II.

THE TRADITIONAL BELIEF IN JOHN KNOX'S HOUSE AT THE NETHERBOW VINDICATED. By CHARLES J. GUTHRIE, Q.C., F.S.A. Scot. [In Reply to Two Papers read to the Society of Antiquaries by ROBERT MILLER, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.]

Among the services rendered to Scotland by this learned Society has been the preservation, largely through its efforts and influence, of John Knox's house at the Netherbow of Edinburgh.

In 1849 the Dean of Guild Court ordered the removal of the house. After much controversy, in which this Society took an active part, that order was recalled. In 1891, in a paper read before this Society, the late Dr Miller suggested doubts of the genuineness of the house as John Knox's residence, while at the same time rendering valuable service by establishing that the structure was contemporaneous with Knox. I replied to his paper; and now, in 1899, when the attack has been renewed by Mr Robert Miller, our much respected ex-Dean of Guild,

although on different and on many points inconsistent grounds, I am again allowed the privilege of reply.

Was the game of 1849 worth the candle? Is the house now worth preserving; or, amid the general destruction of old property in Edinburgh, is it of no importance whether it is removed or not? The latter is the opinion expressed by a recent correspondent of the London *Morning Post*, following the lines indicated in the paper recently read to this Society, while the *New Penny Magazine* of London, on the other hand, deplores the prospect. This Society has been told that considerations of the value and interest attaching to the house are irrelevant in this discussion. I do not agree with that view. If I possess a coin of little value, extrinsic or intrinsic, and a respectable person, with some knowledge of coins, tells me that he has discovered the coin to be a forgery, I pitch it away, without putting my informant to the proof. But if the coin, supposing it genuine, is of great and increasing value, known to coin collectors all over the world, and has been, in addition, accepted as genuine by skilled persons for a long period of years, I say to my informant, "You may be right. But you have got to prove what you say, and to prove it by indisputable evidence." I shall show that I am entitled to make the same demand in relation to Knox's house.

How shall we test its value? Let us take the views of authors—antiquarian, theological, historical, biographical, literary. Show me the books about Edinburgh antiquities, about the history of Edinburgh, about the sights of Edinburgh, whether produced by Scotsmen, Englishmen, Americans, or foreigners, whether the works of Dr M'Crie, Dr Chambers, Dr Laing, Sir Daniel Wilson, and Dr Hume Brown, or of Robert Louis Stevenson and Mrs Oliphant, or the production of the anonymous writers of guide-books,—show me any which do not put forward John Knox's House as one of the few remaining historical monuments in Edinburgh of supreme human interest. It is enough to refer to one book, and that a book of the highest authority, *The Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*, by Sir Daniel Wilson. I quote from the edition of 1891, which contains his latest views, after consideration of the late Dr Miller's argu-

ments. "The chief lion among the venerable fabrics of the Old Town is the singularly picturesque dwelling which has been assigned by long accepted tradition as the mansion provided at the expense of the town as the lodging of its first parish minister." Take another test. Show me the views of Edinburgh, in paint, engraving, wood-cutting, etching, or photography, which do not include a representation of John Knox's House. It forms the frontispiece to Sir Daniel Wilson's second volume. If you cannot show me such books or pictures, then I think you will agree with me that the statements which, if well founded, remove the only sufficient justification for the continued existence of the house, require the closest scrutiny. Why, in our own time, since the recall in 1850 of the Dean of Guild's order—an order based on a laudable desire for street improvement, not on any doubt of the genuineness of the house—the old mansion has been looked at by many millions of passers-by, by all with interest, by vast numbers with reverence. Its rambling, low-roofed rooms, its curious passages and corkscrew stairs, are traversed annually by an increasing number—last year fully 6000—of the most cultured of our visitors, British, Continental, Colonial, American. Mr Miller does not seem to realise these facts. He has told the public, in his book called *John Knox and the Town Council of Edinburgh* (which brings together much valuable information on the interesting subject indicated in that title), that the house is "consecrated as the Mecca of Scottish religionism," and its reputation is attributed to what Mr Miller calls the "new cult of John Knox, which sprang up with the advent of that evangelical spirit which gave rise afterwards to the Secession known as the Free Church." I confess this latter view is a new one to me. I am sure the Free Church will gladly accept what most Scotsmen of all churches will consider a great (although unintentional) compliment. But I had always thought that our modern emancipation from the old prejudices about John Knox had been accomplished by Thomas Carlyle, a member of no church, by James Anthony Froude, a member of the Church of England, by Thomas M'Crie, an Anti-Burgher, that grand old 'Presbyterian Hildebrand,' as Mr Hallam

called him, and by David Laing, a member of the Established Church of Scotland. As to the house being the "Mecca of Scottish religionism," were that a sufficient description, I should still think it worth preserving, if it be the case, as impartial judges assure us, that to the Calvinism and Puritanism, which I suppose are the main characteristics pointed at by the expression "Scottish religionism," is due most of the grit which has enabled the poor inhabitants of this sunless, sterile and inclement land of ours to wrest for themselves a commanding position, in every department of life, in every quarter of the globe.

But is the "Mecca of Scottish religionism" an adequate description of John Knox's House? I take the Visitors' Book for a day in September 1898, and I read the addresses of the earliest visitors on that day:—

Bradford.
Neuchâtel, Switzerland.
Sussex.
Edinburgh. (Scottish religionist? Not necessarily!)
Dunedin, New Zealand.
Paris, France.
Massachusetts.
Denmark.
Gloucestershire.
Chicago.
Philadelphia.
Jamaica.
London.
Yorkshire.
Leicestershire.
Dungannon, Ireland.
Banbury.
Liverpool.
Aberdeen. (Another Scottish religionist? But a pretty hard-headed one!)
Sheffield.
San Francisco.
Blairgowrie.
Leeds.
London.
Llanelly, Wales.

It rather appears to me that the list shows the house to have as much to do with Mecca as with Scottish religionism!

Edinburgh has nowadays only three buildings associated with all the great actors in what Thomas Carlyle extravagantly calls the only in-

teresting period in Scottish history—the Reformation period,—James V. and Mary of Lorraine; Cardinal Beaton, Sir David Lyndsay, Mary Queen of Scots, the Regents Murray and Morton, Maitland of Lethington, George Buchanan, and John Knox. I refer, of course, to the Castle, St Giles', and the North-west Tower and Abbey Church of Holyrood House. Connected specially with John Knox, we pride ourselves on two other buildings—the Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate, where Knox sat as a member of the first General Assembly, and the house at the Netherbow where he died. In both these buildings it has been my privilege to take an interest. The late Mr J. M. Gray and I got up a fund some years ago to preserve from certain destruction the windows in the Magdalene Chapel, which contain the only extant specimens of Scottish pre-Reformation ecclesiastical stained glass; and I have tried to do something also for John Knox's House, emptying the important upper rooms of the miscellaneous lumber they once contained, and forming a Reformation library and picture-gallery in the lower rooms.

Is the slender number of those ancient monuments now to suffer reduction? We had hoped rather to have seen them added to, through the labours of Mr Miller. Is it not possible, even yet, instead of attempting to take away Edinburgh's treasures, to increase them? Is it not possible, in our closes, to identify, not sites, which are never inspiring, but actual extant houses in which Knox lived, or in which Cardinal Beaton lived, or George Buchanan, or any of the other towering figures in Scottish history—Catholic or Reformed, Presbyterian or Episcopalian, who cares? I shall venture to make a suggestion to Mr Miller. No man is better able than he to find for us such treasures, if they exist. When I heard some years ago that he was investigating old Edinburgh houses, I was hopeful that, like Sir Daniel Wilson, who discovered in one of the Castle powder-magazines that priceless possession, St Margaret's Chapel, Mr Miller was about to add his name to the roll of Edinburgh's benefactors. But, alas, his labours up to this point have been destructive, not constructive! In solid result, what do they amount to? Only to this: a proposal to

destroy the only Edinburgh house which claims Knox for its occupant, and in its place to present to us several sites, of more or less certainty, occupied by modern tenements, or to be occupied by the new Town Council buildings. It may be that to find a suitable site in Edinburgh is not always easy, as the Council knows to its cost. But what is a site compared to an actual dwelling, admittedly contemporaneous, round which the affections and associations of generations have circled? Last summer two Frenchmen, visiting John Knox's House at different times, declared it the most interesting place in Edinburgh. The one was a Parisian Catholic, a colleague of the late Monsieur Pasteur; the other, a litterateur, a Protestant Professor in Neuchâtel. Suppose these gentlemen return to Edinburgh, and propose, as they would certainly do, to revisit the house. They find it gone. What will they think of a notice-board offering them their choice of the sites of John Knox's house as identified by Dr Miller, or the totally different sites preferred by Mr Miller! Will they not reply that these are worse than nothing—they are not even to give stones instead of bread?

But I remain open to conviction. The mere fact that, as Mr Miller expresses it in his book, the house has been "recently paraded in a Free Church mantle"—what a funny simile!—has no weight with me whatever. I am amused to see that a writer in the *Dundee Advertiser* of last week, referring to to-night's meeting, suggests that my interest in the house is due to my being a Free Churchman, and to the importance to the Free Church of the revenue drawn from the house! Being in print, and not coming to us by oral tradition, this must, of course, be true,—just as accurate as the statement, which I expect to read soon, that the motive for my recent popular edition of John Knox's History was the fortune which I expect to amass from the proceeds! At the same time, I may explain that the result of my interest in John Knox's house, and the large sums spent on it under my auspices, has been to make the account continuously on the wrong side! But, seriously, the views of men like Sir Daniel Wilson and Dr Hume Brown cannot be thus

depreciated; and as to myself, I can only judge from what I recently did with a volume bequeathed to the Free Church as having belonged to the great Marquis of Argyle. I ruthlessly destroyed its value by proving that it was not published till two years after his death. Yet I confess that if, by discovery of new facts proving the tradition impossible of reasonable belief—a different thing altogether from the suggestion of new surmises, new doubts, new suspicions, new inferences—I am forced to abandon the belief so long and so universally entertained, I shall bid good-bye to the picturesque, many-gabled old house, with expressions of regret of which, by the way, it is strange to find no trace whatever in the writings of Mr Miller,—either in the articles which appeared in the *Scotsman*, or in his republication of these articles in the form of the book already mentioned, or in the papers, consisting of parts of these articles, which have been read to this Society.

It is in these circumstances that I propose to-night to show that the Society of Antiquaries in 1849 did not lend itself either to a gross imposture or a stupid mistake, and that the tradition first recorded in 1806, as embodying an undisputed and indisputable fact, thereafter for nearly ninety years universally accepted by learned and unlearned, is not to be held as disproved by the doubts and suspicions and inferences of two gentlemen, eminent and useful as citizens, who do not agree together, and whose authority as experts cannot be compared with the authority of those who have held, and still hold, the claims of the house to its name sufficient.

Now, what is the question about which we are at issue? As in many controversies, the accurate definition of the question may go a long way towards its solution.

I define it thus: Has it been proved by those who impugn the tradition, that John Knox never stayed in the Netherbow house? I take the question as Sir Daniel Wilson took it, and as Dr Hume Brown takes it, when he says—"Against the tradition that points to Mosman's house as a residence of Knox no satisfactory evidence has been adduced."

On the other side, I do not find the question anywhere crisply formulated. But I think it may be not unfairly stated thus: Have those who accept the tradition proved by documentary evidence coming down from Knox's time, *first* that he lived in the Netherbow house from his final return to Edinburgh in 1560 to his death in 1572; and *second*, that all the preposterous legends as to secret baptising at a well within the house, etc., are true?

I prefer my way of stating the question, for these reasons:—

First.—I say the burden of proof lies on those attacking the house. If a man has for a series of years passed without challenge as of an honest character, you do not put upon him the proof that he is, in point of fact, what he has for so long professed to be. He may have been guilty of falsehood, fraud, and wilful imposition, but those who allege such to be the case must take the onus of proving it; and if he has never even been suspected of dishonesty for many years, the onus will be a proportionately heavy one, to prove his guilt by the clearest evidence.

Second.—I decline to encumber the issue with an enquiry into the whole period of Knox's Edinburgh residence. If he ever stayed in the house, that is enough to entitle the house to the name. That he was in other houses as well between 1560 and 1572, the date of his death, is of no more concern to me than to show, as could be done with equal success and equal futility, that from his birth in 1505 down to 1560 he never set foot in the Netherbow house. I find what I call this fallacy even in the title of Mr Miller's first paper. It runs—"Where did John Knox live in Edinburgh?" It should have run—"Where did John Knox live in Edinburgh from 1560 to 1569?" Then I should not have had a word to say about it, although I am far from accepting all its conclusions. To disprove the right of the Netherbow house to claim Knox's residence during all his Edinburgh life, is to set up a man of straw to knock him down again,—excellent practice for the muscles, but not fruitful of practical results. This is, however, what Mr Miller does when, postulating "this (Knox's residence in the house during the whole period) is an integral part of the full-blown legend," he vexes himself in

vain to disprove a proposition which always seemed to me absurd, in view of the Town Council minutes from which Dr M'Crie quoted so long ago.

Third.—The elaborate exposure given by Mr Miller of the many stories woven round the original tradition by ingenious persons is beside the mark. The exposure has been often done before, but will no more affect the question than if anyone establishing, as he can easily do, that the flooring outside Mary's bedroom at Holyrood has been renewed within fifty years, and thus exploding the legend of the blood-stain, were then to maintain that the whole connection of Rizzio with the north-west tower of Holyrood must be given up. This fallacy appears in the title of Mr Miller's second paper: "The Legend of John Knox's House." I do not complain of this title, because it states a fact. There is a tradition—as I think a thoroughly reliable tradition—of John Knox's House, and there is as usual, also, a legend of John Knox's House, an imaginative tale, to the suppression of which I have myself contributed. What I desire to guard against is the confusion of thought which does not distinguish between the two, but seems to think them synonymous, as for instance when, dealing with the original tradition, Mr Miller designates it, "the legend in its most attenuated form"! I shall be proud to be known as the champion of the tradition that Knox resided in this house, but I decline the distinction which Mr Miller seeks to confer upon me of being the champion of a legend which affirms that Knox had a well in the house, at which there were secret baptisms, that the carved outside figure at the corner was a genuine portrait of the Reformer, and that Knox was in the regular habit of preaching to the people in the street out of a window. Equally, reverting to my old illustration, as soon as anybody denies Rizzio's connection with the existing north-west tower of Holyrood, I shall be glad to do battle for our possession as an Edinburgh attraction, of a place so much associated with that interesting foreigner, but I shall decline to treat the blood-stain as anything but material for grim jesting.

If, then, the question is, Has it been proved that John Knox never

resided in the Netherbow house,—what hangs on the answer to that question? At present the house continues ticketed "John Knox's House." To satisfy all forms of scepticism, however, I said to some friends that I was getting a sign-painter to interline two words, so as to make the board read "The *alleged* House of the *so-called* John Knox"! But I find that, in Scotland, one must joke with caution, for the result has been that I have been told by quite a number of people that they had been informed (two of them named Mr Miller as their informant) that I had lost all faith in the house. All that I can say is, that the report is absolutely without any foundation whatever; and that, before I perpetrate another joke in Scotland, I shall see that there is a due provision of surgical appliances.

What is to be the practical outcome? Obviously, there are only two courses. Either the house must continue to be shown as John Knox's, honestly believing, as the Trustees of the House do, that it is entitled to the name, or the board must be removed. But if, on being convinced that the house is not John Knox's, we remove the board, we cannot stop there. The removal of the house itself must follow; and in its place we shall, I suppose, erect a neat tenement, built to resemble in style, so far as possible, that adjoining Grecian structure, whose exquisite appropriateness to its surroundings, all people of taste, including the Cockburn Association, have so lavishly praised. I need scarcely add that on that event coming to pass—which Heaven forbid!—we shall never hesitate whose name, as that of the true author, should be associated with the new Grecian tenement, in substitution for that of John Knox!

But if my method of stating the question is conceded, the dispute is at an end. Inferences are, no doubt, suggested so as to shake belief in the probability of the tradition being accurate. I can only say, as a lawyer, that these inferences seem to me strained and inconclusive, as well as insufficient to outweigh the fact of the tradition. Doubt is undoubtedly cast on the tradition, but proof of its falsehood there is none, and in the present state of our documentary evidence there can be none, because it is admitted that Knox passed at least two

years of his life in Edinburgh in a house or houses of whose situation there is no documentary evidence whatever,—that is to say, fully two years during which, or part of which, he may, for aught yet seen, have lived in the Netherbow house. It is no use to reply that there is no original documentary evidence that he lived in the Netherbow house during that period. I do not need documentary evidence. I have the tradition, which my friends have got to displace, unless they go so far as to refuse all value to all tradition,—in short, to anything not in print,—a position as absurd as the opposite extreme of believing everything coming down to us by tradition; or unless their argument drives them to the conclusion that, because there is no evidence in what house Knox lived during these two years, therefore he did not live in any house at all!

I have said that casting doubt will not do. Casting doubt is no more use by itself than casting mud. Give me time to burrow, and I shall be prepared, although I do not say with the same zest as Mr Miller, to cast doubt on every fact in Scottish history prior to living memory, and, prior to the same period, on every historical association in Edinburgh—for an adequate remuneration! It would be uncongenial employment, and I should have to deal with the matter not in the broad and patriotic spirit suitable for such an enquiry, but with the microscopic eye of the fly, and to insist on the kind and amount of evidence which would send a man to the scaffold, or obtain a warrant from the Dean of Guild Court. But, pursuing the main lines of Mr Miller's argument, I think I could, for instance, persuade a good many people that the claims of the chapel in the Castle to the deservedly sainted name of Malcolm Canmore's wife are exposed to the greatest doubt, and that the nomenclature of the Marian rooms in Holyrood must be abandoned.

At this point, however, I must make a qualification. Although there is no documentary evidence of where Knox lived during the two years I have referred to, it might have been shown that the house could not be Knox's house, because it was built after his death. Even the ignorant tourist who imagines that Moray House was the residence of Regent Moray sees his mistake when he is told that the house was not built till the

century after the tragedy at Linlithgow. But both my antagonists maintain that what we call Knox's house stood in Knox's later years substantially as it stands now,—that is to say, that Knox must have passed the house hundreds of times, and probably have been within its walls. It is not like Shakspeare's birthplace, of which only the cellar, at best, remains as in the poet's time.

The house, then, being old enough and commodious enough to have been Knox's, and in suitable proximity to his church, while comfortably removed from the guns of the Castle, there can be no sufficient reason to reject the tradition, unless it can be proved either that, during his whole residence in Edinburgh, he lived elsewhere, or that the house was so occupied during the whole of Knox's Edinburgh life that accommodation could not possibly have been found for him and his family within its walls.

Proof of residence elsewhere, covering the whole period, admittedly fails, to the extent of fully two out of twelve years. What remains? Is there evidence that the house was an impossible house for Knox? I have heard none. And here I must in fairness acknowledge the great service rendered to the supporters of the house, albeit unwittingly, by the late Dr Miller. It was largely through his efforts that the ownership of the house was traced to James Mosman—the J. M. of the outside tablet—giving ground for the strong argument founded upon the circumstances of the Mosman family at the time of Knox's return from St Andrews in August 1572, which has commended itself to such authorities as Sir Daniel Wilson and Dr Hume Brown, although rejected, on what seem to me inadequate grounds, by Mr Miller. He rejects it chiefly because Mosman was a Catholic. But Mosman owned several houses in Edinburgh, some of which he must have rented to others, and it would be alien to all we know of the customs of the time for a Catholic house-proprietor in Edinburgh to have refused house rent from the Town Council of Edinburgh, whoever might be the tenant for whom the Council was paying rent. In the last months of Knox's life, it seems likely that even house rent would not have stood in the way. The

Castle was held for the Queen by Kirkcaldy of Grange. Mosman, the goldsmith, the owner of the house, an adherent of Mary and a supporter of Kirkcaldy, was taken from the Castle with Kirkcaldy and hanged a few months later. When he fled to the Castle we do not know. Mr Miller thinks it was probably not till after Knox's death. It is a matter of opinion. I confess to thinking, with Dr Hume Brown and Sir Daniel Wilson, that Mosman fled there before, and left his Netherbow house vacant, making it a likely house for the Council to assign to Knox.

I mention Sir Daniel's revered name without hesitation, in spite of the private letter to Dr Miller which Mr Miller has quoted to show that Sir Daniel had contradicted the opinion, previously and subsequently expressed by him, in favour of the genuineness of the house. I do not wish to go into tentative views expressed in private letters. Sir Daniel Wilson is dead; so is Dr Miller; and so, alas! is Mr J. R. Findlay, who once showed me the volume of private letters to which Mr Miller has referred. It is better, I venture to think, to look at what Sir Daniel Wilson committed himself to in the last edition of his *Memorials*, published in 1891. I also had private letters from Sir Daniel, written after the one referred to, and after he had considered the views which I put before the Society. In these letters to me he stated as his final opinion exactly what appears in the last edition of his *Memorials*. Mr Miller quotes a part of the passage from the *Memorials*, but not the whole. He quotes these words:—"In the absence of other evidence, we may welcome such guidance as tradition supplies, and still think of the house that has so long borne his name as the lodging where his last days were spent." That is sufficient for me; but why does Mr Miller stop short, and not give the next sentence—"He expired there in the sixty-seventh year of his age,"—that is to say, in Sir Daniel Wilson's opinion, in a house which Mr Miller says it is highly improbable he ever occupied.

I have said enough for my purpose. Mr Miller does not allege impossibility, but only a high degree of improbability. But where you have a tradition, not improbable in itself, traceable in an unexaggerated form beyond living memory, and universally accepted for a long period of years,

not merely by the people, but by scholars and antiquaries, after investigation, it must be proved impossible before it can be fairly stamped as a mere legend. A legend, in the modern use of that word which Mr Miller adopts, is something, either in itself impossible, or something actually disproved, or something in which the true and false are so inextricably mixed up that they cannot be disentangled, and the whole must be rejected.

But I am not disinclined to deal with Mr Miller's doubts. Some of them seem to me reasonable doubts; others far-fetched, and others dependent on fallacies, due either to deficient perspective, or to partial information and a contracted outlook, or to inadequate reflection.

In approaching these doubts, I must, with great respect both for the late Dr Miller and for Mr Miller, citizens to whom the people of Edinburgh owe a great deal, decline to accept anything on their *ipse dixit*. I am not impressed, for instance, by such statements as the following, obviously inappropriate to an argument founded entirely on probabilities, and coming from an author who tells us—so obscure are the facts—"I had to change my opinion on many points many times." Mr Miller says:—"The foregoing discussion has shown that there never was any foundation for the statement that Knox lived at the Netherbow. It has shown, further, that the legend attached to the present house is an invention altogether of the present century." That is a very easy thing to say; and I know, from experience with juries, how impressive such a statement is apt to be, when made with proper emphasis, until it is replied on the other side, as I reply now with equal emphasis, that Mr Miller's admissions of ignorance of Knox's residence during two years seem to me to leave ample foundation for the belief that Knox lived in the Netherbow house; and that, as to the legend attached to the house being "an invention altogether of the present century," the only legend to which the present century can lay exclusive claim is the unfounded assertion stated, for the first time in the last decade of the century, that John Knox never lived in the Netherbow house.

Apart, then, from bare assertion, are there any doubts worth attention?

Perhaps you expect me to say there are none. I say nothing of the kind. I say, of course there are. Indeed, I could supply, for a consideration, a few more to Mr Miller,—points which I humbly think are at least as plausible as any of his, and in connection with which the fallacies on which they are based are by no means so obvious. I am struck by the resemblance between my friend's arguments and those used against Shakspeare's birthplace. You will remember four of the most prominent of Mr Miller's points,—first, the absence of any documentary reference to the house till early in this century; second, the likelihood of confusion with another John Knox; third, the fact that at one time the name of John Knox's Land seems to have been extended also over an adjoining house; and fourth, the absurd additions with which the original story has become encrusted.

What about Shakspeare's birthplace? There also we find a complete absence of any reference to the house, as associated with Shakspeare's birth, in any document until late in last century. Again, the name of William Shakspeare was a very common one in the district, no fewer than three Richard Shakspeares, with sons called William, having been unearthed by the perverse industry of the cavillers against the house.

Again, the name of Shakspeare's birthplace was connected not only with the house now shown, but with the house immediately adjoining. And finally, minute internal identifications have been devised inside the house, which it is easy to show are impossible and absurd. All these arguments have been tried on at Stratford, and all of them and many others have been held by competent authorities utterly insufficient to outweigh a tradition recorded originally very little earlier and on no better authority than the Knox tradition, and more exposed to criticism, because the Shakspearian tradition was challenged within a few years after it was first recorded; whereas the Knox tradition was unchallenged until 1891, and then by a gentleman whose conclusions are summarily rejected by Mr Miller.

I have referred to the original tradition. What was it? Not in the least what Mr Miller asserts it to have been. He says that "the original

form of the statement was that Knox is said to have lived at a particular house in the Netherbow for the eleven years from 1560 to 1571." This is a delusion. The original statement says nothing of the sort. It is to be found in two books, published in 1806 and 1811. In 1806, Stark, in his *Picture of Edinburgh*, a very accurate and careful book, thus writes:—

"Among the antiquities of Edinburgh may be mentioned the house of the great Scottish reformer, John Knox. It stands on the north side of the foot of the High Street, and, projecting into the street, reduces it nearly one-half of its width. On the front to the west is a figure in *alto relievo*, pointing up with its finger to a radiated stone, on which is sculptured the name of the Divinity in three different languages:—

ΘΕΟΣ
DEUS
GOD

"Whether the figure is meant to represent the reformer himself or not, is not known; but whoever it is, he seems to have been hardly used, part of the stone on which it is executed being broken off, either by accident or design. The edifice itself is one of the oldest stone houses in Edinburgh. As, in the course of the improvements in the city, this building will in a few years perhaps be removed, it is to be wished that the sculptured stones could be preserved, in memory of a man who, whatever were his faults, by his bold eloquence and undaunted conduct pulled down the fabric of a superstition which had shackled the mind for ages."—*Picture of Edinburgh*, 1806, pp. 102, 103.

Dr M'Crie makes no reference to Stark's book: it was not the class of book he was likely to have consulted. His statement, in his *Life of Knox*, published in 1811, is as follows:—

"The house which the Reformer possessed is situated near the bottom of the High Street, a little below the Fountain Well. These three words are inscribed on the wall—ΘΕΟΣ, DEUS, GOD."

These are the original statements, and neither of them afford any warrant for Mr Miller's assertion.

These fallacies being out of the way, we have only to point out the sharp contrasts between two periods constantly interwoven in Mr Miller's narrative :—

1. The period during which we have a clue to Knox's residences by finding the names of his landlords mentioned in his *History of the Reformation*, or in the Town Council records.
2. The period when all extant documents are silent.

The first period I dismiss with the observation that I do not profess to decide between Dr Miller and Mr Miller, who are here hopelessly at variance. Mr Miller is much more curt with my antagonist of 1891 than with me. He dismisses Dr Miller's laborious identifications with the short statement that the sites laid down by him with so much care were "incorrectly given." I can only say that I think a great deal is to be said both for Dr Miller's sites and for Mr Miller's site, and I have still an open mind between them. I go farther. I reserve right to prefer any of the other identifications inconsistent with either which, no doubt, succeeding equally able local antiquaries, perhaps taking us down into the Cowgate for change of air, will periodically offer.

And here I desire to acknowledge the great obligation which all lovers of John Knox's house are under, not as before to Dr Miller, but this time to Mr Miller, for having disposed of an argument of Dr Miller's, which I considered the only formidable argument ever brought against the authenticity of the house.

Dr Miller had a deadly suggestion as to the origin of the name of the present John Knox's House. He could not bring himself to suggest, as Mr Miller has done, that some worthy scrivener or tradesman of the name of John Knox, living some distance up the High Street, has been mistaken, by the whole citizens of Edinburgh, for the Son of Thunder who dethroned a Queen and pulled down a Church. He had a much more plausible theory. He suggested that John Knox, having undoubtedly at one time occupied a house belonging to a man named Robert Mowbray, and that house having been situated immediately to the rear of the pre-

sent house, both houses, front and back, came naturally to be associated with the Reformer; and when the house at the back, the only true house, was pulled down, the name naturally enough inured to the front house, which had no real right to it at all. Now, however, we again breathe freely, for Mr Miller has proved to his own satisfaction, and we are not disposed to be critical, that Robert Mowbray's house, contrary to Dr Miller's opinion, and contrary to Sir Daniel Wilson's opinion, was not down at the Netherbow at all, but much higher up the High Street.

Second. The period when all extant documents are silent, namely, from November 1569 to November 1572, the period when, as Mr Miller frankly admits, "documentary proof fails us for the simple reason that no documentary proof of the kind already quoted is known to exist."

Take, first, November 1569 to May 1571, when Knox went to St Andrews.

It is scarcely denied that during this period, or part of it, Knox may have occupied the Netherbow house. But an endeavour is made to escape from the consequences of such a quasi-admission by saying—Suppose he did, no such residence would entitle the house to its name, because nothing that occurred during these years "could have consecrated his residence as the Mecca of Scottish religionism."

Why not? If he resided in the house during this period, why should it not be called John Knox's House? Was it nothing to make the period memorable to Scottish religionism that Knox, during its progress, was struck with apoplexy? Must the interest of that period be confined to Scottish religionism? It was not so in his lifetime; his secretary tells us "that the bruit passed not only through Scotland but also to England, that he was become the most deformed creature that ever was seen, and that he would never preach nor yet speak." Would there not be anxious enquirers at that house, and an eager crowd, both of friends and foes, watching his condition when he first left it; to find both hopes and fears disappointed, for, as Richard Bannatyne quaintly puts it, "God within a few days declared them liars, for he convalesced, and so returned to his exercise of prêaching, at least on the Sunday." Would

nobody care to see the house to which was brought the news of the murder of the Queen's half-brother at Linlithgow, the Great Regent, whose character and career have baffled so many investigators, the house from which Knox went to preach the funeral sermon at St Giles' which, as Calderwood tells us, "moved 3000 persons to shed tears for the loss of such a good and godly governor"? Or, are there none so poor, even among Scottish religionists, as to do reverence to the house to which, after Knox's life had been attempted, "some brethren," as Bannatyne reports, "on the night of 19th April 1571, fearing for John Knox, their minister, came and watched all night in the house"?

Second Period—August to November 1572.

Here, again, we have nothing but doubts to meet. We are told that "the absence of any probability that Knox lived in this house deepens into certainty that Knox did not die in it." That is a dangerous form of argument. Apply it to Mary's career, and you will have to re-write her history! Was there not "an absence of probability, deepening into impossibility," that the most attractive woman in Europe, brave, devout, accomplished, generous, loyal, affectionate (for, as in the case of King David, I believe both the best and the worst about Mary the Queen), who had kings, princes, and nobles for her suitors, would ever be united in marriage to an effeminate debauchee like Darnley, or an obscene ruffian like Bothwell? Where and why does the certainty come in on which Mr Miller is so dogmatic? First, we are told, because neither Knox's secretary nor Principal Smeton, his friend, make any reference to Knox's residence at the Netherbow. Neither they do, any more than to his residence in any other house! Does it follow that he lived nowhere? But second, we are told that "it was a physical improbability, deepening into an impossibility, that Knox should have spent his last three months in life in Mosman's house." And then Mr Miller adds, as the Irishman did who brought a hundred people to prove that they never saw him steal the coat, "the cumulative negative

evidence is overwhelming against any association of Knox the Reformer with the Netherbow." That argument is easily tested. It is based on the theory that the house was too remote from St Giles' for Knox to walk there in his feeble state. This is founded on Knox's account of himself, written from St Andrews, that he was "half-dead." Yes; but Mr Miller forgets, or perhaps is not sufficiently in sympathetic contact with Knox's indomitable spirit to realise, that John Knox "half-dead" was more alive than half-a-dozen ordinary men in the maturity of their powers. What was this semi-corpse doing when he thus described himself? He was preaching, so that, once he got fairly started, he was "like to ding the pulpit into blads and flee out of it," as James Melvill tells us in a sentence, of which the first part only is quoted by Mr Miller. He was writing a trenchant pamphlet in reply to Tyrie the Jesuit. He was carrying on a big controversy with the University authorities; and he was conducting a large correspondence, not only with different parts of Scotland, but with England and the Continent. No doubt he was feeble in body, but James Melvill tells us that he walked from the Abbey at St Andrews, where he was lodged in the Novum Hospitium, to the parish church. Mr Miller rejects the Netherbow house as Knox's residence during the last months of his life because he could not have walked the 410 yards intervening between it and St Giles', where he preached. Why not? How far was the St Andrews Abbey from the parish church? In a straight line it was 550 yards. Is our Edinburgh climate so enervating that Knox could not walk 410 in Edinburgh? But all this is beside the mark. Kylligrew, the English envoy, tells us that, in point of fact, Knox did not walk, except when he preferred to walk, because, Kylligrew says, "he caused himself to be carried to St Giles'." What, then, becomes of Mr Miller's great point, which he so anxiously labours through ten pages of his book, that "the condition of Knox's health made his residence at the Netherbow under the circumstances narrated by those authorities practically impossible"; and again, "it was a practical impossibility for Knox to have walked to that place after a long and fatiguing service, even though 'leaning on his staff.'" Why

so; if, in the same condition of health at St Andrews, he walked further, and if in Edinburgh he did not require to walk at all?

I have dwelt on this point because it is not an unfavourable specimen of the strained reasoning through which Mr Miller labours to discredit this interesting historical monument.

Lastly, there only remain two arguments of Mr Miller's not dealt with. He often reminds us of the risks our tradition has run of becoming distorted, handed on from generation to generation during the long space of two hundred and thirty-four years, from Knox's death in 1572 to 1806, when it first appeared in print.

This looks plausible at first sight. But it crumbles when you grasp it. Two hundred and thirty-four years? Yes; that is the arithmetical distance between 1572 and 1806. But, in the transmission of knowledge, there was no such gap. Think it over for a moment. Some people who as children watched Knox's funeral would be able, seventy-five years after 1572, to point out to their grandchildren the house from which the procession started "with many a fearful heart," as Bannatyne tells us. And to whom would these grandchildren be able to impart the knowledge thus acquired by them at first hand from an actual spectator of the funeral? Why, they would be able, with no undue assumption of longevity, to impart their knowledge to persons alive in 1806. The matter seems to be dealt with as if it related to the Egyptian Sphynx, the stony mystery, who must have been an object of veneration to the Patriarch Abraham as he sojourned in Egypt, because even then the Sphynx was already one thousand years old. If the doubts about John Knox's house, suggested so recently for the first time, had been stirred in 1806, when the house was openly and without challenge claimed for Edinburgh as Knox's residence, you could have had evidence of recollection going back certainly to 1731—recollection of statements made by old people, who had themselves derived their knowledge at first hand from persons alive at Knox's death. Thus you have only one independent life between the child of 1572 and the old man of 1806. I only wish that all our beliefs, resting, as so many of them necessarily do, on tradition unwritten for

many hundreds of years, were founded on a basis so little exposed to error.

And now I come to a genuine specimen of the genus Red-herring,—Mr Miller's naïve suggestion, that during all these years we and all the world have been taking off our hats to the wrong John Knox! Stripped bare, what is the basis for this extraordinary suggestion, absolutely unexampled in any other place or time, so far as we have heard, and so flattering to our forefathers' intelligence? He has found that before, in, and since Knox's time there were house-proprietors in Edinburgh of the name of Knox, some of whom were named John. He calls this a discovery. I traced out some of these worthy citizens more than ten years ago, but never imagined I had made any discovery. I regret now that I did not take out a patent; but, in my simplicity, I thought, looking to the commonness of both names, that the existence of such people went without saying. The nearest John Knox to John Knox's house he locates about 110 yards away. Mr Miller may be right, but my recollection is that my identification, very likely imperfect, planted the nearest man still farther off. Be that as it may, what is the extraordinary conclusion from such obvious premises? We are gravely asked, "May we not surmise that here we have tracked the legend to its lair, and that either Stark or Stark's unknown informant had seen the name John Knox in some title-deeds of property in this locality, and was led immediately to the conclusion that no John Knox could be of importance but one?" Why should we surmise anything of the kind? Suppose that Stark was led to that conclusion, how does that affect the name of this house, and how did Stark come to transfer a John Knox owning property away up the street to a house away down at the Netherbow? If, in the title-deeds of this house you had found, among former owners or tenants, a "John Knox" not the Reformer, you might have argued, with some decent show of plausibility, that, however improbable, it was at least possible that in later years a confusion had arisen between John Knox the Tradesman and John Knox the Iconoclast. But Mr Miller's point, in another part of his case, is that no such name was ever

associated with the titles of this house. Where, then, is there room for the mistake to come in, with reference to this house? The mistake, if it came in at all, would come in with reference to one of these other houses actually owned by another John Knox, and that only supposing any of these other houses had been found associated in later times with the Reformer's name. But no such association has even been suggested. One would have expected some house to be connected with Edinburgh's greatest citizen for long after his death by the common people, among whom traditions linger. But there is not, and, so far as we know, never has been, any tradition connecting the Reformer with any house except the house in the Netherbow, which, we believe, had been handed down from one generation to another, because it was the house where he died.

I close with a challenge which I have thrown out before, and which has never been faced. If Stark's statement, publicly made in 1806, and Dr M'Crie's statement, made with equal publicity in 1811, and Robert Chambers' statement in 1823, were inventions, why were they not questioned? The books of these men were all reviewed, and in Dr M'Crie's case with great hostility in many quarters. What a chance to expose M'Crie's untrustworthiness, or at least his credulity! Was it because the people in the beginning of the century had not the necessary information? They needed no information but only their own recollection to stamp as an invention what, if Mr Miller be right, must necessarily have been known to be an invention by all Edinburgh people.

Was it because no one had any interest to deny the statement? The very opposite is the case. Recall the facts connected with the attempted removal of the house by order of the Dean of Guild Court in 1847. After much controversy, and in the face of much opposition, that order was recalled, and John Knox's house was saved by the same Courts of Law which stopped our civic rulers from quarrying away Salisbury Crags, and from building Princes Street on both sides of the street. What was all the fuss about? Why were indignation meetings held, and petitions signed and subscriptions collected? Why did this Society of Antiquaries take an active part in the row? Not because the house was old and

picturesque. At that date Edinburgh had plenty such houses, and the advantages to be got from widening the street were sufficient to counterbalance and extinguish all merely antiquarian and æsthetic considerations. No! the house was defended solely as the undoubted residence of John Knox. If that characteristic of the house could have been effectually challenged, the whole ground for the opposition to the Council's decree would have disappeared. Why was there no such suggestion? Plenty old people were alive in 1847 whose memories stretched far back into the preceding century, and who, if the story had been, as we are now told, "an invention of the early part of the century," could have proved that invention beyond the possibility of doubt. Was it the crass stupidity or ignorance of the Dean of Guild and his Court in neglecting a weapon ready to their hand and certain to slay? I cast no such imputation. I think—you will judge—it was because any such assertion would have been instantly negatived by old people, who would have said, that so long as they remembered the house had been associated with the Reformer, and that they had heard the same account of it in their childhood from old people long dead.

So passes the "Legend of John Knox's House," unwept, unhonoured, and unsung. But the tradition remains, an honoured heritage from the past, to be handed on to the future. When the names and the writings of all those who have taken part in this friendly controversy have been long buried in oblivion, John Knox's House at the Netherbow will continue to render a great public service, by vivifying the memory of the greatest man, the greatest statesman, the greatest churchman whom God has yet given to the Scottish Church and the Scottish people, and through them to mankind.

[*Note.*—It is proper to add that, when a report of the foregoing paper appeared in the *Scotsman*, a letter was published in that newspaper pointing out that I was wrong in conceding that the first printed reference to John Knox's House occurs in Stark's *Picture of Edinburgh*, published in 1806. The writer of that letter referred to *A Companion and Useful*

Guide to the Beauties of Scotland, by the Hon. Mrs Murray, of Kensington, published in London in 1799, in which, describing a visit made by her to Edinburgh in 1784, John Knox's House is referred to, among the other sights of the town. Mrs Murray wrote—"The Canongate joins, and in fact makes a part of the High Street, in the Old Town, and leads to the Abbey; and a fine place it is—for everything that is disagreeable! The houses are high, and chiefly inhabited by the lower order of people. As the street narrows on the left in going down, is a tottering bow-window to a house, whence Knox thundered his addresses to the people." This, of course, disposes of the view, so laboriously elaborated by Mr Miller, that the House, to use his own words, is "an invention of the early part of the century," and was originated by Stark.]

MONDAY, 10*th April* 1899.

THE HON. HEW HAMILTON DALRYMPLE, Vice-President, in the Chair.

A Ballot having been taken, the following Gentlemen were duly elected Fellows:—

JAMES DONALDSON BOSWALL, W.S., Donaldson House, Wardie.
JULIAN G. WANDESFORD BUTLER, C.E., 2 Garscube Terrace, Murrayfield.
BENJAMIN C. COX, Mauldsheugh, Selkirk.
HENRY R. HOWATT, 99 Millbrae Road, Langside, Glasgow.
ROBERT ORR of Kinnaird, Stirlingshire, 79 West Nile Street, Glasgow.
ROBERT M. SUTHERLAND, Wallside, Falkirk.

The following Donations to the Museum and Library were laid on the table, and thanks voted to the Donors:—

(1) By The Right Hon. THE EARL OF HOPETOUN.

Three Buttons of jet, found with an Urn in a ancient burial on the estate of the Earl of Hopetoun at Old Windymains, Keith Marischall,

East Lothian. (See the previous communication by Dr Joseph Anderson.)

(2) By JAMES LUMSDEN of Arden, F.S.A. Scot.

Polished Stone Axe (fig. 1), $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length by $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in

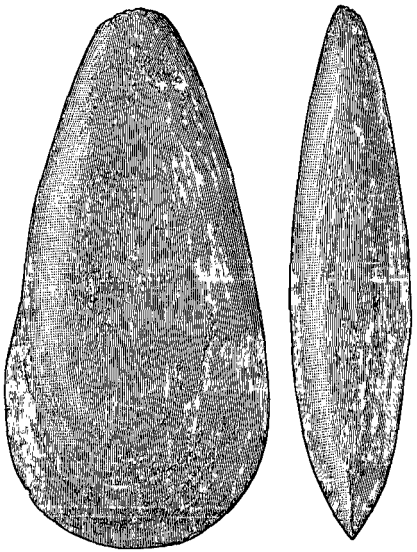

Fig. 1. Polished Stone Axe found near Arden. ($\frac{1}{2}$.)

greatest breadth, and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in greatest thickness, a flattened oval in the cross-section, and tapering to a somewhat flattened and conically-pointed butt. It was found among the water-washed stones on the shore of Loch Lomond near Arden.

(3) By WILLIAM COWIE & SONS, Builders, 6 Angle Park Terrace.

Portions of three Sepulchral Urns, found in excavating at Juniper Green. (See the subsequent communication by Mr F. R. Coles.)

(4) By A. Sholto Douglas.

Two small polished Stone Axes from Barbadoes.

(5) By John M'Kie, Kirkcudbright.

Sieve of Goatskin, pierced, and a pair of Iron Clips from Galloway.

(6) By Alexander Fraser, F.S.A. Scot.

Stone with Sculptured Crucifixion, from St Giles', Edinburgh.

(7) By the Trustees of the British Museum.

Facsimile of the Lochbuy Brooch.

(8) By Professor W. Flinders Petrie, D.C.L., LL.D., Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Collection of inscribed and sculptured fragments, pottery, &c., from Hierakonpolis, Egypt, comprising:—

Large Flint Flake, sharpened at the edges, measuring 2 feet 6 inches in length by $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in thickness.

Various inscribed or sculptured Stone fragments, viz.:—Portion of a rectangular tablet of yellowish freestone, 2 feet 6 inches by 11 inches, with fluted edge on left; tablet of limestone, 22 inches by $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 4 inches, rounded at top; ten limestone fragments from 21 inches by $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches; upper part of figure of a god, 11 inches by 7 inches by $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches (in three pieces); four sandstone fragments, from 14 inches by 10 inches to 6 inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, some incised, others inscribed; four portions of figures (one with flattened back for fitting into a socket) of granitic stone, and three small fragments of the same; rectangular portion of a "cornice" with sharp moulding of fine-grained blue-grey slatey stone, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 4 inches; small Syenite fragment, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 2 inches; flat round-headed Plaque of bituminous shale, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches, incised with figures on one side and hieroglyphs and figures on the other.

Owl figure in syenite, 4 inches by 3 inches.

Small sitting figure in slaty stone, 3 inches by $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Four small Animal figures, showing traces of green-blue glaze.

Twenty-four twisted cylindrical Beads, from $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length to less than 1 inch.

Portion of flat oval of grey granitic stone, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches by 5 inches.

Small fragment of slaty stone, $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches, hollowed on one face and inscribed on convex side.

Conic-cylindric piece of Limestone, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches, with three triangular notches near base.

Lid of Vessel of black and white variegated marble, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, perforated.

Four globo-cylindrical objects of limestone, from 3 inches high to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches, all perforated,—probably mace-heads.

Alabaster Vase, $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, tapering to a base of $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Alabaster Vessel, cylindric, $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches in height.

Smaller Vessel of alabaster, cylindric, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

Alabaster Vessel, $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide at bulge, and narrowing to a base of $2\frac{5}{8}$ inches, flat-topped, the mouth 3 inches in diameter, into which is fitted a ring of alabaster of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

Basin of alabaster, 8 inches in diameter, $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in height.

Shallow Basin of alabaster, $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches wide.

Saucer-like Vessel of alabaster, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

Lid of alabaster, 6 inches in diameter, with finger-hole.

Two fragments of a narrow oblong whetstone-like object of white alabaster, $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches and $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, the ends of each pierced, but differently.

Small flat Tablet of alabaster, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $\frac{3}{8}$ inches, one corner broken, two corners rubbed down, and the fourth rubbed from both sides, but not destroying the rectangle.

Four coarse reddish earthenware Vessels, cylindrical and slightly rimmed at the lip, 18 inches, 16 inches, $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches, and 12 inches in height respectively.

Six narrow cylindrical Vessels with broad everted lips and a row of impressed markings 2 inches below the rim, from $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $8\frac{5}{8}$ inches in height.

Vessel of the same type but badly made, $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches high.

Clay Vessel with wide "shoulder" and everted lip, over 4 inches in diameter and $8\frac{1}{8}$ inches in height.

Vessel, semi-globose, narrow-based, 5 inches wide at bulge and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height.

Three curiously-shaped Bowls, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, the insides partly convex.

Coarsely-made thick Vessel of reddish clay, 7 inches wide, rising from a base of $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Thin red cup-shaped Vessel, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Five Ballas Vessels of the smoothed and black rimmed type, varying in size from 8 inches by $6\frac{1}{4}$ inches to $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

(9) By The Right Hon. The Earl of Stair, K.T., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot.

Perforated Hammer of greenstone (fig. 2), $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth across the cutting face, narrowing to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in the middle, where it is pierced by a haft-hole $\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width, narrowing slightly inwards. The butt end also expands to a rounded form, and is

slightly abraded. It was found at Remote, in the parish of Cranstoun, Mid-Lothian.

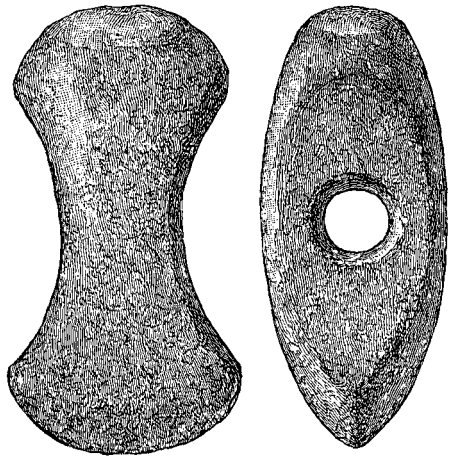

Fig. 2. Hammer of Greenstone found at Remote. (½.)

(10) By J. S. FLEMING, F.S.A. Scot., the Author.

Old Nooks of Stirling delineated and described. 4to; 1898.

(11) By the TRUSTEES OF THE HUNTERIAN COIN CATALOGUE.

Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection. By George Macdonald, M.A. Vol. i. 4to; 1899.

(12) By Professor CONWENTZ.

Tables of Prehistoric Weapons, Ornaments, etc., for Western Prussia.

(13) By the SCOTTISH HOME INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION.

Scottish Home Industries. 4to; 1897.

(14) By W. GOWLAND, the Author.

The Dolmens of Japan and their Builders.

(15) By D. CRAWFORD SMITH, F.S.A. Scot.

History of the Ancient Masonic Lodge of Scoon and Perth.

(16) By ALAN REID, the Author.

Rosyth Castle: a Notable Fifeshire Ruin.

(17) By D. S. GREWAR, F.S.A. Scot.

The Eastmiln Tragedy; an Account of the Trial of Katherine Nairn and Patrick Ogilvie, 1764–65.

(18) By the REPRESENTATIVES of the late Rev. GEORGE WILSON, Glenluce.

Collection of Plans and MS. Notes on Wigtownshire Antiquities.

(19) By A. MATHESON, through GEORGE ROBERTSON, F.S.A. Scot.

Part of Collection of Celtic Society, Dunfermline, consisting of an Oak Spade, Shale Button, Cruisie, Sword, and Baton.

(20) By Dr WILLIAM FRAZER, Hon. Mem. S.A. Scot.

Order in Council, 7th November 1663, with signatures of Archbishop Sharpe and other members:—

Assured Friend,—Seeing it is recommended to the Privy Councill be the Parliament to sie their Acts Anent the Declaration to be taken be all persons in public trust putt to executione and received in obedience conform to the tennour thereof. And that a speedy accompt be made immediately after the expyring off the dayes appointed for that effect. And seing the tyme appointed for the burghes to report their proceedings in that matter is now past, we have thought fitt to requyer you that with all diligence you give an accompt of your obedience to the said Acts. A printed copy whereof with the declaration annexed we have sent you enclosed and send the same to the Clerk of Councill to be communicated to us.—We rest your assured friends,

C. Sent Andrews Chancellor.
Tweeddale.
Ch. Maitland.
T. Wauchope.
R. Murray.

Registered *7th November* 1663.

The following Communications were read:—