mrs. Crawford fell into a decline and died there on February 26, 1821. She also was buried at Colinton. Captain Crawford died at Liverpool in May 1828.

James Coutts Crawford, the younger, went into the Navy for a short time, and then emigrated to New Zealand. He married (1) on November 29, 1843 Sophia Whittey, daughter of Admiral Sir James Deans Dundas, by whom he had a son and a daughter. She died on April 20, 1852, and he married (2) on July 28, 1857 Jessie, daughter of Alexander M'Barnet of Torridon and Atterdale, Ross-shire, by whom he had three sons. He died in April 1889.

SOPHIA INGLIS, the Admiral's younger daughter, married on September 17, 1822 Benjamin Digby of Ballincurra, co. Westmeath, and 10 Mountjoy Square, Dublin, and had a family of two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter, Barbara, died in infancy. In contrast to her sister Mrs. Digby was a robust, matter-of-fact woman, and she was very energetic, especially in the cause of religion. Before her marriage she established a school for poor children at Auchindinny. The Digbys lived several years in Glasgow and in Edinburgh for the sake of the children's education, but for the most part their home was in Ireland. Mrs. Digby died on March 22, 1863 at the age of seventy-six: her husband survived till April 14, 1867.

William Benjamin, their elder son, who succeeded to Ballincurra, was born on April 28, 1824, and was trained as an engineer. He rose to the rank of Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel in the Dublin Artillery Militia. He was twice married, but had no family. He married (1) on July 23, 1868 Fanny Isabella, daughter of William Lees of Ashfield, co. Dublin. She died on May 7, 1872. He married (2) on June 22, 1876 Fanny Charlotte, daughter of the Reverend Canon Brooke of Coolmain, co. Monaghan. Colonel Digby died on April 16, 1913.

Mary Digby was born in 1827, and married in 1884 the Reverend John C. Pinney, Vicar of Coleshill, Warwickshire, and died without issue on January 26, 1900.

John Digby, the younger son, was born in 1828, and was called to the English bar by the Middle Temple on June 7, 1852. He became a Bencher of his Inn in 1888, and was Treasurer in 1908-9. He married in 1859 Henrietta Florence, second daughter of Richard Sharp of Apps Court, Surrey. She died on March 5, 1887, having had two children—Florence Henrietta Sophia, born February 21, 1863, died unmarried July 1, 1890; and Essex William Richard, born April 1865, died April 1866.

Since 1821 Auchindinny has not been occupied by the Inglis family, but has been let to a succession of tenants, the most notable being Archibald Fletcher, advocate, the 'Father of Burgh Reform,' and his wife, a lady who moved in the literary circles of Edinburgh. The Fletcher family were at Auchindinny from 1824 to 1829, and Mr. Fletcher died there in December 1828.

Mrs. Fletcher often refers to the place in her *Autobiography*:¹

'In April 1824 we all went to live at Auchindinny House, an old and odd-looking château on the banks of the North Esk, nine miles from Edinburgh and within a walk of Penecuik. Although it had nothing of the neatness and order of an English villa, it suited our taste, and the walks about it were a never-ending pleasure to my daughters and to my grandchildren.

'To Madame de Bossi we were indebted for the honour of a visit from Sismondi.² I remember it was a long bright summer day they came. The Jeffreys met them and we had a wander after dinner in the glen and old quarry of Auchindinny which all enjoyed. . . . We had enjoyed the visits of many valued friends from far and near. Dear Mrs. Erskine, the widow of Henry Erskine and the sister of Sir

¹ Pp. 164, 165, 181.

² The Italian historian.

Thomas Munro, was a frequent guest, a delightful companion to old and young. . . . We had frequent visits from that delightful thinker, writer and converser, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen. Dear Mrs. Grant of Laggan and her daughter Mary, who had all *her* genius and more refinement, were often with us. We there first became acquainted with Professor Sedgwick and Dr. Whewell, who came together to Auchindinny, and we used to benefit by the neighbourhood of the excellent family of Cowan at Penecuik, whose intimacy with Dr. Chalmers often brought him there, both to preach and shed the genial influence of his conversational powers among their friends and neighbours.'

On February 5, 1828 Mr. John Inglis married his second wife, Maria, eldest daughter of his neighbour and second cousin, Dr. Alexander Monro (*Tertius*) of Craiglockhart, and by her he had a family of two sons and three daughters. She was a very handsome woman, with the qualities of a 'good manager'; she made an affectionate wife, and during the Laird's lifetime the family life was happy.

Mr. Inglis lived the ordinary life of the country gentleman. He received a commission as Deputy Lieutenant in 1829, and from 1811 to 1842 he was convener of the Trustees of the Slateford Road Board. Many of his letters are on road business, and it is very obvious that the work entailed a great waste of nervous tissue. A letter addressed to Sir George Clerk of Penicuik in 1811 gives a fair idea of the tone in which he conducted the correspondence :

'SIR,—I with reluctance trouble you on the present occasion, being fully aware that it is the duty of trustees on each individual district to aid the efforts of their convener as much as possible without adding to the trouble necessarily accompanying that situation, but as several representations have of late been made to me I think myself called upon both by them and personal observation to mention that it would be particularly for the advantage of the Roads on the Colington branch of the Wrightshouses district, that the metal at present ready and broke was immediately put on, as not one pound



Maria Inglis.

To face page 188.

has been laid on there since July, excepting on the road leading to a well-known Castle ; and altho' it is most desireable that the Palaces of the Great should be accommodated with every convenience at public expence, and particularly that a mansion raised by Public Plunder should have the Public money lavishly expended in its neighbourhood, yet however important these objects are, still some small attention is due to the principal roads from which the Revenue of the tolls arise.'

He held a commission in the Midlothian Yeomanry from 1807, and there are many references in the accounts to mess dinners on a lavish scale, and to warlike accoutrements such as 'sabars,' 'sord-knots,' and 'pype-clay,' but on the whole the Yeomanry was a source of great irritation to him.

In the summer of 1813 he wrote to Sir John Hope, the Colonel, threatening to resign because of a deficiency in officers.

'It is perhaps the opinion of the Col. of the Regiment and the Lord Lieutenant of the County that there are no proper Individuals in the County of Midlothian to fill up the vacancies ; if so, they act properly in making no new appointments ; but as I am fully convinced of our inefficiency being owing principally to the vacancies not being filled up, and having neither time nor inclination to bestow on so defective a system, I intend withdrawing my name from it, which I shall do with regret.'

Sir John Hope seems to have understood him, and replied by getting him a Captain's commission in the Dalmahoy Troop. This pacified him, and the Yeomanry does not re-appear in the correspondence till 1820. During the training that year there was a quarrel with another officer about the distribution of billets, which led to Mr. Inglis being reprimanded by the Colonel. This row had hardly subsided when a second grievance cropped up, and he wrote to the Colonel in great indignation that at a review his troop was not placed 'in that part of the line which belongs to my rank in the regiment.'

A week later the crisis was reached when a circular from the Colonel arrived stating that commanding officers were to be responsible for the arms and accoutrements issued to their respective troops. Mr. Inglis considered this to be intolerable, and resigned his commission in June 1821.

It must be confessed that his resignation had a beneficial effect on his nerves, if his letters are any indication, for his style becomes much less combative.

In 1836 the scheme for enlarging Colinton Church threw him into a state of considerable indignation, because it would be necessary to cut off a small piece of the Redhall seat. In a letter to the minister, the Rev. Lewis Balfour, grandfather of Robert Louis Stevenson, he says :

‘ You seem to press strongly on my consideration that the duties of an elder call upon me to sacrifice my rights as an Heritor when these come in competition. This doctrine differs so very much from any ideas I ever formed of the duties attached to the office of elder as to determine me to give in my resignation of that office, which I now beg leave to do.’

The masterpiece from his pen is a letter, too long to quote in full, written in 1811 to Sir John Dalrymple, Bart. :

‘ Some circumstances have occurred relative to the purchase of the two cows which I lose no time in communicating, in order to justify my own conduct least they should reach you through any other channel ; but it greives me not a little that they are attended with complete disgrace and infamy to my near relation, Dr. Monro, Jun.¹ . . .’

Mr. Inglis had undertaken to buy the cows for Sir John from Dr. Monro at a valuation to be placed on them by Mr. Scott, the Craiglockhart farmer. Dr. Monro told him that one cow had been valued by Mr. Scott at £23, and a quey at £12, 12s. :

‘ From the instructions I got from you I agreed to give that price,

¹ Afterwards his father-in-law.

not doubting that all he had said was true, but how great was my surprize on meeting Mr. Scott (who is a respectable farmer and a good neighbour) to find it was all false, and the value he had put upon the cow was £18 (that which I thought was her price) and the quey £12.

‘ This very melancholy case I thought myself called to communicate to you least you should think I had in any degree betrayed the sacred trust confided to me ; but should you think that my caution ought to have provided against the shameful and, I must say, the very unexpected falsehood to which I have been exposed, I will be happy to take the cows and run the risk of what I can get for them. I received from Mr. Wilson the amount of their price which I lost no time in handing to Dr. Monro Jun., and I informed him how much I was shocked at his conduct and how sorry I was that any relation of mine could so prostitute his character and sell everything dear to a man for the paltry sum £5, 12s.’

During the Laird’s régime the estates reached the zenith of their prosperity. There was a slight decrease in many of the ordinary rents, particularly about 1832 and 1833, and he often gave abatements if times were bad. But any loss was more than compensated for by the development of Redhall stone quarry. Before 1821 the tenant had paid from £40 to £70 of rent, but in that year George Johnstone began operations on a large scale, and undertook to pay one-third of the gross takings. This averaged over £1000 during the next ten years, and in 1824 rose to as much as £2100. In 1832 Johnstone became bankrupt, and for the next two years Mr. Inglis worked the quarry himself; but this arrangement did not succeed, and no more stone was taken out in his lifetime.

He made certain improvements at Redhall, and what he did was well done. In 1824 he built a one-roomed porter’s lodge, the next year he built the stables, and in 1831 he had designs drawn for a handsome iron railing and gate, which replaced part of the garden wall on the side next the river.

He sold the farm of Colzium and Cairns in 1818 to the Rev. Dr. Hugh Laird for £4000. In 1842 he bought from

Mr. William Cadell for £500 the lands of Pyke, which had originally formed part of Auchindinny, and had fallen into the Cadell share together with The Firth when the property was divided.

The Laird viewed railways and canals with suspicion, and strenuously opposed all schemes of the kind so far as they affected his property—in fact he was of the typically conservative cast of mind. He considered the Union Canal ‘very injurious to proprietors of land near Edinburgh, and particularly to those whose ground it passes through,’ but when the Canal Company obtained their Act of Parliament he got a good price for the land acquired by them, and he made terms with the Mammon of Unrighteousness by taking shares in the Company.

He subscribed to the funds of the Tory party in Midlothian, and, like many gentlemen of his class, was stirred to great indignation by the repeal of the Corn Laws. It is said that at a dinner party at Redhall the subject was broached in the drawing-room before dinner, and when the guests reached the dining-room and there was a hush for grace, the Laird exclaimed with fervour: ‘The damned rascals!’

His subscriptions to public objects were numerous and liberal. He gave £25 to the monument on the Calton Hill to commemorate Waterloo, £5 to the Scott Monument, 100 guineas to the ‘statute’ of Lord President Blair for the Parliament House, 10 guineas to a statue of the Earl of Hopetoun, and £10 for Roslin Chapel. He became a life member of the Highland and Agricultural Society, and of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, and gave £21 to the Horticultural Society’s experimental gardens. He subscribed liberally to the distressed Irish, the suffering Highland population, the Irish clergy, Polish exiles, and the unemployed in 1817 and 1826.

Almost every year he went a ‘jaunt’ in the family carriage with his wife, and latterly with some of the children. They

were several times in the Highlands, once at least getting as far as Inverness. He was three times in London and twice in Ireland, but he never went abroad. In 1842 they were at Cheltenham, in 1845 in the English Lake District, and in 1846 at Leamington. Like his great-uncle George, he had a fondness for Harrogate, which he visited several times.

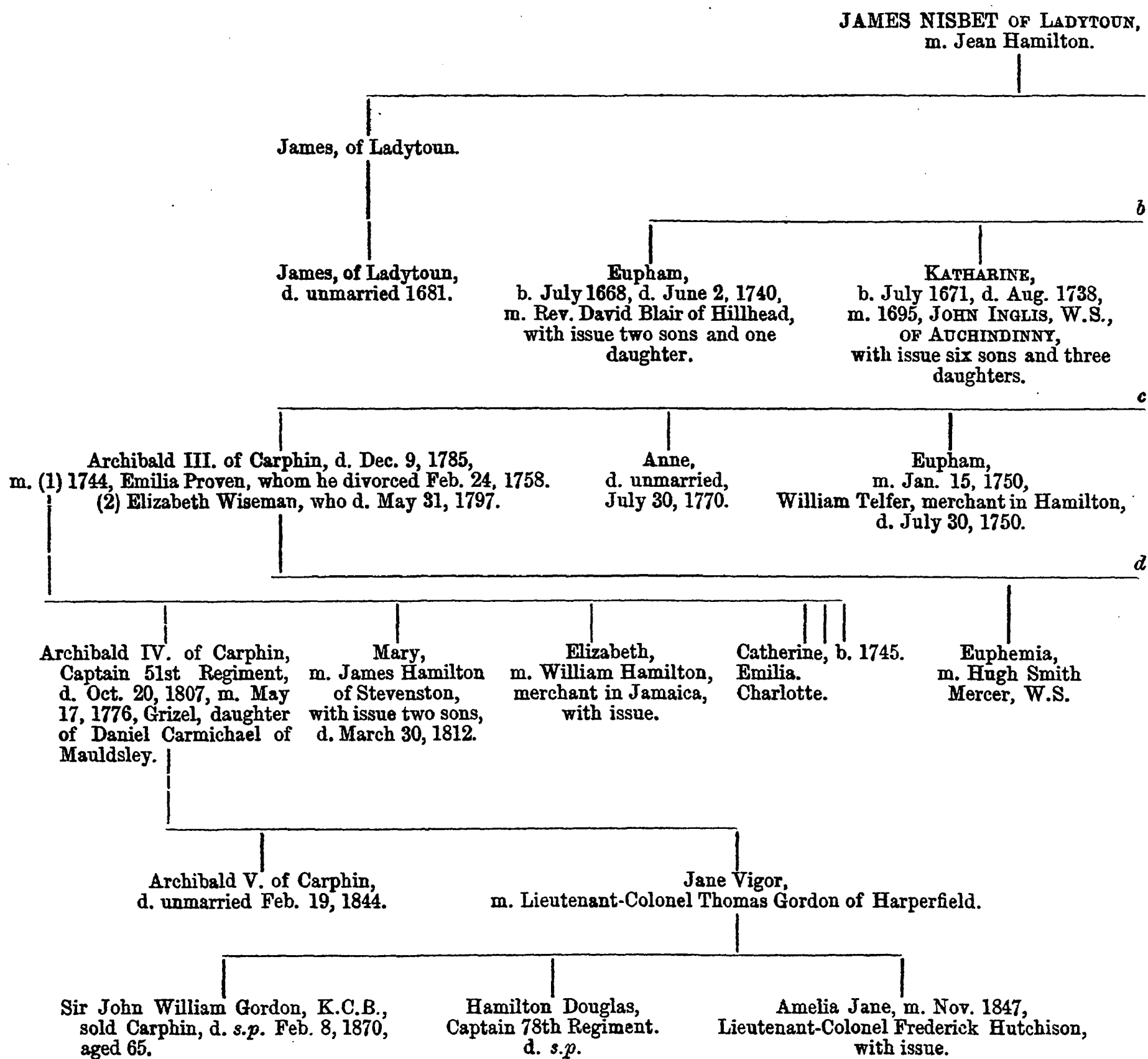
There are many indications of the Laird's anxiety to give the children pleasure. He used to take them to the play, the circus, museums, and the 'panaramy,' and they always remembered him with great affection. The villagers at Slateford viewed him with respectful awe, but they acknowledged his kindness and consideration in times of distress.

He seems to have been in good health until the autumn of 1846, but all that winter he was invalided, and he died on March 23, 1847 in his sixty-fourth year.

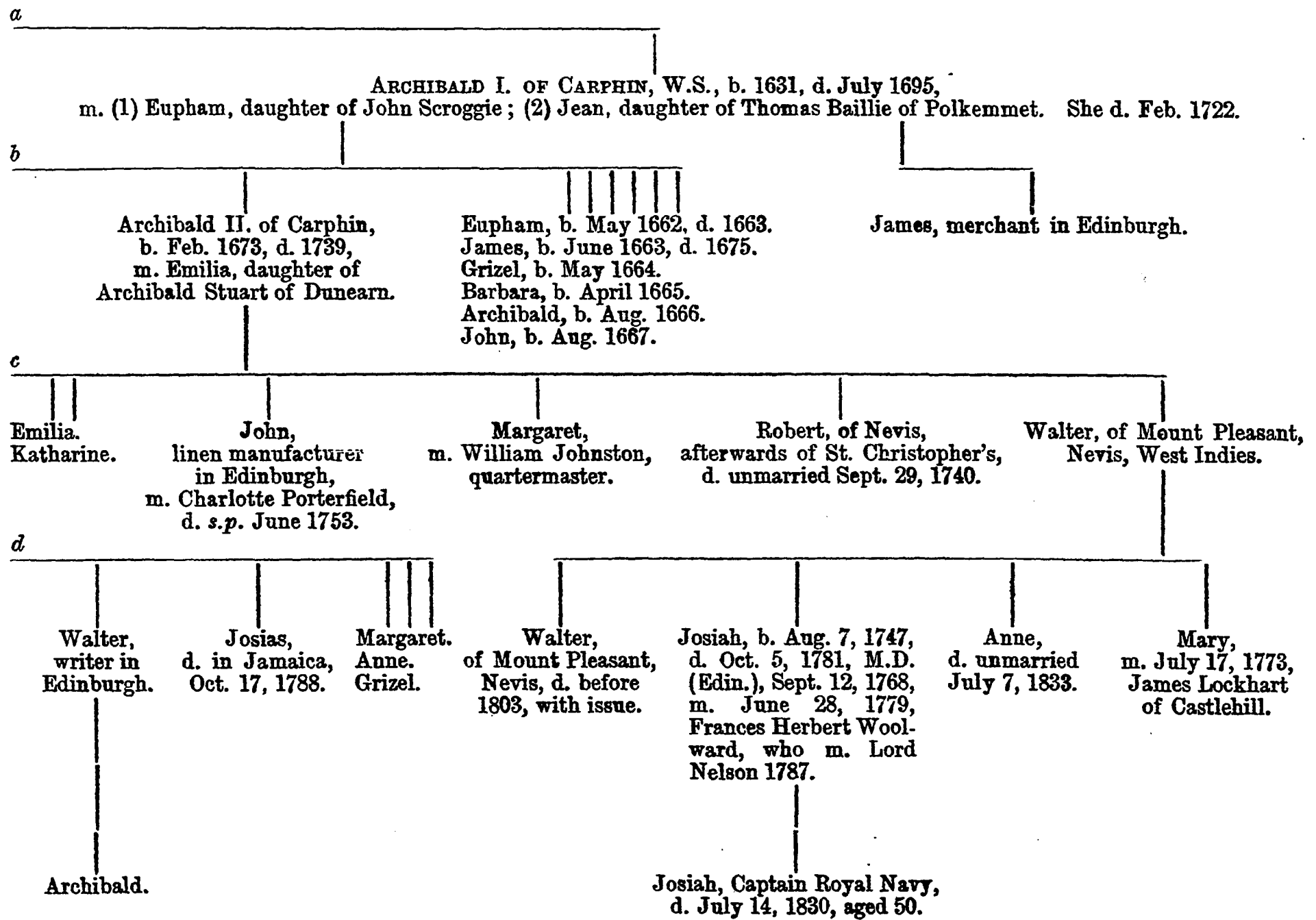
An outline of the subsequent history of the family will be found in the genealogical tree.¹

¹ Pages 10 and 11.

THE NISBETS OF CARPHIN



THE NISBETS OF CARPHIN



CHAPTER XVII

THE NISBETS OF CARPHIN

ALEXANDER NISBET states in his *Heraldry* : ¹

‘ Nisbet of Carphin is descended from Nisbet of Greenholm, a family of a good old standing in the shire of Ayr, descended of Nisbet of that ilk, and carries *argent* three boars’ heads erased *sable* within a bordure invected *gules* ; crest, a boar’s head as the former ; motto, *Vis fortibus arma.*’



The family cannot now be traced further back than James Nisbet of Ladytoun, father of Archibald Nisbet I. of Carphin. On February 2, 1633 James Nisbet, who was described as ‘ formerly in Feoch and then residing in Ireland,’ ² and his wife Jean Hamilton, got a Crown charter ³ of the lands of Ladytoun, and also the lands of

Overmuir and Carlingcraigs in the barony of Loudoun and shire of Ayr. The grant was made on the resignation of Alexander Hamilton of Grange, who was described as ‘ of Ladytoun ’ in

¹ Ed. 1816. I. 315.

² So also designed in 1628—*Reg. of Deeds* (Scott), January 7, 1631.

³ *R. M. S.*, 1620-33, No. 2116.

1602,¹ and also in 1614, when he bought Overmuir and Carlingcraigs from his cousin, John Hamilton of Grange.²

Ladytoun lies about four miles east of Kilmarnock and a mile west of Loudoun; Overmuir and Carlingcraigs are about five miles away to the north-east. In a valuation roll of Loudoun parish, dated about 1640, James Nisbet of Ladytoun is assessed at £199, 13s. 10d.³

James Nisbet seems to have migrated to Edinburgh and lived in Bell's Wynd; this house was sold by his son Archibald in 1692 to John Inglis and his first wife.

He died some time between 1654 and 1663, and was succeeded in Ladytoun by a son James:⁴ he in turn was succeeded by his son James, who died in February 1681 'ane young man unmarried.'⁵ The Ayrshire property then devolved upon the young man's uncle, Archibald Nisbet of Carphin, and remained with his descendants for a century.

Archibald Nisbet was born in 1631. In the rolls of Glasgow University 'Archibaldus Nisbetus' appears 'in quarta classe' in April 1646, 'in prima classe' in 1648, and 'laureatus' in 1649.⁶ He was apprenticed to Robert Hamilton, Writer to the Signet, and was admitted to the Society of Writers to the Signet on July 16, 1661; fifteen days later he was enrolled a notary public with the motto '*veritatem comparo*.'

In 1670 he acquired by an apprising from a defaulting debtor, Robert M'Lellan of Woodwick, certain property in Orkney, including the island of North Ronaldshay, and the lands of Midland, Garson, Hamerin, Woodwick, and Flaws on the north-east coast of the 'mainland' of Orkney.

On October 30, 1672 he obtained from Robert Lockhart

¹ *P. C. R.*, vi. 753; *R. M. S.*, 1609-20, No. 1264.

² *History of the House of Hamilton*, John Anderson, p. 256.

³ Pont's *Cuninghame Topographized*, ed. Dobie, p. 395.

⁴ *P. R. S.*, *Ayrshire*, 4th Ser., i. pp. 238, 239.

⁵ *Glasgow Testaments*, May 29, 1690.

⁶ *Munimenta Almæ Universitatis Glasguensis* (Maitland Club), iii. 28, 101, 102.

a charter of the five-merk forty-penny lands of Glens and the lands of Byre of Bankhead in Loudoun parish.¹ They lie on the opposite side of the Glen Water from Carlingcraigs, and include Feoch.

Archibald Nisbet bought the estate of Carphin or Carfin, as it is indiscriminately spelt, on June 7, 1677² from John Baillie, one of a family that had long held the property. It is about five hundred acres in extent,³ and lies on the South Calder Water, about two miles west of Langbyres, and two miles north-east of Hamilton. It is described in the titles as 'the five pound lands of Carphin in the barony and parish of Bothwell, and the twenty shilling lands of Todholeburn in the barony of Dalryell.'

The writer of the Macfarlane manuscript, which dates from about 1720, says of the place :⁴

'This house stands upon a rising ground, and below it towards the water ther is a very pleasant peice of valley ground, surrounded upon three sides with the water and pritty high braes, of which the present Carphin has made a very large orchyard. . . . At the east end of Carphin's park there is a very good stone bridge of one arch over the Water of Calder. Here likewise stands Carphin's corn-miln.'

The bridge was built in 1667.⁵

Carphin's Edinburgh house was on the west side of Steven Law's Close, which is now the first remaining close above the Tron on the south side of the High Street. The close is said to be named after a wealthy flesher burgess, an active supporter of Queen Mary, and it was the home of several leading families—the Littles of Gilmerton, Lockharts of Carnwath (before they moved to Niddry's Wynd), and Hendersons of Fordel. The tenement in which the Nisbets lived was only pulled down about 1883.

¹ *P. R. S., Ayrshire*, vol. iii. pp. 100, 101.

² *P. R. S., Lanarkshire*, July 2, 1677.

³ *Edinburgh Courant*, May 24, 1786.

⁴ *Macfarlane's Geographical Collections* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), i. 421.

⁵ *Presbytery Records of Lanark* (Abbotsford Club), p. 109.

Carphin was a Commissioner of Supply for Lanarkshire in 1678, 1689, and 1690.¹

On one occasion his religious and political views brought him into trouble. In 1686 James VII. and the Court party tried to induce the Scots Parliament to repeal the penal statutes against Papists. A certain John Hamilton wrote a pamphlet² containing 'strong and pungent arguments' against the proposal, and was urged by the Protestant party to print it and circulate it among the Estates. 'But in regaird no printer would or durst undertake to print these Reasons, John Hamilton did cause wryte and disperse als many doubles thereof as might serve the whole members of Parliament.'³

The proposals for repeal were rejected, and the Court party ordered an inquiry to discover the authorship of the pamphlet :

'and Discovery being made that the first Coppies had come from Mr. Archibald Nisbet of Carfin W.S. his chamber, where the said John Hamilton was a Wryter, the Lords of Privy Council were conveyened to that very effect, who caused apprehend Carfin and the whole Wryters in his chamber (except the said John, who wes upon his keeping).'

The responsibility was thrown upon Hamilton, and Carphin was ordered to give bond for £5000 to produce him, but he remained in hiding in Ireland, and the bond continued in force till 1697, when Parliament directed it to be cancelled.

Archibald Nisbet was twice married. His first wife bore the elegant maiden name of Eupham Scroggie, and by her he had nine children, though only one son and two daughters lived to grow up—Archibald II., baptized February 18, 1673, Eupham (Mrs. David Blair), baptized July 26, 1668, and KATHARINE (Mrs. JOHN INGLIS), baptized July 30, 1671.

¹ Thomson's *Acts*, viii. 225*a*, ix. 70*b*, 139*a*.

² Adv. Lib. Pamphlets, vol. 182, No. 14.

³ Thomson's *Acts*, xi. App. 139.

His second wife was Jean, daughter of Thomas Baillie of Polkemmet. She survived him, and died in February 1722, leaving a son, James, a merchant in Edinburgh.¹

Archibald Nisbet himself died in July 1695.

Eupham Scroggie, Archibald Nisbet's first wife and mother of Mrs. John Inglis of Auchindinny, was the younger daughter of John Scroggie, merchant tailor in Edinburgh, and Catherine Harrower his wife. John Scroggie seems to have been married before to an Isabella Scroggie, and had a daughter, Isabella, who predeceased him.² He married Catherine Harrower in November 1625, and she died on May 8, 1636, leaving two daughters.³ John Scroggie died on August 29, 1642, and in his testament⁴ expressed the wish that Eupham should be brought up by James Tweedie, indweller in Canongate, one of his executors, and Jonnet, the elder girl, by another of the executors. Jonnet married in September 1649 Mr. John Weir, minister of Borthwick.

Catherine Harrower, Eupham Scroggie's mother, was the only daughter of Thomas Harrower, merchant tailor in Edinburgh, and Jonet Chancellor his wife. Thomas Harrower and his wife were married in July 1616, and had besides Catherine a son Thomas, who succeeded to the business. Thomas the elder died on October 22, 1622, survived by his wife. His testament contains an interesting inventory of the stock-in-trade of a clothier and linen merchant, including the following materials with their prices (in Scots money) per ell⁵—fusteane 18s., schabberella 10s., figurata 18s., black bukrome 9s., cullorit bukrome 11s., stenting 4s. to 6s. 8d., lynning 7s. to 9s., bombasie 16s., poldasie 16s., tyking 8s. 6d., small twill 10s., round twill 6s. to 8s., caizsay 46s. 8d., indigo

¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, February 13, 1723.

² *Inquisitiones, Edinburgh*, 814, 819.

³ *Edinburgh Testaments*, September 16, 1636.

⁴ *Ib.*, August 7, 1643.

⁵ *Ib.*, April 16, 1623.

velvet 34s., hardine 4s. 3d., plaiding 5s. to 11s.; also plaids at £8 to £12 each, and huckasie at £6, 10s. per steik. The total stock was valued at £1732, 8s.

The subsequent generations of Nisbets are related to the Inglises only as collaterals, but for the sake of completeness a full genealogical tree is given, and it may be supplemented by a few particulars.

Eupham Nisbet, sister of Mrs. John Inglis, married Mr. David Blair, minister of St. Giles, Edinburgh, from 1691 till his death on June 10, 1710, at the age of seventy-three. He was a son of Mr. Robert Blair, minister of St. Andrews from 1639 to 1661, one of the leaders of the Presbyterians in their struggle with Charles I., and he himself was Moderator of the General Assembly in 1700. He owned the estate of Hillhead near Carphin. He is said to have been 'highly accomplished as a divine, an exact preacher, with a gracefulness and carriage superior to most of his brethren.' His widow survived him for thirty years, and died on June 2, 1740.

They had two sons, Robert and Archibald, both ministers, and a daughter, Eupham, who married another minister, Mr. Robert Hunter, at Livingstone, Linlithgowshire.

The elder son, Robert, born in 1699, held the living of Athelstaneford in Haddingtonshire from 1731 till his death in 1774, and was well known as the author of a poem called 'The Grave,' which had a great vogue in its day. He married Isabella, daughter of William Law of Elvingstone, Professor of Philosophy in Edinburgh University, and had five sons and a daughter, the third son being the famous Lord President Robert Blair of Avontoun, who was thus second cousin to Admiral Inglis.

The death of Mr. David Blair, Eupham Nisbet's husband, was the subject of two magnificent elegies, published as broadsides with deep black borders.¹ Some stanzas are worth

¹ Adv. Lib. Pamphlets, vol. 22, Nos. 232, 233.

quoting for their own sake, even though they may not be strictly relevant to the present history.

The first begins :

‘ Hence goes a Lamp of Light, a Son of Thunder,
A Boanerges, Nurse to Sp’rits at under,
A Vine, on which did Grapes in Clusters grow,
For nourishing of Saints while here below.

Rare fixed Star, while wand’ring Pilgrime here,
A Cabinet of Wit, a Gem most rare,
A Pillar in the Fabrick of God’s House,
A Guide to teach Religious Rendezvouse.

What shall I say ? Our Day is turn’d to Night,
Our Sun is set, who gave our Hem’sphere Light,
Our Counsellour, our Guide, our Pilot’s gone,
Who steer’d his Course for the Celestial Throne,
And sings above, while we below do groan. }
Methinks I hear the Saints already there
Saying, make Way and Room for Famous Blair.
Welcome to Glory after toylsome Days,
Your Work is now to join with us in Praise.’

The second elegy runs to thirty-four four-line stanzas and an epitaph :

1. Forbear ye bold rapacious Worms, forbear,
Lest you the Relicts of a Saint prophane ;
Devour but slowly its uncommon Fare,
For Saints and Kings die only now and then.
8. How shall my Muse th’ affecting Loss deplore,
Whose Weight has made her for strong Flight unfit ;
She drops her fainty Wings, nor can she soar
To the high Regions of unclouded Wit.
9. Since then my Grief’s too real to be fine,
Let weighty Sorrow stand for weighty Style ;
Let no bright Thoughts in all my Stanzas shine,
True Grief appears the most in dishabile.

17. His Thoughts were with the main Sea never lost,
 Nor sunk in Storms of Bombast loud and shrill ;
 Yet neither was he Ship-wrack'd near the Coast,
 On the low Flats of a penurious Stile.
18. Between these wide Extreame his Sermons were,
 The Language deep, yet calm and all serene,
 Like the Magnificence of Heaven's high Sphere,
 Where all is very great and very plain.
33. Farewel dear Ghost, so high exalted now,
 Accept my latest Tears, and last adieu ;
 And thou, his Dust, rest peaceably, for thou
 Shalt have thy Turn, and be exalted too.
34. When Time shall of his Charter be disseiz'd
 And the great Drama of the World be done,
 This humble Dust shall glorifi'd be rais'd,
 And that which sets a Clod shall rise a Sun.

EPITAPH

Of small Dimensions here a Body lies,
 Yet it was overcharg'd with Soul we may presume,
 Which cram'd too closs burst all the vital Ties,
 And mounted straight to Heaven to get more Room.'

Archibald Nisbet II., who succeeded to Carphin and to the property in Ayrshire and Orkney, served as a 'writer' (clerk) in the office of his brother-in-law, John Inglis. He sold the Orkney property in 1727 for 40,000 merks to James Trail,¹ writer in Edinburgh, whose descendants still own North Ronaldshay.

He married Emilia, daughter of Archibald Stuart of Dunearn and granddaughter of the fourth Earl of Moray, and had nine children. He died in 1739. Two of the daughters married, but in a humble rank of life. Eupham's husband,

¹ *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), February 18 and 20, 1727.

William Telfer, 'betook himself to a kind of sniffing merchandise in Hamilton,' and became bankrupt;¹ and Margaret's husband, William Johnstone, is described as a quartermaster. Two of the sons, Robert and Walter, emigrated to Nevis in the West Indies, and Walter was the father of Dr. Josiah Nisbet (1747-81), whose widow Frances Herbert, daughter of William Woolward, senior judge of Nevis, married Lord Nelson² in 1787.

Archibald III. contracted an irregular marriage in 1744 with Emilia Proven, whom he divorced on February 24, 1758 for infidelity,³ and he then married Elizabeth Wiseman. He had six children by each wife. Mary and Elizabeth, daughters of the first marriage, married two brothers, James and William Hamilton, sons of James Hamilton of Stevenston near Bothwell, Lanarkshire. James succeeded to the property, and he and Mary Nisbet had two sons, Archibald and Francis. Their grandson James, Archibald's son, established his claim to the Belhaven peerage after a long suit in the House of Lords.

Archibald IV. joined the 51st (West Riding) Regiment in 1769, and served in Minorca from 1771 till 1782, when the garrison after a six months' siege had to surrender to the French and Spanish armies.⁴ He retired in March 1788 with the rank of Captain. On May 17, 1776, while home on leave, he married Grizel, only daughter of Daniel Carmichael of Mauldsley, and sister of the fifth and sixth Earls of Hyndford. In the spring of 1786, three months after he succeeded his father, he advertised Carphin and the Ayrshire property for sale,⁵ but without success. Carphin, exclusive of the mansion-house, was stated to have a rental of £300, and Overmuir and Glens one of £115, 10s.

¹ *Campbell's Session Papers* (Adv. Lib.), ii. 28; Morison's *Dictionary*, 997.

² *Notes and Queries*, 8th Ser., xi. 408.

³ *Commissariat of Edinburgh—Consistorial Decrees*, No. 459 (Scot. Record Soc.).

⁴ *Record of the 51st Regt.*, W. Wheater, p. 243.

⁵ *Edinburgh Courant*, March 4 and May 24, 1786.

Archibald v., the last Nisbet of Carphin, succeeded to the unentailed portions of the Hyndford estates on the death of his uncle, the sixth and last Earl. He died unmarried on February 19, 1844 at his Edinburgh house, 9 Lower Gray Street, Newington. His sister, Jane Vigor, whose portrait as a child was painted by Raeburn,¹ married on February 10, 1812 Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Gordon of Harperfield,² and had two sons and a daughter. The elder son, Major-General Sir John William Gordon, K.C.B., succeeded to Carphin, and sold it.

¹ In possession of Mrs. Shute, 12 St. George's Court, S.W.

² Burke's *Landed Gentry*—Gordon-Cuming-Skene of Pitlurg.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PHILPS OF GREENLAW

JEAN PHILP (Mrs. Archibald Inglis of Auchindinny)¹ was the second daughter of John Philp of Greenlaw, Midlothian.

JOHN PHILP, 'a fisher's oy,'² the only son of George Philp 'in Bruntoun' and Elspeth Lorimer, was a native of Cullen in Banffshire. George Philp was for some years on the Town Council of Cullen, and held office as Treasurer, and also as Dean of Guild. He retired in 1685, and died within the next four years.³ He and his wife were married on November 3, 1667, and their son John was baptized on February 15, 1673: they had also two daughters—Elizabeth, born in September 1670, and Helen, born in August 1675.

About the year 1697 John Philp obtained an appointment as private secretary to Sir James Ogilvie, one of the two Secretaries of State for Scotland. The following year Ogilvie was created Viscount Seafield, and in 1701 Earl of Seafield, and in 1711 he succeeded his father as fourth Earl of Findlater.

Lord Seafield was one of the most prominent Scottish politicians of his time. He continued Secretary of State till 1702, and in 1700, and again in 1703, he was also Commissioner to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In 1702 he was appointed Lord Chancellor, and held office till the Union, except for a few months, October 1704 till March 1705,

¹ Chapter v. *supra*.

² Grandson, see *supra* p. 30.

³ *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), August 3, 1705.

when he was again Secretary of State. He was a Commissioner for the Union, and one of its most active promoters.

George Lockhart characterises Lord Seafield thus: ¹

‘He was finely accomplished; a learned lawyer, a just judge; courteous and good-natured; but withall so intirely abandon’d to serve the Court measures, be what they will, that he seldom or never consulted his own inclinations, but was a blank sheet of paper, which the Court might fill up with what they pleas’d.’

John Macky ² describes him as ‘very beautiful in his person, with a graceful behaviour, a smiling countenance, and a soft tongue.’

For twenty-five years John Philp was in close attendance on Lord Seafield. While his Lordship held office as Secretary of State they spent a considerable part of the year in London, and when he became Lord Chancellor he appointed Philp his purse-bearer. They still went to London almost every year, and they paid occasional visits to Cullen.

Philp also held some small Government offices, which he must have exercised for the most part by deputy. In June 1701 he was appointed joint clerk of the coquet (custom-house seal) and searcher at Prestonpans, Aitchison’s Haven, Dundee, Aberdeen, and Inverness; ³ and next year he became sole clerk of the coquet for Glasgow, the Clyde ports, and the coast southward to Dumfries.

In March 1705 he was promoted to be book-keeper and accountant to the Treasury. ⁴

Many of John Philp’s letters are preserved at Cullen House. They are well expressed and neatly written, and reveal a man of capable intellect and attractive character. They fall into two groups, the first consisting of letters written between 1698 and 1709 to the Earl of Findlater, Lord Seafield’s father, reviewing political affairs in London and Edin-

¹ *Lockhart Papers*, i. 52.

³ *R. S. S. (English)*, vi. 20, 86.

² *Memoirs of Secret Services*, 181-2.

⁴ *Ib.*, vi. 291.

burgh ; and the second consisting of his correspondence with his cousin, William Lorimer, who was chamberlain on the Banffshire estates which Lord Seafield acquired from his father by redeeming the debts.

The earliest letter is written to Lord Findlater from Whitehall on February 10, 1698, and refers to the disbanding of the forces raised since the death of Charles II., mentioning that certain Scottish regiments are to be retained. 'This was my Lord Secretarye's doeings, who is in good health, blessed be God, and is very much in favour with his Ma^{tie}.' ¹

On March 8, 1702 he wrote a graphic account of King William's death, and ended : ²

'I need not presume to tell yo^r Lo^p what consternatione people are in att this sudden stroke ; yo^r Lo^p, who knows the great things he has done and was still adoeing for Brittain, will plainly judge of it. . . . I will not presume to trouble yo^r Lo^p any further, but tell your Lo^p that My Lord, Lady, and Lady Betty ³ are in very good health, blessed be God, though much troubled att the death of so good a King.'

On November 2, 1703 Philp wrote from London to Lord Findlater : ⁴

'My Lord Chancellour is so diverted with company that he has not the time to write so frequently to yo^r Lo^p as he designed. He is in very good health, blessed be God, and has frequent audiences of Her Ma^{ty} and her ministers, and is more in favour att Court than he ever was, and his ffrriends need not be afraid that it is in the power of his enemies to shake him here.'

With reference to this visit to London he also wrote to William Lorimer on February 15 following : ⁵

'Wee did not think of being so long here when wee came first up, but as matters have happened it is both good that wee came and have continued so long. Wee had sērall difficulties in King William's reign,

¹ *Seafield Correspondence* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), p. 222.

² *Ib.*, p. 351.

³ Afterwards Countess of Lauderdale.

⁴ *Seafield Correspondence*, p. 365.

⁵ *Ib.*, p. 367.

but hardly any such as has happened of late. No doubt you have heard of Captain ffreser's plott. He undertook to the Duke of Queensberry to discover that sêrall of the greatest nobility in the Kingdome were in a correspondance w^t Saint Germans.'

In November 1705 he told Lord Findlater : ¹

'The Marquis of Annandale is at variance with all our statesmen and visits none of them ; but all his efforts att Court against them will have litle effect, for my Lord Chancelor's interest with the Queen is as great as ever.'

That Philp's own duties were arduous appears in several passages : one is in March 1703, when he explains to his 'affectionat Comerad' Lorimer : ²

'I have been very bussy since I came to Edinburgh, that I had not so much time as to write north. The Generall Assembly is now sitting, and wee have great deal of trouble w^t them.'

Another is in July 1705 : ³

'I have litle time to write any more, for the Parliat^t is now sitting and every minute diverted. Our Parliat^t will be very fashious.'

His own appointment as purse-bearer caused some heart-burnings at first. He told Lorimer on March 16, 1703 : ⁴

'I beleeve Durn ⁵ and Glassaugh ⁶ make a noise that I have gott the carrying the purse. It is now well enough knowen. Let me know what they say. My Lady, I doe beleeve, takes it ill that Mr. George ⁷ was not prefered. I can vindicate myself so much to my Lady that I never sought it, but my Lord did me the honour before he gott his commission as Chancellour to secure me in that post. I acknowledge it is more than I deserve, and Mr. George or Glassaugh either of them had becomed it better.'

¹ *Seafield Correspondence*, p. 424.

² *Ib.*, p. 357.

³ *Ib.*, p. 421.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 357.

⁵ Sir William Dunbar of Durn, Lord Seafield's father-in-law.

⁶ Alexander Abercrombie of Glassaugh.

⁷ A younger son of Sir Patrick Ogilvie (Lord Boyne).

However in his next letter, dated April 6, 1703, he writes :¹

‘My Lady appears very kind to me and desired a sight of the purse. I doe not care for people’s displeasure so long as I serve my master faithfully.’

On October 16, 1705 John Philp was married at Edinburgh to Sophia, daughter of ‘Mr. Daniel Robertson, merchant burgess.’

Daniel or Donald Robertson, who is said to have been ‘son of the second son of Robertson of Struan,’² became episcopal minister of the parish of Hutton, Dumfriesshire, about 1686, but at the Revolution he was ‘outed’ for ‘non-juring.’ Over the door of the old manse, now a barn, is the inscription—MR. D. R. 1686, M. L.—(Mr. Daniel Robertson, Margaret Lyle). William, second Earl of Annandale, was patron of the living, and when Mr. Robertson lost his benefice, he became his Lordship’s ‘servitor’—presumably chaplain or secretary—and in that capacity was admitted a burgess and guild brother of Edinburgh on May 12, 1693, by virtue of an Act of the Town Council dispensing with the customary dues. Lord Annandale was appointed an Extraordinary Lord of Session in 1693, and President of the Privy Council in 1695, and was for many years associated with Lord Seafield in political life, generally as an opponent.

Daniel Robertson managed to make money, for in 1703 he lent £13,200 Scots on a bond over the estate of Falsyde in Gordon parish, Berwickshire, taking infeftment in favour of himself and Margaret Lyle, his wife, in liferent, and their son William in fee.³ In this deed he is designed ‘Donald,’ but the interchange of the names ‘Donald’ and ‘Daniel’ is quite common.

¹ *Seafield Correspondence*, p. 361.

² *Scott’s Fasti*, Hutton Parish (letter by Mr. Robertson of Ladykirk).

³ *G. R. S.*, vol. 83, p. 436.

Margaret Lyle, whom he married in 1686, was the sixth daughter of the late Major William Lyle of Bassendean near Gordon, by Marion Adamson, his second wife.¹

William Robertson, Daniel's only son, was born in 1688, became a writer in Edinburgh, and in 1741 acquired the barony of Ladykirk, Berwickshire. He married in June 1719 Barbara, daughter of Sir Roger Hog (Lord Harcarse), and founded a family which lasted for several generations: eventually, owing to the failure of heirs male, Ladykirk passed by marriage to the Marjoribanks family. William Robertson also owned a property near Midcalder called Hillhousefield, where he died on April 25, 1783 aged ninety-five.

A fortnight after their marriage John Philp and his wife had to separate, for on November 8, 1705 we find him writing from London to his friend John Stewart, Under Keeper of the Great Seal: ²

'I am very glade that you are returned safe to Edinburgh, for now Ile expect to gett the Edinburgh news; whereas before, I had no correspondant but my wife, who is a very bad news monger. . . . Bare thanks for your kindnes to my wife will not be sufficient, and therefor shall delay further acknowledgements till I have the honour of knowing your beloved. Informe me particularly how my wife behaves, if she be allowed a good room, and if she can give any enterteeinment to my friends that see her, and what is the generall opinion of the towne; and doe this with freedome, and tell me what her mother sayes of the chain I sent her.'

On the 17th he wrote again to Stewart:

'Mrs. Sydserf writes me that my wife is very angry, because she did not hear from me for ten or 12 dayes. I acknowledge she might justly be so, but you know since I left Edinburgh I have not omitted a pacquet but two or 3, and in your absence I sent my letters under Mr. Andrew's cover. I am perswaded my letters are miscarried, for

¹ *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), September 21, 1698; for the Lyles see Chapter xix.

² *Earls of Cromartie*, Sir Wm. Fraser, i. 292-4.

my wife has not writt to me all this week, by which I fear a storme, if some happy hitt of providence doe not prevent it. I hope her gold chain is come safe.'

After the Union Lord Chancellor Seafield was sworn in on a new commission, and John Philp continued to act as purse-bearer, but the Treasury refused to pay the salaries, holding that the offices had been abolished, and it was only ten years later that Philp received a grant of £50, representing a year's salary. Lord Seafield was compensated in May 1708 by appointment as Lord Chief Baron of Exchequer, while John Philp found employment as one of the deputy auditors in the same court. He still acted as secretary to Lord Seafield, and occasionally went to London with him, but after about 1716 he was gradually relieved of these duties, and he left his service about 1722.

At first his office in the Court of Exchequer was dependent upon that of the principal auditors, but in July 1720 he and Robert Arbuthnot were given an independent commission as deputy auditors, with salaries of £150 sterling each,¹ and from November 1727, after Arbuthnot's death, Philp discharged the whole duties for £200 per annum.² He held the post till his death in 1760.

In 1735 he and two of his colleagues petitioned for some recognition of their extra work in managing the forfeited estates since the discharge of the Special Commission in June 1728.³ The Treasury allowed him £480.

Philp's attachment to his mother and other relations in the north appears very clearly. He seldom writes to his cousin, William Lorimer, without sending an affectionate message to her and his sisters. For instance—(1704): 'Tell my mother that I long to see her, which I fear shall not be in hast. Bid her take care of herself, and it will be my greatest

¹ *R. S. S. (English)*, vii. 328.

² *Calendar of Treasury Papers*, 1720-8, p. 538.

³ *Calendar of Treasury Books and Papers*, 1735-8, pp. 39, 136.

satisfactione to hear that she is well.' He generally sends his duty also to 'your bedfellow and children,' and showed great concern if he heard that they were ill.

At first old Mrs. Philp was not living at Cullen, though probably she was only at Bruntoun, a mile or so to the west. She moved to Cullen in 1707, and apparently occupied a house which had belonged to her uncle. The same year Elizabeth, the elder daughter, married a man called Alexander Anderson, and John arranged with William Lorimer to settle two hundred merks as her tocher in satisfaction of her claim on her father's estate. He afterwards doubled her portion.

Helen, the younger sister, continued to live with her mother. She had had schemes in 1703 of going into service, but her brother sent her a message through Lorimer: 'Tell Helen it were but folly for her to come here for service. She might lose her Labour and be long enough without any, but could she gett any Mistress that would bring her here I should be glad to see her.' Two years later he wrote: 'If my sister be in good health and inclyned to come [to] Edin^r I would allow her money to maintain her a year or two here.'

In March 1709 he wrote:

'I am very sorry that there is appearance of such a scarcity of victuall in the north. All Brittain labours under the same calamity and most of the corn countreyes abroad. . . . You may advyse my Mother and two sisters to provyde themselves in as much as may competently serve them till next cropt, and if they want money for doing it, lend them as much on my account.'

In a letter of November 28, 1711 he says:

'I am very sorry to hear that my Mother is so waik. I could wish to see her before she dyes, and I shall make all the haste I possibly can, but in the meantime tell Helen to take care of her and let her want for nothing that may be necessary, and cause Helen gett it without her knowledge.'

She recovered from this illness and lived till 1716. On February 27 of that year he wrote to Lorimer :

‘I am very much troubled for the death of my mother, but must submit to the will of God. It is a great comfort to me that she has both lived and dyed in so good a reputation in the world. I wish those she has left behind her may make her the example of their living.’

John Philp owned a little property in Bruntoun and in Cullen, and he was a freeman of the burgh. He was its representative in the Convention of Royal Burghs every year from 1710 to 1738, with three exceptions, and he acted as Edinburgh agent.¹ In 1708 he wrote to Lorimer, ‘Lose no time in causing the towne of Cullen to send up ane Address to the Queen upon the late victory at Oudenarde,’ and in 1727 he reported ‘that he had inserted in the publick newspapers account of the solemnity performed by the Burgh on his Majestie’s birthday, and paid 3s. stg. for it.’ What is more remarkable is that he had a seat on the Town Council of Cullen from 1725 to 1751, and his son also was on the Council from 1742 to 1753.² The minutes show that they did not attend a single meeting, and for an explanation of their holding this office one must look to the parliamentary franchise of the day. Burgh members were elected by the Town Councils, and no doubt Lord Seafield (or Lord Findlater, as he had become) wished to have one or two representatives on the Cullen corporation who might be trusted to support his nominee at election times.

On August 2, 1717 John Philp bought the property of Greenlaw from Colonel Alexander Mackenzie, brother of William, fifth Earl of Seaforth.³ It lay in the parish and barony of Glencorse, facing Auchindinny from the opposite side of the Esk, and consisted of Easter and Wester Greenlaw

¹ *Annals of Cullen*, W. Cramond, pp. 65, 71.

² *Cullen Records* (Town Clerk’s office), 4th Ser., vols. ii. and iii.

³ *Register of Deeds* (Dalrymple), February 1, 1740.

with a mansion-house recently built, and the mill and mill-lands of Dalmore. On February 13, 1721 John Philp got a Crown charter of the lands.

The barony of Glencorse or Glencross was granted by James III. on January 28, 1464, to William, second Lord Saltoun of Abernethy,¹ and the mill called Greenlaw is specially mentioned in a charter of 1492.²

About 1610 John, eighth Lord Saltoun, got into difficulties and alienated many of his lands. After a complicated series of transactions Glencorse passed to the Bothwells. Adam Bothwell appears as laird as early as 1627,³ but it was not till 1647 that Alexander, his son and successor, obtained a Crown charter to the barony.⁴ His son, also Alexander, made an unsuccessful claim in 1704 to the title of Lord Holyroodhouse.

The Bothwells were still superiors of the barony when John Philp made his purchase, but the property of Greenlaw had passed through the hands of James Deans of Woodhouselee and James his son,⁵ and from them to Colonel Thomas Young of Rosebank, who sold it to Colonel Mackenzie.

The purchase price did not exhaust John Philp's funds, for in 1726 he took a bond for £84,000 Scots over the Banffshire estate of Glassaugh.⁶

From 1713 his town house was the fourth story of the new stone tenement at the head of Middle Baxter's Close on the north side of the Lawnmarket, with access by a 'scale' stair from the seventh 'plate,' fifty-six steps from the bottom.⁷ Some time before 1736 he moved to a house immediately to the east, in Wardrop's Court,⁸ and latterly the family had a house

¹ *R. M. S.*, 1424-1513, Nos. 778, 800.

² *Ib.*, No. 2094.

³ *P. C. R.*, 2nd Ser., ii. 114.

⁴ *R. M. S.*, 1634-51, Nos. 1388, 1777.

⁵ *Inquisitiones, Edinburgh*, No. 1301.

⁶ *P. R. S., Banffshire*, January 23, 1726.

⁷ *Edinburgh Protocols*, 4 Home 210.

⁸ *Mein's Proposals for cleansing the city* (Soc. of Antiquaries MSS.).

and garden at the back of the tenement on the south side of the Canongate, 'opposite to the Kirk which belongs to the Corporation of Taylors.'¹

John Philp was a Justice of the Peace for Midlothian,² and a director of the unsuccessful 'Copartnery of Freemen Burghesses for establishing a Fishing Company.' It was probably his connection with this undertaking that led to his being chosen a director of the Royal Bank of Scotland at its incorporation in 1727. He kept his seat on the board till his health failed in 1751.

The Royal Bank was founded as a competitor with the Bank of Scotland by the creditors on the Equivalent, the fund which was paid to Scotland under the Articles of Union partly to satisfy public creditors, partly to make good the losses in the Darien Company, and partly to subsidise Scottish manufactures and fishings.

In September 1745 the Bank's funds were removed to the Castle, which was held by the royal troops while the city passed into the possession of the Highlanders. Murray of Broughton, the Prince's secretary, presented a large amount of the Bank's notes for payment, and it was therefore necessary for Mr. Campbell, the cashier, to get access to the strong-room. He records in his diary³ two visits which he paid to the Castle accompanied by Mr. Philp and two other directors, under safe conducts from the Prince and from General Guest. On the second occasion fighting was actually going on during their visit.

It was perhaps in return for this service that a Highland guard was posted at Greenlaw to protect the place from the roving bands of marauders.⁴ Archibald Inglis lost two horses which were requisitioned from Auchindinny. The

¹ *Caledonian Mercury*, January 3, 1744.

² *Ib.*, April 9, 1739.

³ *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society*, i. 539.

⁴ *Affairs in Scotland 1744-6*, Lord Elcho, p. 281.

writer of the *Woodhouselee Manuscript* refers several times to Greenlaw and the Philps.¹

‘Mrs. Philp and her Highland gward, one Stewart, payed us a visit October 22, these are all civill and protect the cowntry : she told us how rude Anderson of Whitburgh had been to her dawghter in taking away Mr. Ingles his horses, which he has not gott again, and now ther is ane order for evry plow to furnishe a carte and two horses. . . . Mrs. Philp has three Stewarts, Appen men, her gard de corps at Greenlaw, she had them at Glencors Church with her on Sunday, and Mr. Wilson prayed more then ordinar in his Whig way. She did us the fawour to wisit at Woodhowslea in a chese with one of her Stewarts ryding in armes by her. They were civil, this was October 22, and on the October 23 came the theeving gang 11 of them. I knewe some of them by eye sight had been former visit. We had sent of to Greenlaw and readely came Hewgh Stewart and the other two Mrs. Philp’s captains, but the rogwes gott off throw the tulls from Castlelaw and as they went along fyred and wounded the sheep upon Leeps hill, but got non of them.’

On Friday, November 1, the Highland host left Edinburgh. It divided at Dalkeith, and while the Prince himself took the Lauder road, the brigade under the Dukes of Atholl and Perth, with Ogilvy’s, Roy Stuart’s, Cluny’s, and Glenbuckett’s foot, Kilmarnock’s horse and the Hussars, most of the artillery and the baggage, marched south towards Peebles, and encamped the next night at Auchindinny.²

The *Woodhouselee MS.* says :

‘They halted on Saturday at Greenlaw and had enterteanment from Mrs. Philp at her howse of Greenlaw, the Duke of Athol as they call him and Pearthshir gentlemen etc. lodged ther. . . . The disorderly armie sowed destruction wher they marched and seased the cowntry horses on all hands. . . . They had above 150 wagons and cartes with provision amonition and bagage, and all Generall Cope’s wagons they had taken at the field of Preston. On Sabath morning they marched off from Greenlaw with pypers playing etc. towards Pebles.’

¹ Pp. 13, 14, 70, 77-9, 83, 84.

² *Spalding Club Miscellany*, i. 290.

John Philp died on December 29, 1760 aged eighty-seven, having been confined to his room for nine years with the palsy,¹ and was buried at Greyfriars. His wife had died in October 1747, and was buried there also.

Their family who grew up consisted of one son and five daughters: three other children died in infancy,—Margaret, who died November 21, 1710 aged '9 quarters and 3 days,' Elizabeth, who died December 24, 1711 aged two years, and Daniel, born October 23, 1721.²

Elizabeth, the eldest surviving daughter, born March 20, 1714, married on April 29, 1733 John Sivright of Southhouse and Meggetland, and had three surviving sons and one daughter. Jean (Mrs. Inglis), who was born December 14, 1717, was the second Miss Philp. Barbara, born February 13, 1720, died unmarried. Isobel, born June 1726, married John Wood, a member of an old Cramond family, and was the mother of John Philp Wood, the deaf and dumb genealogist, and editor of the *Douglas Peerage*. Margaret, the youngest, was born May 7, 1729, and in 1754, without the consent of her relatives, she married Joseph Corrie, Town Clerk of Dumfries, who died in February 1761. Down to her death on May 20, 1763, Margaret Corrie and her two children were dependent on her brother, James Philp. Like all her sisters, she received from her father's estate a portion of 12,000 merks (about £700 sterling).



JAMES PHILP, who succeeded his father as laird of Greenlaw, was born on February 9, 1716, and after studying law in Edinburgh, entered Leyden University on September 27, 1736, subsequently attending the great civilian, Heineccius, at Halle. On January 20, 1739 he passed advocate, and obtained a fair

¹ *Arniston Session Papers* (Adv. Lib.), lxxix. 14.

² *Greyfriars Register*.

practice. He was not an eloquent pleader, but he was learned in all branches of the law and was often consulted.¹

On December 11, 1746 he was appointed Judge of the High Court of Admiralty on the recommendation of the Earl of Findlater, Vice-Admiral of Scotland, and son of his father's patron. A peculiarity of this post was that it had no salary attached to it, and the only emoluments were the Court fees, which averaged from £50 to £70 a year, although about two hundred cases were disposed of. Judge Philp made many applications to Lord Chancellor Hardwicke for appointment as a Lord of Session or a Baron of Exchequer, or at least for the grant of an adequate salary, and his petitions were supported by letters from Lord Findlater, Lord Hopetoun, and Chief Baron Idle, who all spoke of his high reputation as an impartial and diligent judge.² Chief Baron Idle stated in one of his letters: 'he was strenuous during the Rebellion in declaring against the Pretender, and did real service to the Government.'³

Judge Philp's efforts to get promotion were unavailing; he remained in the Admiralty Court till his death, and as he never secured a salary, 'an ample personal fortune which he inherited from his father, was reduced to a mere trifle in supporting the dignity of his station.'⁴

On November 24, 1757 James Philp married Margaret, only daughter of Dr. Alexander Monro (*Primus*), Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh University. He died on May 1, 1782 aged sixty-six, and as he had no family, Greenlaw was inherited by his five sisters or their representatives, subject to an annuity of £200 to his widow, who lived till April 30, 1802. It was arranged in 1782 that the property should be sold for £7000 to Mr. William Cadell, who had married the Judge's niece, Katharine Inglis.

¹ British Museum, Add. MSS., 35,449, fol. 64.

² *Ib.*, 35,446, fols. 112, 224; 35,447, fols. 65, 67; 35,448, fol. 296; 35,449, fols. 46, 50, 162, 329.

³ *Ib.*, 35,446, fol. 114.

⁴ *Parish of Cramond*, John Philp Wood, p. 58.

CHAPTER XIX

THE LYLES OF STANYPETH AND BASSENDEAN

MARGARET LYLE, wife of Mr. Daniel Robertson and mother of Mrs. John Philp, was, as has been already mentioned,¹ the sixth daughter of Major William Lyle of Bassendean, Berwickshire.

The Lyles of Bassendean represented the old family of the Lyles of Stanypeth or Stoneypath, which lies close to the village of Garvald, East Lothian. They were evidently connected with the Lords Lyle, for in an entail of his lands made in 1466 Robert, first Lord Lyle, mentions George Lyle of Stanypeth as one of the heirs-substitute in the succession.²

Stanypeth had been one of the fortresses guarding the domain of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, during Wallace's war of independence—one of the Earl's 'Seven War-Steeds.'³ In 1359 it belonged to Robert de Veteri Ponte,⁴ and it is not known how the Lyles acquired it.

George Lyle was succeeded before 1494 by a David Lyle,⁵ who also held the lands of Hoprig near Oldhamstocks, the office of keeper of the woods of Cockburnspath, the lands of Easter and Wester Bassendean in the parish of Gordon, Berwickshire, the mill of Duns, and lands at Chirnside, Berwickshire.⁶

He married Marion Mure. In 1502 his son George was

¹ *Supra*, p. 211.

² *R. M. S.*, 1424-1513, No. 871.

³ *History of Dunbar*, Jas. Miller, p. 31.

⁴ *Archæologia Scotica*, i. 110.

⁵ *Historical MSS. Commission*, Hay MSS., p. 39.

⁶ *R. M. S.*, 1424-1513, No. 2126.

given authority to 'reull and govern' him and his lands and possessions, 'becaus it is understandin that the said David is tempit and wald haf oft tymes slane himself.' He died before 1506.¹

George Lyle of Stanypeth was killed at Flodden in 1513.²

Then comes a gap, and in 1527 the laird is John Lyle,³ who became an advocate in 1530. The same year he was denounced as a rebel for assisting certain thieves and malefactors, and had to find caution for good behaviour.⁴ He was again in trouble in 1555 for failing to obey the summons to join the Queen's army, which assembled at Lauder to suppress a rising.⁵ He married Isabella Wauchope, and died after 1565.

Robert Lyle, his son, succeeded him. He married Margaret Hay before 1541,⁶ and died on Christmas Day 1580, survived by her.⁷ He had six sons—George, his successor, William, Robert, Andrew, James, and Patrick—and two daughters—Margaret and Jane.⁸

George Lyle married (contract dated October 24, 1577⁹) Agnes, daughter of James Hamilton of Samuelston, and had five sons—George, his heir, Claud, William,¹⁰ Patrick, and Francis, who became a surgeon in Haddington.¹¹

James Hamilton's father, John Hamilton of Clydesdale, a natural son of the first Earl of Arran, was Provost of Edinburgh in 1544-5 and 1546-7.¹² He got the lands of Samuelston,

¹ *R. S. S.*, i. 818, 1257.

² *Lauder and Lauderdale*, A. Thomson, p. 212.

³ Sir Wm. Fraser, *Earls of Haddington*, ii. 251.

⁴ Pitcairn, *Criminal Trials*, i. 144*, 147*n.

⁵ *Ib.*, i. 384*.

⁶ *R. M. S.*, 1513-46, No. 2524.

⁷ *Edinburgh Testaments*, February 20, 1581-2.

⁸ *Register of Deeds*, vol. xiv. fol. 56.

⁹ *R. M. S.*, 1580-93, No. 2148; *Register of Deeds*, vol. xvi. fol. 312.

¹⁰ *P. C. R.*, 2nd Ser., viii. 405.

¹¹ *Edinburgh Testaments*, February 21, 1624; *P. C. R.*, x. 267.

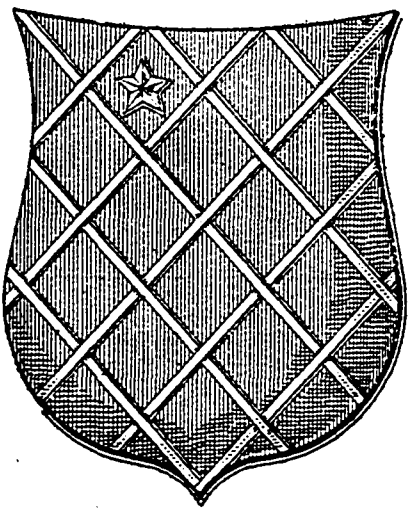
¹² *Dean of Guild Court Books*, i. 1; *Treasurer's Accounts*, ix. 74.

near Haddington, in 1531, along with his wife Jonet, daughter and heiress of Alexander, third Lord Home.¹

James Hamilton married (1) Jonet Wod and had several children besides Agnes (Mrs. Lyle). In 1566 he married (2) Jonet Seton, who survived him.² He signed the 'band' of the Hamiltons in defence of Queen Mary after her escape from Loch Leven in 1568, and he took part in the Ruthven Raid of 1582.³ He was killed by his brother, Alexander, about 1588.⁴

In the days of George Lyle the family fortunes were on the wane. In 1609 he and his eldest son sold Hoprig to Sir Alexander Hamilton of Innerwick, father of the Sir James Hamilton who married Anne Otterburne, heiress of Redhall, and in July 1616 Sir Archibald Douglas of Whittinghame got a Crown charter of Stanypeth, 'formerly belonging to George Lyle.'⁵ The ruins of the old tower still exist.⁶

The Stanypeth coat of arms was: *gules*, fretty of six pieces *or*, with a mullet in chief for a difference.⁷



George Lyle the elder died before 1624, survived by his wife.⁸ In 1620 George Lyle the younger and his brother Patrick got into trouble before the Privy Council,⁹ the charge being that on February 11, in contravention of the laws against wearing hagbuts, they and several associates broke into the house of Quhytlaw, be-

longing to Patrick Quhytlaw, and

¹ *R. M. S.*, 1513-46, No. 1134.

² *Ib.*, 1546-80, No. 2771; *Acta Dom. Conc.*, clviii. fol. 337.

³ *Calendar of Scots Papers*, ii. 403; *P. C. R.*, iii. 507n.

⁴ *Haddington Presbytery Records; Historical MSS. Com., Milne Home MSS.*, p. 210.

⁵ *R. M. S.*, 1609-20, Nos. 183, 1460.

⁶ MacGibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture*, i. 355.

⁷ Nisbet, *Heraldry*, i. 216; *Lyndsay's MS.*, 1542, Plate 95.

⁸ Durie's *Decisions*, pp. 194, 321.

⁹ *P. C. R.*, xii. 205.

'being maisteris of the house, thay threatned the said Patrik his servandis, keiparis of the said house, with present death, holding bendit pistolletis and drawne quhinyeairis to thair breistis, and compellit thame for feir of thair lyveis to leave the said house unto thame ; quhilk house thay have fortifeit with men, victuall and airmour, of purpois, so fer as lyis in thame, to keip the same as ane house of weare aganis his Majestie and his auctoritie, and to grant resset, supplie, harbour and maintenance within the same to all suche disordourlie personis, rebellis and swaggeraris, as will joyne with thame in thair foleyis.'

The Lyles and four others appeared personally, and were committed to the Tolbooth until they made reparation to the complainer.

George Lyle the younger had a son William, and two daughters, Catherine and Christian: the latter died unmarried.¹

William Lyle served heir to his father on July 24, 1628 in Easter and Wester Bassendean, the mill of Duns, and lands of Chirnside,² and he added to Bassendean by acquiring some adjacent lands from the Edgars of Wedderlie.³ The property seems to have been originally church land, and was distinct from the feudal barony of Bassendean held by the Home family.

He entered the service of the States-General as an officer in Colonel Sandilands' Scots Regiment and fought in Holland against the Spaniards during the Thirty Years' War. In June 1638 he was among the contingent of six hundred Scottish soldiers who were taken prisoners at the capture of Fort Calloo near Antwerp, and were confined at Lillo.⁴ He was afterwards sent home, but rejoined his regiment as Captain on April 13, 1640. Within two years he left the

¹ *Inquisitiones*, Haddington, No. 118. ² *Ib.*, Berwick, No. 159.

³ *G. R. S.*, 1st Ser., vol. 49, fol. 205.

⁴ *Scots Brigade in Holland* (Scot. Hist. Soc.), i. 322*n.*, 329*n.*, 453.

regiment, but he must have seen further service elsewhere, as he rose to the rank of Major.

During the Civil War he was appointed by the Estates to serve on the Committee of War for Peeblesshire in 1644, and for Berwickshire in 1647 and 1648.¹

He seems to have been twice married. Of his first marriage nothing is known, but he had a son, William, who was old enough to become an advocate on November 19, 1656. His second marriage was in February 1640 to Marion, daughter of Mr. John Adamson, advocate.² Margaret (Mrs. Daniel Robertson), his sixth daughter, was one of the second family, as was also a son Robert.

Major William Lyle survived his son William, but it is not known when he died. His widow lived till June 1686.³

William Lyle the younger married in October 1657 Janet, eldest daughter of Sir William Murray of Dunearn, first Baronet,⁴ and they had a child buried at Greyfriars on July 30, 1665. He died in June 1669, survived by his wife, but apparently without living issue.⁵

In June 1659 an arrangement was made with the consent of his father, whereby he and his wife made over the fee of Bassendean to his half-brother Robert, an infant, in exchange for an annual rent of eight hundred merks secured on the property.⁶ The probable reason for this transaction was that William had been too prominent in the Civil War, and was afraid of forfeiture. Soon after Major Lyle's death Bassendean was sold.

¹ Thomson's *Acts*, vi. i. 200, 813; vi. ii. 33.

² He passed advocate on June 16, 1630.

³ *Greyfriars Register*.

⁴ *G. R. S.*, 2nd Ser., vol. 14, fol. 62.

⁵ *Greyfriars Register*; *Edinburgh Testaments*, July 27, 1669.

⁶ *G. R. S.*, 2nd Ser., vol. 17, fol. 27.

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