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THE MILITARY FORCES AND THE PUBLIC REVENUE OF SCOTLAND,
1660 - 1688.

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7th January, 1921



Introduction.

Historians of the seventeenth century have dealt with the most striking aspect of the national life of Scotland to the almost total exclusion of all others. "The Crown and the Kirk", "Scotland and the Covenanters", "Politics and Religion" and similar titles illustrate the point of view from which this period has been regarded. The struggle between Kirk and Crown was one of the most vital in our history; but even the most complete examination of its origin, progress and effects, cannot give an adequate account of every feature of the national life. In the following pages attention has been directed to two branches of government which "come home to men's business and bosoms" in every age and country - the organisation of the military forces of the state and the collection and expenditure of the public revenue.

When Charles II came to the throne, the crowns of England and Scotland had been united for more than half a century, and under Cromwell the policy of a closer union had achieved a temporary triumph. Nevertheless, the most prominent feature of Scotland's administrative system was isolation from England. Save for the accident that a Stewart king sat on the throne of the Tudors, England was a foreign country. That it was just and expedient that Scotland should enjoy autonomy was hardly questioned in that country, except in the field of foreign and colonial policy. The Scottish statesmen and politicians of the period were extremely jealous of English interference.

Nominally the privy council of Scotland contained English members who, with the Scottish Secretary of State, formed the Scots Council at London. At the beginning of the reign of Charles II, this body exercised an appreciable influence on policy and administration. But Lauderdale's rise to power at the expense of Middleton and Rothes marked the end of its usefulness.

Lauderdale's natural ambition to absorb control of Scottish affairs was reinforced by other powerful factors. English interference in Scottish affairs was ~~extremely~~ repugnant to Scottish patriotic sentiment. The smaller and poorer nation was naturally on the defensive. In quarters where such a disinterested motive made no appeal, it was felt that if Englishmen really became interested and active in Scottish politics and administration, it would intensify the struggle for offices of profit under the crown, already too few in number to supply the wants of all members of the ruling classes. Scotsmen were ^{easily} ~~early~~ convinced that the best defence was offence, and the peaceful penetration of England began. Although this movement did not attract so much attention after 1660 as in the reign of James VI, it reached its climax in the career of Lauderdale, who played off the two kingdoms against each other in the most accomplished fashion. His claim to a voice in English politics was based on the fact that he was the uncrowned king of Scotland; in Scottish affairs he dominated his contemporaries by his real or assumed influence in the councils of England. Only a man of great natural capacity could

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have accomplished such a difficult feat, and Lauderdale's success entitles him to a unique position in the history of the relations between England and Scotland.

Even Lauderdale could not have carried this through without at least the benevolent neutrality of the crown, which was itself the only constitutional bond between England and Scotland. The policy of separation made a strong appeal to both Charles and James. The idea of a closer union had become definitely associated with the name of Cromwell, and in the first burst of enthusiasm for the Restoration Scotland had placed the crown in an unassailable position by providing a fixed revenue and a standing army. In face of the growing independence of English parliaments, Charles and James were not likely to tamper seriously with a system which kept Scotland under the domination of the king's will whenever he chose to exert it. Charles was intermittently active in the affairs of Scotland, and James found the royal commissionership a useful refuge from the attacks of the English parliament. He had no reason to complain of his reception in Scotland. He was indeed misled by the warmth of his welcome, and when he came to the throne misjudged the temper of the nation with regard to his policy of indulgence and restoration of the Roman Catholic Church.

In spite of this policy of national self-sufficiency, the English connection could not be ignored in every branch of government. England was no longer a potential enemy. Even the disturbances of the

Interregnum had not produced a conflict which was in the true historic succession to Bannockburn and Flodden. The time had gone for ever when Scotland could pursue a separate policy in Europe, and her influence on the foreign policy of England was practically negligible. It was obvious that when the interests of the two kingdoms did not coincide, as in the case of the Dutch wars of Charles II, little importance would be attached to the peculiar needs of Scotland.

On the other hand, the English connection and the English navy secured Scotland from the fear of invasion by other countries. The ostensible purpose of Scottish military preparations was the need to prepare for such a possibility, but as time went on it became more and more apparent that the real functions of the standing army were those of a military constabulary, which would enforce, as far as possible, the domestic policy of the privy council.

The organisation of the militia was an attempt to bring up to date the mediaeval system of universal service, and to make it of more practical use to the government by defining the responsibility of each shire and improving the arms and equipment. This adaptation was as distasteful to the country as was the occasional enforcement of the older system. Only in the Highlands was there any enthusiasm for service in the militia. The Lowland regiments were of little value as fighting units, and the notion that the existence of the militia constituted a real danger to the political liberties of England had its origin in the bombast of Lauderdale, who naturally made the most of

his own achievements and flattered the hereditary propensities of Charles II.

The military preparations of the Scottish government were confined in practice to the land forces. Scotland's contribution of personnel and stores to the English fleet ^{was} were negligible in quantity and quality. She developed one form of maritime activity, which was not of a very reputable kind. During the Dutch wars of Charles II, there issued from the ports of the East coast a swarm of privateers or "capers" armed with letters of marque. The exploits of these temporary men of war earned for them an evil reputation in the ports of Europe, where northern skippers whose neutrality was real or assumed cursed them as little better than licensed pirates. The value of their prizes was said to be enormous, and to have paid a rich dividend on the capital invested.

Apart from the peculiar relations of Scotland with England, the most striking feature of the Scottish system of government was the concentration of legislative, judicial and executive power in the hands of the same men - the officers of state. Nominally the three branches of government were entrusted to three separate bodies - the estates, the supreme courts, and the privy council; but the officers of state had acquired a dominating influence in all of them. The estates did not often meet, and when they did, legislation was controlled by the official members. In the courts, the law officers of the crown were all-powerful, and in doubtful cases the court of

session could be packed by the attendance of the "extraordinary" lords or the court of justiciary by the appointment of assessors. In the last resort the case could be called up for trial before the privy council.

It was through the privy council that the officers of state exercised their most direct influence on the affairs of Scotland. Of the great departments of state, only the law, the treasury, and the army were completely organised, and even these branches were constantly subjected to the control of the council. The remaining mass of miscellaneous administration, ranging over a very wide field, was dealt with directly by the council. The real head of the system was the secretary of state, who lived at London. He had "the king's ear", and was the recognised channel of communication between the king and his Scottish subjects. With unerring instinct Lauderdale had selected this office at the Restoration and was able to overthrow in succession Middleton and Rothes, finally concentrating the power in his own hands.

The officers of state formed the nucleus of successive privy councils. They were the members "sine quibus non", and attended much more regularly than non-official members who regarded membership as a burden. The nomination of all members of council was in the hands of the crown, and any who opposed the officers of state were removed at once, or omitted from the next commission.

Much of the business of the council was transacted by standing

committees, of which the best known is the "committee anent public affairs". On these committees the officers of state exercised a controlling influence. While the power of Lauderdale was at its height, the power of these ministers was correspondingly diminished; but when he fell the "Juncto" or Secret Committee of the council inherited his influence, and the power of the officers of state was restored. This committee consisted of the chancellor, the treasurer, the justice-general, the privy seal, the treasurer-depute, the clerk register, and the secretary (when in Scotland). They were to act "as the articles of the parliament so as to be a preparatory committee to the privy council to mould, form and prepare matters so that the rest of the council will have little more to do save to ratify these conclusions".

The modern observer has become accustomed to seeing legislative and executive power combined in the hands of the cabinet, but if judicial powers were also added he would expect the whole balance of power in the state to be upset. The experience of Scotland under the later Stewarts certainly gives ground for his fears so far as the administration of justice is concerned. Scottish judicial methods were freely condemned by enlightened men of that age, and it is a striking commentary on these methods that the first fruits of the parliamentary union included the repeal of the Scots law of treason and the abolition of torture in that country.

In the past two hundred years,
~~(with this important exception)~~ ^{of government} the system has scarcely changed in

its essential features. In the united parliament the cabinet ministers control the course of legislation just as the officers of state controlled it in the estates; executive power is still concentrated in the hands of the Secretary for Scotland; the law courts of Scotland are independent of those of England except that an appeal now lies from the court of session to the House of Lords, where there is always at least one law lord learned in the law of Scotland. But since the Revolution of 1688 and the disappearance of the Privy Council of Scotland, the judiciary has regained its independence of the executive and now occupies a higher place in the esteem of Scotsmen than does any other branch of government.

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THE STANDING ARMY.

Establishments.

At the restoration of Charles II in 1660, Scotland was held by an English army of occupation, quartered in forts which they had built at Leith, Ayr, Inverness, and Perth. It was one of the earliest and most insistent of Scotland's demands that these troops should be removed. The king assented, but owing to lack of funds to pay the men, their disbandment was delayed, and the last of them did not leave Scotland till May 1662.

Before then a national army had come into existence. On January 18th, 1661, parliament recommended "that a guard of horse to the number of 120 be presently raised to attend here upon public order from the commissioner.^{2.} This troop was recruited in February and March. On April 2nd, "six score gallant gentlemen under the command of the Earl of Newburgh took the oath on Leith Links, and rode through the town of Edinburgh"^{3.} This was His Majesty's Troop of Guards, which existed till 1746 as the Third or Scots Life Guards. At the same time native garrisons were placed in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton^{4.} consisting of a company of foot in each case.

In 1662, the Earl of Middleton, then the king's commissioner,^{5.} raised a second troop of guards. It was disbanded when he fell from favour in 1663; but his successor - the Earl of Rothes - raised^{6.} another in the following year. This troop survived till 1676.

The first regiment of infantry was raised in 1662. This was

1. Nicoll's Diary, p. 367. Lauderdale Papers 1, 33.

2. Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland VII, 14.

3. Mercurius Publicus, 21st-28th March, 1661.

Dalton's Scots Army 1, 5. Nicoll, p. 325.

4. Nicoll, p. 316. 323.

Chambers' Domestic Annals II, 296.

Scots Army II, 31.

5. Scots Army II, 136.

6. Calendar of State Papers Domestic, 8th October, 1663.

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 24th February, 1676

Nicoll, p. 421.

the Foot Guards - now the Scots Guards.^{1.} At this modest establishment-two troops of horse and one regiment of foot- the army normally remained till 1678. At certain times, however, it was considerably increased, in accordance with the political and ecclesiastical policy of the government. But the financial factor was also a vital one; new troops were raised when the government could afford it. These troops were employed solely against the covenanters, for the Scottish army of this period saw no service against a national enemy.

In 1666 the presbyterians of the western shires took^k up arms against the government. To meet this danger a regiment of horse and one of foot were specially raised by Major-General Drummond and Lieutenant-General Dalrymple respectively. When the crisis was over both regiments were disbanded (September 1667).^{2.} Again, from September 1674 till January 1676, the government maintained three independent troops of horse, and a regiment of foot, the latter being^{3.} commanded by Major-General Sir George Monro.

In 1678 Scotland granted Charles II a subsidy to defend the kingdom "against foreign invasion and domestic commotion."⁴ With this he increased the establishment to the extent of three troops^{5.} of horse, one regiment of foot and three companies of dragoons. The troops of horse were the nucleus of the King's or Royal Regiment of Horse, of which Graham of Claverhouse became colonel. It survived till the Revolution.^{6.} The foot was the Earl of Mar's Regiment, later the Twenty First Regiment, and now the Royal Scots Fusiliers.

1. Kingdom's Intelligencer 15th to 22nd September, 1662.

Mercurius Publicus 18th to 29th September, 1662.

Domestic Annals II, 296.
2. R.P.C. 28th September, 1667.

Turner's Memoirs, p. 189.

Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland,
II, 13.

Scots Army II, 48, 52, 72.
3. R.P.C. 1st September, 1674, 23rd December, 1675.

Scots Army II, 35.
4. A.P.S. VIII, 219.
5. R.P.C. 14th May, 1678.

Warrant Books Scotland IV, 23rd September, 1678.
6. W.B.S. VII, 25th December, 1682, X, 21st December, 1685.

C.S.Terry's Viscount Dundee, p. 346-9.

The dragoons with three other companies were regimented under Dalryell in 1681, and are still in the army list as the Second Dragoons or Royal Scots Greys.^{1.}

During the first Dutch war (1665-1666), forts were built and garrisoned at Shetland. They were abandoned, however, in 1668, as being useless in time of peace.^{2.} In 1671 the crown purchased the Bass Rock from Sir Andrew Ramsay, Lord Provost of Edinburgh. It was^{3.} ^{used} as a state prison, and a small detachment was stationed upon it. In 1679 Blackness Castle was also garrisoned.^{4.} James VII intended to add two other forts to these, James Fort near Stirling, and Inverary Castle,^{5.} but his plans were interrupted by the Revolution. There were gunners in the castles throughout the period; but the field artillery had no permanent organisation till 1677, when Lieutenant John Slezor^{6.} was authorised to enlist and train 20 men in gunnery.

In September 1688, James ordered the Scottish army to March to England. The artillery train went only as far as Carlisle; the Guards - Horse and Foot - went by sea; the remainder - the Royal Regiment of Horse, Buchan's (formerly Mar's) Regiment of Foot and the Royal Regiment of Dragoons-travelled by road.^{7.} A new establishment was then authorised for Scotland. It consisted of 1 troop of horse, 4 companies of foot, 2 garrison companies (for Edinburgh and Stirling)^{8.} and a party of 3 officers and 60 men to collect cess and excise.

At the Revolution, the existence of a separate army for Scotland practically came to an end. After that date troops were stationed

1. W.B.S. VI, 25th November, 1681.
Scots Army II, 113.
Ross' Old Scottish Colours, p. 16, 21.
2. C.S.P.D. 26th August, 1665.
R.P.C. 26th November, 1667.
Quarterly Review vol. 157, p. 427.
3. The price was £4,000 sterling.
R.P.C. 3rd October, 1671.
C.S.P.D. 21st January, 21st August, 7th September, 1671,
30th November, 1672.
4. Additional Manuscripts, British Museum 23138 f. 47.
W.B.S. V, 11th January, 1679.
Treasury Register 24th July, 6th August, 1677.
5. W.B.S. IX, 30th March, 1685; XIII, 19th June, 1688.
6. C.S.P.D. 4th March, 1677. W.B.S. XIII, 24th, 27th September
1688. Old Colours p. 31.
7. Muster Roll for October 1688 at Register House. Dalton's
English Army Lists and Commission Registers, p. 210.
8. Establishments, Register House.

in any of the kingdoms irrespective of nationality, and at the union the Scottish regiments were finally absorbed into a British establishment.^{1.}

Command and Staff.

The supreme command was vested in the king, who was represented in Scotland by his Commissioner and Captain-General.^{2.} Although both Middleton and Rothes were professional soldiers, the campaign against the covenanters was entrusted to Thomas Dalryell and William Drummond, ranking as Lieutenant-General and Major-General respectively.^{3.} When the establishment was reduced in 1667, these two commissions were recalled, the king intimating that he would appoint "general persons" when he had an army again. In the meantime, the privy council was to issue the necessary orders through the senior regimental officer, then the Earl of Linlithgow, who commanded the Foot Guards.^{4.}

In 1674 new forces were raised, and Sir George Monro was commissioned as Major-General.^{5.} Although these troops were disbanded in 1676 his commission was renewed; but in 1677 he was superseded in favour of the Earl of Linlithgow, who organised the "Highland Host", for which he received the king's thanks and a special pension.^{6.}

In 1679 the western shires rose in arms. Charles II thereupon revived the post of Captain-General in favour of the Duke of Buccleuch and Monmouth, then in the full tide of his favour.^{7.} Dalryell was

appointed

1. Scots Army (Introduction) p. XXVI.
For Middleton's commissions see A.P.S. VII, 6,370.
2. Lauderdale Papers I, 191. Nicoll's Diary p. 405.
For Rothes, see A.P.S. VII, 448.
R.P.C. 3rd November, 1664, 6th December, 1666, 4th July,
1667.
Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, IV, 505.
For Rothes as a soldier, see Lauderdale Papers II, 19.
Nicoll, p. 440.
3. Wodrow II, 13.
Hist. Mss. Comm. IX (App. II, 236).
Military History of Perthshire, p. 360.
4. R.P.C. 16th January, 1668.
5. Dated 25th August, 1674.
6. R.P.C. 27th July, 1676, 26th December, 1677, 14th February
1678.
W.B.S. V, 14th May, 1678, 23rd October, 1678.
C.S.P.D. 27th October, 1677.
7. W.B.S. V, 12th June, 29th July, 1679.
Add Mss. 23244 f. 4.

appointed to his staff as Lieutenant-General.^{1.} These commissions having rendered Linlithgow's superfluous, the king accepted his resignation, while disclaiming any want of confidence in him.^{2.} But Monmouth's conciliatory attitude was not approved of, and in September of the same year his commission was declared null and void. Dalzell succeeded him automatically. He accepted the charge on the understanding that he was to be responsible to the king alone. In emergencies, however, he was to take the advice of the privy council.^{3.}

This dual control proved a most unsatisfactory arrangement. Dalzell and the privy council were on the worst of terms. Each sought a royal injunction against the other for undue interference. In May 1683 the king informed the council that when they desired to employ any officer in civil affairs they must notify the commander-in-chief. Any order they issued for the movement or quartering of troops must be made through that officer. In emergency they might issue a direct order, provided it were immediately sent to him for his information.^{4.} Dalzell's demands seem to have been reasonable, and on the whole he was successful. In June 1684 the council was ordered to exercise its power to move troops only in emergencies, and with advice of the general officers.^{5.}

On the accession of James VII in 1685, Dalzell's commission as Lieutenant-General was renewed, but he died in August of the same year.^{6.} Meantime Argyll's rebellion had been crushed by the Earl of Dumbarton

1. W.B.S. V, 19th June, 1679. ^{Dalyell Mss.} Hist. Mss. Comm. IX, App. II, p. 236-7.
2. W.B.S. V, 21st August, 1679.
3. W.B.S. V, 13th September, 8th October, 1st November, 1679.
Fountainhall's Notices I, 243.
4. W.B.S. VIII, 15th May, 1683; Mar & Kellie Mss. Hist. Mss. Comm. XVI, 213-4.
5. W.B.S. VIII, 16th June, 1684.
6. Dalyell Mss. Hist Mss. Comm. IX, app. II p. 236.

(Lord George Douglas) under a special commission as joint commander-in-chief.^{1.}

Dalyell's vacancy was given to William Drummond, then Master of the Ordnance, who ranked as junior Lieutenant-General.^{2.} He was succeeded by Lord James Douglas, who became commander-in-chief when Drummond died in March 1688.^{3.} But the new commander's authority was seriously threatened by the fact that his brother Queensberry had fallen from power, and Claverhouse, then a Major-General, was rapidly rising in the king's favour.^{4.}

Douglas was the last commander-in-chief before the Revolution. He led the Scots Army into England, and when James fled laid down his commission. William, however, restored him to the command of the Foot Guards and re-appointed him Lieutenant-General. He died in 1691.^{5.}

The chief staff officer was the Master of the Ordnance. The post was created in 1680, at the suggestion of the Duke of York, and given to his favourite, John Drummond of Lundie (afterwards Earl of Melfort). He ranked as junior Lieutenant-General and was usually called "General of the Artillery".^{6.} From 1678 onwards, an Adjutant-General appears in the establishments.^{7.} James sent Inspectors (special service officers) from England to "inspect exercise and report upon" the Scottish Army, and appointed Brigadiers of Horse and Foot.^{8.} The chief administrative staff officer was the Muster-Master-General.^{9.} The supply department was controlled by a Commissary-General or

1. W.B.S. IX, 8th May, 1685. Buccleuch Mss. at Drumlanrig.
Hist. Mss. Comm. I, 100.
Fountainhall's Observes p. 166.
2. W.B.S. X, 7th October, 1685.
3. Scots Army I, 77, II, 165.
4. W.B.S. XI, 20th September, 1685.
Fountainhall's Notices II, 580 et passim.
5. Scots Army I, 78.
6. Add Mss. 23245 f. 45.
W.B.S. VI, 10th July, 19th October, 1680.
Fountainhall's Notices I, 355.
7. Establishments at Register House.
W.B.S. IX, 2nd May, 1685; XI, 31st December, 1686.
8. Fountainhall's Observes p. 171.
W.B.S. IX, 16th, 18th May 1685.
9. For his duties, vide infra "Musters".
C.S.P.D. 19th February, 1675.
10. R.P.O. 29th January, 5th February, 1678.

7.

^{10.} Quarter-Master-General. The magazine at Edinburgh was in charge
of the Keeper of the Arms and Ammunition. ^{1.} The medical branch was
under a Physician and Surgeon-Major to the Forces. ^{2.}

The chief civilian official was the Paymaster-General, who was
also the king's Cash-keeper and Receiver-General. ^{3.} James allowed
pay for a secretary to the commander-in-chief. This post developed
into that of a "Secretary of War", created in May 1688. He was to
receive instructions from the privy council and the commander-in-chief
and his chief duty was to keep records of the officers services. ^{4.}
An Edinburgh Writer to the Signet acted as Clerk to the Court Martial
of the Forces in Scotland, discharging the functions of the English
Judge Advocate General. ^{5.}

Unit Organisation and Strength.

The cavalry unit was the troop. The King's Troop of Life
Guards consisted of 120 horsemen, and was ~~sub~~ divided into 4 squadrons.
These were commanded by the captain, the lieutenant, the under
lieutenant, and the cornet respectively. The non-commissioned
officers were 4 corporals or brigadiers, one to each squadron. The
staff consisted of a quarter-master, a surgeon and his mates, and a
clerk. ^{6.} Cavalry of the line was similarly organised, except that
there were only 3 combatant officers (captain, lieutenant, and cornet),
3 corporals and 3 squadrons in each troop. ^{7.} When troops were

regimented

1. C.S.P.D. 5th September, 1673.
 2. Establishments at Register House.
 3. Ibidem.
 4. W.B.S. XI, 19th April, 1686; XIII, 4th May, 1688.
 5. C.S.P.D. 7th July, 1675.
 6. The following sections are based on :-
 - Establishments, 8th October, 1667, Scots Army II, 176.
 - " 1st December, 1674, Ibidem I, 181.
 - " 25th November 1681. Mss. at Register House
and W.B.S. VI, 25th November, 1681.
 - " ...October 1678, Old Colours, p. 9.
 - " 16th June, 1684, Maitland Miscellany III, 71.
- Roths Troop had only 80 horsemen and no under Lieutenant.
Hist. Mss. Comm. IV, 505.
- From September 1677 till September 1678 the King's Troop had
140 horsemen. It was then reduced to 100, but by 1687 it had
risen to 120 again.
- C.S.P.D. 5th October, 1677.
W.B.S. IV, 4th September, 1678.
Muster Rolls at Register House.
7. R.P.C. 1st September 1674, 29th December 1675 (Independent
Troops).

regimented, the staff consisted of a colonel, lieutenant-colonel and major.^{1.}

The unit of infantry was the company, though independent companies tended to be absorbed in the battalion. In the Foot Guards the number of companies was at first 7, but was gradually increased to 14, at which figure it finally stood.^{2.} The regiment was then re-organised as two battalions under one colonel.^{3.} The regimental staff included a lieutenant-colonel, a major, a surgeon, a clerk, a quartermaster, and a msrshal - the last two duties being at first undertaken by one officer. When an aid-major was allowed, the clerk was struck off. The company officers were a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign, and the non-commissioned officers, 2 sergeants and 3 corporals. While the number of companies increased, the rank and file in each was reduced from the original 100 to 79 (in 1688).^{4.}

Other infantry battalions were similarly organised, except for individual differences as to the number of companies.^{5.} The Earl of Mar's Regiment had 8 companies to begin with, but by the Revolution these had been increased to 14. The number of "private sentinels" had been reduced from 100 to 50 per company.^{6.} In 1682 a grenadier company was added to the Foot Guards and to the Earl of Mar's Regiment. The strength of officers in these companies was fixed at 1 captain and 2 lieutenants, "there being no use for an ensign among grenadiers". The non-commissioned officers were 3 sergeants and 3 corporals. The grenadiers numbered 60.^{7.} As the dragoons were the mounted infantry

1. W.B.S. VII, 25th December, 1682; VIII, 12th May, 1683, VIII, 16th June, 1684, X, 21st December, 1685.
Scots Army I, XVIII, 13.
2. R.P.C. 9th October, 1667, 1st September, 1674, 29th December, 1675. W.B.S. X, 12th June, 7th & 20th November, 1685.
3. English Army Lists II, 215.
Muster Rolls at Register House.
4. W.B.S. XII, 28th June, 1687.
Muster Rolls at Register House.
5. Dalryell's had 10 - Scots Army p. 100.
Turner's Memoirs p. 189.
Monro's had 8. R.P.C. 1st September, 1674.
6. W.B.S. IV, 23rd September, 1678.
Scots Army II, 113, 154.
W.B.S. VI, 19th June, 1682; IX, 20th May, 1685; X, 24th March 1686; XII, 20th July, 1688.
English Army Lists p. 210.
7. W.B.S. VII, 19th June, 1682.
In Monro's regiment the number was reduced to 50. W.B.S. XIII, 20th April, 1688.

of the seventeenth century, their organisation was that of a regiment of foot, consisting of 6 companies of 50 men each.^{1.}

The garrisons in the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton consisted in each case of an independent company. These were not part of any regiment and they were not under the commander-in-chief of the forces. The control was vested in a governor usually represented by a lieutenant governor, who was answerable only to the king or his commissioner.^{2.} In addition to the usual company organisation, each castle was allowed pay for a gunner. A full company was maintained in Edinburgh,³ but at Stirling there were only 40 sentinels, and in Dumbarton^{4.} 24. Shetland forts were garrisoned by three companies.⁵ At the Bass, an ensign commanded a detachment of 24 men of the Foot Guards, and after 1679. a similar party held Blackness.^{6.}

The strength of the artillery train varied, but in addition to 6 trained gunners there were usually 15 "metrosses or under-gunners".

Owing to frequent changes in the organisation of units, it is difficult to state the exact strength of the whole army at different times.

At the time of the Pentland Rising, the establishment stood at 600 horse and 2,000 foot.^{7.} The normal establishment of Horse

1. As Independent Companies they had 100 men. R.P.C. 14th May, 1678.
2. W.B.S. VI, 23rd May, 1681.
3. In 1688, the number stood at 79 sentinels, Muster Rolls.
4. These are the normal numbers. In 1683, 60 men were sent from Mar's regiment to Stirling, and 20 men to Dumbarton (10 from Foot Guards). W.B.S. VIII, 27th November, 1683.
5. Add Mss. 28747 f. 10.
6. In 1688 there were 73 sentinels on the Bass Rock, and 39 at Blackness. Muster Rolls.
7. Terry's Pentland Rising, p. 76.
Wodrow over-estimates the foot by 1,000 (History II, 13).

and Foot Guards was 200 horse and 1,100 foot, to which 200 should be added for garrison companies. In 1678 the total was increased considerably, and stood henceforth at about 3,000 all ranks. In 1678 it was 3,218, in 1684 it was 2,794, in 1685 it was 3,268. The army which marched to England at the Revolution numbered 3,736 all ranks.

Personnel.

Officers were appointed and promoted under royal warrant, but the commissioner or the privy council had power to issue interim commissions. Where the king was not personally interested, the nomination was really in the hands of the secretary of state, the commander-in-chief, or the commander of the unit concerned. Ranks granted before the Restoration were retained as honorary ranks, thus "Colonel" Whyteford was serving in 1673 as a lieutenant in the Foot Guards. The King's Troop of Guards was composed almost exclusively of these quondam officers. Graduates of the universities were designated "master". A striking feature was the ease with which officers moved from one arm of the service to another. Dalryell was strongly opposed to this, maintaining that those whose apprenticeship have been only amongst the cavalry are no meet officers for foot. He also objected to commissions being regarded as a provision for the needy younger sons of noble families, who shirked their duty and trusted to their powerful friends in the privy council to protect them

1. Establishment 1678. Old Colours p. 10-11.
1684. Maitland Miscellany III, 71.

List of all H.M.Forces. Stirling-Home-Drummond-Moray Mss.
Hist. Mss. Comm. X, i, 136.

English Army Lists p. 210.
2. Add Mss. 23121 f. 17.

Scots Army II, p. 191a.

R.P.C. 14th May, 1678.
3. For the case of Claverhouse, see Terry's Dundee p. 38.
4. R.P.C. 23rd December, 1673.
5. Muster Rolls ~~at~~ passim.
6. Add. Mss. 35125 f. 322.

from disciplinary action. What he wanted was "young brisk gentlemen^{1.} whose genius rather than their necessity prompts them to the war".

The salutary English rule was followed that no one should hold two commissions, except general officers and field officers who were also captains. Dalzell himself was the great pluralist of the army. In July 1666 he was commissioned as lieutenant-general, as colonel of a regiment of foot, as captain of a company in it, and captain of a troop

in Drummond's Regiment.^{2.} The chief sufferers were the junior officers, especially the captain-lieutenant who commanded a company but drew lieutenant's pay. James VII introduced brevet ranks into the Scottish

army.^{3.} Promotion usually went by seniority,⁴ but commissions, especially captaincies were often bought and sold. Thus Carnegie of Finavon applied to Lauderdale for leave to resign in favour of Mr.

Alexander Livingstone (Lord Livingstone's son) "who is willing to gratify me for my good will".^{5.} Dalzell condemned this practice and wished that "buying and selling of places were sent back to Paris!"^{6.}

There was a constant dispute as to the seniority of officers of equal rank, serving in different arms. Detailed orders were repeatedly issued on this subject.^{7.} Precedence among units descended from the Life Guards through the Cavalry of the Line, Foot Guards, and Infantry of the Line to the Dragoons. The place of the Artillery is not stated, but the small train was placed in the middle of the Foot

1. Add. Mss. 35125 f. 322.
2. Hist. Mss. Comm. IX, (pt. II), 236.
3. W.B.S. XIII, 5th November, 1688, et passim.

Scots Army II, 168.
4. Fountainhall's Observes p. 122.
5. Add. Mss. 23145 ff. 53, 56.

For another case, see Scots Army II, 145.
6. Add. Mss. 23125 f. 322.
7. These orders will be found in the following (on which this section is based).

R.P.C. 15th November, 1667.

G.S.P.D. 15th July, 1675.

W.B.S. V. 15th December, 1679; VI, 27th April, 1681.

W.B.S. VII. 28th December, 1682.

W.B.S. IX, p. 537.

Guards on the line of march and on ceremonial parades.

The captain of the King's Troop of Guards was the senior colonel of horse, the lieutenant was the senior lieutenant-colonel, the under-lieutenant was the senior major, the cornet the senior captain, the quarter-master the senior lieutenant, and the brigadiers the junior lieutenants. The troop itself had precedence in all circumstances.

Between horse and foot the rules were at first complicated, but in general the officer of foot had precedence in a garrison, while the officer of horse ranked above him in the field. But no lower rank was to command a higher one under any pretext.

Among the infantry, the Foot Guards ranked first. In the earliest regulations their field officers ranked above the cavalry of the line as well, and all their officers were senior to corresponding ranks in other regiments of foot. In 1679 this was changed to a system of army seniority according to the date of the individual's commission. But in 1682 precedence among the foot was declared to be according to regiments, which restored the former privilege of the Foot Guards among the infantry.

All officers of dragoons were ordered to receive commands from any officer of equal rank, either horse or foot. Officers under the rank of general were ordered to obey the governor or deputy-governor of a castle when stationed there.^{2.} When James VII succeeded to the throne, new commissions were issued to all officers^{3.}, but the existing

Page 12.

1. e.g. at Bothwell Bridge and at Dalryell's funeral.
2. Obtained at the instance of J.Drummond, Lauderdale's deputy
at Edinburgh. Add.Mss. 23247 f. 32.
3. W.B.S. IX, 30th March, 1687.

5.
seniority was preserved.

Recruiting was quite voluntary, and no difficulty seems to have been found in raising the men required. Company or troop commanders usually obtained their recruits in their own territorial districts and the junior officers were often their own kinsmen. New levies were inspected as soon as possible by the Muster-Master-General. Sometimes he was accompanied by a committee of the privy council. When the Muster-Master-General had certified them as "able and sufficient", recruits came on the strength for pay.^{1.}

Recruits received a bounty called levy money. For a full company of foot or dragoons, a commander usually received £50 sterling² for this service, but in the crisis of 1666 each "well appointed horseman" received £20 sterling.^{3.} Men enlisted for an unlimited engagement, till they were cashiered or got their "pass" (discharge). When troops were disbanded, the men discharged were often absorbed in other units. A hundred picked men of Monro's Regiment (disbanded in January 1676) were added to the Foot Guards.^{4.}

Units were always mustered before disbanding. As the pay of the men was chronically in arrear, it was usual to overawe them by the presence of other troops. When Middleton's Troop was disbanded in October 1663, the Earls of Linlithgow and Aboyne were present with 50 horse and 150 foot.^{5.}

1. R.P.C. 1st September, 1674.
2. Pay Precepts Register House.
W.B.S. X, 12th June, 1685.
3. C.S.P.D. 14th August, 1666.
4. R.P.C. 29th December, 1675.
5. C.S.P.D. 8th October, 1663.

For Monro's Regiment, see R.P.C. 6th January, 1676, and
Treasury Register 11th December, 1675 to 7th January 1676
et passim.

On the Muster-Master-General and his deputies depended the whole interior economy, and ultimately the efficiency of the forces. Each unit was mustered by him or his deputies before the monthly pay day. The Paymaster-General would not issue pay for any man whom the Muster-Master-General had not passed as being physically fit, and well armed and equipped. The Muster-Master-General did the work of the modern Officer in charge of Records. His nominal rolls showed the soldier's place of birth and his parents' names and designations. Imposters (or "passevolants" as they were called) were summarily punished, and their arms and horses (if any) confiscated. Officers making false musters were reported to the commander-in-chief for trial by a general court martial, and were liable to be cashiered. Any soldier giving information against his officer was to be rewarded out of the officer's pay and to receive his discharge.^{1.}

The increasing severity of the instructions issued to the Muster-Masters, and the rolls which survive, show the extent to which deception was practised. One roll for the King's Troop of Guards (1678) shows that several ^{casualties} ~~(absentees)~~ have been "outed" by the Muster-Master. They include "a young boy", one who was "entered this day", and one who "rides for his brother who receives the king's pay and allows him a part".^{2.}

Most of these men were servants. The fact that the officers

1. Instructions to Muster-Master-General.

W.B.S. IV, 28th September, 1678; IX, 6th November, 1684.

R.P.C. 2nd March, 1675, 15th November, 1677, 13th December
1677.

Old Colours p. 35, Scots Army I, 77. Treasury Register
22nd November, 1678.

2. Printed in Military History of Perthshire p. 9.

drew the pay of their servants was the great loophole for fraud. This allowance had at first been confined to the infantry as corresponding to the allowance for horses which the cavalry officer enjoyed.^{1.} Even in the foot it was still only a custom in 1682.^{2.} In the Life Guards the captain drew pay for 4 servants, each lieutenant and cornet was allowed 2, and the quarter-master 1.^{3.} In the infantry the colonel had 4, the lieutenant-colonel 3, majors and captains 2 each, lieutenants and ensigns 1 each.^{4.} The scale for the dragoons was, captains and lieutenants 2 each, ensigns 1.^{5.} The scale for the cavalry of the line is not forthcoming, but the muster rolls show men's names marked as servants.^{6.} In every case the servants were required to be efficient soldiers capable of service.

In 1687 the dragoons were put on a privileged footing. The English scale was introduced for them, which gave the colonels 6 each (as colonel and captain), lieutenant-colonels, majors and captains 3 each, lieutenants and cornets 2 each, and quarter-masters 1. These servants were not to appear in the ranks, but were to be placed on the rolls as servants. Placing them in the ranks was punished as a false muster, as it meant that they drew pay in a double capacity.^{7.}

Pay.

According to both Turner and Tweeddale, the Scottish soldier was the best paid in the world.^{8.} The rates were, with few exceptions,

1. R.P.C. 3rd January, 1678.
2. W.B.S. VII, 22nd July, 1682.
3. W.B.S. VI, 94.
4. R.P.C. 3rd January, 1678. W.B.S. VII, 22nd July, 1682.
5. Old Colours p. 11 and 21.
6. e.g. Scots Army II. 55.
7. W.B.S. XII. 8th March, 1687.
8. Turner's Pallas Armata III, 199.
Harleian Mss. 4631, f. 27.

stationary throughout the period.^{1.} A private gentleman in the Life Guards had 2s 6d a day, and a cavalryman 2s 0d. A dragoon had 1s 2d, a "metrosse" 10d. A sentinel in the Foot Guards had 6d a day, and in the infantry 5d, which James VII raised to 6d in 1686. Grenadiers had the pay of their regiment.

The rates for officers of the Life Guards and the cavalry include the allowance for horses. A captain of the Life Guards had at first 14s 0d per day, which was afterwards raised to £1. A colonel of horse or dragoons had 13s 8d per day. A colonel of foot (including the Foot Guards), and a captain of artillery, had 12s 0d each. A lieutenant of the Life Guards had 10s 0d, lieutenant - colonel of horse had 8s 0d, of foot 7s 0d. A cornet of the Life Guards had 9s 0d, and a major of foot or dragoons 5s 0d. A captain of horse had 14s 0d, of dragoons 10s 4d, of foot 8s 0d. A lieutenant of horse had 10s 0d, of dragoons 7s 4d, of foot 4s 0d. A cornet of horse had 9s 0d, an ensign of dragoons 5s 2d, of foot 3s 0d. A quarter-master of the Life Guards had 6s 0d, of horse 6s 0d, of dragoons 5s 0d, and of foot 4s 0d.^{2.}

The peace establishment of Life Guards, Foot Guards and garrisons cost £21,326.16.0.^{3.} This was charged on the excise. In 1678 the establishment was considerably increased, and the convention granted the king a new yearly supply of £30,000 sterling for five years.^{4.} The actual cost was above this, and for the rest of the period the annual cost of the army was between £55,000 and £60,000 sterling.^{5.}

1. The rates quoted will be found in the Establishments of various dates.
2. The rates of pay for General and Staff Officers are contained in Appendix "C".
3. Establishment for 1678.
4. A.P.S. VIII, 220.
Wodrow II, 489.
5. Establishment 1678, £52,259.12.0. sterling.
" 1684, £55,030. 4.8. The pay precepts varied from £4,000 to £5,000 ^a per month.

The greatest difficulty was experienced in raising these sums. At first the troops were supposed to be paid quarterly in advance, each unit getting a precept on the excise of a particular locality.^{1.} When additional troops were raised in 1666 they were at first paid out of the fines of the conventiclers, much to the chagrin of the nobility, who were, however, compensated by being given the command of companies and troops in the new units.^{2.} In the next year convention³ came to the rescue with a grant of £6,000 sterling a month for one year. But it was difficult to collect the money, and the public credit had been so abused that no one would lend on this security. Hence in some cases officers had to advance pay out of their private fortunes.^{4.} The method of "locality" was revived, and soldiers were quartered on "deficients", though sometimes a shire preferred to pay a lump sum to be rid of these unwelcome visitors.^{5.}

The additional troops were disbanded in August 1667, and the abolition of "locality" was one of the reforms which mark the "interval of decent government".⁶ Regiments were to be mustered and paid monthly. The lords of the treasury issued a precept for the month's pay (according to the muster roll) to the regimental paymaster (usually the quartermaster). This he presented to the paymaster of the forces, who issued the cash, and the quartermaster thereupon returned to the treasury a discharge for the pay of all officers and soldiers.^{7.} But by 1670 the pay was so far in arrears

that

Page 17.

1. Lauderdale Papers I. 170; II, 31.
2. Wodrow II, 13. C.S.P.D. 1667-8, p.130.
3. Lauderdale Papers. I. 272.
A.P.S. VII, 540.
4. Lauderdale Papers I, 280.
5. Lauderdale Papers I, 282.
6. Lauderdale Papers II, 31.
R.P.C. 23rd August 1667.
7. Pay Precepts at Register House.
Add.Mss. 35125 dated 17th December 1676.

that the old method of "locality" had to be resorted to. ^{1.}

The troops raised in 1678 were at first paid out of £10,000 sterling which the king had at Edinburgh Castle, but as we have seen, convention granted £30,000 sterling a year to maintain them. ^{2.} This

was raised by a land tax, much of which was never collected. Claverhouse, for instance, got a precept for £900 Scots on Ayrshire, but could only realise £206 Scots. ^{3.}

By 1681 the question was so acute that when a tack was granted of the whole revenue of Scotland, it was on condition that the tacksmen should advance £16,000 to meet the immediate claims of the troops. ^{4.}

Throughout the period there are numerous instances of the soldiers' pay being greatly in arrears. The Life Guards were first mustered on April 2nd, 1661, and on 25th July of the same year a petition was presented on their behalf to the privy council praying that their arrears might be paid. ^{5.}

Matters became worse as time went on. The Life Guards did not receive all their pay for June and July 1669 till February 1676. ^{6.}

In November 1670 a mutiny arose in a company of Foot Guards stationed at Edinburgh who were "naked and starving for want of pay". ^{7.}

To prevent a similar rising at Glasgow, the privy council ordered the magistrates there to furnish the soldiers with necessities on credit. A committee of inquiry appointed by the privy council reported that since March

of the previous year the men had received only 2s 0d a week, and that the 1s 6d per week due would then amount to 10 months pay. The

company officers were exonerated, but the results of further inquiry

Page 18.

1. Vide infra.
2. Treasury Register 13th May, 1678.
A.P.S. VIII, 220.
3. Pay Precepts.
4. Domestic Annals II, 427.
5. R.P.C. 25th July, 1661.
6. Pay Precepts.
7. R.P.C. 13th November, 1670. The cavalry were also
greatly in arrear. Hist. Mss. Comm. XI (pt. VI), 140.

into the accounts of the paymaster are not forthcoming.^{1.}

Complaints after this were not so frequent or so general, but one of the worst examples is furnished by the pay for August, September and October 1681. This was unpaid in May 1683, when the king ordered it to be paid out of the crown funds in the Royal Fishery Company.

He countermanded this six months later.^{2.} The debt was still unpaid when Charles II died, and in December 1685 James ordered the treasury to advance the money. Some units were paid at once, but another order was necessary before all the claims were satisfied in June 1688. This was nearly seven years after the pay had become due, and many of those serving in 1681 were long since dead.^{3.}

The cash issue to the soldier was called "subsistence" money, and was only a part of the total amount due. The rest was retained to pay for his uniform and equipment, and to provide for pensions.^{4.} The mounted soldier had to keep his horse in forage. Out of the "retention" money (deferred pay), officers made large irregular profits. A troop of horse was the usual means of providing for an impecunious nobleman. Dalyell complained that such officers regarded their commissions merely as "engines to draw money by".^{5.}

Lord James Douglas was considered strict when he refused to allow his officers in the Foot Guards to keep cellars "where by they made the sojers waste their pay in drinking".^{6.} When Newburgh was

deprived

1. R.P.C. 13th., 15th., 17th November and 8th December, 1670.
2. W.B.S. VIII. 12th May, 10th December, 1683.
3. W.B.S. X, 9th December, 1685; XI, 25th February, 1687.

Pay Precepts.

Old Colours p. 18.

4. Pay Precepts e.g. for May and June, 1687.
5. Add. Mss. 35125 f. 314. The most notorious case was that of the Earl of Home, who was charged with embezzling the pay of his troop. As a result of this case, the Treasury gave instructions that the soldiers were to receive their own pay at the table, and it was not to be given to the officers.
Treasury Register 5th August, 1680, 17th March, 1682.
6. Fountainhall's Notices II, 562.

deprived of the command of the King's Troop of Guards, he secured a pension on the treasury equivalent to the gain he had made by the troop. Sometimes a commission was transferred burdened with an annuity on the pay.^{1.}

The secretary of state took toll on officers' commissions at the rate of £7 sterling for each. If a separate warrant for pay was issued, the same had to be paid for it.^{2.} When the Duke of Gordon was commissioned as the governor of Edinburgh Castle and captain of a company there, his fees to the secretary, chancery, exchequer and privy council, amounted to £27.13.8^{3.}/₄ sterling. In 1686 James added a new burden, payment of a day's pay to the secretary at war^{4.} for each commission and each furlough recorded.

Rewards and Pensions.

Many highly placed officers received substantial pecuniary rewards. Their names helped to swell the list which kept the national exchequer in a state of chronic poverty. Linlithgow had a pension of £700 a year in addition to his pay.^{5.} Junior officers and other ranks shared in the fines imposed on conventiclers. Captain Inglis and his party who captured William Blae and William Gray received 300 merks out of the 2,000 merks imposed.^{6.} But the soldiers relied more on an irregular exaction of their own, called "riding money" - a species of blackmail which they levied on the reluctant taxpayers on whom they were quartered.^{7.} Every soldier present at Bothwell Bridge received a gratuity of 2s 6d sterling.^{8.}

1. MacKenzie's Memoirs, p. 187.

2. Fountainhall's Notices II, 866.

Pay Precepts.

3. E.D.Dunbar's "Social Life", p. 314.

4. W.B.S. XIII, 4th May, 1688.

5. Scots Army II, p. 50.

6. R.P.C. 22nd February, 1677, cf. 28th June, 1677.

7. Wodrow II, 12.

8. Papers concerning Western Rebellion at Register House.

There was at first no systematic provision for the disabled or worn out soldier. After the Pentland Rising, several petitions for allowances were presented to the privy council, who referred them to the treasury for any action they considered necessary.^{1.}

In 1681 a fund for invalids was formed out of the money retained from the soldiers' pay.^{2.} This was administered by a commission consisting of three or more lords of the treasury, the general officers, all colonels and lieutenant-colonels. They were instructed to appoint a receiver of the fund, and to put it out at good interest; *the* capital was not to be expended except on "singular and extraordinary occasions". Only contributors to the fund were eligible for pension and they must have served 15 years or have been disabled; service had to be proved from the muster rolls, and the applicant's commanding officer had to certify to his good character. Footsoldiers were to be allowed half their pay, dragoons one-third, lifeguardsmen half their pay "if gentlemen", one-third if not.^{3.} In 1686 the service qualification was raised to twenty years, but in the following year evidence other than that of the muster rolls was admitted, as these did not exist beyond the previous seven years.^{4.}

The head of this department was the "Intendent (or Overseer) of the Invalids", Captain Thomas Winram. He invested the funds in a loan to the city of Edinburgh. A long dispute took place between the commissioners and the Paymaster-General, who were alleged to have illegally retained some of the soldiers' contributions. The Paymasters appear to have been successful in refuting this charge. In

1. R.P.C. 9th April, 7th May 1668. In one case a civilian who supplied necessities to a wounded soldier was imprisoned as a debtor for their value.
2. Pay Precepts.
3. W.B.S. VIII, 28th November 1683, 14th June 1684; X, 12th December 1685, 29th January, 20th March 1686.
4. W.B.S. X, 20th March 1686; XII, 15th August 1687.

In June 1688 the pensioners numbered 7 gentlemen of the guard, 3 horsemen, 5 dragoons, and 52 foot soldiers, their pensions being respectively £94.10.0, £42.0.0, £29.8.0. and £18.18.0. Scots each. ^{1.}

Grants were sometimes made to widows. In 1685 a gratuity of £50 sterling was issued to "the poor widow of the deceased Colonel William Sinclair", formerly commander of the garrison at Shetland. ^{2.}

In 1688 pensions of £15 sterling per annum were granted to the widows of two lifeguardsmen killed by conventiclers, and the widows of two infantrymen were among the pensioners in June of that year. ^{3.} In the case of Captain Suddie of the Earl of Mar's Regiment, his wife received a grant of 151 trees from the royal parks at Stirling. ^{4.} ^{5.}

Discipline.

Discipline was maintained in the army under articles of war, which were prepared by successive commanders-in-chief and approved by the king. ^{6.} Those in force under Dalryell have been preserved among the Lauderdale papers. ^{7.} They are marked by great severity. Death was prescribed as the penalty for murder, cowardice, drunkenness on duty, violence to a superior, pillage, rape, straggling, refusing to work at forts and leaguers, resisting the provost marshal or breaking prison. Officers were to be cashiered for absence without leave, embezzling pay, making false musters or habitual drunkenness. The soldier was required to take good care of his arms and ammunition. For embezzling, spoiling or throwing them away he was liable to death; for neglecting them he was to be

1. "Army Invalids Accounts &c" at Register House.
2. W.B.S. X, 9th December, 1685.
3. W.B.S. XII, 20th March, 1688.
4. Invalids, Accounts.
5. Military History of Perthshire, p. 39.
6. C.S.P.D. 20th October, 1674. W.B.S. III, 26th February,
1675.
7. Add. Mss. 23126 f. 511.

ru
fined and censured, and to be punished arbitrarily for selling his horse or arms. A horseman wilfully spoiling his horse was transferred to the infantry.

Many of the regulations deal with duelling. Any soldier drawing his sword "with intent" in the presence of a general officer was to have his hand cut off. To draw sword in camp or garrison in a private cause exposed the offender to the capital penalty. But an officer challenged in a private wrong was bound to give satisfaction. 1.

The minor offences named are of the usual kind, idleness on parade, failure to comply with an order, drunk off duty, offences against cleanliness. Several articles deal with moral offences; blasphemy was to be punished with death; fines were inflicted for oaths. Officers were enjoined to see that all ranks behaved "civilly and christianly". Articles of a similar purport were promulgated in 1675. 2. James VII brought the Scots army under the same articles as those which bound the forces in England. 3.

Justice was administered by councils of war (courts martial). The "inferior" council was a regimental court martial, and the "high" a general court martial. The former consisted of 13 officers not above the rank of captain; the latter was presided over by a general officer and was composed of 13 assessors, not below the rank of captain. 4. A writer to the signet acted as clerk. This court tried offences not specifically covered by the articles. Any one obstructing it was liable to death. All sentences had to be confirmed by

1. In 1666, Lords Linlithgow and Carnegy were put under arrest by Rothes for duelling at Coupar races.

Lamont's Diary p. 187.

2. W.B.S. III, 26th February, 1675.

3. W.B.S. XI, 22nd April, 1686. Printed in Clifford Walton's Standing Army (app.) p. 814.

4. C.S.P.D. 7th July, 1675.

the commander-in-chief.

The chief executive officer was the (provost) marshall of each unit, who was responsible for the safe custody of prisoners and liable to undergo punishment if they escaped. He presented prisoners to the court and prepared the charge sheets. On him also fell the duty of administering corporal punishments, and when a new commanding officer took over a unit the marshal paraded with all the gruesome instruments of his office.^{1.}

The severity of the articles was usually mitigated in practice. In 1667 and in 1670 serious mutinies occurred in the Foot Guards, both due to the fact that the men's pay was in arrear. The former was quelled by Sir James Turner and the ring leaders imprisoned for two months, after which the privy council ordered them to be released.^{2.} In the second case the prisoners were sent on foreign service in Douglas's regiment.^{3.} In 1680, Abraham Gray, a soldier of the Earl of Mar's Regiment, was shot for desertion.^{4.} James VII treated this crime with leniency. In 1687 he ordered the commander-in-chief to liberate "Anderson, a runaway soldier, as the crime was more from a lapse of his judgment than a defect of his inclinations to serve us" A muster roll of the Foot Guards for April of the same year shows 31 deserters.^{6.}

For sleeping at sentry post at Holyrood, Dalzell condemned a

1. Fountainhall's Notices I, 550.
2. R.P.C. 7th November, 1667.
Turner's Memoirs p. 197.
3. R.P.C. 14th November, 1670 to 9th February 1671 ~~et~~ passim.
Hist. Mss. Comm. XI (pt. VI) 159.
4. Mar and Kellie Mss. Hist. Mss. Comm. XVI (pt. I), 211.
5. W.B.S. XII, 12th March, 1687.
For other pardons, see W.B.S. XI, 12th December, 1686;
XII, 15th August, 1687.
6. Muster Rolls.

soldier to death, but James (then Duke of York and royal commissioner) remitted the sentence.¹ For striking a superior officer, a soldier of the Foot Guards was executed on Leith Links;² and Dalzell put a man to death for stealing a pair of pistols from the magazine.¹

In 1680 a private in the Earl of Mar's Regiment was convicted of blasphemy. He was sentenced to be degraded at the head of the regiment and to have his tongue bored with a hot iron.² Other punishments recorded are banishment to the plantations, transfer to foreign service and "louping the gad".³

The deprivation or supersession of officers was usually due to personal or political causes. In October 1678, the Earl of Atholl lost the command of the Life Guards because his son had refused to marry the daughter of the Duchess of Lauderdale.⁴ The Earl of Linlithgow was forced to resign the command of the Foot Guards in 1684, in order to make room for Lord James Douglas, whose brother (Queensberry) was then in power. Linlithgow defied any one to keep it as long as he had (twenty years), his method having been to bribe the all powerful duchess.⁵ The disgrace of Sir James Turner was part of the policy of indulgence to the presbyterians.

In one of its periodic fits of anti-Roman-Catholic activity, the privy council called for a return of ~~the~~ Roman Catholic officers. There were none in the Life Guards, and only one in the Foot Guards.

1. Fountainhall's Notices p. 8, 10, 561.
2. Mar and Kellie Mss. Hist. Mss. Comm. XVI (pt. I,) 211.
3. R.P.C. 27th February, 2nd September 1668, 9th February, 1671.

The punishment of "louping the gad" is fully described in Clifford Walton's Standing Army.

4. Fountainhall's Observes p. 122.
5. Fountainhall's Observes p. 132.

The Earl of Linlithgow was "recommended to show him that he is not
to serve any longer in the regiment", but this was not complied with.^{1.}
James VII, of course, encouraged Roman Catholic officers, especially
the Earl of Dumbarton and the Duke of Gordon, in whose favour he
dispensed with the Test Act.^{2.}

The senior officers were often on very bad terms with one
another. Dalryell was commander-in-chief and colonel of the dragoons,
but the privy council placed the virtual control of the regiment in
the hands of Claverhouse. In his own regiment Claverhouse found his
authority was very limited, as his juniors were his social superiors.
In the privy council he supported a petition presented by private
soldiers against their colonel, Lord James Douglas.^{3.}

But the great abuse among the officers was the taking of
unauthorised leave. Many efforts were made to stop it. The privy
council "being sensible of the great neglect of many commissioned
officers, both horse and foot, in not attending their several charges"
ordered them not to leave their posts unless granted leave by their
superiors. Any furlough longer than a fortnight was to be submitted
to the privy council for approval.^{4.} The articles of war prescribed
cashiering as the penalty for absence without leave, but the
commander-in-chief was unable to enforce it, as he knew that the
offenders had relations in the privy council "who would undoubtedly
prove their advocates".^{5.} The king sent a special warrant to Dalryell

1. R.P.C. 23rd December, 1673. His name continues to appear in Muster Rolls.
2. Fountainhall's Observes p. 166-171.
3. Fountainhall's Notices ~~et~~ passim.
Old Colours p. 13, 21.
4. R.P.C. 26th November, 1677.
5. Add. Mss. 35125 f. 322.

to bring the offenders to book, but he seems even then to have been frustrated by the privy council.^{1.} This absenteeism was a cause of many offences committed by the soldiery against the people, as the troops were quartered under non-commissioned officers only, without any commissioned officer in the neighbourhood.^{2,} When the Duke of York came to Edinburgh as commissioner, many officers left their regiments without leave for the purpose of attending his court.^{3.}

The Scottish army was frequently employed to collect taxes, a sure passport to unpopularity. It was the instrument of an ecclesiastical policy to which a large part of the population was opposed. It had no barracks, and was almost continuously billeted on the people. All these circumstances give special importance to the relations of the soldiers and their civilian country men.

The military made continuous efforts to have cases between soldiers and civilians tried by courts martial. They founded their claim upon one of the privy council's "Instructions to the Forces" of November 1667.^{4.} According to these, the commander-in-chief for the time being was to punish abuses committed by the soldiers, or cause them to give satisfaction. If he failed, he was himself to answer for them. But the first article of the "Rules for the Conduct of the Forces" of February 1675 expressly stated that courts martial were

competent

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1. W.B.S. IV, 28th September, 1678.
2. Add. Mss. 35125, f. 314.
3. Add. Mss. 23246 f. 45.
4. R.P.C. 15th November, 1667.

competent only in disputes between soldiers and officers, or soldiers and soldiers, relating only to their military capacities "without mentioning any other subjects"^{1.} In 1682 the king ordered this rule to be strictly adhered to, unless civilians appealed for justice to a military court.^{2.} But the civil judges of the period were so accustomed to decide cases according to political or personal motives that this did little to mend matters. "Let soldiers commit as great malversations and oppressions as they please" wrote Fountainhall,^{3.} "right is not to be got against them". Cases which have been recorded include, murder and forcible abduction. The first was punished by hanging, the second does not appear to have been punished at all.^{4.} But the vast majority of cases were against property rather than against the person. Illegal fines were extorted, and live stock, the only valuable possession which the country people had, was subjected to heavy toll.^{5.} Creighton records with satisfaction how he ruffled it for a time on money he received from a gentleman whose wife had brought herself within the law.^{6.}

Lesser interferences with civil liberty were also resented.

In March 1679 the Foot Guards were brought into Edinburgh to arrest the rioters who had assaulted the Town Major, "which was judged a

1. W.B.S. III, 26th February, 1675.
2. W.B.S. VII, 1st May, 1682.
3. Observes p. 87.

See the case of Sir John Chiesley. Fountainhall's
Notices I, 353, 363 and Dalrymple of Stair. Mackay's
Stair p. 182.

Fountainhall's Notices I, 373 et passim.

Terry's Dundee p. 113-121.

4. R.P.C. 28th February, 1667, 19th July, 1677.
Fountainhall's Observes dated 29th March, 1686.
5. Hamilton Mss. Hist.Mss. Comm, XI (pt. VI), 167.
6. Creighton's Memoirs.

1. great infringement of the town's liberties. In Mitchell's case it was noted as the sign of a bad cause that the jury contained several soldiers, who were sure to convict.
2.

In the north, however, the soldiers met their match. When a party was sent to collect cess at Thurso, one man was killed and the others had to be withdrawn.
3. Cameron of Lochiel was fined £100 by the privy council as he and his clan were found guilty of "sorning and robbing, deforcing and doing violence and affronts to a part of the king's forces who came there to lift the cess and taxation".
4. Two life guardsmen who were known to ^{be} the active agents of the privy council were killed by covenanters at Swynabay.
5.

Medical Services.

The head of the medical branch was the "Physician and Surgeon-Major of the Forces". The first Surgeon-major was Dr. Christopher Irwin (or Irving), afterwards Historiographer Royal. In 1685 he was declared to be independent of the newly incorporated College of Physicians.
6. He was assisted by a second surgeon and three mates. Regimental surgeons were also allowed on the establishment. The Surgeon-Major received £20 per annum for "instruments and medicaments to relieve the poor privates who are not able to pay for their own cure".
7. Regimental surgeons received a capitation allowance of 12d. yearly with which to furnish every man "with all internal and external medicines".
8. A soldier's pay was not stopped till he was certified as unfit for further service, when he was discharged and provided with journey money to his own home.
9.

1. Fountainhall's Notices I, 224.

See also C.S.P.D. 2nd December, 1667, 1st August, 1668.
2. Fountainhall's Notices I, 186.
3. R.P.C. 9th May, 1668.
4. Fountainhall's Notices I, 378, 384.
5. Nimmo was suspected of this crime, Diary p. 69. See also a ballad on this subject, Scottish Historical Review.
6. A.P.S. VIII, 530. For a biographical notice, see Scots Army II, 4.
7. C.S.P.D. 23rd December, 1674, 19th February, 7th July, 1675.
8. W.B.S. XI, 22nd May, 1686.
9. Articles of War 1686, No. 36, Clifford Walton p. 814.

Creighton has recorded a curious case of the methods of this department. Dr Irwin, son of the Surgeon-Major, attended him for wounds he had received on service, but "having unfortunately neglected to tie a string to the tent of green cloth which he used for the wound, the tent slipped into my body where it lay, seven months and five days^{1.} and exceedingly pained me".

Funerals.

There are very few notices of funerals, but in one case at least the charge was borne by the government, the sum being £5.^{2.} The "order of march" for Dalzell's funeral is preserved among miscellaneous army papers at the Register House. The officers were to wear black scarves; arms, drums, trumpets and colours were "to be ordered as is usual on the like occasion". The column consisted of dragoons (Dalzell's regiment), a troop of horse, Foot Guards, six pieces of artillery guarded by the company of matrosses, Foot Guards, the magistrates of Edinburgh, the lord chancellor, nobility and gentry, horse of war led by his footman, a gentleman with a general's baton, the corpse and Life Guards.^{3.} Guns were to be fired from the castle from time to time.

Dress.

The arrangements for clothing and equipping the army of Scotland were similar to those in force in England at this time.^{4.} Commanding officers made a bargain with the merchants to supply the necessary

1. Creighton's Memoirs p. 428. This is, of course, a variation of a very well known gibe at the medical profession.
2. Account of the funeral of Captain James Campbell, 24th October, 1688. Miscellaneous Army Papers at Register House.
3. See also Fountainhall's Observes p. 215.

For an instance of the attendance of the militia at a funeral, see Wardlaw Mss. p. 507 (Scot.Hist.Soc'y).
4. Clifford Walton p. 359.

articles and the price was stopped out of the soldier's pay.^{1.} Thus when troops were disbanded, the private soldier was entitled to retain his clothing and equipment, but not his arms, which had been issued from the magazine at Edinburgh.^{2.}

Nicoll records that in 1662 the king provided the Life Guards with a buff coat, and clothed the drummers in "very rich apparel". This consisted of a coat and cloak of the pattern worn in England and Ireland. This was for full dress only, as "liveries for their ordinary wear" were provided at the same time. The full dress cost £58.3.6. each, and the accounts for the supply of these were still unpaid in 1674.^{3.}

The Royal Regiment of Horse wore the red and yellow of the Stewarts. In February 1685, Lord Ross was authorised to import red cloth, yellow baize (for lining) and yellow serge (for facings). This was the uniform which James VII favoured, and the troops raised in his reign wore these colours.^{4.} Dalrymple's Regiment of Dragoons had a uniform of "stone grey cloth" which he purchased abroad at 5s 0d. the ell. From this the name "Scots Greys" was derived.^{5.}

^{6.} The artillery wore red. The gunners had silver badges. Among stores inventoried in 1682 was a "fine scarlet coat laced with black velvet as the Yeoman of the Guard at London, and embroidered with a thistle and crown and two cannons on the breast and back". This

1. Fountainhall's Notices II, 580.
2. W.B.S. V, 18th January, 1679, and vide infra "Arms and Equipment.
3. Nicoll's Diary p. 372, 377.

C.S.P.D. 9th December, 1674.
4. Old Colours p. 33.

Scots Army I, 2.
5. Records of Newmills Factory, p. lxiv (Introduction).

The clothing company supplied ready made uniforms and bribed officers to prevent them being condemned.

Records lxix, 67, 74, 81 et passim.
6. Newmills Records, p. 148, 164.

was probably the full dress of the master gunner to the garrison. ^{1.}

The infantry at first wore some neutral colour, probably gray. In 1687 the privy council decided that it was necessary to have ^{2.} "coats of such a dye as shall be thought fit to distinguish sojers from other skulking and vagrant persons", who had been imitating their livery. ^{3.} The uniform of the Foot Guards is not specially described, but from a number of entries regarding the importation of cloth and the manufacture of it at Leith, Selkirk and Newmills, it appears that they wore red. ^{4.} The Earl of Mar's Regiment wore red also, but their popular name - the Earl of Mar's Graybreeks - shows that at some period they wore gray. ^{5.} Drummers of the guards had the king's cypher and crown embroidered in gold lace upon their coats. Grenadiers wore special caps to allow their muskets to be easily ^{6.} slung over their shoulders, and their coats were "looped or frogged". Lockhart's Regiment of Marines were ordered to be "sufficiently ^{7.} clothed with blew coats lynned with white and have hattes!" Among samples of equipment imported from Holland was a "campaine coat for ^{8.} soldiers".

A set of accounts, which is almost complete, exists for ^{9.} Wauchop's Regiment - raised in 1688. A "good and sufficient black hat" cost 3s 6d, a grenadier's cap cost 5s 0d. Muslin cravats cost 1ld. each. White stockings for the privates cost 2s 1d. a pair; long "red stockings ended with yellow serge" for the sergeants

1. Inventory of the Train of Artillery, Miscellaneous Army Papers at Register House.
2. Chambers Domestic Annals II, 419.
3. Newmills Records p. 164.
4. Newmills Records p. 63, 67.
5. Old Colours p. 17, 34.
6. Accounts for Wauchop's Regiment at Register House.
7. R.P.C. 4th March, 1672.
8. Inventory of Stores at Edinburgh Castle 1682 at Register House.
9. At Register House among Pay Precepts.

cost 3s 0d, and yellow ones for the drummers 2s 8d. a pair. Shoes cost 2s 5d a pair. Tanned leather gloves were 8d a pair, and 1s 2d when they "lined and stiffed in the tops".

1. Officers wore wigs and were clean shaven; the men wore beards. Lord James Douglas when colonel of the Foot Guards tried "to get them all of one pitch or height and will let none of them keep their beards long or have ill gravats or gravat strings, that they may look young and brisk.....and causes them all tie their hair back with a ribbon so it cannot blow among their eyes when they visie at their firing".
2.

Arms and Equipment.

The national magazine and mobilisation store was at Edinburgh Castle. In 1665 it was stocked with 4,000 muskets, 2,000 pikes and 300 barrels of powder purchased from the English army, and another
3. consignment arrived in January 1666. Arms in Scotland were made at Culross and Dunfermline, but the magazine was usually supplied
4. from Holland. Government agents found difficulty in getting ship-masters from the eastern shires to carry this cargo. In 1678 several captains from Bo'ness and other ports declined "to carry home these arms to disturb the people of God from the exercise of their religion".
5. Ultimately an Aberdeen skipper of less tender conscience undertook the contract.

6. An inventory of the stores was taken toward the end of each year. It often showed great deficiencies. In 1682 the cannon

1. Portraits of Linlithgow and Claverhouse. Creighton's description of Dalryell supplies negative evidence - Memoirs p. 435.
2. Fountainhall's Notices II, 561.
3. C.S.P.D. 2nd September, 1665, 23rd January 1666.
Nicol's Diary p. 447.
4. R.P.C. 26th and 27th November, 1666.
C.S.P.D. 10th March, 1668.
5. Add. Mss. 35172, f. 302.
6. The list for 1677 is printed in Old Colours, p. 29.

ball was "very inconsiderable for the defence of the castle". Of muskets "there is a very small proportion for his Majesty's chief magazine". The swords were "such that no officer would receive them or suffer his men to carry them in the king's pay and service".

"Headpieces 7, breast 13, backpieces 9. There needs nothing to be said to this article it being as remarkable a one as is in all the inventory". The "firearms called serviceable" are covered with rust for want of a sufficient roof and plastered ceiling. ^{1.} On the accession of James VII he sent £6,000 worth of arms from England. In September 1688 he ordered the magazine to be removed to Stirling, probably fearing that it might be captured by the mob of the capital who were strongly anti-Roman-Catholic. ^{2.}

The Life Guards and cavalry of the line wore breast and head pieces. ^{3.} Describing the first appearance of the King's Troop, Nicoll says they rode with their carbines upon their horses' saddles, and their drawn swords in their hands. ^{4.} In this position the carbine rested in a boot or bucket, but it could also be carried slung over the shoulder. A pair of pistols completed the horseman's equipment. These were usually his private property, though the government tried to buy them from disbanded troops, an offer which was nearly always refused. ^{5.} From about 1678 pistols were supplied from the magazine, with the other arms. Lances are mentioned several times in

1. Miscellaneous Army Papers.
2. W.B.S. IX, 22nd May, 1685; XIII, 27th September, 1688.
3. Old Colours p. 32.
4. Nicoll's Diary p. 325. The sword was 30 inches and the
pistol 14 inches at least.

Articles of War 1675.

5. R.P.C. 29th December, 1675.

Military History of Perthshire, p. 7.

Scots Army II, 73.

inventories and orders for arms, but they do not seem to have been carried in the field. Just before the Revolution 200 lances were ordered, but were never issued "owing to the confusion of the times".^{1.}

The infantry were armed with muskets and pikes in the proportion of 2 to 1. Pikes were 16 feet long.^{2.} Muskets were usually match-

locks, but as these were dangerous beside a magazine, the independent company at Edinburgh Castle had firelocks. When Mar's Regiment was raised, it was supplied with "English Muskets", and it afterwards

carried fusils or light muskets, probably after 1685, when a new issue of arms was ordered.^{3.} Officers carried pikes, those of colonels,

lieutenant-colonels and captains being eleven feet long. Lieutenants carried partisans, and ensigns, when they had not the colours, half

pikes.^{4.} All the infantry carried a short sword called indifferently a dag, dirk or whinger, but later specifically described as a

"baggonet".^{5.} Ammunition was carried in a bandolier of leather or of wood. In a special pattern called patrontashes the same case held

both powder and bullets. "Swans feathers" were stored at Edinburgh Castle for issue when required.^{6.}

The defensive armour of dragoons was the skull cap only. They carried muskets slung over the shoulder or in a boot. Their

muskets were at first firelocks, but in 1687 fusils were served out.^{7.} Official records do not mention pistols or the sword as being carried

1. R.P.C. 26th November, 1666. Inventories for 1677, 1682,
Miscellaneous Army Papers.
2. Articles of War 1675.
3. W.B.S. X, 12th December, 1685. Old Colours p. 17.
4. Hist. Mss. Comm. XVI (pt. I), 209.
5. Military History of Perthshire p. 32.
6. Inventory for 1682.
7. W.B.S. XII, 8th March, 1687.

by the dragoon, but these were almost certainly part of his equipment. The memoirs of Creighton, who served in this arm, make repeated references to the use of both.¹

The number of field guns which the army possessed remained very small throughout the period. In 1672, twelve brass guns were ordered² four 6 pounders and eight 3 pounders. In 1675, twenty pieces were ordered.³ Neither of these orders appears to have been carried out⁴ as there were only four small field pieces at Bothwell Bridge. In 1681 Slezor was sent abroad with authority to buy not more than ten guns, and to enlist the necessary men.⁵ The castles were fairly well supplied with heavy ordnance.⁶

Colours were carried by the cavalry, infantry and dragoons. The standard of the King's Troop bore his cipher and cost £40 Scots. For Rothes troop this was replaced by the captain's cipher. The Foot Guards received their colours in September 1662. These were "red with a saltire or St. Andrew's cross in a field azure, and a⁷ thistle crowned, this motto round the thistle nemo me impune lacessit. This was the king's colour. Each company also carried a colour bearing the crest of its commander. An account exists for painting and gilding work done on the colours for Monro's Regiment. They consisted of "his own colour with his own crest and motto, his blue colour the resemblance of a flame of fire", five blue colours with

1. Creighton's Memoirs p. 417, 423, 434.
2. C.S.P.D. 30th November, 1672.
3. W.B.S. III, 8th January, 1675. Treasury Register 10th
December, 1675.
4. Creighton's Memoirs p. 31.
"Artillery Concerns". W.B.S. VI, 2nd July, 1680.
5. W.B.S. VI, 16th May, 1681.
6. See Fountainhall's description of Dumbarton, Journal p. 184.
7. Add. Mss. 35125 f. 3.
Scots Army II, #13.

several figures", the whole costing £29 Scots. ^{1.} Grenadier companies
did not carry colours. ^{2.}

His Majesty's Troop of Guards had silver trumpets "with tassels
as used in England". They cost £20 sterling each. ^{3.} Their kettle-
drums had double banners of "rich cramsie velvet". ^{4.} A drum for
the dragoons cost £23.4.0. Scots. ^{5.}

Remounts, Transport and Supply.

In order to draw pay, a cavalryman was required to maintain a
horse valued at least at £15 sterling. Before dragoons were regular-
ly organised, garrison commanders were authorised in case of insurrec-
tion, to mount the foot soldiers on country horses which would be
returned, or paid for later. The value of a dragoon's horse was
£5 sterling. ^{6.} Disaffected persons were not allowed to retain horses
which were valued at more than £50 Scots, and from this source came
many remounts. ^{7.} Field officers of infantry were also mounted, but
during the Pentland Rising it was noticed that the Earl of Linlithgow
the Earl of Kellie, and many other noblemen and gentlemen not only
"marched on foot all the way but went....through rivers above the
middle to encourage the soldiers. ^{8.}

Cavalry officers received a daily allowance for horses,
captains, lieutenants, and cornets were allowed 2 each, and quarter-
masters 1 each, all at the rate of 2s 0d a day. ^{9.} A farrier was

1. Miscellaneous Army Papers.
2. W.B.S. VII, 19th June, 1682.
3. C.S.P.D. 7th February, 1676.
4. Nicoll's Diary p. 372.
5. Pay Precepts.
6. R.P.C. 26th November, 1667. Old Colours p. 21.
7. R.P.C. 18th January, 1678.
8. C.S.P.D. 20th December, 1666.

The commissioner (Rothes) incurred their ill-will for not putting this in the London Gazette. C.S.P.D. 29th December 1666.

9. Establishments, various dates.

borne on the establishment of each troop.^{1.}

The army had no permanent transport service, but in 1678 a master waggoner, a smith and a wheelwright were appointed to accompany the Highland Host. Horses and carts were requisitioned from the burghs and counties on the line of march. The privy council or commander-in-chief issued precepts to the provost or sheriff to supply a certain number of horses and vehicles. The officer commanding the column then certified that the service had been performed and the cash-keeper paid the owners on production of these certificates. The rates were 3s Od. Scots per mile for each man and horse; any day on which the column did not advance was paid for at the rate of 6s Od.

Scots each for man and beast.^{2.} Hackney coaches were used near Edinburgh and stores were carried to Stirling up the Forth.^{3.}

The issue of rations was controlled by the Commissary-General. The staple ration was meal, which was stored in "girnals" at Edinburgh, Stirling and Dumbarton castles. The stock was renewed annually, any surplus being sold by auction. The governor of the castle made a contract with a "sufficient person" to keep the necessary quantity. In the case of Dumbarton this was done by a sergeant of the independent company, the quantity being 50 bolls. At Stirling it was 300 bolls. When the troops took the field against Argyll, the export of meal was forbidden by proclamation. The meal ration was issued to the soldiers by weight.^{4.}

1. Muster Rolls.
2. Treasury Register 16th January, 1678. R.P.C. 15th
January, 1678.

A.P.S. VIII, 241.

Certificates issued during the march of the army to England
(October 1688) are among Miscellaneous Army Papers.

3. Wodrow III, 85.
4. Treasury Register 29th July, 1674.

Fountainhall's Observes p. 169.

R.P.C. 13th July, 1675.

Pay Precepts.

Miscellaneous Army Papers (Contracts).

In Edinburgh castle the soldiers weekly ration consisted of 14 lbs meal, 3 lbs meat, 3 lbs cheese, 1 lb butter, 7 lbs biscuit and $1\frac{1}{2}$ gallons beer.^{1.} What the troops actually received in the field is very uncertain. During the rebellion in the west the troops suffered greatly from want of bread.^{2.} After Bothwell Bridge, the provost of Glasgow sent all the bread he could get and a hogshead of drink for each troop or company, out of the cellars of the disaffected townsmen.^{3.} Sheep and oxen were collected by the commissioners. The accounts show that bread, meal and biscuit to the value of £7,625.11.4. Scots were purchased, of which biscuit and loaves costing £240 Scots were stolen.^{4.} In preparation for the "Highland Host", 500 stones of cheese were stored at Stirling castle. The "Committee of the West" fixed prices at which the country people were to supply meal, malt, beef, pork, butter, cheese, eggs, milk, hens, and "mutton bouks".^{5.} But as the object was to spoil the Egyptians rather than to feed the troops, this dietary cannot be taken as normal. The arrangements were in charge of a Quartermaster-General appointed for the time being.^{6.}

Liquors were supplied to the forces by victuallers at the prices fixed by the provost marshal. Soldiers were forbidden to become victuallers without permission,^{7.} and Lord James Douglas as colonel of the Foot Guards issued orders against his officers keeping cellars.

1. "Necessaries for the garrison" - Miscellaneous Army Papers.
2. Wodrow III, 99.

Lauderdale Papers III, 170.

At the same time the government bought large supplies of meal, but resiled from their bargain when the rebellion was crushed, the vendors losing heavily. Glamis Book of Record p. 84.

3. R.P.C. 16th June, 1679.

Creighton's Memoirs p. 414.

4. Pay Precepts.

5. Mar and Kellie Mss. Hist. Mss. Comm. XVI (pt. I), 208.

R.P.C. 6th March, 1678, and Papers of Committee for the West
12th March, 1678.

6. Articles of War 10, 1667.

7. Fountainhall's Notices II. 562.

Quartering.

The Scottish army had no barracks. Even the castles were not always able to house the independent companies stationed there. Tents are not mentioned till 1682, when the Duke of York sent from England 350 large foot tents and 250 horse tents "all completely furnished at a total cost of £1,000 sterling"^{1.} Thus the army had to be billeted throughout the period. This also served the purposes of collecting taxation and coercing the opponents of the government; and immunity from quartering was granted by parliament as a privilege.²

Legally the soldier was bound to pay for his quarters. In 1663 horsemen were ordered to pay 24s 0d. Scots per day, and in 1678 the rates were fixed at 15s 0d Scots for a horseman, 10s 0d for a dragoon and 4s 0d for a foot soldier.^{3.} But with an army whose pay was chronically in arrears, it was impossible to enforce these regulations. The numerous complaints and the repetition of instructions to pay, show that to do so was the exception rather than the rule. It was impossible to maintain strict discipline in this^{or other} respects when the units were broken up into small parties under non-commissioned officers.^{4.}

Hamilton complained that in his barony of Lesmahagow the soldiers "took away the people's butter and cheese, killed their

sheep

1. W.B.S. VII, 8th September, 1682.

2. A.P.S. VII, 262.

3. R.P.C. 24th March, 1663.

A.P.S. VIII, 228.

4. R.P.C. 7th and 15th November, 1667, 27th January, 1668.

W.B.S. IX, 28th March, 1685.

Old Colours p. 36.

sheep and hens, took them away from their own harvest and forced them to shear elsewhere without allowance or satisfaction". Soldiers also extorted by threats receipts for money which they had never paid, and imposed other irregular exactions on their unwilling landlords.^{1.}

Towards the end of each year a committee of privy council made the necessary arrangements for the ensuing year.^{2.} Special rules were laid down for the supply of corn and straw. The commissioners of excise in each shire appointed a purveyor who bought the forage at rates fixed by the privy council, or the commissioners.

The daily quantities were 16 lbs. hay and 16 lbs. straw for each horse. Country people who were unwilling to sell were to be "constrained" to do so.^{4.}

If the commissioners failed to make provision, the troops were to provide themselves and "agree" (on the price) at the sight of any magistrate.^{3.} Claverhouse declared that if supplies^S were not forthcoming he would seize it on the lands of the commissioners

themselves.^{4.} Hamilton wrote to Lauderdale that "the gentry and the commons does cry out more against^(it) than any (other) burden is laid on them", but the secretary declared that the privy council alone was

responsible.^{5.} The controlled prices were usually below the market ones.

In 1681 the Life Guards petitioned the Duke of York for an

1. Hamilton Mss. Hist.Mss. Comm. XI (pt. VI). 167.

In some cases soldiers behaved as licensed beggars, importuning gentlemen for "drinksilver".

Diary of Cunningham of Craigends p. 31, 54, 55, 80.

2. R.P.C. 4th November, 1675, et passim.
3. R.P.C. 19th December, 1667, 9th May, 1668, 28th August, 1670.
4. Terry's Dundee p. 43.
5. Hamilton Mss. Hist. Mss. Comm. XI (pt. VI) 140.

increase in pay on account of the "high price of corn and straw the untowardness of the countrymen to us and all their kind, and their refusing to sell any except at rates which would take half our pay in maintenance of our horses"^{1.}

Regular officers, especially Dalyell, disliked the troops being quartered for the purpose of collecting revenue, and they tried very hard to get this duty transferred to the militia. They were successful for a time, and between 1670 and 1674 the standing forces were not employed for this purpose. Except for this interval, however, the system continued throughout the period.^{2.}

Certain rules were laid down by parliament and the privy council to prevent abuses. Quartering for taxation was not to be carried out except by the written authority of some official responsible for the collection of the public dues. The size of the quartering party was to correspond to the sum due - 4 troopers or dragoons or 16 foot soldiers for every £1,000 Scots; instalments were to be collected every 20 days.^{3.} Nominally the taking of "free quarters" was forbidden, and soldiers were expressly ordered not to exact "riding money"⁴. The method was a costly and inefficient one. The country was plundered by the undisciplined soldiery, and a large part of the revenue was never collected. As we have seen, these tax collectors were resisted by force of arms, especially in the north.^{5.}

1. Miscellaneous Army Papers.
2. R.P.C. 30th June, 25th August, 1670, 3rd September, 1674.

Old Colours p. 36.
3. R.P.C. 7th and 15th November, 1667, 27th January, 1668.

A.P.S. 1681 c, 3, VIII, 240; 1686 c, 3, VIII, 585.

W.B.S. IX, 28th March, 1685.
4. R.P.C. 5th May, 1675.
5. R.P.C. 9th May, 1668.

Training and Intelligence.

Matters of tactics and training lie outside the scope of a study of administration. The military operations of this period are well known. They were of a straightforward nature and did not call for a high standard of professional skill on the part of the commander or the troops. The problem was one of discipline rather than of training. Training itself was practically confined to close order drill and musketry, which were at first carried out according to the ideas of Dalrymple. When the Duke of York came to Scotland in 1679 he reported that there was no general scheme of exercise, although the general¹ has a mind to teach them the old German way". He recommended that the king's troops in both kingdoms should be drilled on the same lines, and an order to this effect was issued. Henceforward the army was to be trained in accordance with the system practised in England and Ireland; the English manual was to be taken into use and was to be reprinted at Edinburgh.² Under Lord James Douglas the Foot Guards paid special attention to drill and exercises; they were encouraged to practise fencing and gave exhibitions of their skill at arms.³

In their efforts to round up the conventiclers, the commanders of the king's forces had to rely largely on the reports of spies. At first no regular allowance was made for this service. Creighton describes how he and his friends used to ride out in grey cloaks and bonnets. One dragoon received £5 from the general to buy these, and was particularly successful on account of his ability to imitate the speech and manners of the conventiclers.⁴ During the rebellion in the west (1679) several persons were paid

1. Add. Mss. 23245 f. 19.

2. W.B.S. V, 6th December, 1679.

Hist. Mss. Comm. XVI (pt. I), 209.

3. Fountainhall's Observes p. 145.

The English system of drill referred to is described in
Clifford Walton, p. 506-528.

4. Creighton's Memoirs p. 400, 416, 420.

to "ride every day and night to and from his Majesty's army and to the place where the rebels were, in disguise and otherwise for intelligence".^{1.}

In 1683, Claverhouse complained that he was hampered by the want of trustworthy information. The king thereupon ordered allowances to be paid to commanders of detachments for this purpose, and the commander-in-chief received a fixed sum of £100 sterling a year for their general service.^{2.}

AUXILIARY FORCES.

The King's Host.

The ancient laws of Scotland ordained that all fencible men between the ages of 16 and 60 were liable to bear arms in defence of the kingdom.^{3.} At the Restoration it was declared by parliament that the right to call them out was vested in the king alone.^{4.} This power was partially exercised on several occasions. Heritors were formally summoned at the time of the Pentland Rising, but their liability was not enforced.^{5.} In 1679, however, the council summoned the heritors and freeholders of certain shires who were fencible men, to wait upon the "King's Host". They were to be well mounted, and to be attended by their servants and followers.^{6.} There were many absentees, in spite of the severe penalties threatened. After the rebellion had been crushed, the government took action against its opponents. Officers of the army sent in lists of

1. Pay Precepts, cf. R.P.C. 26th November, 1666, for Pentland Rising.
2. W.B.S. VII. 2nd February, 1683; X, 7th November, 1685.
3. A.P.S. 1318 c, 27; 1425, c, 17; 1456, c, 3, et passim.
4. A.P.S. 1661 c, 13, VII, 13; 1663 c, 42, VII, 480.
5. Wodrow III, 177.
6. R.P.C. 7th June, 1679.

1. absentees in each shire. At first cases were heard in the Court of Justiciary, but in June 1680 the trials were transferred to the privy council, with instructions that none north of the Forth were to be pursued.
2. Fines were levied, ranging from twice the annual rent of land down to one quarter of it. The "King's Host" was again called out in 1685 to meet Argyll's invasion, and in September 1688 James ordered all fencible persons to rendezvous on a given signal.
3.

The Highland Host.

In 1678 the government mobilised a large body of the king's highland subjects to co-operate with the regular troops and the militia in overawing the western shires into taking "The Bond".
4. They were ordered to rendezvous at Stirling on the 24th of January, and were authorised to demand quarters at their own rates and to use force to obtain it if necessary. The highlanders were not under military law or the regulations governing the militia; they were, moreover, indemnified in advance for any wounding or killing they might commit.
5.

The chiefs in command of the clansmen were Atholl, Mar, Perth, Moray, Caithness; Strathmore and Airlie led the Angus militia. A careful estimate places the numbers of the whole force at 590 horse and 6,124 foot.
6.

Most of the highlanders were dismissed at the end of February, when they were replaced by the militia of the Lothians and Peebles. Five hundred highlanders remained with the regular troops and the Angus

1. Wodrow III, 177-180.
2. Fountainhall's Notices I, 253-60, 266, 276, and Decisions I. 87.

According to Fountainhall, the venue of the trials was changed so that the clerks of the privy council might have a share of the fees.

2. Wodrow III, 177, IV, 255-331, 463.
4. The bond was for the "good behaviour" of their wives, children and servants in not attending conventicles. For text see R.P.C. 11th February, 1678.
5. A full account of the expedition is given in Wodrow III, 370-432. Documents are in R.P.C. 1st November, 1678, to 10th May, 1679, passim, with appendix, "Papers of the Western Committee".
6. Military History of Perthshire p. 114.

militia till the end of April, when the clansmen marched north laden with plunder. A detachment was stopped by the Glasgow students and forced to hand over their spoil, and one highlander was killed at Campsie. No other casualty on either side is recorded, but the covenanters charged the clans with wholesale robbery and all the other crimes in the calendar. The financial loss was considerable, Ayrshire alone claiming £11,000 sterling on this account.^{1.}

The Militia.

The establishment of a militia force in Scotland under Charles II had its origin in political rather than military considerations. Lauderdale wished to show that his zeal for the prerogative was at least equal to that of Middleton.^{2.} Hence in September 1663 he procured the passage in parliament of a "Humble Tender" to the king, of a force of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, armed and furnished with provisions for 40 days. These were to be ready "as they shall be called for by His Majesty to march to any part of his dominions of Scotland, England or Ireland, for suppressing of any foreign invasions, intestine trouble or insurrection!"^{3.} This act pleased the king greatly, but it offended the English and afterwards furnished material for a political attack upon Lauderdale.^{4.}

The act was not put into operation immediately. After the Pentland Rising the privy council prepared a scheme by which half the force in the "Tender" would be provided. It was to be organised in 15

1. Wodrow loc. cit.

The Diary of Cunningham of Craighends (p. 107, 109) shows that in his case the landlord and tenants bore the burden equally between them.

2. MacKenzie Memoirs p. 132.

Lauderdale Papers I, 169.

3. A.P.S. VII, 480, 509.

Parliament had already recommended a militia, April 24th, 1661.

A.P.S. VII, 188.

4. Lauderdale Papers I, 180.

MacKenzie's Memoirs p. 133.

1. regiments of foot and 14 troops of horse. The force was to be administered in each shire by the commissioners of excise, assisted by officers of the rank of captain and upwards. Men were to be enlisted in proportion to the number of fencible men in the shire. As there was considerable doubt whether these measures were legally justified under the act of 1663, they were ratified by the estates in 1669 and 1672.

At first great activity was shown in organising the new force. The council complimented the shires on their diligence, and Lauderdale, after inspecting several contingents, described it to the king in very favourable terms.

On this basis the militia continued for ten years. In 1678, however, a completely "new model" was ordered by the king, which practically converted one-fourth of the militia into a part of the standing army. Five thousand foot and five hundred horse were to be exercised for 50 days annually. The scheme hung fire for two years, but in December 1680 the king ordered his instructions to be carried out, having already issued the necessary commissions.

Two obstacles, however, wrecked it completely. No funds were available to pay the officers. It was generally regarded as transforming the militia into regular troops, and the legality of such a scheme was questioned. The lord president, when appealed to by the privy council, refused to give a definite decision on this point.

1. R.P.C. 21st, 25th March, 13th September 1667, 6th and 8th May, 1668.
2. A.P.S. 1669 c, 3, VII, 554; 1672 c, 1, VIII, 58.
3. R.P.C. 4th August, 3rd September 1668.
Lauderdale Papers II, 140.
4. W.B.S. V, 26th October, 1678, 9th December 1679, 21st April 1680.
5. Add. Mss. 23247 f. 38.

the local commissioners practically refused to carry out the scheme, although three of them, including Fletcher of Salton, were brought before the council. Thus the new model of the militia proved altogether abortive, and the force remained on its old basis till the Revolution.

Finance.

The great weakness of the militia was its financial administration. The charges were borne partly by the crown out of the inland excise, and partly by the heritors who furnished the men. The cost to the crown amounted to £831.4.0. sterling per annum. Of this, £80 a year went to the Muster-Master-General. In the horse, the captains and lieutenants, and in the foot, the colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors and captains were unpaid. The king paid corporals of horse 1s 0d. and trumpeters 2s 8d per day; to lieutenants of foot he gave 1s 0d, sergeants 1s 6d, drummers 1s 0d. The heritors allowed each footman 6d per day, and each horseman 1s 6d; they also paid the trumpeters £4, and the drummers £1 per annum. All other rates were for 10 days in the year.

The heritors were very unwilling to bear this burden. They either failed to send the men or refused them their pay. Hence a system of fines was instituted against these "deficients" at the rate of 10s 0d sterling for every horseman absent, and 3s 4d for

1. Fountainhall's Notices I, 264, 266, 270, 273.
"Method of Turning Militia into a Standing Army".
2. Establishments 1678, 1684. Maitland Miscellany III,
82. Old Colours p. 10.
3. A.P.S. VII, 554, VIII, 58. Account Book of Foulis of
Ravelston p. 39.
4. R.P.C. 8th October 1668, 11th February, 1st August,
1676 et passim.

every foot soldier. Another series of fines was levied on officers who refused commissions or resigned them, or who failed to appear at the annual training.^{1.} But the repeated instructions to the Muster-Master-General and the complaints to the privy council, show that even these fines were not sufficient to enforce the acts on the subject.^{2.}

Personnel.

The militia was essentially a local force. Every man had to be drawn from the district ⁱⁿ ~~to~~ which he was to serve; once enlisted he was not allowed to remove to another shire without the written consent either of an officer or of the convener of the commissioners; the liability for service was limited to England, Scotland and Ireland, and militiamen were exempted from being levied for other purposes.^{3.} In the north one man was furnished by the heritors for every £100 Scots of valued rent, and in the south one for every £200.^{4.} Officers and commissioners were expressly warned against taking money instead of service due.^{5.}

The officers were commissioned directly by the king.^{5.} At the formation of the force the king nominated the colonels and lieutenant-colonels of foot and the captains of horse, leaving the

1. A.P.S. VII, 554, VIII, 58.
2. See especially the case of the Dumfriesshire drummers.
R.P.C. 6th November, 1677.
3. R.P.C. 5th September, 6th May 1668, 2nd May 1678. A.P.S.
VII, 481.
4. R.P.C. 8th July, 1669, 20th July, 1671.
5. Scotiae Indiculum p. 135. A.P.S. VII, 481.

privy council to nominate the others with advice of the commissioners
1. and the commanding officers. There was much squabbling among the nobility as to their respective claims to command the regiments and troops, and the council had to issue instructions allowing commanding officers precedence according to their civil dignities. Where they were of the same social rank, they were to cast lots.^{2.}

Officers were required to be well affected towards the established church, as one of the functions of the militia was to keep the covenanters in check. Great difficulty arose in some districts in persuading suitable persons to serve as officers; and fines varying from 500 to 2,000 merks were imposed upon those who refused to accept commissions or who resigned without good cause.^{3.}

All serving in the militia were required to take the oath of allegiance and the declaration against the covenant. Where the privy council had reason to doubt the loyalty of the soldiers they ordered their commanders to exact special oaths, and banished men who refused to comply. Roman Catholics were excluded.^{4.} In 1678 a new military oath (to be taken individually) was ordered for both militia and regulars.^{5.}

Discipline.

The discipline of the militia was notoriously bad. They were

1. R.P.C. 6th May, 1668.

2. Add. Mss. 35125 f. 194; 23116 ff. 41, 43.

R.P.C. 7th May, 1673.

3. A.P.S. VIII, 58.

C.S.P.D. 22nd June, 1688.

R.P.C. 1st August, 1676.

4. R.P.C. 5th September 1668, 4th March, 1669, 29th February
1672, 23rd December 1673, 21st and 28th July, 17th
December, 1674.

5. A.P.S. VIII, 59, Wodrow II, 495.

not under the articles of war except in the matter of routine military duties. The only punishments allowed were fine and imprisonment and the cashiering of junior officers. No officer or man was withdrawn from the ordinary law of the land.^{1.}

Desertion and mutiny were the most common offences. Whenever the militia was embodied the men deserted in large numbers, and Fountainhall and the privy council alike considered it a matter of regret that none could be hanged for this offence.^{2.} When ordered to take the oath of allegiance, the Stirlingshire regiment mutinied. The local troop of horse put this down and was rewarded with £60 sterling.^{3.} The presence of Dalrymple was required to prevent a conflict between the City of Edinburgh Regiment and the Fifeshire Regiment. The quarrel had originated with two officers who had drawn swords upon each other.^{4.} A pardon was granted to an ensign of the East Lothian Regiment who killed a soldier in his company for a mutinous assault upon him.^{5.}

A curious incident is recorded by Fountainhall. In 1685, during Argyll's invasion "there was a warrant from the privy council that such a number of militia should be picked out as were the prettiest men and best armed and to take the 20 days pay on loan from the rest and dismiss or send them home bare. But Errol's men at Aberdeen made an uproar and mutiny and said they had hearts to fight as well as they that were chosen, and would neither return or quit their pay. These

1. R.P.C. 6th May, 1668.
2. R.P.C. 19th April, 1678.
Fountainhall's Observes p. 169.
3. R.P.C. 2nd and 29th September 1674, 3rd June 1675.
4. Fountainhall's Observes p. 176.
5. C.S.P.D. 11th October, 1670.

northern shires come hither so willingly in hope of robbing and spoiling, but our southern militia men hardly waited on this reform but many of them threw away their arms and ran home"^{1.}

The officers of the militia were generally held in low esteem. Queensberry described them as "the scum of the country and all beggars save two or three"^{2.} Fountainhall, a more impartial observer, records a case in which an officer was involved. James Gray, litster in Dalkeith, was sentenced to death for the slaughter of Archibald Murray of the Life Guards during a drunken quarrel. Gray had said that to be lieutenant to Lauderdale was as good as to ride in the King's Troop. Murray replied that he was a base fellow to compare himself with gentlemen. Fountainhall describes Gray as "a tradesman and old man near the age of fifty", while Murray was "a gentleman and young and known to be a ramp"^{3.}

Dress and Equipment.

There are very few references to the uniform of the militia. It appears, however, that red and blue were the colours worn. In 1685 the Earl of Finlater was requested to send his men "well mounted, in new hats, red coats, shoes and stockings with linings conform"^{4.}

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1. Fountainhall's Observes p. 169.
2. Hamilton Mss. Hist. Mss. Comm. XI, (pt. VI), 161.
3. Fountainhall's Notices I, 191. Decision p. 1.
4. Seafield Correspondence p. 4.

Lauderdale, who was colonel of the Midlothian Regiment, described them as wearing "blew coats lined with white which made a good show."¹
This is confirmed by a ballad called "Bothwell Lines" -

"The Lowdian mallisha they
Came with their coats of blew,
Five hundred men from London came
Clad in a reddish hew".²

Arms were provided by the heritors who bought them from the government. They were imported free of duty. The infantry were two-thirds musketeers and one-third pikemen, and matchlocks only were allowed. The muskets fired ball of 1 oz. weight and cost eight merks; each soldier was allowed $\frac{1}{2}$ lb powder and 2 lbs match in the year. Pikes were 15 feet long and cost 14s 0d Scots. Sergeants carried swords and halberts; horsemen carried swords and pistols; pikemen carried swords.³

The government took great precautions to prevent these arms being used against themselves. No militiaman was allowed to be in possession of match except when embodied for training or active service.⁴ In 1676 the privy council called in the arms of the militia in all the western shires and in other shires where they had reason to suspect their loyalty. When these were again required,⁵ the heritors grumbled at having to re-equip their contingent.

1. Lauderdale Papers II, 140.
2. Stanza 42. "Fugitive Scottish Poetry".
3. R.P.C. 6th May, 11th June, 16th and 30th July, 12th August, 3rd December, 1668.
4. R.P.C. 6th May, 1668.
5. R.P.C. 31st May, 13th June, 1678.

Scots Army II, 141.

Drums, colours and trumpets were the only part of the equipment for which the whole shire was assessed, heritors alone being responsible for men and arms.^{1.} In 1676 detailed orders were issued regarding

colours. The infantry were allowed none except the "Scots colours"; the colonel's company colours were to be white, with his own arms or motto; the rest of the colours were to bear the name of the shire "in great letters" and to be distinguished by "bullets, crescents, starres or numbers". The cornets or standards of horse were to have the name of the shire upon them and nothing else. If two shires raised one regiment, the names of both were to be shown.^{2.} In 1677 the colours of the Stirling and Clackmannan Regiment being worn out, were renewed at a cost of £400 Scots.^{3.}

Training and Mobilisation.

In the infantry each company assembled four times a year and the whole regiment once a year at a date fixed by the privy council. The regimental training took place between May and August, and was attended by the Muster-Master-General or his deputy. The troops of horse were not regimented, and met four times a year only. The total allowance for pay was 10 days in the year.^{4.} In time of war the

1. R.P.C. 8th May, 12th August, 2nd September, 1668.
Cunningham of Craigends paid £1.10.0. Scots under
this head. Diary p. 65.
2. R.P.C. 1st August, 1676.
3. R.P.C. 1st March, 1677.
4. R.P.C. 8th May, 1668, 7th March 1677, et passim.

infantry assembled on two additional occasions, on one of which the companies were exercised as a battalion for two days.^{1.}

The privy council relied on the returns of the Muster-Master-General to inform them of the state of the force. These rolls showed the man's name, his address and his parentage.^{2.} Individual "outreikers" frequently failed to send their men, and sometimes the contingent of a whole county did not assemble. Soldiers could not absent themselves without written permission from their officers or the convener of the shire.^{3.} East Lothian was a specially negligent area. In 1676 its contingents were unpunctual and incomplete; in 1678 the heritors were warned to send better men and equipment. In 1685 the annual training of the whole force was suspended during the king's pleasure.^{4.}

The militia was partially mobilised at several crises - the "Highland Host", the rebellion of 1679, the rebellion of Argyll and just before the Revolution.^{5.} Legally the heritors were bound to furnish the men with 40 days provisions, but the proclamation calling them out usually specified a lesser period determined by their distance from the place of rendezvous.^{6.} From 1670 to 1674 the militia also carried out the disagreeable duty of quartering on "deficients" for public dues.^{7.}

The embodiment of the militia during the rebellion of 1679 had

1. 1672 c, 1, VIII, 58.
2. Muster Rolls, R.P.C. 8th May, 1668.
3. R.P.C. 6th May 1668, 22nd June 1671, 31st January, 13th March 1678. In practice substitutes were sometimes sent. Nimmo's Diary p. 11.
4. R.P.C. 1st August 1676, 18th February 1678.

A.P.S. 1685 c, 37, VIII, 483. Buccleuch Mss. at Drumlanrig, p. 92, 99.
5. R.P.C. 20th December, 1677. (Highland Host).
Wodrow III, 99. (Western Rising).
Wodrow IV, 255. (Argyll's Rebellion).

W.B.S. XIII, 24th September 1688 (1688) Wodrow IV, 463.
6. A.P.S. VII, 40.
7. R.P.C. 25th August, 3rd November 1670, 23rd July, 3rd September 1674, 20th December 1677, 24th April 1678.

one curious result. "Both in their coming and returning (they) did by force drink up the whole brewers' ale and beer without paying therefor, that they were so discouraged that for some months thereafter they left off brewing.^{1.}

SCOTS REGIMENTS IN ENGLAND AND ABROAD.

Scotland supplied the officers and men of many regiments which were not borne on her own establishment. They were raised to serve the king in England, for the service of France or of the United Provinces. In theory at least these levies were quite voluntary, but the recruiting officers committed so many irregularities that they were regarded with great hostility by the mass of the people.^{2.} The king and the privy council issued frequent proclamations against levies being made which they had not sanctioned,³ and in several cases the agents were seized and imprisoned.^{4.} In 1677 the Spanish envoy alleged that in spite of such a proclamation the privy council had secretly connived at recruiting for the French service. He maintained that the king's proclamation against it had been held back till all the men were shipped. Lauderdale denied this, but the evidence in favour of the envoy's contention seems to be conclusive.^{5.}

1. Treasury Register 24th March, 1681.
2. An extraordinary scene in the streets of Edinburgh is described in Fountainhall's Observes p. 66, Chambers' Domestic Annals II, p. 437.
3. R.P.C. 3rd March 1668, 10th April 1674, 5th May 1675 et passim.
4. R.P.C. 20th November 1674 (app. Vol. IV).

C.S.P.D. 7th July 1675, 21st March 1677 et passim.
5. Lauderdale maintained that the king's letter was sent on January 13th., but it is dated January 8th. The proclamation was not issued till January 18th. See R.P.C. 18th January 1677.

C.S.P.D. 17th February 1677.

Hist. Mss. Comm. Various Collections vol. IV; Money Kyrle Mss. p. 134.

Units on the English Establishment.

Scotland's first contribution to the English establishment had a peculiarly ignominious history. In February 1672, Charles II ordered the privy council to raise a regiment of 1,000 landmen to serve with the fleet or elsewhere "which we conceive may be more effectually done by your proportioning them upon the several shires and burghs than by beating of drums.^{1.} The council accordingly instructed the shires and burghs to send detachments; Perthshire was to supply 82 and Edinburgh 41. Non-commissioned officers were furnished by the Foot Guards, who also subsequently supplied 200 men when the north had failed to send its contingent.^{2.}

These marines were insubordinate from the outset. Twenty of the Life Guards had to accompany them to Newcastle to prevent mutiny and desertion. At Newcastle they had a violent affray with the apprentices of the town, who dangerously wounded one of them. By the 18th of May the ten companies were nominally complete, but desertions were going on continually, and many of those left were unfit to serve the king at sea, being Highlanders who could not speak English. Otherwise they were suitable, being "proper lusty men".^{3.}

On 8th July they left Newcastle, much to the relief of the

inhabitants

1. R.P.C. 29th February, 1672.
2. R.P.C. 4th March, 17th April 1672, C.S.P.D. 18th April, 1672.
3. C.S.P.D. 13th April, 3rd May, 4th and 18th May, 4th June and 20th July 1672.

inhabitants. Their next stations were Ipswich and Yarmouth, where they proved as disorderly as before, killing an inhabitant of the former town.^{1.} On the suggestion of Lauderdale the command was given to Sir William Lockhart. The regiment was then reorganised as 12 companies;² but 200 recruits had to be raised "by beat of drum" to replace absentees who continued to desert in spite of the severest penalties.^{3.}

In 167~~0~~³, 6 companies were captured at sea by the Dutch. Another levy of 900 men with 200 men from the Foot Guards was then ordered,^{4.} but the regiment was ultimately disbanded in February 1674.

In March 1678, Scotland raised a troop of horse and a regiment of foot to serve the king in England. The troop was commanded by Montrose and was part of the Duke of York's regiment. It was disbanded in the spring of 1679.^{5.}

The foot had an equally brief career. Lord James Douglas was colonel of its 10 companies. No regulars or militia were allowed to transfer to it, and the recruits obtained deserted in large numbers. Great difficulty was found in getting the regiment up to strength, and one company had to be raised in Ireland. In July 1678 it came on to the English establishment, but in January 1679 the king ordered the privy council to disband it.^{6.}

1. C.S.P.D. 8th July, 19th and 20th August, 2nd September 1672.

2. Harleian Mss. 4631 f, 6.

Lauderdale Papers II, 227.

C.S.P.D. 15th August, 1672.

3. R.P.C. 13th September, 1672.

4. C.S.P.D. 28th November, 9th December 1673. English lists
p. 121. Scots Army I, 32, II, 95.

5. R.P.C. 21st and 26th March 1678. (The warrant should be
dated 15th March 1678).

Scots Army II, 64.

6. R.P.C. 2nd May, 14th August 1678.

W.B.S. V, 18th January 1679.

Lauderdale Papers III, 128.

Earl of Dumbarton's Regiment.

The most distinguished regiment on service outside of Scotland was Dumbarton's Regiment, afterwards the First Regiment of Foot, and now The Royal Scots. This regiment was recruited in Scotland throughout the reigns of Charles II and James, although it was on the Scottish establishment only for a very brief period, serving alternately the king of France and the king of England. The usual draft consisted of 200 or 300 men, but in 1671 in order to complete the new establishment of 24 companies, a voluntary levy of 1,600 men was ordered. In 1673 authority was obtained to raise a further 900,^{1.} and in the following year 800.

Although ostensibly these levies were always voluntary, the required numbers never came forward. Hence various devices were resorted to. ^{Soldiers} ~~(Numbers)~~ of the standing army were encouraged to enlist; fugitives from justice were impressed; all the thieves, vagabonds, idle and dissolute persons within the shire of Argyle were ordered to be collected. An "idle and turbulent person" in the Tolbooth of Perth who had committed several outrages "by bloody wounding and otherways troubling the country where he lives" took^{2.} the pay of the most Christian king.

The results of such methods were very apparent. The

1. R.P.C. 8th June 1671, 12th March 1673, 19th February 1674.

In 1673, Lauderdale asked Sharp to nominate a chaplain.

Scottish History Society Miscellany p. 268.

2. R.P.C. 15th June, 6th July, 1st August and 3rd October 1671.

3. Add. Mss. 35125 f. 332.

commander-in-chief protested against this drain on his forces.^{8.}
Deserters abounded in every part of Scotland.^{1.} One draft in
1680 (whose destination was Tangiers) was particularly mutinous;
they had to be confined in Edinburgh castle, where several were
killed while escaping.^{2.}

On almost every occasion ^{on which} ~~that~~ recruiting was opened, complaints³
were made to the privy council that men were being illegally pressed.
In 1671 a messenger at arms and his two servants alleged that they
had been seized and shipped to France, but "by God's providence
returned back to Thurso and are yet kept under guards as they were
malefactors".^{4.} The council ordered their immediate release.

From 1660 till 1678 the regiment was in the pay of France,
except for two short periods- 1661 to 1662, and 1666 to 1669, when^{5.}
it was in England. In 1678 it again came on the English establish-
ment, and narrowly escaped being disbanded.^{6.} In 1686 James sent
it to Scotland, where it enjoyed precedence next to the Foot Guards.
As it was paid by the Scottish treasury, it was technically on the
Scottish establishment. James, however, recalled it to England in^{7.}
the spring of 1688. Since 1661 it has ranked as the senior^{8.}
regiment of the line and is still on the army list as "The Royal
Scots (Lothian Regiment)".

1. R.P.C. 12th March, 1st April 1673.
2. Add. Mss. 23247 f. 31.
3. e.g. R.P.C. 2nd and 22nd April, 1673.
4. R.P.C. 9th November, 1671.
5. English Lists p. 63. It was the only regiment on the English establishment which boasted a piper. Clifford Walton p. 465.
6. House of Lords Mss. Hist. Mss. Comm. (pt. II), 79.
7. W.B.S. X, 20th March, 1686.

Scots Army II, 151.
8. Clifford Walton p. 10.

The Scots Brigade in the United Provinces.

The senior troops in the service of the United Provinces were three regiments recruited in Scotland.^{1.} The Anglo-Dutch wars of 1665-1667 and 1672-1674 stopped the supply of officers and men, and the lower ranks lost their distinctive nationality.^{2.} By 1674 only a few Scottish officers remained, but the conclusion of peace opened Scotland once more to the recruiting agents. John Graham of Claverhouse was only one of many volunteers who flocked to the standard of William of Orange.^{3.} The brigade was reorganised and its Scottish character restored. From 1678 the English and Scottish regiments were brigaded under an English officer, and the states-general undertook that the troops should be sent to serve the king of England when he required them.^{4.}

In 1685 James recalled the brigade to meet Argyll's invasion, but the rebellion was crushed before their arrival. Their soldierly appearance greatly impressed the king and other competent observers. Colonel Mackay was promoted to the rank of Major-General, his commission being made valid in the Scots or English army.^{5.}

It 1688 James again requested that the brigade should be sent to England. The states-general refused, but allowed individual officers to return. About 60 British officers out of 240 did so. To give them commands, James raised three new regiments. One of

1. Ferguson's "History of the Scots Brigade in the service of the United Netherlands", I, Intro. p. XIX. (Scottish History Society).
2. Scots Brigade I, 468, 521-535.
3. Scots Brigade I, 469.
Terry's Dundee p. 17-34.
4. Scots Brigade I, 470, 475.
5. Scots Brigade I, 476, 521-535, 536-541.

these was raised in Scotland and was commanded by Colonel John Wauchop. This regiment marched to England in 1688, and was ultimately^{1.} disbanded in 1697.

The Scots brigade itself came to England with William of Orange. The regiments remained on the English establishment till 1697, when they returned to the Dutch service along with three new Scottish regiments,^{2.} raised to replace the English ones left behind.

The history of the Scottish army of Charles II and James VII illustrates the necessity of ensuring that the army should be an integral part of the nation. The ecclesiastical strife made the Scottish army an object of popular resentment rather than of national pride. The standing army was the first charge on the detested inland excise. Chronic difficulties of collection led to a double evil; the soldiers' pay fell into arrears and taxpayers were burdened with quartering, an evil which the freer polity of England had outgrown. The militia, too, in the lowland counties was always on the verge of crumbling away under the disintegrating pressure of religious differences. On the other hand, neither regulars nor militia had to face any enemy more dangerous than the conventiclers, and so had no opportunity of adding fresh laurels to the military reputation of Scotland. Fortunately for the national pride, however, there were still on the continent regiments of Scotsmen fighting the battles of Europe under the banners of Louis XIV and William of Orange.

1. Scots Brigade I, 478, 542-565.

Muster Rolls at Penrith, October 1688.

Scots Brigade II, IX.

English Lists II, 153.

2. Scots Brigade I, 488, II, IX.

THE PUBLIC REVENUE OF SCOTLAND, 1660-1688.

age.

1. The Treasury.

The chamberlain; the comptroller; the treasurer; treasurers and commissioners of treasury, 1660-1688; the treasurer-depute; holders of the office 1660-1688; the cash-keeper and receiver-general; clerk-register to the treasury.

5. The Exchequer.

The lords auditors of the exchequer; relations with the treasury; lords of exchequer 1660-1688; times of meeting; receivers of crown rents; clerks to the exchequer; local officials; sheriffs; stewards and chamberlains; neglect of their duties.

9. The Crown lands.

Rents in kind and money; exchequer prices; annual value 1660-1688; geographical distribution of crown lands; the principality; Orkney and Zetland restored to the crown; annual value; "forfaulted estates"; difficulty of disposal; forfeitures rescinded.

12. Casualties.

The king as overlord; forms of tenure; simple and taxed ward; "blench" holding; feu duties; "feu cum maritagio"; grants of wards and marriages; difficulty of collection; compositions; annual value of casualties.

15. Inland Excise.

Settled on Charles II for life, (1660); opposition to the act; annexed to the crown for ever (1685); commissioners of excise; the system of tacks; annual value when tacked and when collected.

18. Customs and Foreign Excise.

Tax on imports; the English Navigation Acts; attempts at retaliation; efforts of the government to encourage foreign trade; committees of the privy council; the Dutch wars; privileges of the royal burghs; trading and manufacturing companies; the Royal Fishery Company; the Staple at Veere; the Edinburgh Merchant Company; state of shipping; export duties and the coinage; customs regulations; smuggling; privileges of the nobility; free import of wine; of books; annual receipts from the customs; the Border customs; official salaries; grants of customs to individuals; impositions; public opposition tacks of customs; rebates to tacksmen; net annual value of customs.

34. Not an important source of revenue; grants to individuals; fines for political offences during the Interregnum; difficulty of collection; Lauderdale and Middleton; later efforts to collect the fines; fines for absence from the king's Host.

37. Parliamentary Grants.

Attempts to collect taxes ^{imposed} before 1660; parliamentary grant in 1665; contributions of landholders, churchmen and burgesses; Hamilton as collector; grant in 1667; contributions of the burghs; landowners relieved by a poll tax; privileges of the lords of session; collection by quartering; grant in 1670; contributions of the burghs; difficulty of collection; grants in 1672, 1678, and 1681; privilege of the lords of session ratified by the king; parliamentary grant to James VII for life; value of grants 1660-1688.

45. The Army.

Annual cost of the permanent establishment; system of localities; payment in advance; payment in arrear; charge on the excise; collection by quartering; cost of non-effective services.

47. Fees and Pensions.

Salaries of law officers of the crown; of the judges; of officials of the royal household; pensions to politicians; Rothés, Queensberry, Atholl; Lauderdale's offices and pensions; the Commissionership; civil list pensions; gifts by James to the Roman Catholics; annual cost of fees and pensions; payment of all pensions stopped; attack on the cash-keeper.

53. Crown Buildings.

Alterations and repairs to Holyrood Palace.

54. The National Balance-Sheet.

Revenue and expenditure in 1659-1660; in 1682; in 1706; expenditure exceeds the national income; repeated complaints of poverty; arrears of taxation, etc, bad seasons, wars; charges of embezzlement against lords of the treasury; financial reforms of 1667-8; work of Sir Robert Moray; temporary improvement in the national finances; irregular system of audit; commissions "ad hoc"; audit of Queensberry's accounts; characteristic features of the financial administration of the period.

PAY OF GENERAL AND STAFF OFFICERS.

	...	<u>Sterling per annum.</u>			<u>Remarks.</u>
		£.	s.	d.	
Commander-in-Chief	...	400.	0.	0.	Add £100 for clerk and £100 for intelligence.
Lieutenant-General	...	400.	0.	0.	
Master of the Ordnance	...	150.	0.	0.	
Spectator of the Forces	...	100.	0.	0.	
Quartermaster-General	...	400.	0.	0.	
Adjutant-General	...	225.	0.	0.	Temporary appointment for Highland Host.
Deputy-Master General	...	150.	0.	0.	
Secretary-Master General	...	120.	0.	0.	Add £80 for mustering militia.
Secretary at War	...	100.	0.	0.	Add fees for recording commissions.
Secretary to the Lieutenant- General	...	80.	0.	0.	
Secretary to the Court Martial	...	80.	0.	0.	

These rates are taken from the official establishments of
various dates (see ^{Military ~~Gras~~} page 7 note 6).

APPENDIX "A".

CUSTOMS AND FOREIGN EXCISE.

Net Product.

	<u>Tack.</u>	<u>Collection.</u>
-5.	£17,362.10.0.	
-7.		£6,481.13.4.
-8.	£27,800. 0.0.	
-70.		£19,333.6.8.
-1.	£22,500. 0.0.	
-3.		£10,966.10.10.
-5.	£24,000. 0.0.	
-80.	£23,200. 0.0.	
-1.		£17,270. 0.0.
-4.	£25,720. 0.0.	
-5.		£25,378. 0.0.
-6.		£28,836. 0.0.
-8.	£26,100. 0.0.(about).	
-9.		£17,814. 0.0.

In November 1684 a tack was set to Sir John Young of Leny and his partners at £28,200 sterling. But their accounts show that they acted really as collectors receiving a salary. At the end of a year Sir John Young and Sir Robert Mylne were formally recognised as collectors, but the king would not pay salary for that year as they had been paid for the previous year, "which they should not, being then tacksmen". Notices II, 548, Collectors Accounts 1685-8.

Appendix D.
THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD.

Appointment.	Holder.	Annual Salary.	Reference.
Stable.	Earl of Errol.	£200 stg.	W.B.S.IV, 466.
Chamberlain.	Duke of Lennox & Richmond. Duke of Monmouth & Buccleuch. Duke of Lennox & Richmond.		Crawford's Officers of State C.S.P.D. 1st Feb, 1673.
Marshal.	Earl Marischal.		
Right Marshal.	Sir John Keith.	£400 stg.	C.S.P.D. 2nd Jan. 1676.
Standard Bearer.	Earl of Dundee. Charles Maitland of Halton.		C.S.P.D. 24th May, 1676. Dalton's "Scots Army" II, 66.
Best Master of the Household.	Earl of Argyle.		W.B.S.V, 26th Oct. 1678.
Controller.	Treasurer Depute.		W.B.S.VI, 22nd July, 1681.
Chaplain of Holyrood.	Duke of Hamilton.		W.B.S.V, 26th Oct. 1678.
Chaplain.	Sir Archibald Cockburn of Langstoun.	£250 stg.	C.S.P.D. 15th June 1674.
Master or Keeper of the Wardrobe.	John Auchmouty.	£1000 Scots.	Treas.Reg.14th July 1681. W.B.S.VIII, 5th May 1683.
Chaplain of the Peapstry and Moveables.	James Murray.	£243.6.8. Scots.	Egerton Mss.1819, ff.171-2. W.B.S.II, 16th Oct. 1673.
Master Porter of Holyrood & other Palaces.	John Stevenson. David " William Henderson.	£27 stg.	C.S.P.D. 4th Mar, 1671, 1st July, 1677. W.B.S.VI, 14th Dec. 1681.

ment.	Holders.	Annual Salary.	Reference.
Physician.	Sir Alexander Fraser of Dores.	£400 stg.	C.S.P.D. 30th May 1672. C.S.P.D. 2nd Aug. 1673, 19th May, 1674. W.B.S.VI, 27th April 1681.
Physicians in Hospital.	Dr Christopher Irving (Historiographer). Dr Martin. Dr Thomas Burnet. Dr Hay. Dr Archibald Stevenson. Sir Robert Sibbald (Geographer). Dr Christopher Irving, younger.	£1000 Scots.	W.B.S.XI, 20th Sep. 1686. C.S.P.D. 30th May, 1672. W.B.S.IV, 28th Sep. 1678. W.B.S.VII, 30th Jan 1682. W.B.S.XI, 30th Dec. 1686.
Hospital Apothecary Druggist.	Alexander Hay		W.B.S.VI, 22nd July 1681.
Hospital Apothecary Chief Surgeon.	Hugh Brown.		W.B.S.XIII, 23rd Mar 1688.
Operator in "Photomy".	William Sutor.	£50 stg.	C.S.P.D. 18th May, 1671.
Urinarians in Hospital.	Dr Andrew Bruce.) Mr James Nairne.) Mr Robert Scott.) Mr John Munro.)	£20 stg. £20 stg. £50 stg. £50 stg.	C.S.P.D. 31st July 1675. W.B.S.XI, 19th Nov 1686. W.B.S.VIII, 5th May 1683.
Organists of the Chapel Royal.	Thomas McClellan. James Kirkpatrick.	£20 stg. £20 stg.	C.S.P.D. 18th Nov. 1676. W.B.S.VII, 25th Feb. 1682.
Organist.	Alex. Dunbar.	£100 stg.	W.B.S.XI, 19th Nov. 1686.
Organist ("Sergeant at Arms Pastry").	R. Mitchell. W. Mitchell.		W.B.S.VII, 11th Feb. 1682. W.B.S.XII, 22nd Mar. 1687.

Appointment.	Holders.	Annual Salary.	Reference.
Sailor ("Purveyor and Provisor of the Cloth and Maker of the Gowns to the King's Beadsmen").	William Calderwood. James Robertson. George Fleming.		W.B.S.VI, 31st July 1680. W.B.S.XI, 31st Dec. 1686. W.B.S.XII, 19th May, 1687.
Master of the Stud.	John Riddell of Haining.	£600 stg.	C.S.P.D. 23rd Sep. 1671
Master of the Hawks, the Royal Game and Chief Huntsman.	Sir William Ogilvie of Barras.		Spalding Misc. V, 206.
Master Falconer.	James Maismith of Posso.	£100 stg.	W.B.S.VII, 28th Dec. 1682, XIII, 10th Aug. 1688.
Falconer.	Andrew Shiels.	£40 stg. £25 stg.	W.B.S.VI, 3rd Sep. 1679. W.B.S.VII, 3rd Feb. 1683
Corseleech & Farrier.	Bartholomew Gibson.		W.B.S.VI, 10th Feb 1681 C.S.P.D. 20th Sep. 1671, 9th June, 1673. R.P.C. 5th Aug. 1673. Chambers Domestic Annals II, 59-60. Notes & Queries 8th Ser. Vol. XI, page 54.
Master of the Revels.	Edward Fountaine. James Fountaine.		
Historiographer.	Mr James Crawford, D.D. Mr Wm. Turner, D.D. Mr James Fall, D.D. Dr. Christopher Irving (H.M. Physician).	£40 stg. £40 stg. £100 stg.	W.B.S.VI, 11th Nov 1681 W.B.S.VII, 30th Sep 1682, 16th Dec. 1682. W.B.S.XI, 30th July, 1686.
Biographer.	Sir Robert Sibbald (H.M. Physician). John Adair.		W.B.S.VII, 30th Sep. 1682. Bannatyne Club Misc. III, 372. A.P.S. 1686 c.37, VIII, 603.
Picture Drawer.	James de Witt.		Treas. Reg. 12th Aug. 1687.

Appointment.	Holder.	Annual Salary.	Reference.
Surveyor-General.	Sir William Bruce of Balcasky. Treasurer Depute. James Smith.	£300 stg. £100 stg.	Mylne's "Master Masons to the Crown" p.172-4. Treas.Reg.22nd Nov. 1678. W.B.S.VII, 3rd Feb. 1683. Stirling. Home Drummond. Moray Mss.H.M.C. X I. Treas.Reg. 8th Feb, 3rd Sep. 1686.
Master of Works.	Sir John Veitch. Sir William Murray.		Egerton Mss. 1819, f. 176, 10th May, 1662. C.S.P.D. 25th June, 1676.
Master Mason.	John Mylne. Robert Mylne.	£10 Scots and an "honest stand of clothing".	Mylne's Master Masons, pp. 149,162.
Master Wright & Plasterer.	James Baine.		C.S.P.D. 11th Feb. 1617. W.B.S.X, 27th Jan. 1686. Treas.Reg.27th Dec. 1687.
Goldsmith.	Alexander Reid.	£27.1.8.stg.	C.S.P.D.1st July,1677.
Shoemaker.	Peter Mell.		R.P.C.24th Jan.1678.
Printer.	Evan Tyler.) Robert Young.) Andrew Anderson. David Lindsay. James Watson. Bruce.	£100 stg.	Add Mss.23119 f.130. C.S.P.D.12th May 1671. Treas.Reg.24th Jan. 1687. Fountainhall's Notices II,751. Treas.Reg.3rd June, 1687. W.B.S.XII,31st Dec. 1687.

Appointment.	Holders.	Annual Salary.	Reference.
Barber	Daniel Keating.		W.B.S.XII, 4th Feb.1688.
Bower and Armourer	Andrew Forester	£20 Scots and an "honest stand of clothing".	C.S.P.D. 24th Sep.1675. C.S.P.D.7th Feb.1677.
Blacksmith and Locksmith.	John Veitch John Gallendar.		C.S.P.D.28th Sep.1674.
Clockmaker and Keeper and Dresser of H.M. Clocks Watches and Pendulums.	John Bartan John Alexander.	£50 Scots.	W.B.S. VI, 8th Feb.1681. Treas.Reg.24th Jan 1687.
Cooper.	Francis Wilkie Robert Ker.	£20 Scots.	W.B.S.V.12th Dec.1679.
Embroiderer.	Thomas Beauchame.		W.B.S.XII,12th Nov.1687
Hazier.	John Masterton Thomas Masterton.	£16.5.0. stg.	W.B.S.VI, 3rd June,1681

Chapter 1 repeats 20

THE PUBLIC REVENUE.

THE TREASURY.

The management of the revenue of Scotland was originally entrusted to the lord chamberlain. In 1424, however, James I divided the chamberlain's financial duties between two new officials, the comptroller and the treasurer. The comptroller had charge of the crown "property", such as the rents of crown lands and the customs on merchandise; the treasurer collected the more fluctuating receipts, the "casualties", such as feudal dues, fines, voluntary contributions and compulsory taxations. At first the treasurer had precedence only in accordance with his personal rank. Under James VI the office of comptroller was absorbed in that of the treasurer, who was thus made responsible for the whole revenue. He became the second officer of state, ranking next to the chancellor, and in the court of exchequer he took precedence. The treasurer's office was granted under the great seal for life, but no treasurer ever actually held it for a long period. His official "fee" or salary was only £333:6:8 sterling, but in the seventeenth century he had usually a pension of £1,500. Unlike other officers of state, he had no "office to dispose of, nor any other casualty, if he be
1.
honest.

At the Restoration the treasurership was conferred on John Earl of Crawford Lindsay, who had been created a commissioner of treasury in 1641. His presbyterian sympathies were well known. Middleton and his party wished to remove him from office; but he

resisted

Page I

- I. Mss. of Col. Milne Home of Wedderburn. Hist. Mss. Comm. XV.
For the early history of the office, see Accounts of the Lord Treasurer, vol. I. (introduction).

resisted their efforts till 1663, when he refused to take the declaration against the covenants. He was succeeded by his son-in-law, the Earl of Rothes. Rothes held this office along with the commissionership. His administration of Scotland proved a failure, and after the Pentland Rising he was compulsorily "promoted" to the chancellorship. The treasury was put into commission. Rothes remained as one of the commissioners, but the real heads of the department were Sir Robert Moray, the Earl of Kincardine, and the Earl of Tweeddale.¹ The commissioners found the national finances in a state of extreme confusion and impoverishment. Their administration, especially in the period immediately following their appointment, represents the most serious and the most successful attempt that was made between the Restoration and the Revolution to place the financial affairs of Scotland on a sound basis.

The treasury remained in commission till 1682. There were normally seven lords, each with a pension of £500. Sir Robert Moray died in 1673. A new commission of 1674, named Lauderdale, Rothes, Athole, Argyle, Kincardine, Dundonald, and Charles Maitland of Halton, the treasurer-depute.² Strathmore and Kincardine were admitted in 1680, and in 1681 Dundonald was "laid aside as old and infirm."³

In 1682 the commission was recalled, and Queensberry was appointed sole treasurer.⁴ He rose high in Charles's favour, becoming a duke and a privy councillor of both kingdoms. He continued in office under James, but was finally outbid in the royal favour by his

Page 2.

1. Minutes of the Exchequer, 5th July, 1667.
2. Treasury Register 12th June, 1674.
Calendar of State Papers Domestic 18th May, 1674. The Earl
of Moray was "superadded" in 1678, Treas. Reg. 27th August,
1678.
Fountainhall's Notices I, 203.
3. Treas. Reg. 7th July, 11th November 1680; 30th November, 1681.
Strathmore had complained to the Duchess of Lauderdale that he
had no pension and that Dundonald ought to make way for him.
Add.Mss. 23247 f. 49.
4. Warrant Book Scotland VII, 1st May 1682.

rival, the Earl of Perth, who became a Roman catholic. Once more the treasury was put into commission, but Queensberry's fall was broken by his appointment as one of the commissioners. Perth, Athole, Hamilton, Drummond, Tarbet, Gordon, Tweeddale and Balcarres were admitted at various times. The office of treasurer was never revived except nominally, to give a young noble a seat in parliament as an officer of state. The treasurership was practically abolished in 1708, when the exchequer was reorganised under the nominal presidency of the lord high treasurer of England.

Since 1583 the treasurer had been assisted by a treasurer-depute. After the union of the crowns, this official became the working head of the department, the treasurership becoming more and more a political prize. At the Restoration, William Lord Bellenden was appointed treasurer-depute, and held office till 1671. He was succeeded by Charles Maitland of Halton, Lauderdale's brother. Halton was notorious for his accumulation of lucrative offices, and for his corruption in an age and country when the standards of public honesty were very low. Tweeddale strongly opposed the appointment. Lauderdale took this as an affront to himself, asking if Tweeddale thought it "an ill character that he is my brother.

Halton held office for the next ten years, but did not long survive the fall of his more powerful brother. He was driven from office, and prosecuted for malversation at the mint, of which he was master. At the treasury he was followed by John Drummond of Lundie, who in 1684 became Earl of Melfort, and secretary of state for Scotland. The Earl of Kintore succeeded him as treasurer-depute.

Page 3.

1. Treas. Reg. 4th March, 10th April 1684; Fountainhall's Notices II, 712.
2. Treas. Reg. 1st December 1686, 19th January 1687; W.B.S. XII, 23rd May 1687.
3. C.S.P.D. 29th December 1670. Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 18th December 1670. Memoirs of Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh p. 218.
Lauderdale papers II, 119, 123, 211.
4. Harleian Mss. 4631 d. 25th February 1671.
5. Fountainhall's Observes p. 77.
6. W.B.S. VII, 7th September 1682.
7. W.B.S. IX, 9th December 1684.

James renewed Kintore's appointment, and he held office till 1687, when he was succeeded by Richard Lord Maitland, a son of Halton, now Earl of Lauderdale. The office carried the status of an officer of state. The "fee" (Salary) was £125 sterling, but pensions varying from £200 to £700 were conferred on successive holders of the post.

The chief permanent official of the treasury was the cashkeeper. This post was created in 1667 at the suggestion of Sir Robert Moray, as one of his financial reforms, and William Sharp - brother of the archbishop, and Lauderdale's agent in Scotland - was appointed. At first his chief duty was to superintend the collection of the excise. In 1670, when the estates granted a "supply", Sharp was appointed receiver general of this also; in 1674 he was authorised to collect the revenues of the King's "property" (the crown lands). Thus when his commission was renewed in 1680, he was designated "sole cashkeeper under the commissioners of treasury and the treasurer-depute". He was to collect customs, excise, rents of crown lands, feudal casualties, prize duties, fines, and all "duties, casualties, incomes and money whatsoever".

Sharp died in 1685, and was succeeded by Hugh Wallace of Inglis-toun. James VII, however, appointed three joint receivers - Wallace, James Calder of Muirtown, and Alexander Milne of Carriden, provost of Linlithgow. Milne was removed in 1686 for "the undutiful acts he procured in the (convention of) burghs, rescinding a pension of £100 sterling yearly due by them to the secretaries. Wallace was also removed in the same year. They were succeeded by Maxwell of Kirkconnel and George Drummond of Blair. Maxwell was to receive the

1. W.B.S. IX, 26th February 1685, XII, 9th April 1687.
2. C.S.P.D. 28th December 1670, 20th September 1671.
W.B.S. XII, 9th April 1687.
3. Add. Mss. 23127 ff. 132, 139.
4. Treasury Sederupt 24th July 1667. C.S.P.D. 8th December 1670.
5. C.S.P.D. 5th June 1674.
6. W.B.S. VI, 19th December 1680. He also acted as moneylender
to the government, Treas. Reg. 20th December 1686, 6th
July 1687.
W.B.S. XI, 12th November 1686.
Fountainhall's Notices II, 839.
7. W.B.S. IX, 4th April 1685.
Fountainhall's Notices II, 685.
8. Stirling - Home - Drummond - Moray, *Hist. Mss. Comm.* Mss. X, I.
W.B.S. X, 27th February 1686, XI, 2nd June, 25th September
1686.
Treas. Reg. 23rd November, 1686. Fountainhall's Notices II,
712, 740.

customs, the king's rents and casualties, and other funds allocated for pensions and fees; Drummond was to receive the excise and the cess (land tax), out of which the army was paid. ^{1.}

William Sharp's salary as cashkeeper was £300 sterling per annum. He had also £400 as paymaster-general of the forces, and a commission of 10% when he collected a supply. ^{2.} The three joint collectors had £200 each (exclusive of army pay), and when the number was reduced to two, the salary was raised to £300 accordingly. ^{3.} The cashkeeper was assisted by the "clerk register to the treasury", who kept the treasury records. Andrew Forrester, Lauderdale's secretary was appointed to this post in 1676 at a salary of £130. ^{4.} ^{5.}

THE EXCHEQUER.

Within the treasury itself there still existed the king's ancient office of receipt - the exchequer. The treasurer presided in exchequer, and if the treasury was in commission, all lords of treasury sat among the "lords auditors of exchequer". In theory at least, the older office remained a separate department, although the names 'treasury' and 'exchequer' were sometimes loosely used as if they were interchangeable. ^{6.} The "chekkar" dated its importance from a period when the rents of crown lands and feudal dues were the main source of revenue. These were still paid into the exchequer.

Newer sources of revenue - such as customs and excise - now

1. W.B.S. XI, 22nd October 1686, XII, 10th December 1687.
Fountainhall's Notices II, 750. James Oswald of Ingleston
acted with them from 11th April till 27th December 1687.
Treas. Reg.
2. C.S.P.D. 8th December 1670.
3. C.S.P.D. 12th July 1672.
4. W.B.S. X, 27th February 1686, XIII, 4th May 1688.
5. Breviate of Government of Scotland, p. 432.
C.S.P.D. 13th June 1676.
W.B.S. V, 17th May 1679.
6. e.g. in Sir John Skeen's "Proposals anent the Chekkar".
Harleian Mss. 4612 ff. 52-56.

exceeded them in value. These were paid into the treasury, which also dealt with the general expenditure of the national revenue. But the balance of importance was to some extent restored by the fact that the exchequer, as in England, had naturally ^{acquired} a jurisdiction in cases arising out of revenue. The court of session alone could judge the validity of the king's infeftments, but the lords auditors were judges in "all other businesses concerning the king's rents and casualties".^{1.}

The lords of exchequer usually numbered about fifteen. In 1661 there were nineteen appointed - the treasurer (Crawford Lindsay), the treasurer-depute (Bellenden), Glencairn, Middleton, Lauderdale, Rothes, and Sir Robert Moray being the most prominent.^{2.} In 1674, thirteen lords were named, and in 1686, fifteen.^{3.} For a long time the exchequer had sat at different burghs, chiefly Edinburgh, Linlithgow, and Stirling, but by the seventeenth century it was fixed at Edinburgh. Since the fifteenth century it had met at midsummer or soon after, and an act of 1663 ordered it to meet yearly on 1st July, and sit till the last day of August. It sat, however, at other times during the year as a court of law.^{4.}

The chief permanent officials of the exchequer were the "receivers of crown rents and revenues", of whom there were usually two or three. In 1674, the receivers were Sir Archibald Moray, Sir James Hay, and Sir Patrick Moray. In that year the king ordered them to be discharged, and the office merged in that of the cashkeeper. The treasury register records that when called on to produce their accounts not one of them appeared.^{5.}

Page 6.

1. A.P.S. I66I c. 336, VII, 305.
2. Wodrow's History of the Church of Scotland, I, 217.
3. C.S.P.D. 18th May 1674.
W.B.S. X, 24th February 1686.
4. A.P.S. I663 c. 66, VII, 492.
5. Treas. Reg. 4th March 1674, 12th March 1675.

The receivers were assisted by two clerks to the exchequer and by "chamberlains to the crown rents" of the earldom of Ross and lordship of Ardmannoch and of Orkney and Zetland respectively. 1. In 1687 James awarded £150 sterling to Mr John Lawson for his "pains in searching the register and rolls of exchequer and for his useful discoveries for clearing of the rentals". 2.

The efficiency of the exchequer depended largely on the local agents of the crown - the sheriffs, stewards and chamberlains. To stimulate their activity in collecting and accounting for the king's dues, several statutes were passed during the period. In 1663 sheriffs and others were ordered to find "Edinburgh caution---for yearly and thankful payment of the yearly rents". This act was repeated in 1685 on account of "the great neglect and remissness of the sheriffs, stewards, baillies and their deputes---whereby the payment of the (king's rents) is fallen very much in arrear and the compting yearly in the month of July is greatly neglected".

Under these acts, sheriffs were to send in lists of all wards and marriages within six months of their becoming due to the king; they were to inspect the tenants' charters and record the "reddendos" in their books; those failing in their duty were "ipso facto" to lose their posts. The tenants themselves were also charged with great "contempt and neglect". Letters of horning were to be pronounced against those who failed to pay, "apprehending themselves (from the distance of the place) secure

Page 7.

1. Breviate_c p. 432.
2. W.B.S. XII, 5th April 1687.

both as to ^{their} ~~these~~ persons and goods" to the great contempt of the king's authority. Sheriffs were to seize these persons and "pound their gear". Tenants who had failed to pay for two consecutive years became liable for double the amount actually due. ^{1.}

THE CROWN LANDS.

The chief item paid into the exchequer was the rent of crown lands. Much of this was still due in "victual" (wheat, barley, oat meal, and peas) or other produce, "mairtis", mutton, capons, and pultrie". The prices of victual were "set" by the exchequer every year, and were usually below the current market rates. ^{2.} But even these lower rates were often too high for the less fertile districts and in 1676 the exchequer reduced the prices for Ross and Ardmannoch. The complete lists for the period show that the prices in 1689 were lower than in 1660, probably on account of numerous bad seasons, ^{4.} which Scotland experienced towards the close of the century.

In 1666-7, the "whole wheat" amounted to 30 chalders, 12 bolls, 1 firloft, 2 pecks. The "whole bear" was 59 chalders, 3 bolls, 3 firlofts, 1 peck and 2 "lippies". The meal and oats (exclusive of Ross, Ardmannoch, and Menteith) came to 31 chalders, 5 bolls, 1 firloft, 2 pecks. Additional items were - from Galloway, 1 chalders, 12 bolls meal; from Ross and Ardmannoch, 103 chalders, 9 bolls, 1 firloft bear and meal; from Menteith, 20 bolls, and from Ross,

Page 8.

1. A.P.S. I663 c. 66, VII, 492, I685, c. 9. VIII, 462. Treas.
Reg. 27th March I686.
2. e.g. in I672, Fountainhall's Notices I, I47.
3. Exchequer Warrants I674-I677.
4. Arnot's History of Edinburgh p. 620.

Ardmannoch and Menteith, 16 chalders, 10 bolls of oats.

The money value of these rents varied, of course, according to the prices set. In 1666 they produced £1,143.0.8. sterling; in 1667, £1,173.14.6. The "muttons", capons and poultry" were commuted at fixed rates, and with the rents due in money, produced £2,406.11.9. Thus in 1666 the rents of the crown lands amounted in all to £3,549.12.5. and in 1667 to £3,580.6.3. sterling.^{1.}

This may be taken as the actual revenue from crown lands at this period. In 1659 the Cromwellian government had estimated it at £5,324.18.5 $\frac{1}{2}$ sterling.^{2.} In 1682 the commissioners of treasury, in reporting on the revenue, valued this source of income at £3,500.^{3.} In 1706, among the financial statements prepared in anticipation of the union, the income from crown lands was shown as £5,500, but like the other figures given in these statements, this was apparently an optimistic estimate.^{4.}

The lands from which these revenues were derived lay in practically every shire. Argyle and Tarbet paid £578.4.9. in money and other rents (apart from victual), while Bathgate paid 3s 4d sterling.^{5.} At this period there was merged in the crown lands proper, the "principality", i.e. the ancient patrimony of the stewards of Scotland, with which Robert III had vested his son James, so that he should inherit that at least. This included the duchy of Rothesay, the earldom of Carrick, the barony of Renfrew and other lands.^{6.}

Page 9.

1. Crown Rentals 1666, 1667.
2. Dartmouth Mss. III, 98.
3. Treas. Reg. 10th March 1682.
4. A.P.S. XI, 196.
5. Crown Rental 1666.
6. "The State of the Principality of Scotland". Harleian Mss
4631. Date is about 1622.

Under Charles II, the crown lands received a notable addition in Orkney and Zetland. At the Restoration these islands were owned by the Earl of Morton, whose ancestors had paid £30,000 stg. for them. The contemporary earl had married a daughter of Middleton and was an opponent of the predominant party. During the Dutch war a treasure ship was wrecked on the coast of Orkney, from which Morton took £12,000 sterling.^{1.} His right to do so was "reduced" by the court of session. This decree was ratified in parliament, and the islands formerly "so great a jewel of the crown" were restored to the royal family.^{2.} The lords of treasury recommended that Morton should be compensated to the extent of £18,000 sterling, being the value of the islands less the value of the ship.^{3.} In 1684, £6,000 was still due by the crown, and payment of the interest or principal was stopped until the earl would renounce all claim to the earldom of Orkney.^{4.}

Like other forms of revenue, the receipts from Orkney and Zetland were "tacked" or farmed. At first the tack was let separately to Captain Andrew Dick.^{5.} In 1681 it was leased along with the customs, excise and supply of the whole kingdom to Robert Milne and Charles Murray.^{6.} In 1686, however, another local tack was arranged in favour of William Craigie.^{7.}

The lords of the treasury had estimated that this addition to the crown lands would bring in £3,000 stg. per annum.^{8.} The rents and revenues were let to Dick at 36,000 merks (£1,950 stg.).

Page 10.

1. McKenzie's Memoirs, p.175.
 2. A.P.S. 1669, c. 19, VII, 566.
 3. Add. Mss. 35125, f. 190.
 4. W.B.S. VIII, 14th June, 1684.
 5. C.S.P.D. 21st May, 1675.
 6. W.B.S. VI, 5th November, 1681.
 7. Treas. Reg. 25th March, 1686.
- Fountainhall's Notices II, 715.
8. Add Mss. 35125, f. 190.

In 1682 they were farmed at £1,777.15.6. William Craigie had three separate tacks in 1686 - £2,027.15.6. for the rents (payable in victual, butter and oil), £200 for the customs, and £243.16.0. for the excise - £2,471.11.0. in all. ^{1.} Abatements were sometimes made to the tacksmen. In 1678, Dick's tack for 1675-6 was reduced by £1,500 stg. because a ship containing his dues had been wrecked off Fraserburgh. ^{2.}

The ecclesiastical troubles produced a long list of forfeitures of land for treason and rebellion. ^{3.} This wholesale confiscation should have added considerably to the property of the crown, but the lands were seldom retained in the hands of the king. They were usually sold, and Charles tried to meet the claims of the needy royalists by granting "precepts" (warrants) on the proceeds. But the obvious insecurity of possession, and the extremely small number of people who had sufficient money to be able to invest in land, made these sales ineffective. After the Pentland Rising, Kincardine reported to Lauderdale that "the sale of forfeited estates goes on but slowly, so that we begin to despair of getting them off that way, and we have been trying if those who are to have precepts upon what shall be got out of them would take land for it and we find that as difficult." ^{4.}

This method, however, had to be resorted to. In 1671 Charles Maitland got the lands of Patrick Liston; ^{5.} in 1686 General Drummond got the lands of Pringle of Torwoodlee; ^{6.} Baillie of Jerviswood's property was given to the Duke of Gordon. ^{7.} Certain of

Page II.

1. Treas. Reg. 25th March 1686. At the normal rate of exchange (1 merk = 13d. sterling) 36,000 marks equalled £1,950 stg. The figures £1,777.15.6. and £2,027.15.6. are probably due to fluctuations in the exchange.
2. Add.Mss. 23138 f. 91.
3. Lists will be found in A.P.S. 1690. c. 26 and 48, IX, 164, 194.
4. Lauderdale Papers I, 193.
5. C.S.P.D. 4th March 1671.
6. A.P.S. 1686 c. II, VIII, 588.
7. A.P.S. 1686 c. 19, VIII, 594, W.B.S. XI, 12th May 1686. Such forfeitures at first included lands held from superiors other than the king, but these were dissolved from the crown by A.P.S. 1686 c. 16, VIII, 591.

Argyle's lands were granted to Melfort, who afterwards exchanged them for others in more peaceful parts. ^{1.} Another portion of the Argyle estate was retained by the king, who ordered the treasury to appoint a chamberlain to look after it. ^{2.} James also appointed Andrew Wauchop of Middrie to be a special "collector of forfeited estates annexed to the crown". ^{3.} The lands were usually sold at 8 or 10 years purchase. ^{4.} After the Revolution, particular and general acts were passed rescinding forfeitures of the reigns of Charles and James. ^{5.}

CASUALTIES.

Beside the rents due to the king for his own lands, there were also paid into the exchequer the feudal casualties, i.e. the sums due to him as overlord. These, of course, varied according to the conditions on which the tenant held his lands. The usual forms of holding were - simple ward, taxed ward, blench, feu and feu "cum maritagio". During this period, the crown granted a very large number of charters converting simple wards into taxed wards. These were granted as a privilege to tenants who preferred making a cash payment to the uncertainty of allowing the king to exercise his right of feudal wardship. ^{6.} The crown also benefited by the change. Simple wards were difficult to administer; the proceeds of taxed wards came into the exchequer with comparative ease. There

Page 12.

1. A.P.S. I686, c. I, VIII, 582.
2. A.P.S. I685, c. 54, 55. VIII, 493.
W.B.S. XI, 9th June, I686.
3. W.B.S. X, I9th March, I686.
4. W.B.S. IX, 26th February, I685.
5. A.P.S. I690 c. 20, 26, 48, IX, I57, I64, I94.
6. A.P.S. I66I c. 335, VII, 305. The same process was going
on in England. Political History of England, VIII, IO.

was not so much temptation to conceal liability or avoid payment as in the case of simple wards; the tenant in taxed ward could not sell or mortgage more than half of his land, except with consent of the crown. Hence the lords of treasury were strongly in favour of this form of tenure.^{1.}

From the "blench" holders, the exchequer derived only nominal dues. In 1663, the lords decided, on a petition from Sir Archibald Primrose, that the blench duty payable from his recently acquired lands of Dalmeny and Barnbogle was a "red rose at midsummer if required, and not a pair of gloves as insert in his late infeftment".^{2.} "Feu" duties were a fixed permanent burden, usually of $2\frac{1}{3}\%$. This holding had two disadvantages from the point of view of the crown. The vassal was freed from military service, and he could sell all his land without the king's consent. In the seventeenth century, when military service was occasionally enforced, it was still considered a "base" holding, but has now ousted the other forms from the land system of Scotland.^{3.} "Feu cum maritagio", as its name implied, gave the king the benefit of his vassal's marriage.

The most important feudal casualties were wards and marriages. Gifts of these dues were made by Charles at different times to Rothes, Lauderdale, Kincardine, and Dalrymple of Stair.^{4.} Another form of royal benevolence was to free the tenant in chief from the payment of his feu or blench duties.^{5.} Many vassals appear

Page 13.

1. Treas.Reg. 16th March, 1687.

2. Harleian Mss. 4628, f. 44.

Exchequer Warrants 12th January, 1663.

3. W.B.S. XII, 12th March, 1687.

Treas.Reg. 16th March, 1687.

4. C.S.P.D. 27th March, 2nd December 1671, 30th November 1672

Treas. Reg. 10th March 1682.

5. Treas. Reg. 3rd July, 18th August 1679 et passim.

to have avoided these payments without any sanction. In 1681 a commission was granted to Sir William Purvis to collect feu and blench duties not accounted for since the Restoration. He was to receive one-fifth of all he recovered.^{1.} In 1686 a similar commission was granted to George Drummond of Blair to collect wards and non-entries. In renewing his commission, the secretary of state noted that he had produced far more from these casualties than was expected.^{2.}

Another "casualty" of less importance was derived from "compositions" or fees payable on "signatures" or grants from the king, of offices, pensions, lands, &c.

The total revenue derived from these feudal casualties and signatures, was of necessity a varying quantity. For 1659-1660, it was stated at £576.3.5. stg. from casualties, and £929.6.0. from signatures.^{3.} In 1682, Sir William Purves reported that since 1674 he had collected £1,157.16.0. stg. from wards and marriages. As he received 20% of this as commission, the lords of treasury valued the annual revenue from this source at £100 stg. At the same time they estimated the fees from signatures at £600.^{4.} In 1706, the revenue from feudal casualties and compositions was estimated at £3,000 stg, a figure which was much above the actual receipts before the Revolution.^{5.}

1. W.B.S. VI, 17th May, 1681.
2. W.B.S. XI, 16th April, 1686.

It should be noted that the tenants-in-chief included the royal burghs whose "ferms" were rendered in the Exchequer, e.g. Glasgow paid £13. 6. 8. on 1st July, 1672. Charters etc. Illustrative of the History of Glasgow, II, 50. Harleian Mss. 4628 f. 40.

3. Dartmouth Mss. III, 98.
4. Treas. Reg. 7th & 10th March, 1682. The proceeds of wards and marriages were paid to Dalrymple of Stair and other grantees.
5. A.P.S. XI, 196.

INLAND EXCISE.

The most important and valuable source of revenue at this period was the inland excise, which was introduced into Scotland in 1644.^{1.}

At the Restoration it was utilised to raise £32,000 out of the £40,000 stg. per annum settled on Charles II for life. It was imposed as a duty on beer, ale, aqua vitae, and strong waters.^{2.} Quotas were stated for the various shires.

This act aroused considerable opposition. According to Mackenz it was the "ruin of the kingdom"; it heightened the price of ale and beer; it lowered the price of victual; it forced poor people to leave off brewing, and caused gentlemen to make "untimely shifts" in order to pay it. It was exacted by soldiers who were quartered on the taxpayer till it was forthcoming.^{3.}

The act, however, survived these objections, and the revenue was much too valuable to be dispensed with. In 1681 it was enacted that the excise should continue for five years after the death of Charles. When James succeeded, it was annexed outright to the crown for ever.^{4.}

Under the act of 1661, commissioners were appointed in each shire, who were responsible for the quota due to the collector general. They were usually the same persons who acted as justices of peace and commissioners of assessment. The position was often avoided, as the task and responsibility were disliked. They were free to collect the impost or to farm it. The latter plan

Page 15.

1. A.P.S. 1644, VI, (I) 72.

2. A.P.S. 1661 c. 128, VII, 88.

Certain abatements were allowed by A.P.S. 1662. c 74. VII,
418.

3. Memoirs p. 17, 29.

4. A.P.S. 1681. c 10, VIII, 247, 1685. VIII, 460.

was usually adopted, even when the whole excise was nominally under collection. Tacksmen contracted for a shire or group of shires. The business was a speculative one. For the year 1685-6, Alexander Grant tacked the excise of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, Caithness, and Cromarty, at £4,710.10.0. stg. According to the assessment of shires this area was liable only for £3,639.10.0. In the previous year there had been collected in Caithness, £181.14.2., although the quota was only £153.4.0; but Aberdeenshire, liable for £2,418.19.0. had yielded only £1,469.6.0.^{1.}

The granting of these local tacks obviously opened a door to corruption. In 1682 the brewers of Edinburgh alleged that the tacksmen of Edinburgh and East Lothian had bribed Charles Maitland of Halton. Everybody believed Maitland guilty, but he obtained a favourable verdict through lack of evidence.^{2.} It was clearly proved however, that the tacksmen made considerable profits. In 1683 the crown tried to obtain these for its own use. The treasurer was to enquire into the state of the excise in the various shires and burghs; where more than the quota was being obtained, the profit was to be diverted into the treasury by the appointment of royal collectors, who would be free from the interests which governed the local commissioners.^{3.} This change was strongly resisted, especially in Edinburgh, the area chiefly affected. It was pointed out that no relief was proposed in the less productive areas where the full quota

Page 16.

- I. A.P.S. VII, 469 and Collectors' Accounts 1685, 1686.
2. Fountainhall's Notices I, 367.
Lauderdale ~~en~~ Papers III, 227.
3. W.B.S. VII, 30th March 1683.

raised only by means of a local rate on land. The intention of the original statute had been to settle an annuity of £40,000 on the king, not to provide him with an elastic tax free from parliamentary control. It was calculated that under the new arrangement he might receive £60,000 a year.^{1.} It is uncertain how far these instructions were put into effect, but the return from the excise shows no marked increase after this date.

The original grant of £32,000 did not represent a high estimate, as the excise had been valued at £47,444.13.4. by the English Government.^{2.} But the nominal sum does not appear to have been reached during the period. Some districts, especially in the north, were in chronic arrear. Six months after its imposition, £4,511.4.11. was in arrear out of £18,200.15.7. due;^{3.} and in 1670, Charles Maitland was granted the arrears still to be collected for the years 1661, 1662 and 1663.^{4.} In 1682 the excise produced £29,300 stg, when it was farmed; in 1686 and 1687 it yielded £27,996.2.5. and £28,794.15.0. when collected; and in 1688 it was set to tack at £31,323.11.6. In 1706 it was farmed at £33,500, but it was calculated to produce (if collected) £50,000.^{5.} When the ^{excise} ~~tax~~ was collected, the receivers were paid 10% commission on the gross receipts.^{6.}

Page 17.

1. Fountainhall's Notices I, 435.
2. Dartmouth Mss. III, 98.
3. Collectors' Accounts, 1661.
4. C.S.P.D. 30th December, 1670.
5. Treas. Reg. 10th March, 1682; 25th & 28th March, 1688,
Collectors' Accounts 1687. A.P.S. XI, 196.
6. Treas. Reg. 1st February, 1688.

CUSTOMS AND FOREIGN EXCISE.

The king's annuity of £40,000 stg. included £8,000 from the customs. The articles taxed included wine, vinegar, soap, tobacco, cloth, hats, stockings, gloves, leather goods, and cattle. Special rates were prescribed for these by the act of 1661, and there was also a clause imposing a levy of $1\frac{s}{-}$ in the £ on all other foreign commodities imported. Certain raw materials used in manufacture were exempted.^{1.} The fiscal policy of Scotland was dominated by her political connection with England. After the Restoration, the English navigation acts treated Scotland as a foreign country. Attempts were made to lighten or remove this obstacle to Scottish trade, but they were unsuccessful.^{2.} Scotland then tried to retaliate with similar measures, imposing double customs on goods imported in ships which did not belong to Scotland or to the country of origin.^{3.} This also failed, and thereupon a prohibitive tariff of 80% was imposed on English goods. This measure was intended chiefly as a threat, the privy council being given power to bargain with the English.^{4.} Scotland herself was the chief sufferer. After the act had been working for nine months, the treasurer-depute reported that within that period the whole customs had not amounted to £100 stg.^{5.} But the English merchants trading with Scotland also complained of great loss, and finally a commission of the English privy council reported that the

Page 18.

1. A.P.S. I66I c. 128, VII, 88.
2. C.S.P.D. 30th August, 9th & 11th November, I66I.
3. A.P.S. I66I c. 277, VII, 258.
4. A.P.S. I663 c. 23 & 24, VII, 465.
5. Add Mss. 23I22 f. 27.

English trade with Scotland should be encouraged, as the balance was greatly in favour of England. Scotland was freed from restrictions in the coasting trade, but was excluded from the trade with the plantations - a disability which remained a great grievance till the
 1.
 union.

In spite of this tremendous handicap, the Scottish government tried hard to emulate the activity of the English "committee for trade and plantations". In 1661, the estates appointed a council of trade. Its function was to rectify abuses and encourage trade generally.
 2. Little or no success attended its efforts. During York's administration in 1681, he appointed a committee of privy council with the same object; but in 1683 the king complained that since the duke's return to England, little or nothing had been done.
 3. Charles then appointed a new committee, which also proved a failure. In 1687, James ordered another to be established, as the previous
 4. ones "through negligence did produce little or no effect". In May 1688, still another committee was appointed, which at least issued
 5. some proclamations; but the aspirations of Scotland in the realm of commercial and colonial development were foredoomed to failure by the settled opposition of the predominant partner.

The political connection with England at one time threatened the very existence of Scotland's trade with the continent. The Dutch wars of Charles II were a financial disaster to the Scottish merchant. The Dutch were his best customers, and the stoppage of trade with Holland was immediately reflected in the customs receipts.

Page 19.

1. C.S.P.D. 1663-4, p. 651. July 1664.

The Scots pedlar was a common sight in England as far south
as Truro. C.S.P.D. 6th June, 1666.

2. Tudor and Stewart Proclamations. Introduction.

3. W.B.S. VIII, 27th November, 1683.

4. W.B.S. XII, f. 198.

5. W.B.S. XIII, 26th May, 1688.

Another restriction on foreign trade was a survival of mediaeval custom. The ancient privilege of the royal burghs that they alone could engage in foreign trade was already being vigorously attacked by the thriving burghs of regality. Their efforts to rival the royal burghs were resisted by those favoured corporations, and the struggles between them figure prominently in the economic history of the period.

The government tried hard to encourage trade and industry through the medium of trading and manufacturing companies. Customs duties were adjusted in their favour, and other revenue regulations modified; foreigners were offered naturalisation on easy terms; individuals were permitted to incorporate themselves with a minimum of formality, and certain privileges were granted them on application to the estates or the privy council. Companies could import their raw materials free, and they were exempted from taxations. Under these acts, several ventures arose. In 1663 a wool card making company, and in 1664 a glass factory were established in Leith; in 1667 and 1669, sugar companies were founded in Glasgow. In 1667 a company for whale fishing and soap making was protected by a special act, the provisions of which almost amounted to the prohibition of competition. But these inducements proved to be

Page 20.

I. A.P.S. 166I c. 275, 280, VII, 255, 261.

Register of the Privy Council, 9th February, 24th March,
1664.

insufficient. In 1681, therefore, an act was passed which excluded competitive imports, although the companies had still usually to face domestic competition.^{1.}

One company was peculiarly associated with governmental enterprise - the Royal Fishery Company. At the Restoration the fishing trade was in a depressed condition, and parliament authorised the erection of companies to promote the trade.^{2.} The privy council tried to encourage the consumption of fish by proclamations against the eating of flesh in Lent, and on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, although this "political Lent" had been in abeyance since 1640.^{3.}

In 1670 the Royal Fishing Company was incorporated with a stock of £25,000 stg, of which the king held £5,000. The company failed in its object; only a small proportion of the stock was paid up, and the Dutch wars of Charles II proved fatal to the enterprise. In 1682 the king ordered the treasury to withdraw his capital; the "right art of curing herrings" had been attained, but no profit had accrued. The treasury was ordered at the same time to dissolve the company, but it lingered on till 1690, deriving a revenue of £6 Scots from every "last" of herring ~~ex~~ported. By that time it had become merely a burden on trade, and was dissolved as a grievance.^{5.}

The great achievement of Scottish foreign trade was the Staple at Veere. This was under the direction of a "Conservator of

- I. A.P.S. 1681 c. 78. VIII, 348.

The whole question is dealt with at length in Mr W.R. Scott's "Chartered Companies in England, Scotland & Ireland". I, 300, III, 123-195 et passim.

2. A.P.S. 1661 c. 279, VII, 259.

3. R.P.C. 6th February, 1662, 12th February, 1663, 2nd February, 1664.

4. W.B.S. VII, 11th & 23rd November, 1682.

5. A.P.S. 1690 c. 103, IX, 224.

Mackenzie's Memoirs p. 183.

Fountainhall's Notices I, 181.

W.R.Scott's Chartered Companies II, 376.

Mr J.R. Elder's "Royal Fishery Companies" gives a full account of this venture.

"privileges", who was nominated by the convention of burghs, subject to approval of the crown. After the Restoration, this official became and more a diplomatic agent rather than a commercial representative. In 1669 the staple was temporarily removed from Campvere to Dordrecht; but Amsterdam opposed this change, and the contract was annulled in the states of Holland. The reinstatement at Veere was a "matter of theory rather than of practice". From 1675 the staple "gradually dwindled, both in number of traders and quality of goods". The office of conservator had a nominal existence till 1847; but the breakdown of the privileges of the burghs and the rise of free trade in the low countries, had robbed the staple of all its vitality.

The well known Edinburgh Merchant Company dates from this period, receiving its charter under a royal warrant of Charles II. It has long ceased to pursue its original objects (the manufacture and the sale of cloth), and now devotes its attention to the not less worthy objects of philanthropy and education.

The state of Scotland's shipping at this period is a further indication of the modest volume of her foreign trade. According to a return presented to the convention of burghs in 1692, Leith had only 13 vessels more than 70 tons, and 16 barks of 14 tons or over. Dundee had 15 ships of more than 30 tons, and 6 barks of more than 10 tons. Montrose had "1 ship, 4 ketches, 3 doggars, 1 scout", all above 35 tons, and 9 barks above 9 tons.

Between 1661 and 1669, duties were levied on raw materials imported, as well as on manufactured articles imported. This policy had two objects - to discourage such exports and to provide bullion for

Page 22.

1. Mr M.P.Rooseboom's "Scottish Staple in the Netherlands"
pp. 212, 217, 235 et passim.
2. The history of this company will be found in Mr A.Heron's
"Rise and Progress of the Company of Merchants of the
City of Edinburgh".
3. Miscellany of the Burgh Record Society pp. 56, 62, 74, 87
et passim.

the national mint. These duties were in the form of a certain weight of silver, which was to be paid on a unit of the article. This "apples ilk 2 bolls or 4 barrels" paid "2 ozs. silver ^{dermier} XII fine"; "butter good ilk 2 barrels", and "butter corrupt or Orkney butter ilk three barrels" paid the same. When the act was repealed (1669), the bullion was ordered to be collected on certain imports, and in 1686 the rates were computed into cash payments at the rate of 12/- Scots^{1.} for each oz. of silver.

The revenue from this source was still appropriated for the purpose of "paying the charge and expense of a free coinage", and the change from kind to cash benefited the treasury. In the year 1684-1685, the bullion received was valued at £2,186 stg; in the year 1685-1686, the total amount received in cash at the various ports was^{2.} 24,390.16.5. stg.

The actual working of the customs system may be illustrated^{3.} by the instructions issued to the officers at the ports. Customs officials were not allowed to engage in trade. They were to attend at their offices from 10 a.m. till noon, and from 2 till 4 p.m. in the winter months; from 9 a.m. till noon, and from 2 till 5 p.m. in summer. Certain fees were payable to them - for granting a "cocket" (ship's papers), 40/- Scots; for taking a report of a ship, 23/4 Scots; for entry of goods 12/- Scots; for a "transire" (transfer inland), 1/- Scots.

- I. A.P.S. I66I, c. 272, 278, VII, 25I, 259.
I669, c. I3, VII, 559.
I686, c. 38, VIII, 603.
2. Customs Accounts & Miscellaneous Papers at Register House.
3. This paragraph and the following ones are based mainly on a
Book of Rates and Rules at Register House. See also
A.P.S. I66I c. 332, 334, VII, 304; I669 c. I8. VII, 565
Atton's Report p. 3.
Fountainhall's Notices I, 283.
A.P.S. VII, appendix p. I05.
Treas. Reg. I6th June, I674.

Merchants were allowed to break bulk in any approved port, and paid duty only on goods landed. A Scotsman who had imported goods could, on exporting them within a year, "drawback" all excise and half customs duty; foreign goods intended for export could be put into the custody of the customs officers.

Shipmasters were to produce their bills and cockets within 24 hours after arrival; their reports were to include quantities of goods, the names of consignees, &c. Spanish wines, canaries, &c. imported in casks less than half butts, and French wines imported in casks less than half hogsheads were to be confiscated and the shipmaster fined. Lading and unlading could be carried out between sunrise and sunset from September to March, and between 6 a.m. and 6 p.m. during the rest of the year.

These rules were not sufficient to prevent smuggling. The golden age of smuggling did not arrive in Scotland till the eighteenth century, when the rates were higher, and the officials less sympathetic. In the seventeenth century the penalties were comparatively mild. "For preventing the said prejudice and abuse his majesty....doth give power and warrant to the collectors of customs and excise....to call and pursue such persons who shall wilfully and wickedly conceill and abstract their goods....and not duly enter the same....before the lords of his majesty's exchequer". The exchequer was to imprison the delinquents for 24 hours or longer

until the customs had been paid, and inflict a further fine at
 1.
 discretion.

Fountainhall records some cases. In two of these, a technical defence was raised, which was apparently successful. In one, bribery of officials was also ~~raised~~ ^{alleged}; in the other, the farmer of customs was charged with exacting unauthorised customs and with "trading as a merchant". Fountainhall mentions laces and ribbons as being frequently "stolen by without paying custom", and in 1681 an Edinburgh merchant named Fullerton was charged with importing English cloth contrary to law. The cloth was burnt by the hangman at the cross of Edinburgh; his accomplices, two officials whom he had bribed, were scourged, but Fullerton himself escaped.
 2.

In general, the officials were probably unwilling or unable to stop smuggling. The commander-in-chief had orders to supply a party of soldiers when necessary, but the failure of the revenue officers may be read in the repeated proclamations against the importation of Irish victual and cattle. The pages of the privy council register contain constant reference to the illicit trade, and to the efforts of the council to stop it.
 3.
 4.
 Sometimes private persons were given an interest in the suppression of smuggling, as when Lord Elphinston received a grant for 5 years of all exciseable liquors which were confiscated as contraband.
 5.

Nobles and gentlemen were exempt from paying customs and excise on wines imported for their own use. The tacksmen in 1681 tried to test this privilege in the courts, on the ground that it

Page 25.

1. A.P.S. 1669 c. 18, VII, 563.
2. Fountainhall's Notices 1, 216, 283, 295.
3. Treas. Reg. 16th June, 1674.
4. R.P.C. 18th December, 1679, et passim.
5. C.S.P.D. 2nd September, 30th November 1672.

had not been mentioned in the act granting the king's annuity, and that excise was a new tax which had arisen since it was granted in 1592. The action failed, and to the end of the period the customs papers contain a large number of vouchers from the Duke of Hamilton and other nobles regarding their exercise of this privilege. The chancellor, the treasurer, and the treasurer-depute reckoned as part of their salary the right to import each year 30 tuns of wine free of duty. In 1686-7, the officers of state, lords of treasury, and other privileged persons imported free of duty, 9 butts Spanish wine, 14 barrels mum beer, 14 bushels chestnuts, 1 barrel raisins, oranges and lemons, the total value of which was £657.15.0. stg.

A more enlightened exemption was that which allowed stationers and private persons to import licensed books free of duty. This privilege, however, found fewer defenders when the tacksmen contested it, and it was cancelled in 1678.

Page 26.

1. Fountainhall's Notices I, 284.
2. Customs Accounts, 1686-1688.
In 1680-1681 it amounted to only £107.1.8. W.B.S. VIII
24th May, 1683.
3. A.P.S. 1663 c. 25, VII, 467. 1669 c. 115, VII, 655.
Fountainhall's Notices I, 192.

The gross amount collected from customs varied considerably. For the year 1668-9 it was £29,462.12.10, and for the year 1669-70, £27,397.11.11. The second Dutch war brought the receipts down to £18,569.14.5. for 1671-2. At the end of the period they were rising; in 1684-5, £32,614.12.7. was received, and in 1685-6, £35,388.17.9.^{1.} By this time Leith and Port Glasgow were by far the most productive ports. Out of the receipts for 1684-5, (£32,614.12.7.) Leith accounted for £11,794.2.5. and Port Glasgow for £8,032.18.5. At Glasgow itself, only £257.14.11. was collected, which was about one-sixth of the receipts at Ayr - £1,500.11.6. The Border customs from trade with England were also considerable. At Dumfries, £723.19.9. was collected, at Alisonbank £666.13.4, at Kelso £231.10.1. and at Aytoun £149.2.5. Jedburgh was the lowest of the five precincts, with £91.19.7. out of the total £1,863.5.2.^{2.}

From the gross revenue collected at the ports, several deductions have to be made before the true value of customs to the treasury can be estimated. The official salaries came to a considerable sum. In 1668 Leith employed a collector, a clerk, a surveyor, and 14 waiters, whose salaries came to £440.18.10. Port Glasgow at the same time had a collector, a clerk and 6 waiters, and the salaries amounted to £182--13--4. The smallest staff was at Portpatrick, where the solitary collector had £20 per annum.^{3.}

Page 27.

- I. Treas. Reg. 9th July, 1673.
 Collectors' Accounts 1665-1686.
2. Collectors' Accounts 1684-1685.
3. Miscellaneous Papers relating to Customs and Excise.

In 1668-9 the total sum paid to these local officials was
 2,434.8.10. stg; in 1671-2 it was £1,828.14.7.^{1.} When the revenue
 was collected directly on behalf of the treasury, a collector general
 had also to be paid. In 1668-9, two collectors had £500 stg each;
 in 1671-2 the collector had £450 per annum, and in 1672-3, £300 stg.^{2.}
 In 1685-6, the total salaries and incidents allowed, after audit,
 amounted to £4,925.6.11, when the gross revenue was £35,388.17.9.^{3.}

All the customs received were not devoted to public purposes.
 Favoured individuals were often awarded a share of the proceeds,
 usually under the guise of tacks. At the Restoration the customs
 of the Borders, Glasgow and Aberdeen, were awarded to the Earl of
 Newburgh, the Marquis of Montrose, and the Earl Marischal respectively.^{4.}
 The first was granted for 21 years, the king retaining a right to half
 the confiscated goods; but in 1668 it was commuted for an annual
 payment of £1,000 stg, which represented Newburgh's profit. When he
 died, his sons wished to have the grant continued till the 21 years
 had expired, but the treasury reported that the gift had been a personal
 one only.^{5.} Montrose's and Marischal's gifts were likewise commuted
 for cash payments till they had received £10,000, which the king owed
 each of them.^{6.}

By virtue of the royal prerogative, lucrative gifts of "imposi-
 tions" were granted to subjects. In 1663 the estates declared that

Page 28.

1. Collectors' Accounts; Treas. Reg. 9th July, 1673.
2. Miscellaneous Papers; Treas. Reg. 9th July, 1673; C.S.P.D.
27th May, 1672.
3. Treas. Reg. 17th August, 1688.
4. A.P.S. 1662, c. 107, VII, 443, C.S.P.D. 25th May, 1672.
5. Treas. Reg. 8th December, 1673, C.S.P.D. 1673-5, p. 501.
6. Add Mes. 35125 f. 169. W.B.S. IV, 19th October, 1678.
Maitland Miscellany III, 149.

"the laying of restraints and impositions upon foreign imported commodities doth belong to his majesty as an undoubted privilege and prerogative of the crown". According to Mackenzie "this act was passed in a trice without any opposition, being glossed as said is". Under this act, the importation of brandy was forbidden and the seizures granted to Lord Elphinston (son-in-law of Charles Maitland). Elphinston issued licenses to import "so that in effect he had his own exchequer". So much brandy was then imported that aqua vitae was less used and the price of barley fell. ^{1.} In the same way Sir John Nicholson was granted an imposition of 2d on every pound of tobacco imported into Scotland in a foreign ship. "This ^{2.} imposition was as grievous as if bread or ale had been burdened". The third great imposition was on salt. The king's right of pre-emption was tacked to the Earl of Kincardine at the low rate of ^{3.} £2,000 per annum "on account of his zeal and faithfulness".

The lords of treasury remonstrated, but the king and Lauderdale ^{4.} insisted. Complaints "thronged in daily, some wanting salt altogether as in Galloway, the west and all the highlands where our Scottish salt could not be carried, and so were forced to use salt water by which many of them died as of a plague". Those who could get salt had to pay "intolerable rates" for an inferior quality, and ^{5.} "all people looked on this as the beginning of a gabel".

1. The act is 1663 c. 81, A.P.S. VII, 503. Mackenzie's comments will be found in his Memoirs pp. 133, 243 et passim. Cf. Lauderdale Papers I, 182; Burnet's Own Time (ed. Airy) I, i, 367; R.P.C. 31st January, 13th February 1668.
2. Mackenzie's Memoirs p. 243; C.S.P.D. 2nd December 1671, 28th May, 1673. An exception was made in favour of the plantations.
3. C.S.P.D. 29th June, 1673. R.P.C. 11th May, 1670.
4. Add.Mss. 25135 f. 281. C.S.P.D. 24th August, 1673.
5. Mackenzie's Memoirs p. 241.
6. Burnet's Own Time (ed. Airy) I, ii, 25.

This general opposition proved too strong even for the managers. When Lauderdale met Parliament in 1673, he was, to his great surprise, faced by a demand for the redress of these grievances. After some demur he yielded, and three short acts were passed rescinding the grants of impositions. These acts, with one other, formed the sole legislation of this session, which lasted from 12th November to 2nd December.^{1.}

The treasury did not always collect the customs, but frequently "tacked" them to the highest bidder. In a letter to Lauderdale, Sir Robert Moray gives an interesting account of such an auction, where the price offered exceeded the expectations of the commissioners of treasury. This tack, however, was short lived, as the farmer withdrew after one year.^{2.} In 1682, Sir William Binning and Sir James Dick were awarded £1,000 stg. for bidding against the holders of the tack, and so raising the price by £4,000 stg. per annum.^{3.}

Between 1660 and 1688 the customs were tacked during 18 years and collected during 10. The average amount realised by the tacks was above that obtained when the government collected the customs; the net product from the tacks would have been higher still but for the "abatements" or rebates, which were almost invariably granted. Sometimes the reasons alleged were sound. Diminution of revenue owing to war or rumours of war was the commonest. A rebate was allowed in 1677 "on account of the number of ships carried to foreign ports by privateers, and the stop of trade at Bordeaux,

- I. A.P.S. VIII, 208-212. Mackenzie's Memoirs p. 253-260.
Lauderdale confessed that he "met with such a spirit as I
thought never to have seen here". Lauderdale Papers II,
241-247, III, 1-5.
Burnet says he was "struck as one almost dead". Burnet's
Own Time (ed Airy) I, ii, 25, 37-41.
2. Lauderdale Papers II, 73. Fountainhall's Notices II, 548.
3. W.B.S. VIII, 29th April, 1682.

when the French king's forces quartered there for three months. ^{1.}

In 1688, Andrew Wauchop of Niddry and George Hamilton of Binnie were released from the tack they had undertaken, "on account of the decay of trade, caused by rumours of war between France and Holland, and fear that the king may concern himself in it". ^{2.} The domestic troubles, which culminated at Bothwell Bridge, were successfully urged by the tacksmen for the period (1678-1680) as a reason for the reduction of their tack. ^{3.}

Less legitimate considerations were very often as effective. The first tacksmen after the Restoration - Sir Walter Seaton - was strongly suspected of bribing Rothes in order to obtain large rebates. In November 1680, Robert Mylne, on behalf of himself and the other tacksmen, offered the Duchess of Lauderdale a bribe of "£1,000 stg. payable at London, which with exchange is £1,120". If she would write to some of the lords of treasury "to favour us in our just and legal grounds for abatement", the tacksmen would give her this sum at least, and "the more they allow it will enable us to give the more". If a reduction were made for the whole period for which they were tacksmen, "I shall give her grace yearly one thousand pounds stg. during the continuance of the tack". This offer was made through John Paterson, Bishop of Edinburgh, whom Mylne assured that his "design was to serve her grace more as any opportunity of profit to myself". The application was successful. The tack to which Mylne refers was from 1675 to 1680, the accounts of which had not been completely cleared

Page 31.

1. C.S.P.D. Ist June, 1677.
2. Collectors' Accounts 1686-8.
3. Treas. Reg. 19th March, 1681.
4. Lauderdale Papers II, 77.

when he wrote. Out of the total sum due to the government - £128,000 the tacksmen were allowed to retain £12,000; and there is no reason to doubt that the duchess played an active part in bringing this about.^{1.}

To reduce the price of the tack for 1681-4, the farmers bribed Melfort, the secretary of state. One of them afterwards confessed that no real loss had been sustained, and "the treasurer said he was a knave but somewhat honest^{2.}er than the rest". When the last tack of this period was set in November 1686 to "Wauchop of Niddry, a papist, and others, the statesmen were already preengaged; they allowed the getters to outbid the others and promised them (underhand)^{3.} abatement!"

After allowing for rebates and other deductions, the customs remain a valuable part of the national revenue. Tack and collection alternate, the former proving more productive. The first farmer offered £20,333.6.8. stg. per annum, but actually paid only £17,362/10 per annum. For the two years 1665-7, the duties were collected, but owing to the Dutch war, produced only an annual average of £6,481.13.4. For 1667-8 a tack produced £27,800, but the tacksman relinquished it after one year; he had every reason to do so, as the collectors for the next two years received only £19,333.6.8. per annum. The tack for 1670-1 brought in £22,500, but another Dutch war

Page 32.

- I. Add Mss. 23247ff. 54, 55. W.B.S. VI, 4th July, 1681.
2. Fountainhall's Observes p. 237-241.
3. Fountainhall's Chronological Notices p. 198.

Certain payments to officers of state by the tacksmen
officially recognised. W.B.S. VIII, 24th May, 1681.

It was, however, optional for a tacksmen to give th

Atton's Report p. 12.

reduced the annual value for 1671-3 to £10,966.10.10. Between 1673 and 1680, the duties were again tacked and produced an average of £23,600. In 1680-1, collection was tried again, but the net product was only £17,270. The next tacksmen (for 1681-4) paid the government £25,720 a year. The next period of collection was the most productive of all. For the first year (1684-5), £25,378 was obtained, and for 1685-6, £28,836. There was a slight fall again in 1686-8, when the tacksmen paid £26,100, and in 1688-9 the collectors could show an income of only £17,814 sterling.

Thus in the 28 years between 1661 and 1689, the customs produced £575,971.1.8. sterling, an average of £20,570.7.11. The total net product from tacks was £413,110.0.0 - an average of £22,950.11.1.

Under collection, the net revenue was £162,861.1.8, an average of £16,286.2.2. i.e. £6,664.8.11. less than the annual product of the successive tacks.
1.

Page 33.

- I. These figures are taken from the accounts preserved at the Register House. The details are given in Appendix A.

FINES.

The Restoration "managers" of Scotland believed that "justitia magnum emolumentum est", but the profits of jurisdiction did not materially affect the national finances. Owners of heritable local jurisdictions absorbed the greater part, leaving only the fines of the privy council and justice court for the crown. The amount was of such a "casual" and fluctuating nature, that the lords of treasury in estimating the national revenue in 1682, declined to put a normal annual value on this item. ^{1.} Fines were constantly in arrear, and those which did come in were often already earmarked for the benefit of some more or less deserving person. In 1670 the fines for illegal marriages were granted to Captain Robert Rind, and in 1684 ^{2.} the king gave £1,500 out of the privy council and justice court fines to Sir George McKenzie of Tarbet for his "constant loyalty and continued good and faithful services". ^{3.}

On two occasions fines were extensively imposed by the predominant party on their ecclesiastical and political opponents. At the Restoration, the royal indemnity to those who had opposed the crown during the "Troubles" was clogged with a formidable list of exceptions, which included persons from every rank of society. The ostensible object was to compensate those who had suffered on account of their loyalty to the crown, ^{4.} but according to Wodrow, some persons named in the act "were in their grave, some upon the nurse's breast, some never had a being, several were in the act who were subsisted

Page 34.

1. Treas. Reg. 10th March, 1682.
2. C.S.P.D. 18th November, 1670.
- 3, Treasury Warrants 21st June, 1684.
4. A.P.S. 1662, c.80 VII, 420.

upon the weekly collections for the poor of the parish where they lived. ^{1.} The offenders were most numerous in Lanark, Ayr, Kirkcudbright, Wigton, Stirling and Clackmanan. Rothés assured Lauderdale that there were hundreds of beggars on the list, such as tenants, cottars and shepherds. Three score and ten of them from Stirlingshire had not so much in a year as to pay the proportion of fines that had been imposed upon them. ^{2.} Meanwhile many of the real offenders escaped. "Private bargains...are driven and money received from too many who are represented to have been abominable compliers". ^{3.}

Precepts on these fines were freely issued by the king to the sufferers on the royalist side; but it was generally believed that very little reached them, as Middleton and his friends retained the bulk of the proceeds. In February 1663 the king ordered the privy council to suspend the collection of fines till he made his further pleasure known. ^{4.} According to Mackenzie this was procured by Lauderdale to insinuate himself with the people and lessen the gains of Middleton and his party. ^{5.} Middleton then made a great blunder; on his own responsibility he countermanded the king's order. "Whereupon Lauderdale run in great haste to the king showing him that now Middleton and not he was king, for he could recall his majesty's express warrant by his own private warrant....and thus the fines which were imposed by Middleton to enrich his friends proved his ruin". ^{6.}

Page 55.

1. Wodrow I, 274.
2. Lauderdale Papers I, 207.
3. Lauderdale Papers I, 92.
4. R.P.C. 12th February, 1663.
5. Mackenzie's Memoirs p. 112.
6. R.P.C. 12th February, 24th March, 1663.
Lauderdale Papers I, 132.
Nicoll's Diary p. 393.
Burnet's Own Time (ed. Airy) I*o* 362.
Quarterly Review vol. 108, p. 424.

The fall of Middleton did not lead to the immediate cancellation of the fines; they were retained as a useful weapon with which to overawe political opponents. In 1664 it was ordered that they were to be collected in two instalments; ^I but the greatest difficulty was experienced in carrying this out. Rothes, now commissioner, reported that none would pay willingly, unless the act was strictly enforced; "the fines will not be worth a groat for every man will stand out"^{2.}

The order to collect them was renewed in 1665, and eventually by stringent quartering, Rothes was able to announce that he had £30,000 stg. in hand.^{3.} The claims on this were many and urgent, the nobles being specially clamant. They were bitterly disappointed when the money was used to raise troops nominally for the defence of the kingdom against the Dutch, but who fought only at Rullion Green. Rothes protested on behalf of the nobles. No direct relief was given to them, but they were appointed to command troops and companies in the new forces.^{4.}

The next occasion of a general proscription was in 1680, when the heritors who had not attended the "king's host" during the Pentland Rising were fined. At first the prosecution was carried out in the justiciary court, where 35 gentlemen of Fife were pannelled - less than one-third of the number in that shire, who had been absent. Two were fined two years rent of their lands; three were fined one year's rent, and three half a year's rent.

Page 36.

1. R.P.C. 16th February, 18th February, 31st July, 3rd November, 1664

Wodrow I, 397.

2. Lauderdale Papers I, 206.

3. R.P.C. 3rd October, 23rd November, 1665.

Add. Mss. 23124 ff. 74, 149.

Wodrow I, 425.

The total amount due was £84,779.8.10.

4. Lauderdale Papers I, 237.

Burnet's Own Time (ed. Airy) I (i) 383.

The trials were then transferred to the privy council - partly because the justice court "proceeded too slowly and cautiously according to law", and partly in order that the privy council officials might share in the plunder.

The council engaged actively in this work, and numerous entries in the register show fines inflicted according to the guilt of the absentee and his ability to pay; many, however, were assailed. As in the former case, the receipts were considerably reduced by difficulties of collection, and by grants freely made by the king out of the proceeds.^{I.}

PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS.

On various occasions the estates increased the king's revenue by granting a "supply" to be raised by the shires and burghs. At the Restoration an effort was made to collect arrears of such taxation due since 1648. The attempt met with little success, and in 1674 these arrears were finally discharged.^{2.} A new supply was granted for five years in 1665, in aid of the expenses of the Dutch war. A "free and voluntary" offer was made of 21 Scots on every pound land of "auld extent" held by nobles, barons, freeholders, and feuars of the king. The churchmen and burgesses of royal burghs were to pay in proportion; the college of justice, universities, schools and

Page 37.

I. R.P.C. 6th November, 11th November, 11th December, 23rd
December, 1679.

Fountainhall's Notices I, 253-260, 266, 276.

Wodrow III, 177.

Lauderdale Papers III, 196.

2. A.P.S. 1661 c. 346, 347.

R.P.C. 14th November, 12th December, 1661, 2nd January,
4th March, 1662, and 23rd March, 1674.

I.
hospitals, were exempt.

This taxation was calculated to produce £11,083.6.8. stg. per annum, of which the royal burghs paid £1,851.17.0.^{2.} Edinburgh was the highest contributor with £666.12.11; Glasgow paid £100.7.0, Dundee £129.12.0, Aberdeen £123.9.0. The smallest burghs paid less than £1 stg, e.g. Galloway 18s 6d. These sums were raised by the provost and magistrates in each burgh, who elected certain persons called "stentmasters", to "stent" or tax their fellow burgesses.

These officials assessed the burgesses, indwellers and inhabitants "according to the avail and quantities of rent, living, goods and geir" which each had within burgh, "noways respecting his lands nor possessions which he hath to landward". Churchmen raised their contributions by taxing their tenants according to a "tax roll of relief". The king's feuars paid their dues through the sheriffs; all others paid to the collector general. This post was given to Hamilton in order that he might have a chance to restore the fortunes of his house.³ He is said to have promised Rothes half the proceeds. Hamilton was disappointed with the result, and when his accounts were audited, he complained of being "strictly dealt with".^{4.} Public opinion, however, credited him with large gains. When one of his agents was fined for extortion, oppression and falsehood, Fountainhall^{5.} points the moral with "dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas".

In 1667 another convention granted a supply to maintain the

Page 38.

- I. A.P.S. VII, 528.
R.P.C. 26th June, 7th December, 1665, 9th May, 1665.
2. Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs III, 584.
3. Add.Mss. 23123 f. 138.
Lauderdale Papers II, 72.
4. Hamilton Mss. XI, 6, 141.
Two-fifths of the taxation was still due in 1686. (Treas.
Reg. 25th March, 1686).
5. Fountainhall's Notices II, 813.

new troops and meet the general charges of the Dutch war. £6,000 stg. per mensem was granted for one year. Each shire and royal burgh was assessed in the act at a certain sum; Edinburgh paid £265.5.0, and Haddington £231.17.0. Fife and Kinross paid the highest - £431 - and Cromarty the lowest - £5.13.0. Of the burghs, Edinburgh paid £360, Dundee £70, Perth £40, and Glasgow £65. The smallest rate was paid by Galloway :- 10/- . To raise these sums, commissioners of assessment were named in each area. In the shires they were the nobles and gentlemen who acted as commissioners of excise and justices of peace; in the burghs the magistrates were appointed ex officio.

On this occasion the landowners were partly relieved of the burden by the imposition of a poll tax. Each gentleman "above the quality of a tenant" was to pay a sum not exceeding 10/- stg. for himself, his wife and children. A tenant above the status of a tradesman or cottar paid 6s 8d, and a tradesman or cottar 1s 8d. The burghs were to impose similar taxes, and the lords of session waived their privilege of exemption while reserving it in the case of future taxations. ^{I.}

The government anticipated some difficulty in collecting the additional grant. Definite rules were therefore laid down, under which "quartering of soldiers" was to be carried out. Only those actually "deficient" were to have soldiers quartered on them; the collector of the district who called them in to his aid was to pay them at fixed rates - 1s 3d per day for each horseman, and 4d per day for each foot soldier. Officers and soldiers were ordered to make

Page 39.

1. A.P.S. VII, 536, 547.

Lauderdale Papers 1, 269, 277.

prompt payment for their quarters. These and similar rules show that "quartering" was the greatest financial abuse of the time. There was no authority powerful enough to enforce these regulations against the officers and men, who regarded the system as an opportunity of legalised plunder, an attitude which was certain to continue so long as the treasury failed to pay the troops regularly.^{I.}

In 1670 a parliamentary grant was made to meet the expenses of the union commissioners. The sum was £30,000 stg. payable in four instalments during 1671.^{2.} The same local commissioners were to act. The "Tax roll of the burghs" was revised by the convention, and out of each £100 due from the royal burghs, Edinburgh now paid £33.6.8, Glasgow £12, Aberdeen £7, Dundee £6.2.6, Perth £3.II.7. In 1649 and 1665, Aberdeen and Glasgow had been rated at practically the same amount, but the rateable value of the latter had rapidly increased since then.^{3.} This time the lords of session successfully asserted their privilege of exemption.^{4.}

The government found it extremely hard to collect this taxation. Although "very great diligence" was used against the reluctant taxpayers, little more than half of it had been received two months after the last instalment was due.^{5.}

During the second Dutch war of Charles II, Scotland granted the king a supply of £72,000 stg, payable in four instalments between

Page 40.

1. See also Military Administration *infra*.
2. A.P.S. 1670 c. 3. VIII, 8.
Mackenzie's Memoirs p. 190.
Lauderdale Papers II, 188.
3. Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs III, 622.
4. C.S.P.D. 12th July, 1671.
5. Lauderdale Papers II, 223.

Lammas 1672 and Candelmas 1674. It was to be raised according to the assessment of 1667. As the whole burden of this tax fell on the land, the act tried to reach the owners of personal property by enacting that from Martinmas 1672 to Martinmas 1673, debtors should be entitled to retain one-sixth of the "annual rent" or interest due.
1.

In 1678 Charles II made a considerable increase in the number of his Scottish army. A convention was accordingly summoned to provide a "maintenance" for them, and £30,000 stg. a year was offered for the next 5 years. This was to be paid in two instalments each year - at Martinmas and Whitsunday. The quotas for the shires and burghs were again laid down, and commissioners appointed to levy them. The regulations for quartering were revised, and the commissioners again authorised to use this method of collecting dues from deficient.
2.

Under the original arrangement, this supply would not have been collected after 1683, but in 1681 the grant was renewed for a period of five years after 1683. This time heritors were authorised to collect from their vassals a poll tax at the rates laid down in 1667. More stringent regulations were made to prevent soldiers taking free quarters and to provide for the payment of compensation if they did so.
3.

On this occasion the privilege of the lords of session was seriously threatened. On the recommendation of the estates, the king

Page - 4I.

1. A.P.S. 1672 c. 4.VIII, 62.

2. A.P.S. VIII, 213.

Lauderdale Papers III, 154.

This grant was in addition to the King's annuity of
£40,000 stg.

3. A.P.S. 1681 c. 3, 108, VIII, 240, 363.

instructed the treasurer to allow no exemptions even to the senators; at the same time he admitted the "meanness" of their salaries, and remitted the question to York for consideration. The judges insisted that their exemption was the law of the land, and had been frequently ratified by parliament; Charles, having considered this argument and their "eminent services", ratified their privilege for the future.^{I.}

While this supply was being levied, the tax roll of the burghs was again revised. The chief feature was the increased assessment in the case of Glasgow and Kirkcaldy, which instead of £12 and £2.6.0 per £100, now paid £15 and £3.3.0. respectively.^{2.}

The grant of 1681 did not expire at the death of Charles, but the first parliament of James made a large addition to it, £18,000 stg. per annum. It differed from all the previous supplies, in being made for the king's life. The original act provided only for a land tax, but an amending statute imposed poll money for the relief of heritors.^{3.}

Thus between 1660 and 1688, Charles and James were granted between them a total sum of £583,416 stg. In 1665 the grant was at the lowest annual rate - £11,111 stg; the highest rate was reached in 1667, when £72,000 was granted for one year only. The average annual grant to Charles was £17,582 stg, and to James £48,000. The actual receipts were, of course, much less than the amount voted. When the taxation was collected, the receiver was paid 10%: arrears

Page 42.

- I. W.B.S. VII, 30th December, 1682.
VIII, 5th April, 1683.
2. Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs IV, 40.
3. A.P.S. 1685 c. 12, 38, VIII, 463, 483, 1686 c. 3 VIII, 58

would amount to at least another 20%. The land of Scotland between 1660 and 1688 paid taxes amounting to approximately £400,000, an average of £14,000 per annum. The annual burden had, however, steadily increased from £11,000 to £48,000, which, at the time of the Union was considered equivalent to the English land tax of 4s 0d. in the £.

Page 43.

I. A.P.S. XI, app. I96.

NATIONAL EXPENDITURE.

Like a modern chancellor of the exchequer, the Scottish lords of the treasury found that it requires a much greater effort to collect revenue than to spend it. The collection of the public funds absorbs all the energies of a large and active organisation; once collected, the revenue appears to spend itself.

This difference is reflected in the public records of the 17th century. For every document relating to expenditure there are six relating to receipt. The revenue had to be collected in many forms and from many individuals; expenditure was confined to a much narrower circle of the community. There were three main heads of expenditure - the army, fees and pensions, and public works. Fees were official salaries, representing the rudimentary civil service estimates in the balance-sheet of the period; pensions were annual grants from public funds to more or less deserving persons, usually nobles and gentry; public works were the castles and royal palaces. Holyrood in particular was a continual source of expense at this time. A few miscellaneous items, "the king's particular wants", chiefly in connection with charities, completed the expenditure side of the national balance-sheet between the Restoration and the Revolution.

THE ARMY.

The expenditure on the army was almost exclusively for pay and allowances. For a long time the cost of non-effective ~~charges~~ ^{services} was negligible. As originally organised by Middleton, the army was to cost £32,000 stg. per annum. ^{1.} The permanent peace establishment of Horse Guards, Foot Guards, and garrisons, did in fact cost £21,326.16.0. This was paid out of the inland excise. ^{2.} The additional troops raised in 1666 were at first paid out of the fines imposed on conventiclers and afterwards out of the supply of £72,000 granted for 1667. ^{3.} The reduction in expenditure caused by the disbanding of these troops, was one of the financial reforms of 1668. Ten years later the number of troops was again considerably increased, and a convention made a grant of £30,000 per annum to support them. ^{4.} The total annual cost was now £52,259.12.0, at which figure it practically remained for the rest of the period. In 1682, the pay of the regular forces and militia, and all other military charges, was £52,793; in 1684, pay and allowances amounted to £55,030.4.8. ^{5.}

As we have seen, the cost of the permanent establishment was met out of the inland excise. This led to the method of paying troops by assignments on selected shires. Before 1667 these "localities" were issued at the beginning of every quarter, "so that so far from being in arrear, the troops were paid a quarter in advance.....which, since

1. Lauderdale Papers I, 170.
2. Establishment 1678.
3. A.P.S. VII, 538-9.
4. A.P.S. VIII, 220-I. Before this grant was made they were paid out of a sum of £10,000 which the king had at Edinburgh Castle.
Treas. Reg. 13th May, 1678.
5. Establishment 1678, 1684. Treas. Reg. 10th March, 168

Caesar's day was never practised in Europe, Africa, nor Asia". When Sir Robert Moray went to the treasury in 1667, he altered this, the officers being assured that they would receive "good pay monthly as their pay falls due"^{I.}

This hope was not realised. Notices constantly occur of the arrears due to units or individuals. In the latter case the blame must often rest on regimental officers whose company accounts were their main source of income. When new units were added to the establishment, the government found it very difficult to meet its liabilities regularly, even with the aid of parliamentary grants voted for the purpose. By 1670, the old method of locality had to be resorted to. In 1681 the whole establishment was divided into two groups - one of which was paid monthly and the other quarterly, and when a new tack of the whole national revenue was granted, it was on condition that the tacksmen should advance £16,000 stg. to meet the immediate claims of the troops.^{2.} The difficulties of the financial department were, however, very great. A precept granted to ~~the~~ Claverhouse's regiment on the county of Ayrshire to the value of £900 Scots had produced only £206 Scots.^{3.} The worst evils of the system of quartering arose out of such cases. This system linked the financial and military administration of the period in a vicious circle, and has given to both an evil reputation in the traditions of the Scottish lowlands.

Page 46.

- I. Lauderdale Papers II, 32.
2. Chambers Domestic Annals II, 427.
3. Pay Precepts at Register House. For other examples of arrears of pay, see chapter on military administration.

Meantime the charge for non-effective services had steadily grown the main item being repairs to castles and garrisons. In 1674-5, £720.8.6. was spent on Stirling, £347.6.9. on the fort and prison on the Bass Rock, and £33.13.4. on Edinburgh Castle - £1,101.8.7. in all.^{2.} In 1682 this service was estimated to cost £2,000. The cost of such pensions as were granted for service or disablement were still met out of deferred pay contributed by the soldier.

FEES AND PENSIONS.

The law was the most highly organised branch of the public service, and supplies the longest list of official salaries. The chancellor's nominal fee (salary) was 3,000 marks per annum, but the holder was always granted a pension as well. This was £1,000 stg till 1667, when it was raised to £1,500, at which figure it remained.³ The lord advocate had £400, supplemented by grants from the fines inflicted in the criminal courts. The solicitor had £200 as agent of the crown and church, £200 for the conveyance of letters of the civil courts,^{4.} and £200 for the letters of criminal courts.

In the court of session, the lord president had a salary of £500, and each ordinary lord had £200.^{5.} On the criminal side, the lord justicegeneral had at first only £200, which in 1678 was raised to £600; the lord justice clerk had £400, and £200 more if he were a lord of session; each commissioner of justiciary had £100 per annum.⁶ The judge of admiralty had £100 a year till 1668, when it was raised

1. Mylne's Master Masons p. 198.
2. Treas. Reg. 10th March, 1682.
3. Home of Wedderburn Mss. p. 270; W.B.S. VII, 1st May, 1682.
A mark was worth 13 pence sterling.
4. C.S.P.D. 26th January, 1674, 23rd August 1677; W.B.S. VI,
17th May, 1681, VIII, 11th April 1683; Treas. Reg. 17th
August, 1688.
5. C.S.P.D. 20th November, 1672; W.B.S. V, 9th December, 1678;
Fountainhall's Journals p. XII.
6. Fountainhall's Notices I, 172; II, 542, Journals p. 224.
A.P.S. 1689, c. 28, IX, 38; W.B.S.V. 27th July, 1674;
C.S.P.D. 3rd July, 1674.

to £200. The lords of exchequer as such had no pension or emolument^{I.}s.

The lord clerk register had one of the most lucrative posts under the crown, receiving at least £1,200 stg. His nominal salary was only £40, but after the Restoration every lord register had a pension of £400; he had £200 as a lord of session; from fees in the modern sense he derived about £400, with an additional £200 when parliament was sitting. He had, moreover, a greater patronage^{2.} to dispose of than any other officer of state.

Neither Charles II nor James VII visited Scotland while occupying the throne, but the financial organisation of the royal household was maintained throughout the period. The greatest offices - the chamberlain, the constable, and the marshal, were hereditary and held by the Dukes of Lennox, the Earls of Errol, and the Earls Marischal respectively. These were offices of honour rather than of profit, though pensions were frequently granted to the holders. Of the salaried officials, the most highly paid was^{3.} the Master of the Stud, who had £600 stg. per annum. Then came^{4.} the Knight Marshal with £400, and the Usher with £250. The^{5.} Master of the Wardrobe had £83 stg, the Keeper of the Tapestry and

Page 48.

- I. Add. Mss. 21947 f. 109.
2. Home of Wedderburn Mss. p. 270; Buccleugh Mss. at Drumlanrig I, 130, "Breviate of the Government of Scotland", State Tracts, III, 433.
Office of the Lord Clerk Register, pp. 5, 26; W.B.S. VI. 14th October, 1681.
Add Mss. 35125 f. 85; Harleian Mss. 4631, dated 7th August 1660 and 16th June, 1664.
3. C.S.P.D. 23rd September, 1671.
4. C.S.P.D. 2nd January, 1676.
5. Treas. Reg. 14th July, 1681, W.B.S. VIII, 5th May, 1683.

Moveables had £20¹, and the Master Porter of Holyrood and other palaces had £27². The Master Falconer had £100, and his two assistants £40 or £25 at different times.³

The king's First Physician had £400 stg, the Physicians in Ordinary £83 each, and the "Operator in Lithotomy" (who was the seventeenth century equivalent of an appendicitis specialist), had £50.⁴

Under Charles II, the Historiographer Royal had £40, which James increased to £100; the Geographer Royal was supported by "an imposition of twelve pence on each ton of every ship, with a recommendation to the gentry anent his maps".⁵ The king's Picture Drawer was paid by results. Chaplains to the king had at first £20, and later £50 per annum. The king's Almoner had £100, and the Bedel and Keeper of the Chapel Royal had £20.⁶

In what is now the Office of Works, the principal official was the Surveyor General of Buildings in Scotland, who received £300 stg. a year. This office was abolished in 1678, but had to be revived in 1683 to prevent the buildings falling into ruins. The salary was reduced to £100.⁷ He was assisted by the Master Mason, who received "£10 Scots and an honest stand of clothing". A large number of tradesmen held grants of royal patronage, which carried, in some cases, a yearly retaining fee.⁸

- I. Egerton Mss. I8I9 ff. I7I-2.
W.B.S. II, I6th October I673.
2. C.S.P.D. 4th March, I67I, Ist July I677.
W.B.S. VI, I4th December I68I.
3. W.B.S. VI, 3rd September I679, VII, 28th December I682,
3rd February I683, XIII, I0th August I688.
4. C.S.P.D. ^{18th May 1671} 30th May I672, 2nd August I673, I9th May I674.
W.B.S. IV, 28th September I678, VI, 22nd July, ~~20th 1681,~~
~~September I686,~~ VII, 30th January I682, XI, 20th
September, 30th December I686.
5. W.B.S. VI, I1th November I68I, VII, 30th September,
I6th December I682.
A.P.S. I686 c. 57, VIII, 603.
Bannatyne Club Miscellany III, 372.
6. Treas. Reg. I2th August I687.
W.B.S. VII, 25th February I682, VIII, 5th May I683,
XI, I9th November I686.
C.S.P.D. 3Ist July I675.
7. Treas. Reg. 22nd November I678, 8th February, 3rd
September I686.
W.B.S. VII, 3rd February I683. Stirling, Home, Drummond
-Moray Mss. H.M.C. X, I.
8. Mylne's Master Masons of the Crown p. I72.
See Appendix "B".

The leading politicians figured prominently in the pension list. As chancellor, Rothes had a pension of £1,500 stg, a fee of £83.6.8, allowances of £50 for his purse bearer, £22.4.6. for his mace bearer, or £1,655.11.2. in all. For some years he also received £1,000 out of the excise.^{I.} From the time of his appointment as treasurer in 1682, Queensberry had a pension of £1,500, a fee of £333.6.8. and the remission of £83.6.8. on 30 tuns of wine - a total of £1,916.13.4. At the same time Atholl was drawing £1,400 per annum.

It is difficult to state exactly what Lauderdale received, as it came to him from many sources. As secretary he had a pension of £1,000, and an allowance of £100 for expenses; the fees of this office (paid for attaching the signet), brought him £1,500 a year. He thus received over £2,500 a year as secretary, and when he left office in 1680, this was the amount of the pension granted to him out of the excise.^{3.} The commissionership was, however, the most lucrative which he or any other subject could hold. £50 stg. per diem was allowed from the date of his departure from London till the date of return, together with £2,500 for his equipage. When parliament was not sitting, he received £10 per day. The expenses of the office were, of course, considerable. The commissioner was expected to entertain freely out of his allowance, and Lauderdale declared himself to be "deadly weary of being mine host to all Scotland!"

1. W.B.S. VI, 12th June 1680.
Treas. Reg. 10th March 1682.
2. W.B.S. VII, 15th July 1682.
3. Add Mss. 23124 f. 5.
W.B.S. VI, 16th October 1680, VII, 15th July 1682.
Treas. Reg. 19th October 1680.
Maitland Miscellany III, 149
4. Harleian Mss. 4631 Lauderdale to Kincardine 7th March
1674, 8th January 1674.
For grants to royal commissioners see -
C.S.P.D. 30th May 1672, 16th October 1673.
Nicoll's Diary p. 385, 422.
Lamont's Diary p. 173.
W.B.S. VI, 22nd June 1681, IX, 28th March 1685.
Treas. Reg. 5th July 1681, 23rd June 1686.
Wodrow II, 230.

In 1674 Lauderdale received a royal grant of £12,134.10.0. He had an allowance of £100 from the convention of burghs. Hamilton (an unfriendly critic) estimated Lauderdale's total income at £18,000 stg. This was probably not an exaggeration, especially if we include his receipts from the treasury of England, and the sums which he received in return for the exercise of his political power - such as the £6,000 paid by Edinburgh in 1671, in order that Leith might be kept joined to it.^{I.}

The pensions to ^{unofficial}~~non-political~~ persons were usually made to needy nobles, though occasionally the name of some plebeian^e but deserving person is recorded. In 1682, £40 per annum was granted to the "children of the deceased Mr Gregory, mathematician". The grants to the historiographer and geographer, and the £200 to the rector and masters of the university of St. Andrews may also be regarded as public recognition of the claims of learning.^{2.}

James used the pension list freely in connection with his ecclesiastical policy. In 1686 the list showed a total of "above £12,000 sterling payable to papists. Some of the country grudged that their taxes paid to the king....should be thus distributed and exhausted among papists"^{3.} In 1687, £100 sterling was given to the chancellor (Perth) for the purpose of distributing books among the Roman catholics in Scotland; two-thirds of the royal charity was to be given to them, and they were to be paid in preference to all other

- I. C.S.P.D. 27th December 1671, 13th July 1674, 2nd April
1675.

Lauderdale Papers I, 72

Lauderdale also received £1,000 a year from the English
Treasury as a Gentleman of the Bed Chamber.

C.S.P.D. 25th January 1664.

2. W.B.S. IV, 19th October 1678 ^{yl}, 15th July 1682.
3. Fountainhall's Notices II, 694.

persons who had gratuitous pensions or gifts. Grants were also made to the jesuits, and to the Scots colleges at Rome and Douay.^{I.}

Fees and pensions cost the country between £20,000 and £30,000 sterling a year. A list issued in 1667 shows a total of £11,914.17.6. for payments to officials, and £11,716.10.0. to private persons - nearly all nobles - or £23,631.7.6. in all. In 1678 the payments to officials amounted to £14,943.13.6.^{2.} In 1682, £15,380 was paid as official fees and pensions, and £11,385 as pensions.^{3.} A list issued by James in 1685 showed £14,466.18.10. under the former head, and £11,710.15.6. under the latter.^{4.}

On several occasions during the period, orders were given to stop the payment of all pensions. The chronic poverty of the treasury furnished ample reason for this proceeding. Private individuals without special influence frequently found that their pensions fell into arrears, but money was usually ~~scarcely~~ ^{forthcoming} to meet the claims of politicians and other powerful persons. Although a general stoppage of pensions was publicly ordered in 1664, secret instructions were sent to the treasury to continue payment to certain persons.^{5.} In 1682 it was ordered that no pension over £300 stg. was to be paid, and in 1686 James ordered all gratuities and pensions to be stopped till further orders.^{6.} Such orders made the task of the cashkeeper difficult. In 1680, "lord macdonald came to Sir William Sharp's

- I. Treas. Reg. 3rd June, 1687, 16th December 1687, 10th
 February, 22nd March 1688.
 W.B.S. XII, 9, 10th December 1687, 7th January 1688
2. The list for 1667 is printed in Maitland Miscellany III,
 149. The copy in the Lauderdale Papers (Add Mss.
 35125 f. 169) is endorsed as "cancelled in His Majesty's
 presence 17th February 1668".
 The list for 1678 is in W.B.S. V, 19th October 1678.
3. Treas. Reg. 10th March 1682.
4. Maitland Miscellany III, 163.
5. Add Mss. 23121 f. 47.
6. W.B.S. VII, 29th April 1682, XI, 12th May 1686.

chamber, and ten highland men at his back, all armed with swords and dirks, and some few pistols....my lord Macdonald came in and demanded his money of his pension from Sir William in very coarse terms...He would make him pay presently, or by God he would not part with him....no beastly fellow like him should keep his money from him". For this he was brought before the council, but received only a "moderate rebuke".^{I.}

CROWN BUILDINGS.

The royal palaces and castles were the third most important charge on the revenue. Charles II spent considerable sums on rebuilding Holyrood. In 1671 he ordered the treasury to spend £1,000 stg. and an extensive scheme of alteration and addition was begun under the direction of a "surveyor, contriver and overseer of all works at Holyrood House, and other castles and palaces in Scotland". A news letter writer reported that a "curious stately palace was building, of which there will not be the like in all Britain."^{2.}

In July 1674, the treasury represented to Lauderdale that the expense of the scheme had become a great burden, having now cost £16,800 stg.^{3.} The king, however, persisted. He ordered another £1,000 to be spent, and for the year 1674-5, the total expenditure was £6,191.5.6. Between 1675 and 1679, £8,565.10.0. was spent,

and

Page 53.

- I. Fountainhall's Notices I, 263.
R.P.C. 15th March, 1680.
Lauderdale Papers III, 197.
2. C.S.P.D. 7th March, 3rd June 1671, 8th May 1672.
3. Add. Mss. 28747 f. 15.
4. Mylne's Master Masons p. 198.

and in 1681 estimates for £1,510 were accepted. I.

THE NATIONAL BALANCE SHEET.

Annual estimates or balance-sheets are not forthcoming for the period 1660-1688; but estimates of the revenue were made at various times. For 1659-60, the total revenue was stated at £143,652.II.II. stg. This included an assessment of £72,000, excise of £47,444.I3.4. and a rental of £5,324.I8.5½ from crown lands. In the same year the expenditure was £381,868.6.9, the pay and other charges of the English army of occupation amounting to £350,957.I4.0. Thus in the last year of the Interregnum, Scotland was run at a loss of £238,215.I4.I0. per annum, or if the cost of the English army is excluded, at a profit of £12,741.I9.2.^{2.}

In 1682, Queensberry was deputed by the lords of the treasury to represent to the king the state of the revenue, and his report is recorded in the treasury register. The total charge or income was £91,477.I5.6.stg. Of this, the inland excise brought in £29,300, and the customs and foreign excise £26,000. The supply granted by the estates was then £30,000; the crown lands yielded £3,500, and the casualties about £100 per annum. The largest item of expenditure was

Page 54.

1. Mylne's Master Masons pp. 198, 211.
2. Dartmouth Mss. Hist. Mss. Comm. III, 98.
Egerton Mss. 2542 ff. 305, 315.
Add Mss. II597.

for the army - £52,793.0.0; fees, pensions and gifts amounted to £30,265 per annum, and royal charity to £400. Repairs to the castles cost £2,000. The king's "particular" wants were estimated to cost £1,500 a year, and "contingent expenses", such as printing proclamations, £1,000. The whole discharge or expenditure was £93,718.0.0. which exceeded the income by £2,240.4.6.^{I.}

In 1706, the revenue of Scotland was again stated in view of the approaching union with England. The total revenue available was declared to be £160,000 stg. The value placed on each item shows that this was a sanguine estimate, although during the last years of the century, the receipts had been abnormally restricted by bad seasons and by continental wars. The excise was then farmed at £33,500, but "if exacted as in England, may amount to £50,000". The customs had been let during the war at £28,500, and during peace, at £34,000, but were calculated to be worth £50,000. The imposition for the coinage was valued at £1,500. The crown rents were valued at £5,500, and the casualties at £3,000. The post office was farmed at £1,194, but "if collected, may amount to £2,000". The land tax was then worth £36,000, but if raised to the English level of 4/- per pound, would produce £48,000. The

total

Page 55.

I. Treas. Reg. 10th March, 1682. The commissioners declined to estimate the annual value of the fines, which fluctuated greatly, and of which a very large number were in arrears. Of fines inflicted by the justiciary court and the privy council before 1st May 1682, there were £8,333.6.8. and £1,668.13.4. respectively, outstanding ⁱⁿ ~~on~~ March, 1683. W.B.S. VII, 1st March, 1683.

total of £160,000 was declared to be sufficient for the upkeep of the army, the civil list, and other charges of the government. The national debt amounted to only £160,000 - one year's income. Thus Scotland came into the union as a self-supporting partner.^{I.}

Between 1660 and 1688, however, there can be little doubt that the actual expenditure usually exceeded the receipts. Notices abound of the constant lack of funds to meet the charges of government and the crown was frequently in debt to the cash-keeper.^{2.} When Rothe became treasurer in 1663, he declared "that our poverty is not to be expressed". The chief causes were a period of agricultural depression and the war with Holland. In spite of the diminished receipts, the king went on drawing precepts for pensions; "I wish the condition of the exchequer in Scotland were printed, providing it were only to be seen and known by Scotsmen that our poverty might not be blazed through the world."^{3.}

During the second Dutch war of Charles II, complaints were as numerous. The treasury declared that the revenue could not possibly bear any further charge, and in 1673 the cash-keeper reported that since 1671 he had paid out £16,833.6.8. more than he had received. The king, when applied to, would not allow the parliamentary supply to be used for general purposes, and advised the commissioners to be "good husbands" till the war was over.^{4.} He approved, however, of

Page 5b.

1. A.P.S. XI, App. p. 196.
2. Treas. Reg. 6th July, 1687.
Fountainhall's Notices II, 839.
3. Lauderdale Papers I, 210, 216, 220.
4. C.S.P.D. 3rd July, 1673.
Lauderdale Papers II, 222.
Treas. Reg. 19th December, 1673.

economies they proposed. Pensions were temporarily stopped, except in special cases; the three receivers of crown rents were discharged, and this item of revenue paid to the ^{cashkeeper} ~~(exchequer)~~ 1.

This state of impoverishment continued till the end of the period. In 1676, efforts were still being made to keep down expenditure. 2. In 1680, the commissioners were constrained to send the treasurer depute to the king to represent their views. Pensioners, government contractors and workmen at Holyrood were clamouring to be paid; the treasury was in debt to the extent of £14,325. This time the king authorised them to apply the proceeds of fines and forfeitures to paying off this debt. 3. In 1681, the revenue was tacked on an unprecedented scale. The excise, customs, the rents of Orkney, and the parliamentary supply were farmed to Charles Murray and Robert Mylne for £90,000 sterling. This was considered a great improvement, "it never having been in one hand before". 4. Complaints continued, however, in this reign and the next. The commissioners of treasury again represented to the king in 1682 that the expenditure exceeded the income; in 1686, the new commissioners found the excise "in great disorder", and the receipts from this source were considerably diminished. 5. James sent secret instructions to the treasury in May 1688 to "cut off all debts on the exchequer, even

1. C.S.P.D. 3rd January, 1674.

Lauderdale Papers III, 20.

Financial mismanagement was made a leading charge against Lauderdale's government at this period. See "A short account of affairs from Scotland " reprinted in Wodrow II, 229.

2. Treas. Reg. 16th June 1676.

C.S.P.D. 31st May 1676.

3. Treas. Reg. 5th August, 12th November 1680, 9th June 1681.

4. Treas. Reg. 29th October, 30th December 1681.

Fountainhall's Observes p. 49.

5. Treas. Reg. 10th March 1682, 23rd June 1686.

I.
 though precepts and warrants be drawn".

This state of affairs is not sufficiently explained by the poverty of Scotland. The constant arrears due in all branches of revenue show that the traditional unwillingness of Scotsmen to pay taxes had a real existence in the 17th century. Temporary causes, such as bad seasons and foreign war kept down the receipts of excise and customs; the acuteness of ecclesiastical and political strife prevented any great economic advance being made. The nobles who managed the treasury were freely charged with squandering or embezzling the revenue. Middleton is said to have taken £30,000 from the excise, to have misappropriated money designed for Holyrood, and to have received fines for which he did not account.^{2.} Queensberry and Perth gave £27,000 to the Duchess of Portsmouth out of the public funds, in order to have Aberdeen removed from the Chancellorship.^{3.} The former also abated to the merchants one-third of the legal imposition on salt and tobacco. Charles Maitland, so long the working head of the treasury, was charged with taking bribes from the tacksmen.^{4.}

That the men rather than the system were at fault is sufficiently proved by the "interval of decent government" in 1667-8. When the financial and general administration of Rothes had failed, the treasury was put into commission. The treasurer-depute (Bellenden) disliked the change, but remained in office till the

Page 58.

1. W.B.S. XIII, 7th May 1688.
2. Burnet's Own Time I, i, 232.
Lauderdale Papers I, 170.
Nicoll's Diary p. 393.
Quarterly Review vol. 158 p. 424.
3. Fountainhall's Notices II, 745.
4. Fountainhall's Notices I, 367 (vide page 16 supra).

end of 1670. The moving spirit among the new lords was Sir Robert Moray. Although he feared to "discover horrid things in the management of the ^{king's} rents", he threw himself into the business of the department. ^{I.} He held frequent meetings of the commissioners; he

extricated the accounts from the confusion into which they had fallen and introduced simplifications and improvements for the future.

According to popular report, the king's rents from crown lands were increased by one-third. ^{2.} "The government of Scotland had now another

face. All payments were regularly made; there was an overplus of ^{3.} £10,000 of the revenue saved every year".

When Moray went back to London, Tweeddale remained in Scotland to carry on his work. He frequently urged that Moray should return, but in his prolonged absence, affairs lapsed into their old position, and no successor appeared who had sufficient power ^{or energy} ^{4.} to make his reforms permanent.

One great weakness, however, existed in the system itself.

There was no provision for the regular or thorough audit of accounts.

It was performed at irregular intervals by commissioners named by the

king. As soon as commissioners were appointed, abstracts of the

various accounts were prepared, but the delay was usually considerable

before these were checked. Crawford left the treasury in 1663, but

it was not till ten years later that the king finally authorised the

auditors to close his accounts "in respect of his age and infirmity".

In May 1675, a commission was appointed to audit the accounts since

Page 59.

1. Lauderdale Papers II, 9, 12, 16, 20, et passim.
2. Add. Mss. 23127 ff. 102, 156, 193.
C.S.P.D. 31st October 1667.
3. Burnet's Own Time I, i, 439.
4. Lauderdale Papers II, 115, 120, 121.
5. C.S.P.D. 15th August 1673.

I.
 August 1671. Matters, however, improved in this respect at the end of the period. In November 1683, auditors were appointed to examine the accounts of the commissioners who had left office in the previous year.
 2.

The audit of Queensberry's accounts furnished an outlet for personal and political rancour. The auditors were headed by Perth, his chief opponent, and they ordered him to remain in the capital till his accounts were examined. Perth tried to make him sign the accounts but he refused, as no previous treasurer had done so.

In March 1687, Queensberry obtained a letter from the king ordering the audit to be ended, but his rivals still put obstacles in the way. In December of the same year, the king again ordered the accounts to be closed, but he had to renew this in April 1688. "And then at last they closed them on the 19th of April, and sent them up to the king, who perused and approved them and gave him an exoneration".
 3.

Thus the financial system of Charles and James presented many features which have now disappeared. Large portions of the revenue were continually farmed to private individuals. This system was on the whole the more profitable for the treasury, which suffered large arrears to accumulate when it collected the revenue on its own behalf. Social and official privilege had still to be reckoned with. Officers of state and nobles imported their wine free

- I. C.S.P.D. 21st May, 1675.
2. W.B.S. VIII, 27th November 1683.
3. Fountainhall's NoticesII, 740, 773, 830, 865.
W.B.S. XI, 27th March, 9th June 1686, 5th February,
8th March, 31st March, 28th May, 1687.
W.B.S. XII, 31st December 1687, 5th April 1688.

of duty, and the lords of session were exempt from land tax. The chief item of expenditure was the army, which, after 1678, cost more than half the revenue. The rudimentary civil service was represented in the list of "fees and pensions", which, however, included also a large number of payments to persons who had no claim to this public recognition. ~~But~~ Receipts were constantly exceeded by expenditure, and the difficulty of making ends meet was the perpetual problem before the treasury. The system failed notably to provide for the adequate audit of the public accounts. But under it, no considerable debt was accumulated, and Scotland was therefore in a position to negotiate the parliamentary union on much more equal terms than would have been possible if the proposal had implied a further addition to the already heavy burdens of the English taxpayer.

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