

MAP OF THE RAILWAYS AROUND PERTH,

And Central Parts of Scotland.



P E R T H :

ITS ANNALS AND ITS ARCHIVES.

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P E R T H .

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P R E F A C E.

IN presenting this volume to the notice of a discriminating public, the compiler trusts it will be remembered that his preliminary announcement of the work held out no pretensions to original authorship; his sole object and aim being to supply a compilation which had become a *desideratum*;—and what he promised was to be in some measure merely a “reprint,” and a selection of documentary matter from archives which to him were peculiarly accessible. Now that he has finished his self-imposed task, he claims no farther merit in the production.

He anticipated, and carried on his work with his eyes open to, the probability of one objection: It is no mistake, however, for it was intentional; he may have erred in judgment, but, like Goldsmith’s pedagogue, he is “of the same opinion still,” and regrets it not. The point is this: In the outset of his labours, the fact was distinctly noticed, that the annals of Perth are very closely identified with the annals of our nation: Now, what would be the substantial use of chronicling incidents peculiar to Perth without shewing them in connection with the great leading events of Scottish history? The comparative want of this he ventured to consider a defect in the otherwise valuable labours of those who had gone over the same ground before him; and took the advantage of this to profit thereby, as he hopes, for the benefit of his readers.

He presents no farther apology, beyond that for inadvertent omissions, except for the presumption of having undertaken such a work at all.

A considerable portion of space is devoted to the recent visits of Royalty to Perth and Perthshire; but he knows that many desired such a record. It embraces an exciting but peaceful period, and forms an interesting era in our local annals.

It may also form some excuse for unintentional delay in its production, and operate as a palliative with considerate readers, that after it had been for sometime in progress, he was compelled to prosecute a most important portion of his work under the depressing effects of a severe and prostrating attack of indisposition.

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P E R T H :
ITS ANNALS AND ITS ARCHIVES.

Name and Locality.



ALTHOUGH for centuries the seat of Government, and frequently the residence of Royalty, PERTH could never boast of a very numerous population. It was, for a long period, a place of national, rather than local, importance, and the number of its settled inhabitants never exceeded that of the present day. Indeed, that number must have been comparatively small, even in the palmy days of its existence; for the ancient walls embraced a much smaller space than the modern City covers, and in turbulent times it became necessary that the people should avail themselves of the shelter which its defences afforded. In those days, therefore, the entire population resided within the walls; and the only edifices which were to be seen beyond them were those splendid domes connected with monastic institutions, which for several centuries previous to the Reformation adorned the "Fair City," and whose inmates were safe in the religious halo which was held as surrounding them, and their religious dignity, which was always respected. The early importance of Perth must therefore be looked for in something else than as a mart for commerce or manufactures, a seat of learning, or a place of defence. Perhaps it may have been preferred for the central position it occupied, as being a key to the Highlands, or more probably for the singular amenities of its situation. But these, as well as the subject of population, will be more particularly treated of in their proper place. It is sufficient to notice, in these preliminary re-

marks, that, passing the earlier stages of its history, Perth has long been a place of consequence on account of its connection, in a by-gone age, with national affairs, political and ecclesiastical, and these, together with its antiquity and beauty, continue to make it so.

It is not intended, under this head, to present any topographical description of the local situation of Perth, or of its circumjacent attractions. "Locality" is here taken in the literal and most limited sense of the term, and conjoined with "Name," because these, in connection, have given rise to not a little controversy—comparatively unprofitable it may be, but sufficiently curious to warrant a cursory notice. And of that anon. The word Perth seems to be of very uncertain derivation, for antiquarians are by no means agreed as to its etymology. The Rev. Mr. Scott, tracing it from a Gaelic root, or rather its pronunciation by inhabitants of the Highlands, who call it Peart, says, that this means "a finished labour or complete piece of work," referring to the building of the town, or to the fortifications with which it was originally surrounded. But Fordun, in his *Scotichronicon*, when speaking of a remarkable siege which the town sustained from the Norwegians, in the time of the Picts, says—"I have found, in some old writs, that the town of St. John, now called Perth, was anciently called Bertha." And Mr. Scott farther adds, that "the contracted pronunciations of Bertha are Berth and Bert; and as the letters B and P were used indiscriminately in the Gaelic language, the Highlanders might easily change the name into Perth or Pert. Bertha, in the German language, signifies celebrity, splendour, or what is deservedly illustrious, the same as Eudoxia in the Greek. Those persons who were called Eudoxia by the Greeks, were by the Germans called Bertha. If the Picts, therefore, in whose territory the town was, were originally Goths or Germans, there could be no necessity of seeking for a Celtic derivation of the word Perth."

But be this as it may, there is no doubt that in ancient times, and at various periods, the City has been known as *Bertha*, *Victoria*, *St. Johnstoun*, and *Perth*. It would not be easy to decide which of the two former is the original, but there can be no question, that, after these, the other two came in succession. Indeed, it is probable that the former were coeval—the natives of the country calling it Bertha, while the Romans adopted the Latin name, Victoria. Whether there was any social assemblage of the population, in that rude age, where Perth now stands, is, and must now

remain, a matter of doubt; but there is no question that the Romans fixed on the spot as a military station, and that the Town was regularly fortified, if not built, at the command of Agricola, the Roman general. After the conversion of the Picts to Christianity, they adopted John the Baptist as tutelary saint of the place, to whom also they dedicated its Church and Bridge—and from that time, for a long period, Perth was known as St. Johnstoun. Mr. Scott, however, observes, that “it was never so called in any of the public writs, nor by the inhabitants in general.” At and after the time of the Reformation, the Popish name was repudiated, and, ever since, the term Perth has been applied by universal usage.

From this confusion of names, however, has arisen the division of opinion as to the exact locality of the ancient and modern City, already alluded to; and in presenting data whereupon to decide this controverted but comparatively immaterial point, it is necessary to advert to matter more pertinent to a separate head, and which will be treated of in the sequel.

It is concluded, from geological appearances, that, at a remote period, the level plain which Perth now occupies, and a large extent of land to the north, and especially to the westward, were covered by the waters of an expansive lake, from which, together with those of the Tay, they found egress to the ocean, not as at present, but by the valley of Strathmore, to the east coast of Forfarshire. The appearances alluded to are various, but they chiefly consist of the series of smaller lakes and marshy lands betwixt Kinclaven and Forfar, particularly those near and to the eastward of that town, and the peculiar dip and composition of the rocks and other stratified formations of the opposite eminences of Kinnoull and Moredun or Moncrieff, which evidently indicate that those two hills had been at one time connected, and that in process of time the waters of the great lake had forced a passage for themselves by the present course of the Tay, which probably had, before that, formed an arm of the sea. This, however, must have been long previous to the foundation of Perth, whether that was originally at the mouth of the Almond, or where it now stands.

In the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, and under the head Geology, in the article, “Parish of Perth,” the late respected and erudite Professor Anderson, in speaking of a remarkable stratum of *conglomerate*, says—“It may be traced along the southern face of the Sidlaw range, as far as the western shoulder of Kinnoull hill; its continuity being interrupted at this point by the bed of

the Tay. It is a curious circumstance, however, that the planes of the lowest strata of the conglomerate, on both sides of the river, are so nearly coincident, as to imply from that circumstance, and other appearances, that they had formerly been united; large detached masses of conglomerate occurring in the bed of the Tay, in the very position they might be expected to occupy, in consequence of the disruption of the river. Previously to this event, the whole of the parish of Perth, with the flat and extensive district towards Crieff and Dunkeld, on which water-worn materials are everywhere to be found, must have been covered by the waters of a lake, of no ordinary magnitude.

“In support of this opinion it may be stated, that trees of large dimensions, chiefly of the oak and willow kind, and other vegetable productions, are frequently found in the alluvial soil on which the town of Perth is built, at a depth varying from 25 to 40 feet below the present surface; and, what is still more confirmatory of it, oaks upwards of two feet in diameter may be still seen protruding from the immense bed of clay which forms the southern bank of the Tay, at the Friarton, in positions not less than 20 feet above the highest level of the river, in spring tides. In the mass of clay containing these organic remains, beds of fine sand, and other indications of aqueous arrangement, are distinctly observable; so that at a period, in the annals of geology comparatively recent, no doubt can be entertained of a barrier having existed across the present channel of the river sufficient to raise its waters far above their present level. In fact, an obstruction of 200 feet in height, in the bed of the Tay, between the hills of Kinnoull and Moncrieff, would cause the waters of the river to find their way to the ocean by the valley of Strathmore; nor are indications wanting that such a state of things once existed, in the chain of lakes, and the gravelly and sandy subsoil, which characterize the district of country stretching between the town of Forfar and Lunan bay.”

Although on various grounds—none of them very satisfactory or conclusive—many have entertained the notion that the ancient Bertha, or Perth, stood about two miles farther north, at the confluence of the Almond with the Tay, and which locality is sometimes styled Bertha at the present day—it must certainly be clear that the spot which attracted the Romans under Agricola, and caused the sudden surprise to which they gave vent on its discovery, could not have been the site of the angle formed by the junction of the Almond and the Tay. There seems little to support

that theory beyond what Mr. Cant states as to the discovery of some ancient urns and lachrymatories (which might have been deposited there altogether irrespective of the site of Perth), and of certain semicircular pillars of earth on the bank of the Almond at that place, which seem to have been of geological formation, and as such altogether unconnected with the question in consideration. Moreover, these urns were but a short way from the Roman military road; and Mr. Cant farther says, "it is not improbable that the large *plated urn* found at Bertha might be the repository of the ashes of Agricola's son, and that the urn in which we saw the *lachrymatory* might contain the ashes of Atticus, who would be interred with military honours." These conjectures may be well or erroneously founded, but still it is difficult to see in what respect it goes to establish the fact of that field now called Bertha being the site of the City of Perth, or even that of the ancient Bertha itself. The notion seems to rest almost entirely on the authority of Hector Boetius, and several subsequent writers, such as Buchanan, Hollinshed, and others, who, however, do not confirm his theory, but merely take it for granted because he had laid it down as his opinion. Fordun, who wrote more than one hundred and fifty years before Boece, and on whose *Scotichronicon* the latter evidently founded his history, gives no colour to such a conjecture. The contrary is held to be taught by him; and the author of the article "Perth" in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, quotes the following in support of this:—"Villam quoque quæ olim dicebatur Bertha, nunc quoque Perth, in Scotia aqua de Taya cum aqua de Almond maxima ex parte pertransiit." Lib. viii. c. 72. But there are authenticated facts and existing documents which refute and completely overthrow the allegation or opinion of Boetius. He states, that previous to the year 1210—in which the great inundation took place, by which Bertha, or Perth, was destroyed, and from which its inhabitants suffered so severely—the City occupied the site alluded to at the confluence of the Almond with the Tay, and was subsequently rebuilt where it now stands. But so far from this being the case, the language used in many charters, dated long before the year 1210, and referring to certain localities in the Town, throws complete discredit on this story. One of these, which formerly belonged to the Abbey of Scone, and is contained in the old chartulary in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, may alone be sufficient for proof. There are many hundreds of others, from about the year 1106 to the year 1210, still extant; and in these, when-

ever it was necessary to mention the Town, its name was always written Perth, or Perht, or more briefly, Pert, in the same way as afterwards. We are therefore left in doubt, and indeed it is very questionable, whether the desolation of Perth by the flood of 1210 was nearly so extensive as Bœtius represents, or so completely ruinous as to require a new foundation. It is absolutely certain, that tenements and streets in Perth are described in charters prior to 1210, in the same manner as they afterwards were, which could not have been so had the old Town been destroyed.

The Rev. Mr. Scott, formerly one of the ministers of Perth, who carefully collated the Kirk-Session and other registers, and himself wrote a Statistical Account of Perth, gives the particular instance above alluded to :—

*Charter of William the King, to Henry Bald, concerning
a Land (or Tenement) in Perth.*

“William, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all good men of his whole realm, clergy and laity, greeting :

“Know all, who are, or shall be, me to have given and consigned, and by this my present Charter to have confirmed, to Henry Bald, that land in my burgh of Perth, which James, the son of Simon and others, my Provosts of Perth, have delivered to him according to my precept—To wit, that land which is in the front of the street which leads from the Church of St. John the Baptist to the Castle of Perth, on the east side, opposite to the house of Andrew, the son of Simon (Illam scilicet, quae est in fronte vici illius qui tendit de ecclesia Sancti Johannis Baptisti usque ad Castellum de Pert, ex orientali parte contra domum Andreae felii Simonis), to be held by him and his heirs, of me and my heirs in fee and heritage, freely, peaceably, fully, and honourably : Rendering thence yearly to my Chamberlain one pound of pepper at the feast of St. Michael. Witnesses—Hugh, Chancellor ; Philip de Valoines, my Chamberlain ; Malcom, son of Earl Duncan ; William de Hay ; Alexander, Sheriff of Stirling ; Roger de Mortimer ; Philip de Lundin. At Perth, 14th day of April.”

This document does not bear date so as to ascertain the year in which the charter was granted ; but the following facts connected with the history of the witnesses clearly decide that point—viz. Philip de Valoines was made Great Chamberlain about 1180. He, however, continued in office about thirty-three years ; but Duncan M'Duff, Earl of Fife, and father of Malcolm, who succeeded him,

died anno 1203, and William de Hay died before the year 1199. Again, Hugh Roxburgh, Bishop of Glasgow, was appointed Chancellor of Scotland in 1189, and died ides of July, 1199. It is, therefore, clear that the above charter must have been granted some time betwixt the years 1189 and 1199; at all events, about eleven years before the great inundation. The localities mentioned can yet be identified by every one, and thus the fact is established that Perth then stood exactly where it stands at present. And were farther confirmation requisite, another charter might be quoted, by which the said Henry Bald, after the death of King William, gives and consigns the same property, similarly described, to the Church of the Holy Trinity and of St. Michael, at Scone.

Moreover, the original charter, granted by King William to the town of Perth, was dated at Stirling, 10th October, and it has been subsequently ascertained by the names of the witnesses, that this must have been October, 1210. This charter is still extant, and by it William confirmed and added to the privileges enjoyed by the burgh, in the time of his grandfather, King David, who died Anno Dom. 1153. Besides, Fordun says, that William held his Great Council or Parliament at Stirling, which was summoned to meet shortly after Michaelmas, 1210. On that occasion the burgh of Perth seems to have been rewarded with a very clear and particular charter of privileges. And still more to confute the story of Bœtius, there is a charter by Walter, son of Alan, one of the ancestors of the Lords of Ruthven, to the Abbey of Scone. It appears, from some of the signatures, that it was granted in or before the year 1210. "I grant," says the donor, "and by this charter have confirmed to God, and to the Church of the Holy Trinity and of St. Michael of Scone, and to the canons serving God, and to serve him there, that whole land which Suane, the son of Thor, my grandfather, gave to them in Tibbermore, according to its marches, viz. from the King's Well, on the street which comes from Perth, and leads to the foresaid village." The King's Well is about two miles west from Perth, and in the straight road to Tibbermuir. Lest some may cavil on the point, it may be proper farther to observe, that the kingdom was divided into parishes long before the time of William the Lion, who died in the year 1214. Thus everything tends to overthrow the opinion or fable formed by Bœtius. The writer of the article "Perth," in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, imputes a motive for that historian's misrepresentation: He remarks that Bœtius was a native of Dundee—that, in

consequence of certain privileges granted by the Scottish Kings to Perth, but denied to Dundee, the inhabitants of the latter place were disposed to depreciate the former—and Boetius seems to have partaken of this spirit, and thus to have fallen into a discreditable violation of historical truth.


Having said so much on this subject, it may not be improper to close with a few words as to the identity of the present position of Perth with that of the ancient Victoria. Richard of Cirencester, who wrote in the fourteenth century, in speaking of the Horestii, a people who inhabited a large portion of the County of Fife, and that part of the County of Perth situated south of the Tay, says, that their towns were Alauna, Lindum, and Victoria—that the last-named of these was the most illustrious, not only in name but in reality, and that it was built by Agricola on the river Tay, twenty miles from the egress of the waters of that river into the sea. We have seen a very ancient map, on which alone the Roman divisions and names are marked, and Victoria stands as near the present site of Perth as may be, considering the rude state of the engraving art at the time the map had been published. Still a discrepancy has been noticed as to the distance of Victoria from the sea, Perth being at least twenty-five miles distant from that point where the Tay can be said to make its exit into the ocean, for that is not on this side Broughty Castle. The discrepancy has, however, been satisfactorily reconciled by a relative view of other distances mentioned by Hoffman in his *Lexicon*, published in 1677, and who there computes Dunkeld as distant from Perth twelve miles, whereas it is fifteen; Stirling twenty-three miles, instead of thirty-two, as it really is; and Edinburgh thirty-two miles, whereas it is forty-four. There are vestiges, also, of no fewer than four Roman or ancient military roads concentrating on Perth. That from Stirling through Dunblane, and the remarkable Roman Camp at Ardoch, extending to Perth by the parishes of Gask, Tippermuir, &c. was one of the most perfect instances to be seen, even within less than a mile of Perth, until about twenty years ago, when, by some ruthless hands, it was rudely torn up, and the large flattened stones either thrown into the ditch or broken down into modern road metal. This was that portion of the South Town's Muir road which approaches by the back of Oakbank and joins the Glasgow turnpike at the village of Cherrybank. Even apart from those lines which are traceable from Kinross and Abernethy, that here described affords one of the most convincing proofs that the identical site of

Perth was a great central station, and that this station was the Roman Victoria.*

* "It is not to be supposed that the natives of the country would affix to the Town the Latin name Victoria. It might have recalled to their minds, perhaps, some signal victory over them, which had given occasion to the name. But they might make use of a word in their own language, such as Bertha, to signify that the Town appeared to them an illustrious piece of work.

"Other derivations of the name may be conjectured. Perhaps the goddess Victoria, or the Gothic deity of war, was in a particular manner worshipped by the Romans at Perth. Or perhaps the Victorian legion, which continued long in Britain, might have its principal station at Perth, either while Agricola was governor, or in the next century, when the Romans were again on the north side of the Forth, and where they remained about thirty years."—*Scott's Stat. Account.*

Ancient History.



LIKE most other places which have gradually risen into note, the City of Perth finds it very difficult, almost impossible, to trace her own origin. Dating as that does from a very high antiquity, her early annals are involved in much obscurity, and farther discovery is now hopeless. Just as "some village Hampden," whose talents or patriotism may be destined to dazzle the world, remains unnoticed while these are in embryo, and whose innate qualities, from the very obscurity of his birth and lineage, are doomed to blush unseen till they are fully developed, that world in which he moves neglects to mark his progress, and afterwards regrets that his early biography is a blank—so is it with such a place as Perth, whose original insignificance renders it impossible to trace those former stages of its existence which its subsequent importance makes it so desirable to know. At such a period, learning was little cultivated, and few, therefore, were capable of recording matters of merely local interest; and thus many a fact which must have constituted *an event* in its day, must have fallen into oblivion. Mark, for instance, the foundation of such an edifice as the old Church of St. John the Baptist, the date of which is utterly unknown! Besides, it must be considered that Perth had risen into consequence long before the blessed light of Christianity had shed its benign influence over a benighted land, inhabited by a barbarous people.

It is not that Perth has lacked historiographers—for they are not a few—that her early progress is so much a matter of mystery; but none of them are sufficiently ancient to have marked earlier events than we have on record; and what they give previous to their own day is mostly legendary or apocryphal. Farther, the amount of authentic information is not in the ratio of their number—for, as they were not all cotemporaries, those who flourished later generally copied what their predecessors had recorded, and the events of doubtful authenticity were thus handed down from one to another.

Notwithstanding that, in modern times, the City has vastly increased in population, and improved remarkably in the arts and





VIEW OF PERTH FROM THE TOP OF CRAIGHIE HILL.

DRAWN & ENGRAVED FOR PERTH, ITS ANAALS & ITS ARCHIVES BY G. COMMAN, F. R. S.

PERTH THOMAS RICHARDSON

amenities of life, she by no means holds that comparative consequence she formerly maintained. Her early history was inseparably connected with that of the kingdom, and for ages she was distinguished as its capital. During several centuries previous to the removal of the seat of Government and the Court to Edinburgh, by James the Third in 1482, Perth was the favourite residence of the Sovereign, and the place where many of the earlier Parliaments assembled. Most of the brief old Scottish statutes were promulgated from the Senate House in Parliament Close, High Street, an edifice which was finally demolished so recently as the year 1818. The City of Perth has been farther remarkable as intimately identified with the ecclesiastical annals of the country, and as having taken an active part in all the polemical movements and controversies of the clergy and people. It was here the heat of the Reformation commenced, when the numerous monastic establishments and religious houses which adorned Perth, with their gorgeous shrines and altars, were razed by the fiery, and, in this case, mistaken, zeal of the first followers of the celebrated John Knox. Previous to this period, the ecclesiastical architecture of Perth outshone every thing of the kind in Scotland. An additional importance attaches to this city from its almost immediate proximity to the Palace of Scone, where several national councils were convened, and where so many of the Scottish monarchs were crowned. The last ceremony of this nature, celebrated there, was the coronation of the Second Charles in 1651.

Upon the whole, Perth is generally recognised as the most ancient town in Scotland, and dates its origin from a period within less than a century of the Christian era. It is in some degree traditional, but never called in question, that it was founded by the Romans, when Agricola and Lollius Urbicus preferred it as a grand central military station. Every one has heard of the exclamation ascribed to the Roman invaders, when, coming from the south, the beautiful plain and river broke upon their view. "Behold the Tiber! behold the Field of Mars!" is said to have been the simultaneous shout. No wonder they were struck with "the matchless scene," as Sir Walter Scott pronounces it to be, especially as it was so much superior to their own favourite river, which, with its dull current and yellow mud, can never compare with the crystal waters of the Tay.

That the City was strongly fortified at a very early period is certain, and the generally received opinion, that this at first was

effected by the Romans, may be fairly assumed as correct; and that it must have been immediately after the first incursion (for the Romans were in Scotland a second time) of the legions of that gigantic power into the Caledonian territory, is more than probable. The *fosse*, whose track is now occupied by the Town's aqueduct, or King's *Lade*, in Mill Street, is said to have been a Roman work. Not a vestige, however, remains of the ancient walls; the last relic of this part of the City defences, and along the outside of which the aqueduct ran, was removed only about fifteen years ago, to make way for the modern innovation of a spinning mill! The Castle, or ancient citadel, stood in the immediate vicinity of that spot, on or near the area still termed the Castle Gable. This stronghold was destroyed previous to the erection of the Dominican Monastery of Blackfriars, founded by Alexander the Second in 1231. The City stood several hard sieges at various periods of its history; but of these in their order. It may, however, be here noticed generally, while on the subject of its early fortifications, that in 1561 Oliver Cromwell took possession of the Town, and razed most of the relics of ancient grandeur, which the fury of the Reformation had spared, to build a citadel, which was, in its turn, destroyed at the Restoration. The fosse, or moat, which surrounded it, long remained, known, to the uninformed, merely as "the *trench*," and which was completely filled up only a few years previous to the date of this publication. The present approach from Edinburgh, along the South Inch and Princes Street, crosses its site. Almost every vestige of its ancient fortified strength had disappeared from Perth previous to the Rebellion of 1715, when it was occupied by the Earl of Mar and his followers.

The time at which Agricola and his Roman cohorts adopted the locality of Perth as a choice position, was about the year of our Lord 81; and it may appear not a little remarkable, that, from that period, for nearly a thousand years, there are no authentic historical memoranda, particularly respecting the Town, now extant. It must have continued a place of considerable note during that long lapse of time; and the very circumstance of its proximity to Scone, where it is certain most of the early Scottish Monarchs were crowned, must have added to its consequence, and intimately connected it with national affairs. It is, therefore, matter of regret that no record, documentary or otherwise, exists, to afford means for even a meagre narrative of the rise and progress of a place originally so attractive, and subsequently so important in the annals

of the country. But this is by no means unaccountable, as it is in consequence of the barbarous policy of Edward the First of England, who, with the design of destroying every proof of the independence of Scotland, burnt all the public records of the kingdom. And so it is that, previous to 1153, we have nothing on record regarding events peculiar to Perth, or even to Scone, except a single instance in A.D. 906, when the first National Council recorded as having taken place in Scotland was convened at Scone, in the sixth year of the reign of Constantine, son of Ethus, in which that Monarch and "Kellach the Bishop, with the Scots, solemnly vowed to observe the laws and discipline of faith, the rights of the churches and of the gospel, on a little hill, from thence called *Collis Credulitates*, near to the royal city of Scone." This is understood to be the same eminence so famous afterwards by the name of the Moot or Mute-hill of Scone, called "*Omnis Terra*."*

Having so frequently made reference to the Roman conquest, and particularly to the fact of Agricola and his army having established themselves at Perth, it may not be improper to acquaint the reader—who may not be already informed on the point—with the movements of that warlike expedition in this part of the island, the southern part of which they so long held in subjection. In this the narrative contained in Adamson's Notes to Gall's poem is adhered to. It must be, in some measure, traditional.

Agricola, after having subdued the Britons, determined to fortify that neck of land which divides the two Friths of Forth and Clyde, to prevent the incursions of the warlike and fierce Caledonians; he erected a chain of forts betwixt the two Friths, and left the ninth legion to defend them. The Caledonians finding themselves straitened by these bulwarks, and cut off from all communication with the Britons, in the seventh year of Agricola's proconsular government, surprised them in the night time, and, after killing the guards, they attacked the camp with their usual bravery. The Proconsul understanding, by his spies, that the legion was in dan-

* In sexto anno regni sui, Constantinus rex filius Edij, Kellechus Episcopus, leges disciplinasque fidei, atqua jura ecclesiarum, evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis in colle credulitatis, prope regali curtate Scoon (sic) deroverunt custodiri; ab hoc die, collis, hoc (nomen) mernit, *i. e.* collis credulitatis.—*Innes's Appendix. Apud Guthrie. Vol. x. p. 416, &c.*

ger, advanced to their relief. Early in the morning, animated by his presence, they gave a shout, returned to the charge, and repulsed the Caledonians, who fled north to their fastnesses in disorder. Enraged at this insult, the Roman soldiers besought Agricola to lead them against the Caledonians. He marched accordingly into Caledonia.* While Agricola was in those parts, assembling his army to give battle to Galgacus, who, at the head of 30,000 Caledonians, waited his approach at the foot of the Grampian Mountains, about thirteen English miles north from Bertha, Tacitus informs us, that his father-in-law, Agricola, met with a heavy stroke in the death of his only son, an infant, which greatly afflicted him. Afterwards he led the army to the foot of the Grampians, where a bloody battle was fought for a considerable time, victory sometimes hovering over Agricola, sometimes over Galgacus, the Romans fighting for glory, the Caledonians for life and liberty, until many of their chiefs fell. At last they gave way, and retired in disorder through the mountains, and left Agricola master of the field.

Aulus Atticus, captain of a cohort, was a gentleman of rank and merit. Whether fired with the thirst of glory, or driven by the impetuosity of his horse, it is uncertain: he rushed in among the Caledonians, and fell, lamented by Agricola and the army.

The particular spot where this battle was fought is not certainly known; some say that it is at Comrie, others at Fortingal (at both these places there remain the vestiges of camps); others affirm, with more probability, that the battle was fought two miles west from Blairgowrie, where are to be seen a very great number of cairns or tumuli, where there is an oblong square surrounded by a

* Whether the Roman armies ever *subdued* the country farther to the northward, there can be no question that they carried their aggressions, successfully for the time at least, considerably farther north. The establishment of a military station on the site of Perth is one proof; and another, not far distant, may be adduced, of even greater certainty. The camp at Ardoch, about twenty miles west of Perth, is perhaps the most remarkable, extensive, and entire specimen of the kind in Britain; and its magnitude, with the out-posts farther in advance, at Orchil, and at Dungarthill, in Upper Strathearn, afford unequivocal evidence that they had succeeded in establishing a footing of some duration in these quarters. Ultimately, however, by the courage and enterprising spirit of the natives, they were compelled to retire within the rampart above mentioned, and even farther still, after the recall of Agricola; for, subsequently, the Emperor Adrian built a similar defence, reaching from Newcastle to Carlisle. The Romans, although retaining a portion of their conquests in South Britain, never again penetrated farther to the north, and finally quitted the island about the middle of the fifth century.

ditch, which they say was the Roman Vallum ; others affirm, that this was a deer-park made by Mr. Blair of Glasclune. Among all these assertions and uncertainties, we have small hopes of coming at the truth. The greatest probability leans towards Blairgowrie.

The foot of the Grampians was the *ne plus ultra* of the Romans. Agricola returned, and soon after was recalled by Domitian.

Returning to the annals of Perth proper, it is first necessary to advert to matters more of a national than a local nature ; indeed, it is only from the meagre record, or tradition rather, of what is national, that, from the Roman invasion down to the time of William the Lion, we can learn any thing peculiar to Perth. During the long period, nearly four hundred years, that the Romans maintained a footing in Scotland, this quarter of the country, along the face of the Grampian range, seems to have been a sort of debatable land—sometimes overrun by the fierce and warlike Caledonian hordes, and again, for a time, reduced, but never utterly subdued, by the Roman legions. In such a state of affairs, it is not to be supposed that Perth could be inhabited by a staid, industrious, and domestic population, quietly engaged in the peaceable pursuits of social life, or the cultivation either of mind or manners. The probability is, that during that period the place was still known and frequented chiefly as a military station.

Nor is it to be supposed that subsequently, for several centuries, the community was in a much more settled state ; for although it is understood the Christian religion was introduced into the island by missionaries who followed in the wake of the Romans, and that the principles of that humanizing faith were generally embraced, in the end of the second century, by the natives south of the Grampians, yet no sooner had the Romans left Caledonia, than a warfare ensued as fierce and active, and as unfavourable to civilization and the settlement of social habits and institutions, as had previously disturbed the country. It is not indeed very likely that the people of this district settled down into well-regulated communities until about the time when kings conferred chartered privileges on certain localities, when they found it necessary to have the aid of a democratic class—a distinct *caste* having distinct interests—against the haughty and imperious bearing of their nobles.

It has been common to divide the history of Scotland into six periods. Three will suit our purpose better, as in connection with

the City of Perth. The first is that of which the Roman invasion was the commencement, and shall be reckoned as coming under the head of Ancient History, if any thing so obscure can be called history. It is the period, rather than the events, which it is meant to place under that epithet. The second epoch is reckoned as commencing with the reign of Kenneth the Second, who succeeded to the crown about the middle of the ninth century, and before whom twenty-six kings are named as having reigned in succession from Fergus the First downwards. From this period light dawned on our national and local history, with gradual and improving progress, until the end of the reign of James the Fifth—and this may be termed the Middle Age. Connected as it has been with the history of the Reformation of religion, and more especially with the chronology of the “Fair City,” the period from the death of the last-mentioned monarch, which took place at Falkland the 14th December, 1542, or from the accession of his unfortunate daughter, Mary—which is the same thing—down to the present day, may not inaptly be taken as coming under the head Modern History, and as such it shall be treated in the sequel.

The destruction, or rather the forcible seizure, of the ancient Scottish records—including those, of course, more particularly connected with Perth—has already been alluded to. On this point, Hailes, in his *Annals of Scotland*, is thus particular:—When Edward the First subdued Scotland, towards the close of the thirteenth century, he took the most effectual means in his power to destroy every evidence of its former independence. He caused the chartulary of Scone (the place where, since the time of Kenneth M'Alpine, the Scottish kings had been crowned) to be carefully ransacked, for the purpose of getting possession of whatever might be found at variance with the king of England's pretensions. And when he left Scotland, he carried with him to London not only the crown and sceptre surrendered by Baliol, but even the *sacred stone* (the celebrated marble chair) on which the Scottish monarchs were placed when they received the royal inauguration—which inauguration, every one knows, took place at Scone, in the immediate vicinity of Perth. Perth was a chief seat of royalty at the time. We are warranted, therefore, to believe that the public documents there kept he would be particularly desirous to take possession of, and this may account for there being no such records of public characters and interesting events as might naturally be looked for in a city so prominent in the nation's ancient history. His grandson,

Edward the Third, is said to have restored to Robert the records which he had abstracted. But it is more than probable that the spirit in which he perpetrated the violent deed would instigate him, without delay, to make away with some of the most important papers; and report says, that the vessel that was conveying some of them was lost. But these are matters of probability only, or conjecture, and not of historical fact.

Although not very satisfactorily authenticated, some old chronicles supply us with historical information back to a distance of time several centuries previous to the era in which Edward of England reigned. Cant, in his Notes on Mr. Henry Adamson's poem, sums up the particulars connected with an interesting period—the expulsion or extinction of the Picts—very briefly, thus:—"Achaius, king of Scotland, began his reign A.D. 819. In his reign the famous league with Charlemagne, king of France, was made, which began the connections betwixt Scotland and France, and subsisted until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when James the Sixth became the first British monarch. Achaius married the sister of Hungus, king of the Picts. Alpine, the son of Achaius, succeeded to his father, after the two short reigns of Congal and Dongal, A.D. 830. Hungus, his uncle, dying without male issue, Alpine claimed the Pictish crown in right of his mother, which was absolutely refused. The throne was seized by Feredeth. Alpine engaged him at Restennet, about a mile east from Forfar.* Feredeth was slain. His two sons who succeeded one another were equally unfortunate, and perished, the one by his subjects, the other, when flying from the Scots, by a country man through mistake. A nobleman named Brudus was raised to the throne. He engaged the Scots army west

* The compiler recollects of tracing, with much interest, in his boyhood, the circumvallations of an ancient encampment in the Muir of Restennet. These were as extensive as those of the remarkable Roman camp at Ardoch, but with fewer entrenchments. Near to the south-east corner there was a large mound, with a flattened or hollow top, corresponding to the Roman prætorium, very much the same in character but not so large as that at the foot of Craiggrossie, in Strathearn. The people in that quarter seemed to know little of its history, and merely spoke of it as "*the trenches*," and were used to talk of many stories as to large quantities of human bones having been occasionally found there. Whether these vestiges are still traceable we cannot say—but the railway from Forfar to Arbroath traverses the site of this encampment, at a point almost equidistant between Forfar and Restennet Priory, now in ruins, and situated about two miles east from the former place. The railway operations may have obliterated the traces of the camp.

from Dundee, routed them, and took Alpine, with many of his nobles, prisoners, and inhumanly put them to death. Alpine's head they fixed on a pole, and carried it in triumph through the army, and set it up for a spectacle at Abernethy the royal city, which stands five miles south-east from Perth.

“Kenneth the Second succeeded to his father Alpine, A.D. 833. Enraged by the barbarity of the Picts, in the fifth year of his reign, according to the *Book of Paisley*, he engaged the Pictish army at Scone, and gained a bloody victory. Drusken, the king, with many Pictish nobles, fell, as they attempted in vain to repass the river Tay. This overthrow put an end to the kingdom of the Picts. Kenneth removed the bishop's see from Abernethy to St. Andrews, called *fanum reguli*, and humbled that stately metropolis, where his father's head, five years before, had been ignominiously fixed. As this was the final and greatest overthrow of the Picts, we have reason to conclude that Abernethy is the Camelon referred to in the poem, and not that town at the angle of the Roman wall near Carron, which Bede calls Guidi. We learn from Buchanan, that many places and towns in the united kingdom of Picts and Scots received new names in the reign of Kenneth.”

As the Scottish kings, from Kenneth the Second downwards, were crowned at Scone, and are understood to have had their residence chiefly at Perth,* it may be well to fill up the chasm, caused by Edward's abstraction of the records, with a brief notice of the monarchs in succession, the date of whose reigns, and the lineaments of whose characters, are chiefly known from the contemporary annals of England or Ireland, in detailing events and circumstances in history with which they were connected.

Kenneth died in 859, and was succeeded by Donald the Fifth, who reigned only four years; he again was succeeded by Constantine the Second, a gallant and warlike prince, who was crowned at Scone. During his reign the Danes first landed in Scotland, on the coast of Fife, in order to aid the Picts, who invited their support against

* Mr. Cant states, in a note, that “The Kings of Scotland, preceding James the Second, were crowned at *Scone*, and resided at *Perth*, as the *metropolis* of the nation. While James was a minor, he resided and was educated in the Castle of Edinburgh, and was crowned there, the 20th March, A.D. 1437. Edinburgh now began to grow conspicuous, which, before this era, was only remarkable for its strong Castle and fine Abbey. The Parliaments and Courts of Justice were removed from Perth to Edinburgh; but Perth kept its priority until the twenty-second year of *James the Third's* reign, A.D. 1482.

the Scots. In a conflict with them, in which they were completely routed, Constantine was taken prisoner and slain in 881, after a reign of eighteen years, and was succeeded by his brother Ethus, who, at the behest of his nobles, resigned his crown, and died of grief in prison in the second year of his reign. Ethus was succeeded by Gregory, who, unlike his predecessor, was possessed of every virtue that could adorn a throne. He drove the Picts entirely out of Scotland, and also expelled the Danes. This prince was surnamed "the Great," and died in 893, having reigned eleven years. Much doubt, however, hangs over the traditionary events of his splendid reign, which are not mentioned by English or Irish historians. Gregory was succeeded by Donald the Sixth, said to be a man at once brave and prudent. He sent an army into England to the assistance of Alfred against the Danes, who had invaded that country, but who on this occasion sustained a signal defeat. Donald died in 904, after a reign of eleven years. He was succeeded by Constantine the Third, who formed a strong contrast, in spirit and conduct, to his predecessor. He joined the Danes in their wars against the English. In an engagement with the latter, commanded by Athelstane, the Scots under Prince Malcolm, with their allies the Danes, were defeated with great slaughter. Constantine was so deeply affected by this disaster, that he called a convention of the estates at Abernethy, where he surrendered the kingdom in 944, and retired among the Culdees at St. Andrews, after he had reigned forty years. Malcolm, son of Donald, succeeded Constantine, and distinguished himself alike for valour and prudence. He zealously cultivated the arts of peace, and established courts of justice throughout the kingdom, to every part of which he generally made an annual visit. Nevertheless, a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was murdered in the ninth year of his reign. Indulphus succeeded, and lost his life, although victorious, in a sanguinary conflict with the Danes, in the eighth year of his reign. Duffus, son of Malcolm, came next, and although a prince of the most amiable character, was murdered by Donald, governor of Forres, on account of his refusal to pardon some of his relatives who had been found guilty of capital crimes. His reign lasted only four years and six months. Culenus, son of Indulphus, succeeded Duffus. He was slain by Rohardus, sheriff of Fife, after having reigned four-and-a-half years. Culenus was succeeded by Kenneth the Third, brother of Duffus, about the year 970. He was an amiable and accomplished monarch, who greatly reformed the man-

ners of the natives, by a good example in his own court and family, and punishing the guilty who had been spared in the preceding reign.

It was during the time he swayed the sceptre that a remarkable event, memorable in the annals of Perth and vicinity, took place. The Danes again (for a third or fourth time) landed a great army at the mouth of the river Esk, in Forfarshire, ravaged the country with fire and sword as far as the Frith of Tay, and afterwards laid siege to Perth. Kenneth, who at the time was residing at Stirling, hastily assembled an army, and marched to attack them. A fierce and sanguinary conflict immediately took place at Luncarty, in the neighbourhood of Perth, in which the Scots were at first thrown into confusion, and began to retreat. At this critical juncture, a husbandman of the name of Hay, with his two sons, who were tilling the ground in an adjacent field, on perceiving the plight of their countrymen—which it is supposed they ascribed to cowardice—seized their agricultural implements, and posting themselves in a narrow pass, stopped the fugitives, and turned the tide of battle. The enemy, supposing that the Scots had obtained a reinforcement, fled in their turn; and the Scots, returning to the charge with redoubled ardour, completely discomfited the foe. For this brave action, Hay is said to have been immediately created a nobleman; and to support the dignity of his rank, was offered the choice of a hound's race or a falcon's flight, as the length, with a corresponding breadth, of the property in land which was to be conferred on him. The hawk's flight, as tradition states, was preferred; and there is a hamlet in the parish of Errol, Carse of Gowrie, called Hawkstone, where the stone is still shown as that on which the hawk first rested. Several families of rank and consequence claim the honour of direct lineage; but it remains matter of question which has the just right. The Earls of Errol, as well as the noble family of Kinnoull, both adopt for armorial bearings insignia commemorative of the achievement. The Earl of Errol has three shields or scutcheons, with two peasants, carrying oxen yokes, or *bows*, as they are frequently termed, with the motto, "SERVA JUGUM." The Earl of Kinnoull displays the two peasants supporting a richly-quartered shield—the one bearing a sword, the other an agricultural implement. The crest is also a three-quarter length of a peasant, with the oxen yoke, and under the whole is the motto, "RENOVATE ANIMOS." In the peerage lists they are held as descended from a common ancestor. Kinnoull is "Lord Lyon King-at-Arms"—hereditary, we

believe ; and Errol is hereditary Lord High Constable of Scotland, and, consequently, by birth, the first subject in the kingdom, after the blood royal ; and, as such, hath a right to take place of every hereditary honour. The Chancellor, and Constable of England, do, indeed, take precedence of him ; but these are only temporary honours, to which no man can lay claim by birth ; so that, by birth, the Earl of Errol ranks, without doubt, as the first subject in Great Britain, next to the Princes of the blood royal. (*Vide Douglas' Peerage*, i. 556.) The battle of Luncarty is reckoned to have taken place about the year 980.

Kenneth the Third brought odium on his former fair character by the murder of Malcolm, governor of Cumberland, and son of King Duffus, who, he thought, might stand as a bar in the way of his own son's succession to the throne. He was afterwards slain by some horsemen, hired for the purpose by Fenella, a noble lady, whose son he had formerly punished. This event took place in 992, being the twenty-second year of his reign.

Constantine the Fourth, son of Culenus, succeeded Kenneth. He was slain in a battle betwixt two factions of his subjects, after he had reigned only one year and six months. Grimus, son of Duffus, succeeded him, and was crowned at Scone. Grimus also died of wounds received in civil strife. Malcolm the Second succeeded him. At the commencement of his reign, he caused the Parliament, at Scone, to ratify the law passed by his father, fixing the succession of the crown to the King's children, as sacred and inviolable. He was a brave and warlike prince, and afterwards employed himself in destroying the seeds of faction, and encouraging industry, until he again got into trouble with the Danes under Sweno, whom he encountered in many desperate battles. The Danes latterly returned to their native shores. Shortly after this, the Assembly of Estates at Scone passed a law, enacting, that when a nobleman died, his children should be under the wardship of the King till they attained the age of twenty-one years. In consequence of this arrangement, the Sovereign, during the minority of the nobles, received the whole of their revenues. As nothing grows faster on what it feeds upon than avarice, Malcolm in his old age sullied the former lustre of his reign by indulgence in that propensity, which led him to impose grievous fines on the nobles ; upon which they formed a conspiracy, and effected his murder at Glammis Castle, where he occasionally resided. The year in which this took place, 1031, was remarkable for severe frosts and snows in the middle of

summer, which destroyed the produce of the earth, and caused a distressing famine. Duncan the First, grandson of Malcolm the Second, next ascended the throne. He was a prince of mild and easy disposition, remarkable for his kindness to the poor, and for justice in punishing all oppression. In his reign, one Macdonald raised an insurrection, and obtained powerful assistance from Ireland. Duncan mustered an army without delay, and entrusted the command to Macbeth, who marched against the rebels and subdued them; after which he cut off Macdonald's head and sent it to the King at Perth. Soon after, the Danes once more landed in Fife, under Sweno, son of the former king of that name. A desperate battle was fought near Culross, in which the Scots suffered such reverses, that they could not maintain their position, but were forced to fall back upon Perth. Soon afterwards, the Danes having courted a treaty, the Scots, while terms were pending, introduced wine, mixed with nightshade, into the Danish camp, by which stratagem the Danes became so somnolent and lethargic, that they soon fell a prey to the Scottish forces. The few who escaped fled to their ships, which were destroyed by a storm at the mouth of the Tay; for, having run foul of one another, they sunk and formed the bank still known by the name of Drumley Sands, where the jurisdiction of Perth over the Tay terminates.

Macbeth's ambition, as everybody knows, led him to aspire to the sovereignty, to attain to which he murdered his king and master. The King's sons fled into England, but Macbeth collected a body of men, with whom he repaired to Scone, and was formally crowned; and there he enacted many judicious and salutary laws, with a view to conciliate the affections of the people. On account of various violent deeds, so well known as not to require repetition here, he exasperated the nobles, and became the object of universal detestation. Fears for his life led him to build a castle on Dun-sinnan Hill, as a place of refuge and strong defence, and compelled all the Thanes of the kingdom to furnish materials and workmen for its erection. Enraged at Macduff, Thane of Fife, for not attending in person, he threatened his life, on which he fled into England, and being there furnished with an army by King Edward, he returned, assailed, defeated, and slew the tyrant, after he had reigned for the space of seventeen years.

This is a mere outline of the career of Macbeth, which may perhaps suffice for those not requiring to peruse the events of his life more in detail; but as the most stirring incidents are so nearly con-

nected with this locality—as the most important circumstances of his history may be known to comparatively few, who have not read Shakspeare’s celebrated drama founded thereon (and there is at least a portion of those under whose notice this book may fall who never read plays)—it has been deemed proper to extract, at length, Sir Walter Scott’s simple narrative, as given in *Tales of a Grandfather*, and founded on Hollinshed’s history of the period. The story is very interesting; and as it is minute, without being tedious, may be perused with some gratification by those who are pretty well informed in regard to the great leading facts, from their acquaintance with Shakspeare’s inimitable historical drama, in which these are prominently and graphically brought out:—

“ Soon after the Scots and Picts had become one people, there was a king of Scotland called Duncan, a very good old man. He had two sons; one was called Malcolm, and the other Donaldbane. But King Duncan was too old to lead out his army to battle, and his sons were too young to help him.

“ At this time Scotland, and indeed France and England, and all the other countries of Europe, were much harassed by the Danes. These were a very fierce, warlike people, who sailed from one place to another, and landed their armies on the coast, burning and destroying every thing wherever they came. They were heathens, and did not believe in the Bible, but thought of nothing but battle and slaughter, and making plunder. When they came to countries where the inhabitants were cowardly, they took possession of the land, as the Saxons took possession of Britain. At other times, they landed with their soldiers, took what spoil they could find, burned the houses, and then got on board, hoisted sails, and away again. They did so much mischief, that people put up prayers to God in the churches, to deliver them from the rage of the Danes.

“ Now, it happened in King Duncan’s time, that a great fleet of these Danes came to Scotland and landed their men in Fife (under the command of Sweno, King of Denmark and Norway—Hollinshed, vol. v. p. 266), and threatened to take possession of that province. So a numerous Scottish army was levied to go fight against them. The King was too old to command his army, and his sons were too young. He therefore sent out one of his near relations, who was called Macbeth; he was son of Finel, who was Thane, as it was called, of Glammiss. The governors of provinces were at that time, in Scotland, called Thaness; they were afterwards termed Earls.

“ This Macbeth, who was a brave soldier, put himself at the head of the Scottish army, and marched against the Danes. And he carried with him a relation of his own, called Banquo, who was Thane of Lochaber, and was also a very brave man. So there was a great battle fought between the Danes and the Scots; and Macbeth and Banquo, the Scottish generals, defeated the Danes, and drove them back to their ships, leaving a great many of their soldiers both killed and wounded. Then Macbeth and his army marched back to a town in the north of Scotland, called Forres, rejoicing on account of their victory.

“ Now there lived at this time three old women in the town of Forres, whom people looked upon as witches, and supposed they could tell what was to come to pass. In those early times the people were ignorant, and even great men, like Macbeth, believed that such persons as these witches of Forres could tell what was to come to pass afterwards, and listened to the nonsense they told them, as if the old women had really been prophetesses.* The old women saw that they were respected and feared, so that they were tempted to impose upon people, by pretending to tell what was to happen to them; and they got presents for doing so.

“ So the three old women went and stood by the wayside, in a great moor or heath near Forres, and waited till Macbeth came up. And then, stepping before him as he was marching at the head of his soldiers, the first woman said, ‘ All hail, Macbeth—hail to thee, Thane of Glamis.’ The second said, ‘ All hail, Macbeth—hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor.’ Then the third, wishing to pay him a higher compliment than the other two, said, ‘ All hail, Macbeth, that shalt be King of Scotland.’ Macbeth was very much surprised to hear them give him these titles; and while he was wondering what they could mean, Banquo stepped forward, and asked them whether they had nothing to tell about him as well as about Macbeth? And they said, that he should not be so great as Macbeth, but that though he himself should never be a king, yet his children should succeed to the throne of Scotland, and be kings for a great number of years.

“ Before Macbeth was recovered from his surprise, there came a

* The reader will not consider this superstition so very surprising or unaccountable, at a period so remote and unenlightened, when he shall have read what we have yet to record as having taken place in Perth about *six hundred* years later, and nearly a whole century *after* the Reformation!

messenger to tell him that his father was dead, so that he was become Thane of Glamis by inheritance. And there came a second messenger, from the King, to thank Macbeth for the great victory over the Danes, and tell him that the Thane of Cawdor had rebelled against the King, and that the King had taken his office from him, and had sent to make Macbeth Thane of Cawdor as well as of Glamis. Thus the first two old women seemed to be right in giving him those two titles. I daresay they knew something of the death of Macbeth's father, and that the government of Cawdor was intended for Macbeth, though he had not heard of it.

“However, Macbeth, seeing a part of their words come to be true, began to think how he was to bring the rest to pass, and make himself King, as well as Thane of Glamis and Cawdor. Now Macbeth had a wife, who was a very ambitious, wicked woman, and when she found out that her husband thought of raising himself up to be King of Scotland, she encouraged him in his wicked purpose, by all the means in her power, and persuaded him that the only way to get possession of the crown was to kill the good old King, Duncan. Macbeth was very unwilling to commit so great a crime, for he knew what a good sovereign Duncan had been; and he recollected that he was his relation, and had been always very kind to him, and had intrusted him with the command of his army, and had bestowed on him the government or Thanedom of Cawdor. But his wife continued telling him what a foolish cowardly thing it was in him not to take the opportunity of making himself King, when it was in his power to gain what the witches promised him. So the wicked advice of his wife, and the prophecy of these wretched old women, at last brought Macbeth to think of murdering his King and his friend. The way in which he accomplished his crime, made it still more abominable.

“Macbeth invited Duncan to come to visit him, at a great castle near Inverness; and the good King, who had no suspicions of his kinsman, accepted the invitation very willingly. Macbeth and his lady received the King and all his retinue with much appearance of joy, and made a great feast, as a subject would do to make his King welcome. About the middle of the night, the King desired to go to his apartment, and Macbeth conducted him to a fine room which had been prepared for him. Now, it was the custom, in those barbarous times, that wherever the King slept, two armed men slept in the same chamber, in order to defend his person in

case he should be attacked by any one during the night. But the wicked Lady Macbeth had made these two watchmen drink a great deal of wine, and had besides put some drugs into the liquor; so that when they went to the King's apartment they both fell asleep, and slept so soundly that nothing could awaken them.

“ Then the cruel Macbeth came into King Duncan's bedroom about two in the morning. It was a terrible stormy night; but the noise of the wind and of the thunder did not awaken the King, for he was old, and weary with his journey; neither could it awaken the two sentinels, who were stupefied with the liquor and the drugs they had swallowed. They all slept soundly. So Macbeth having come into the room, and stepped gently over the floor, he took the two dirks which belonged to the sentinels, and stabbed poor old King Duncan to the heart, and that so effectually, that he died without giving even a groan. Then Macbeth put the bloody daggers into the hands of the sentinels, and daubed their faces over with blood, that it might appear as if they had committed the murder. Macbeth was, however, greatly frightened at what he had done, but his wife made him wash his hands and go to bed.

“ Early in the morning, the nobles and gentlemen who attended on the King assembled in the great hall of the castle, and there they began to talk of what a dreadful storm it had been the night before. But Macbeth could scarcely understand what they said, for he was thinking on something much worse and more frightful than the storm, and was wondering what would be said when they heard of the murder. They waited for some time; but finding the King did not come from his apartment, one of the noblemen went to see whether he was well or not. But when he came into the room, he found poor King Duncan lying stiff, and cold, and bloody, and the two sentinels both fast asleep, with their dirks or daggers covered with blood. As soon as the Scottish nobles saw this terrible sight, they were greatly astonished and enraged; and Macbeth made believe as if he were more enraged than any of them, and, drawing his sword, before any one could prevent him, he killed the two attendants of the King who slept in the bed-chamber, pretending to think they had been guilty of murdering King Duncan.

“ When Malcolm and Donaldbane, the two sons of the good King, saw their father slain in this strange manner within Macbeth's castle, they became afraid that they might be put to death

likewise, and fled away out of Scotland ; for, notwithstanding all the excuses which he could make, they still believed that Macbeth had killed their father. Donaldbane fled into some distant islands ; but Malcolm, the eldest son of Duncan, went to the Court of England, where he begged for assistance from the English King, to place him on the throne of Scotland as his father's successor.

“ In the meantime, Macbeth took possession of the kingdom of Scotland, and thus all his wicked wishes seemed to be fulfilled. But he was not happy. He began to reflect how wicked he had been in killing his friend and benefactor, and how some other person, as ambitious as he was himself, might do the same thing to him. He remembered, too, that the old women had said, that the children of Banquo should succeed to the throne after his death ; and therefore he concluded that Banquo might be tempted to conspire against him, as he had himself done against King Duncan. The wicked always think other people are as bad as themselves. In order to prevent this supposed danger, Macbeth hired ruffians to watch in a wood, where Banquo and his son Fleance sometimes used to walk in the evening, with instructions to attack them, and kill both father and son. The villains did as they were ordered by Macbeth ; but while they were killing Banquo, the boy Fleance made his escape from their wicked hands, and fled from Scotland into Wales. And it is said, that, long afterwards, his children came to possess the Scottish crown (the Stewart family).

“ Macbeth was not the more happy that he had slain his brave friend and cousin, Banquo. He knew that men began to suspect the wicked deeds which he had done, and he was constantly afraid that some one would put him to death as he had done his old sovereign, or that Malcolm would obtain assistance from the King of England, and come to make war against him, and take from him the Scottish kingdom. So, in this great perplexity of mind, he thought he would go to the old women, whose words had first put into his mind the desire of becoming a King. It is to be supposed that he offered them presents, and that they were cunning enough to study how to give him some answer, which should make him continue in the belief that they could prophecy what was to happen in future times. So they answered to him, that he should not be conquered, or lose the crown of Scotland, until a great forest, called Birnam Wood, should come to attack a strong castle situated on a high hill called Dunsinnan, in which castle Macbeth commonly resided. Now, the hill of Dunsinnan is upon the one side of a great

valley, and the forest of Birnam is upon the other.* There are twelve miles' distance betwixt them; and besides that, Macbeth thought that it was impossible that the trees could ever come to the assault of the castle. He therefore resolved to fortify his castle on the hill of Dunsinnan very strongly, as being a place in which he would always be sure to be safe. For this purpose, he caused all his great nobility and Thanes to send in stones, and wood, and other things wanted in building, and to drag them with oxen up to the top of the steep hill where he was building the castle.

“Now, among other nobles who were obliged to send oxen, and horses, and materials to this laborious work, was one called Macduff, the Thane of Fife. Macbeth was afraid of this Thane, for he was very powerful, and was accounted both brave and wise; and Macbeth thought he would most probably join with Prince Malcolm, if ever he should come from England with an army. The King, therefore, had a private hatred against the Thane of Fife, which he kept concealed from all men, until he should have some opportunity of putting him to death, as he had done Duncan and Banquo. Macduff, on his part, kept upon his guard, and went to the King's court as seldom as he could, thinking himself never safe unless while in his own castle of Kennoway, which is on the coast of Fife, near to the mouth of the Frith of Forth.

“It happened, however, that the King had summoned several of his nobles, and Macduff, the Thane of Fife, amongst others, to attend him at his new castle of Dunsinnan; and they were all obliged to come—none dared stay behind. Now, the King was to give the nobles a great entertainment, and preparations were made for it. In the mean time, Macbeth rode out with a few attendants, to see the oxen drag the wood and the stones up the hill, for enlarging and strengthening the castle. So they saw most of the oxen trudging up the hill with great difficulty (for the ascent is very steep), and the burdens were heavy, and the weather was extremely hot. At length Macbeth saw a pair of oxen so tired that they could go no farther up the hill, but fell down under their load. Then the King was very angry, and demanded to know who it was among his

* The heights of Birnam and Dunsinnan Hill are both within view of the northern suburbs of Perth—the former situated about twelve miles towards the north-west, and the latter somewhat more than half that distance from the city. Both are prominently seen from one another, as well as the expansive surface of the broad valley lying between them.

Thanes that had sent oxen so weak and so unfit for labour, when he had so much work for them to do? Some one replied, that the oxen belonged to Macduff, the Thane of Fife. 'Then,' said the King, in great anger, 'since the Thane of Fife sends such worthless cattle as these to do my labour, I will put his own neck into the yoke, and make him drag the burdens himself.'

"There was a friend of Macduff who heard these angry expressions of the King, and hastened to communicate them to the Thane of Fife, who was walking in the hall of the King's castle while dinner was preparing. The instant that Macduff heard what the King had said, he knew he had no time to lose in making his escape; for whenever Macbeth threatened to do mischief to any one, he was sure to keep his word.

"So Macduff snatched up from the table a loaf of bread, called for his horses and his servants, and was galloping back to his own province of Fife before Macbeth and the rest of the nobility were returned to the castle. The first question which the King asked was, what had become of Macduff? and being informed that he had fled from Dunsinnan, he ordered a body of his guards to attend him, and mounted on horseback himself to pursue the Thane, with the purpose of putting him to death.

"Macduff, in the meantime, fled as fast as horses' feet could carry him; but he was so ill provided with money for his expenses, that, when he came to the great ferry over the river Tay, he had nothing to give to the boatman who took him across excepting the loaf of bread which he had taken from the King's table. The place was called, for a long time afterwards, the Ferry of the Loaf.

"When Macduff got into his province of Fife, which is on the other side of the Tay, he rode on faster than before, towards his own castle of Kennoway, which stands close by the seaside; and when he reached it, the King and his guards were not far behind him. Macduff ordered his wife to shut the gates of the castle, draw up the drawbridge, and on no account to permit the King or any of his soldiers to enter. In the mean time, he went to the small harbour belonging to the castle, and caused a ship which was lying there to be fitted out for sea in all haste, and got on board himself, in order to escape from Macbeth.

"In the mean time, Macbeth summoned the lady to surrender the castle, and to deliver up her husband. But Lady Macduff, who was a wise and a brave woman, made many excuses and delays, until she knew that her husband was safely on board the ship,

and had sailed from the harbour. Then she spoke boldly from the wall of the castle to the King, who was standing before the gate still demanding entrance, with many threats of what he would do if Macduff was not given up to him.

“ ‘Do you see,’ she said, ‘yon white sail upon the sea? Yonder goes Macduff to the Court of England. You will never see him again till he comes back with young Prince Malcolm, to pull you down from the throne, and to put you to death. You will never be able to put your yoke, as you threatened, on the Thane of Fife’s neck.’ ”

“ Some say that Macbeth was so much incensed at this bold answer, that he and his guards attacked the castle and took it, killing the brave lady and all whom they found there. But others say, and I believe more truly, that the King, seeing that the fortress of Kennoway was very strong, and that Macduff had escaped from him, and was embarked for England, departed back to Dunsinnan without attempting to take the castle. The ruins are still to be seen, and are called the Thane’s Castle.* ”

“ There reigned at that time in England a very good King, called Edward the Confessor. Prince Malcolm, the son of Duncan, was at his court, soliciting assistance to recover the Scottish throne. The arrival of Macduff greatly aided the success of his petition; for the English King knew that Macduff was a brave and a wise man. As he assured Edward that the Scots were tired of the cruel Macbeth, and would join Prince Malcolm if he were to return to his country at the head of an army, the King ordered a great warrior, called Siward, Earl of Northumberland, to enter Scotland with a large force [A.D. 1054], and assist Prince Malcolm in the recovery of his father’s crown.

“ Then it happened just as Macduff had said; for the Scottish Thanes and nobles would not fight for Macbeth, but joined Prince Malcolm and Macduff against him; so that at length he shut himself up in his castle of Dunsinnan, where he thought himself safe, according to the old women’s prophecy, until Birnam Wood should come against him. He boasted of this to his followers, and encouraged them to make a valiant defence, assuring them of certain

* “ West of the town of Culross, and upon the banks of the Forth, is Castle-hill, anciently called *Dunnemarle Castle*, that is, in the Gaelic language, *the castle by or near the sea*, from a stronghold of the Macduffs, Thanes of Fife. According to tradition, it was here that the murder of Lady Macduff and her children was perpetrated.”—*Statistical Account of Scotland*.

victory. At this time Malcolm and Macduff were come as far as Birnam Wood, and lay encamped there with their army. The next morning, when they were to march across the broad valley to attack the castle of Dunsinnan, Macduff advised that every soldier should cut down a bough of a tree and carry it in his hand, that the enemy might not be able to see how many men were coming against them.

“Now, the sentinel who stood on Macbeth’s castle-wall, when he saw all these branches, which the soldiers of Prince Malcolm carried, ran to the King, and informed him that the Wood of Birnam was moving towards the castle of Dunsinnan. The King at first called him a liar, and threatened to put him to death; but when he looked from the walls himself, and saw the appearance of a forest approaching from Birnam, he knew the hour of his destruction was come. His followers, too, began to be disheartened and to fly from the castle, seeing their master had lost all hopes.

“Macbeth, however, recollected his own bravery, and sallied desperately out at the head of the few followers who remained faithful to him. He was killed, after a furious resistance, fighting hand to hand with Macduff in the thick of the battle. Prince Malcolm mounted the throne of Scotland, and reigned long and prosperously. He rewarded Macduff, by declaring that his descendants should lead the vanguard of the Scottish army in battle, and place the crown on the King’s head at the ceremony of coronation. King Malcolm also created the thanes of Scotland earls, after the title of dignity adopted in the court of England.”*

* The preceding traditional story of Macbeth has been adopted by Hollinshed, dignified by the classical Latinity of Buchanan, and dramatised by Shakspeare. For its variation from ascertained historical facts, see Haile’s *Annals*, 8vo, vol. i. pp. 1-4; Chalmers’ *Caledonia*, vol. i. pp. 404-414; and on this point Sir Walter Scott elsewhere remarks:—

“Malcolm died peaceably in 1033, and was succeeded by ‘The gracious Duncan,’ the same who fell by the poignard of Macbeth. On reading these names, every reader must feel as if brought from darkness into the blaze of noon-day; so familiar are we with the personages whom we last named, and so clearly and distinctly we recal the events in which they are interested, in comparison with any doubtful and misty views which we can form of the twilight times before and after that fortunate period. But we must not be blinded by our poetical enthusiasm, nor add more than due importance to legends because they have been woven into the most striking tale of ambition and remorse that ever struck awe into a human bosom. The genius of Shakspeare having found the tale of Macbeth in the Scottish chronicles of Hollinshed, adorned it with a lustre similar to that with which a level beam of the sun often invests some fragment of glass, which, though shining at a distance with the lustre of a diamond, is, by a near investigation, discovered to be of no worth or estimation.

Malcolm the Third, surnamed *Canmore*, and celebrated for his virtues, succeeded Macbeth, and was crowned at Scone on the 25th April, 1056. His first care was to restore their estates to the children of those noblemen who had been put to death by the tyrant. In this reign, Walter, nephew of Banquo, was created Lord High Steward of Scotland; and from him the Royal Family of Stewart were said to be descended, although some historians assert that this office did not exist until nearly a century after the date which is here assigned to it. Malcolm distinguished himself by his attention to the interests of religion. He procured learned and pious bishops for several dioceses, and erected a cathedral at Durham in England, and another at Dunfermline in Scotland. It may be proper here to observe, that, for several centuries, the English counties of Northumberland,

"Duncan, by his mother Beatrice a grandson of Malcolm II, succeeded to the throne on his grandfather's death in 1033; he reigned only six years. Macbeth, his near relation, also a grandchild of Malcolm II, though by the mother's side, was stirred up by ambition to contest the throne with the possessor. The lady of Macbeth also, whose real name was Graoch, had deadly injuries to avenge on the reigning prince. She was the granddaughter of Kenneth IV, killed in 1003, fighting against Malcolm II; and other causes for revenge animated the mind of her who has been since painted as the sternest of women. The old annalists add some instigations of a supernatural kind to the influence of a vindictive woman over an ambitious husband. Three women, of more than human stature and beauty, appeared to Macbeth in a dream or vision, and hailed him successively by the titles of Thane of Cromarty, Thane of Moray, the King afterwards bestowed on him, and finally by that of King of Scots; this dream, it is said, inspired him with the seductive hopes so well expressed in the drama.

"Macbeth broke no law of hospitality in his attempt on Duncan's life. He attacked and slew the King at a place called Bothgowan, or the Smith's House, near Elgin, in 1039, and not, as has been supposed, in his own castle of Inverness. The act was bloody, as was the complexion of the times; but, in very truth, the claim of Macbeth to the throne, according to the rule of Scottish succession, was better than that of Duncan. As a king, the tyrant so much exclaimed against was, in reality, a firm, just, and equitable prince. Apprehensions of danger from a party which Malcolm, the eldest son of the slaughtered Duncan, had set on foot in Northumberland, and still maintained in Scotland, seems, in process of time, to have soured the temper of Macbeth, and rendered him formidable to his nobility. Against Macduff, in particular, the powerful Maormor of Fife, he had uttered some threats which occasioned that chief to fly from the court of Scotland. Urged by this new counsellor, Siward, the Danish Earl of Northumberland, invaded Scotland in 1054, displaying his banner in behalf of the banished Malcolm. Macbeth engaged the foe in the neighbourhood of his celebrated castle of Dunsinnan. He was defeated, but escaped from the battle, and was slain at Lumphanan in 1056.

"Very slight observation will enable us to recollect how much this simple statement differs from that of the drama, though the plot of the latter is consistent enough with the inaccurate historians from whom Shakspeare drew his materials. It might be added, that early authorities show us no such persons as Banquo and his son Fleance, nor have we reason to think that the latter ever fled further from Macbeth than across the flat scene, according to the stage direction. Neither were Banquo or his son ancestors of the house of Stuart. All these things are now known; but the mind retains pertinaciously the impression made by the impositions of genius. While the works of Shakspeare are read, and the English language subsists, History may say what she will, but the general reader will only recollect Macbeth as a sacrilegious usurper, and Richard as a deformed murderer."—*Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia*, vol. i. pp. 17-19.

Cumberland, and Durham, were chiefly in the possession of the Scots, and long reckoned a portion of the Scottish territory. In the latter part of Malcolm's reign, William Rufus, King of England, made war against him, and surprised the Castle of Alnwick. Malcolm laid siege to the fortress, and reduced it to the greatest straits. The garrison, in consequence, offered to surrender, and requested that the King would come and receive the keys with his own hand. This he complied with; and while in the act of accepting them, the soldier who presented them, on the point of a spear, pierced him to the heart! The siege was then renewed with the greatest vigour; and, in an assault which took place, Edward, son of Malcolm, was mortally wounded. Malcolm's death, which was attended with such melancholy circumstances, happened in 1093, the thirty-ninth year of his reign. He and his son were both interred in the Abbey of Dunfermline.

Donald the Seventh, surnamed *Bane*, succeeded Malcolm furtively, but held the sceptre only six months, having been expelled by Duncan, natural son of Malcolm. Duncan was assassinated by Macpendar, Earl of Mearns, at the instigation of Donald, who again seized the throne in about eighteen months after his expulsion. He reigned other three years, and was succeeded by Edgar, son of Malcolm, who was invited by the nobles from the English court, whence he had fled into exile. Matilda, his sister, was given in marriage to Henry the First, and amicable relations were established betwixt the two kingdoms. Edgar's reign lasted nine years and six months. He was succeeded by his brother, Alexander the First, surnamed the Fearless, on account of the heroism which he displayed in killing, with his own hand, six thieves who entered his bed-chamber, together with his own servant, who had basely betrayed him. Some time after this he built St. Michael's Church at Scone. It is, perhaps, in reference to this fact, that we find it stated, by another authority, that in 1114-15 Alexander held a Convention, in which he refounded the Abbey of Scone, in presence and with consent of his Queen, Alexander—" *nepos regis* "—two Bishops, and six or perhaps seven Earls, and others.

Alexander was succeeded by his brother, David the First (the monarch who first granted a charter to Perth), in the year 1124—a pious and talented prince, and beloved by his people. He was lavish, to a fault, in the erection and endowment of various monasteries throughout the kingdom. In addition to six already founded, he erected those of Brechin, Ross, Dunkeld, Melrose, and Dun-

blane. David's reign was remarkable for internal peace; but Stephen having usurped the throne of England, and required David to do homage for the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Westmoreland, he refused, and a declaration of war was the consequence. Much devastation followed on both sides—and it was at last stipulated that David, as by ancient right, should possess Cumberland, and that Northumberland and Westmoreland should be ceded to his son Henry, he doing homage to Stephen for them. After a reign of nine years, two months, and three days, he died A.D. 1153, the very year in which he conferred the charter on Perth. David was succeeded by his grandson, Malcolm the Fourth, immediately afterwards, when he was crowned at Scone before a great assemblage of people. One authority has it, that Malcolm was *great-grandson* of Alexander the First, but as Alexander and David were brothers, that could not be—especially when it is observed that the former died in 1124, and Malcolm's accession was in 1153. In the beginning of this reign, a grievous famine prevailed, by which great numbers of men and cattle were cut off. In 1160 the King convened a National Council at Perth—which is the first Convention of Estates of which there is any authentic record as held in this City. This was occasioned, it is said, by a confederacy of six Earls against him.* It is conjectured that at this Council were arranged the marriages of his sisters, the Princesses Margaret and Ada—the former being united to Conan, Count of Brittany, and the latter to Florence, Count of Holland—both in the year 1161. Lord Hailes says, that “the attachment of Malcolm the Fourth to the King of England excited the jealousy of the Scots. They imagined that the national independency was in hazard from the English councils. They sent a solemn deputation to France, whither their Sovereign had gone to fight under the banners of Henry the Second, and to be invested by him with the honours of knighthood. They reproached him in bold language, and declared ‘they would not have Henry to rule over them.’ Malcolm,” continues Lord Hailes, “posting home, assembled his Parliament at Perth.” Other authorities have it, that Malcolm was not a voluntary ally of Henry.

* Ferquhard, Earl of Strathearn, and five other Earls, conspired to seize the person of their Sovereign. They assaulted the tower in which he had sought refuge, but were repulsed. The clergy judiciously interposed, and wrought a speedy reconciliation between the King and his people.—Lord Hailes' *Annals of Scotland*, 4to, vol. i. p. 106.

It is averred that the latter "*constrained*" Malcolm, "as a vassal holding lands of him in the south, to accompany him on an expedition to France." To bring him still farther into disfavour, Henry pretended that his arms had been unsuccessful in France through the misconduct of the northern prince, and summoned him to attend a convention at York. Although Malcolm completely refuted every charge, this assembly decreed that he should lose his possessions in England; and after some contention, it was agreed that Henry should take possession of Northumberland, and that Malcolm should retain Cumberland and Westmoreland. The consent of the latter to this arrangement gave much umbrage to the nobles and the whole nation; more especially as Henry, glad of the opportunity to increase the estrangement between the King and people, craftily spread a report that the King, of his own accord, had quitted his interest in those counties. On his return home, they besieged him in Perth, and the consequences might have been fatal, had not some friendly and influential nobles interposed in his behalf. After several other intestine disturbances, which tended to embitter the latter period of this King's reign, the Assembly of Estates met at Scone, passed many salutary laws, and urged the King to marry. Malcolm excused himself on the plea of having taken a vow of celibacy. He soon after died, in the twenty-fifth year of his age and thirteenth of his reign.

From this period, a clearer light begins to shed its rays through the dim retrospect of Scottish history, and that of Perth stands out more prominently in the order of events. Malcolm was succeeded by his brother William, surnamed the Lion, who reigned nearly half-a-century. His coronation took place at Scone, in the year 1165. He was reckoned a brave and generous prince, and succeeded in wresting from Henry of England the county of Northumberland, which had been unjustly taken from his predecessors. He was subsequently surprised and taken prisoner in his camp near Alnwick; and while he remained in durance, the English forces rallied, recaptured that debateable ground, and retained it until the death of Henry, when Richard again restored it, and also released fifteen Scottish nobles whom his father had held as hostages, on which condition William the Lion had been allowed to return to his home and to liberty. It was in testimony of his gratitude for this act of generosity, that William made Richard a present of ten thousand merks of silver, and sent his brother David to accompany the King of England to Syria, in approaching which the former was shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, where he was seized by the

natives and sold to slavery. David was redeemed by the Venetians ; and after an absence of four years, and the endurance of much hardship and severe sufferings, he returned home, landed in the Tay, and on his way to Perth was received with great enthusiasm by the inhabitants of Dundee.

William's favourite residence was at Perth ; and towards the close of his reign, a dire calamity befel the city and its inhabitants. But of a Monarch so patriotic, and who dispensed liberal favours upon the locality, it may not be improper to take a short retrospect. For a series of years he maintained the best possible understanding with the English, and the inhabitants of the two kingdoms lived on terms of the strictest friendship. William even made a friendly visit to Richard on his return from the Holy Land, and lived for some time in London at the English Court. He returned in 1199, soon after which Richard died, and his brother John having succeeded, declared war against the Scots ; but a treaty was concluded with comparatively little difficulty, the chief conditions consisting of a matrimonial arrangement, by which William's two daughters were given in wedlock to the two sons of John. In 1201 (nine years before the great inundation), a National Council was holden at Perth, during the month of December, by John de Salerno, Cardinal Legate, in which many canons were made. (*Chron. Maylr. Hoveden*, p. 468, &c.) During the same reign, other Councils were held at Perth. Anno 1206, a National Council, called in the original writ "Synodis Generalis," was holden in April, *ex charter penes vice comitem de Arbutnot*. In 1211, a National Council was held at Perth, by William, Bishop of St. Andrews ; Walton, Bishop of Glasgow ; and the other Bishops of Scotland. The calamity twice above alluded to, which took place soon after these arrangements, and from which the Scottish King himself had a very narrow escape, was the first great inundation of the waters of the Tay of which we have any distinct record, and of which notice has been already taken, as having given rise to so much controversy as to the precise locality of ancient and modern Perth. On this occasion, the Palace or Castle in which the Royal Family resided was swept away, together with a great part of the town, by which melancholy event the King lost a son, who, with his nurse, fourteen of his domestics, and many of the inhabitants, perished. The King, accompanied by another son, Prince Alexander, the Earl of Huntingdon, his brother, and a few attendant nobles, escaped by a small boat. This happened in 1210, four years before the death of the

King, which took place A.D. 1214, in the seventy-second year of his age. In course of William's reign, two National Councils were convened at Perth—the first in 1166-7, in which was decided a controversy (in presence of the King, the Bishops, and many distinguished persons) between the churches of Durham and Croyland; the second assembled on the 30th October, 1184, in which the King held an assize, in presence of the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, and others. Alexander the Second—he who escaped the inundation along with his father—succeeded; and after a series of struggles with John of England, and the accession of Henry the Third, his brother-in-law, peace was maintained during the lives of these two monarchs. Alexander's reign was marked by many stirring events; but few of them, beyond what has been already noticed, were specially connected with the local annals of Perth. He was crowned at Scone, and during his reign called several Councils or Assemblies at Perth. The first on record was convened on 27th February, 1230, but for what special purpose does not appear. In the month of February, 1221, James, Canon of St. Victor at Paris, Penitentiary of the Pope, and Legate to Scotland, held a National Council of all the prelates of Scotland at Perth, which lasted four days. In the chartulary of Moray is an account of another National Council indicted to be holden *in domo fratrum prædiccatorum de Perth*, on Wednesday before the Feast of St. Luke, in October, but without the date of the year; only it must have been some years after A.D. 1230, when the Black Friars first came into Scotland. However, in this Act we have the form of the Bishop Conservator, his indicting or convocating the Yearly Council, *authoritate conservatoria*, as the Act bears, by a letter to each Bishop, charging him to give his attendance at such a place (which was commonly the Convent of Blackfriars at Perth) on such a day, with continuation of days—together with the abbots and priors, the proctors of chapters, colleges, and convents of his diocese—there to treat of the reformation of the state of the church, &c. Fordun also states, that a National Council was held at Perth in 1231. The *Scotichronicon* mentions another in 1234, and the same authority likewise records one held A.D. 1268. During this reign, also, in 1242, a General Council of the Church was convened here, which was attended by the King and his Earls and Barons, and the code of canons enacted were then ratified. The reign of Alexander the Second lasted nearly thirty-five years.

Alexander the Third succeeded his father in 1249, being crowned at Scone at the age of only eight years. The mode in which the ceremony of his coronation was performed is strikingly illustrative of the manners of that age. The Bishops of St. Andrews and Dunkeld, with the Abbot of Scone, attended to officiate; but an unexpected difficulty arose. Alan Durward, the great Justiciary, remarked, that the king ought not to be crowned before he was knighted, and that the day fixed for the ceremony was unlucky. The objection was selfish, and arose from Durward, who was then at the head of the Scottish chivalry, expecting that the honour of knighting Alexander would fall upon himself.* But Comyn, Earl of Menteith, insisted that there were frequent examples of the consecration of kings before the solemnity of their knighthood; he represented that the Bishop of St. Andrews might perform both ceremonies; he cited the instance of William Rufus having been knighted by Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury; and he earnestly urged the danger of delay. Nor was this danger ideal. Henry the Third, in a letter to Rome, had artfully represented Scotland as a fief of England; and had requested the Pope to interdict the ceremony of the coronation until Alexander obtained the permission of his feudal superior.†

Fortunately the patriotic arguments of the Earl of Menteith prevailed. The Bishop of St. Andrews girded the king with the belt of knighthood, and explained to him the respective oaths which were to be taken by himself and his subjects, first in Latin, and afterwards in Norman French.‡ They then conducted the boy to the regal chair, or sacred stone of Scone, which stood before the cross in the eastern division of the chapel. Upon this he sat: the crown was placed on his head, the sceptre in his hand; he was invested with the royal mantle; and the nobility, kneeling in homage, threw their robes beneath his feet. A Highland sennachy or bard, of great age, clothed in a scarlet mantle, with hair venerably white, then advanced from the crowd; and, bending before the throne, repeated in his native tongue, the genealogy of the youthful monarch, deducing his descent from the fabulous Gathelus. It is difficult to believe, that, even in those days of

* Fordun a Hearne, p. 759.

† Hailes, vol. i. p. 162. Rymer, vol. i. p. 463.

‡ Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 81.

credulity, the nobility could digest the absurdities of this savage genealogist.*

During the young King's minority, the Earl of Buchan, and his family the Comyns, chiefly held the reins of government, and enriched themselves, while permitting the mal-administration of public affairs. Meantime Alexander met the King of England at York, and married Henry's daughter, his own cousin. This preserved peace with England, but the faction at home gave the young King great annoyance, and disturbed the internal tranquillity of the kingdom. Walter Comyn, Earl of Menteith, in league with his kinsman Buchan, and the Lords Athole and Mar, seized the person of the Sovereign at Kinross, and carried him prisoner to Stirling. The death of Comyn, however, broke up the confederacy, and the conspirators were ultimately pardoned. In 1265, this Monarch held an Assembly at Perth, to receive an envoy from Magnus, King of Norway—(Vide *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, folio, vol. i. p. 61)—and on the 2d of July, the following year, another Assembly was convened by the King at the same place, in which the disputes with Norway were adjusted; and after long negotiations, it was agreed that Norway should cede to Scotland all right over the Hebrides and the Isle of Man, and generally over all the Western Islands, including also the Southern Islands. On the 5th of February, 1283-4, in a Parliament held at Scone, the King and the Estates settled the succession to the crown in favour of the infant Princess Margaret, called the *Maid of Norway*, daughter of Eric, King of Norway, and Margaret, the daughter of Alexander the Third. This was the more necessary, as Queen Margaret, who was the daughter of Guy, Earl of Flanders, died in 1283, two years after her marriage to Alexander, the Prince of Scotland, who died on the 28th of January, 1284. On the 10th of April, 1285, another Assembly was held at Scone, within twelve months of the death of the King, which occurred on the 16th March, 1286, in consequence of a fall from his horse while hunting near Kinghorn, by which he broke his neck, in the forty-fifth year of his age, after reigning more than

* Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 80, 81, 82. *Chron. Melross*, p. 229. Lord Hailes has omitted the anecdote of the Highland sennachy; but there seems no reason to doubt its authenticity. It was probably relying on this story that Nisbet has asserted (*Heraldry*, vol. ii. p. iv. p. 155), that it was a part of the coronation ceremony to repeat six generations of the king's ancestry. Martin's *Western Isles*, p. 241.

thirty-six years.* This event was the commencement of a series of grievous calamities to Scotland, and of the circumstances connected with these, Perth and its neighbourhood were not unfrequently the scene.

Tytler, however, in his valuable *History of Scotland*, traces the origin of these troubles to motives and designs of earlier existence, which formed what may be termed the incipient stage of the evil; and goes back to a period towards the close of the reign of Alexander the Second, to recount a story of private revenge, which drew after it important consequences. The divisions between the principal nobility of Scotland facilitated Henry the Third of England's designs of ambition, and weakened the power of resistance; "nor can it be doubted," observes the author quoted, "that during the early part of this reign, the first approaches were made towards that great plan, which was afterwards attempted to be carried into effect by Edward the First, and defeated by the bravery of Wallace and Bruce." As the story above alluded to is given by Tytler as an elucidation of the state of the kingdom upon the accession of Alexander the Third himself, we may also be permitted to look back and recount the circumstances, the more especially as a high personage in this County was one of the parties chiefly concerned.

Tytler states, that "a tournament, the frequent amusement of this warlike age, was held near Haddington, on which occasion Walter Bisset, a powerful Baron who piqued himself upon his skill in his weapons, was foiled by Patrick, Earl of Athole.† An old feud which existed between these families embittered the defeat; and Athole was found murdered in his house, which, probably for the purpose of concealment, was set on fire by the assassins. The

* Alexander the Third was son of Alexander the Second, by Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci. Imhoff. *Regum Pariumque Magnæ Britt. Histor. Genealogica*, Part I. p. 42. The family of de Couci affected a royal pomp, and considered all titles as beneath their dignity. The *Cri de Guerre* of this Ingelram, or Enguerrand, was—

Je ne suis Roy, ni Prince aussi.

Je suis le Seigneur de Couci.

On account of his brave actions, possessions, and three marriages with ladies of royal and illustrious families, he was surnamed Le Grand.—Winton, vol. ii. p. 482.

† Henry, Earl of Athole, had two daughters, Isobel and Fernelith. Isobel married Thomas of Galloway. Their only son was Patrick, Earl of Athole. Fernelith married David de Hastings.—Hailes' *Annals*, vol. i. p. 157. Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 72. Math. Paris, p. 586.

suspicion of this slaughter—which, even in an age familiar with ferocity, seems to have excited unwonted horror—immediately fell upon the Bissets; and although Walter was the person present at the tournament, the popular clamour pointed to William, the chief of the family.* He was pursued by the nobility, who were incited to vengeance by the Earl of March and David de Hastings; and would have been torn to pieces, had not the interference of the King protected him from the fury of the friends of Athole. Bisset strenuously asserted his innocence. He offered to prove, that he had been fifty miles distant from Haddington when the murder was committed; he instantly procured the sentence of excommunication against the assassins to be published in every chapel in Scotland; he offered combat to any man who dared abide the issue; but he declined a trial by jury on account of the inveterate malice of his enemies. The King accepted the office of judge: the Bissets were condemned, their estates forfeited to the Crown, and they themselves compelled to swear upon the Holy Gospel that they would repair to Palestine, and there, for the remaining days of their lives, pray for the soul of the murdered Earl.

“Walter Bisset, however, instead of Jerusalem, sought the English Court.† There, by artfully representing to the King that Alexander owed him fealty, and that, as lord superior, he ought to have been first consulted before judgment was given, whilst he described Scotland as the ally of France and the asylum of his expatriated rebels,‡ he contrived to inflame the passion of the English monarch to so high a pitch, that Henry determined on an immediate invasion. Nor was the temper with which Alexander received this information in any way calculated to promote conciliation. To the complaints of the King of England, that he had violated the duty which he owed to him as his lord paramount, the Scottish

* Lord Hailes remarks, vol. i. p. 157, that Fordun says the author of the conspiracy was Walter. Fordun, on the contrary, all along ascribes it, or rather says it was ascribed, to William Bisset.—Fordun a Goodal, vol. ii. pp. 72, 73, 74. The name of the Bisset banished from Scotland, as shown in the Patent Rolls of Henry the Third, is Walter.

† *Chronicon, Melross*, a Stevenson. Bannatyne edition, p. 156.

‡ Math. Paris, pp. 643, 645. Speed's *Chronicle*, p. 527. Speed ascribes the disagreement between Henry and Alexander to the influence of Ingelram de Couci; and adds, that on the death of this nobleman, the *humour* of battle—this is Nym's phrase—ceased. De Couci, in passing a river on horseback, was unseated, dragged in the stirrup, run through the body with his own lance, and drowned.

monarch is said to have answered, that he neither did, nor ever would, consent to hold from the King of England the smallest portion of his kingdom of Scotland. His reply was warmly seconded by the spirit of his nobility. They fortified the castles on the marches ; and the King soon found himself at the head of an army of nearly a hundred thousand foot and a thousand horse. Henry, on the other hand, led into the field a large body of troops, with which he proceeded to Newcastle. The accoutrements and discipline of these two powerful hosts, which were commanded by Kings, and included the flower of the nobility of both countries, are highly extolled by Mathew Paris.* The Scottish cavalry, according to his account, were a fine body of men and well mounted, although their horses were neither of the Spanish nor Italian breed ; and the horsemen were clothed in armour of iron net-work. In the number of its cavalry, the English army far surpassed its rival force, including a power of five thousand men-at-arms, sumptuously accoutred. These armies came in sight of each other at a place in Northumberland called Ponteland ; and the Scots prepared for battle, by confessing themselves to their priests, and expressing to each other their readiness to die in defence of the independence of their country. As Alexander, however, was much beloved in England, the nobility of that country coldly seconded the rash enterprise of their King, and showed no anxiety to hurry into hostilities. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother to Henry, and the Archbishop of York, thought this a favourable moment for proposing an armistice ; and, by their endeavours, such great and solemn preparations ended in a treaty of peace, without a lance being put in rest. Its terms were just, and favourable to both countries.†

“ Henry appears prudently to have waved all demand of homage from Alexander for the kingdom of Scotland ; and the Scottish monarch, on the other hand, who possessed land in England for which, although the English historians assert the contrary, he does not appear to have ever refused homage, consented, for himself and his heirs, to maintain fidelity and affection to Henry and his heirs, as his liege lord, and not to enter into any league with the enemies

* M. Paris, p. 645. *Chron. Melross*, p. 156. Rapin is in an error when he says, vol. i. p. 318, that Alexander sent Henry word, he meant no longer to do him homage for the lands he held in England.

† Rymer, vol. i. pp. 374, 428. Rapin's *Acta Regia*, by Whately, vol. i. p. 28.

of England, except in the case of unjust oppression. It was also stipulated, that the peace formerly signed at York, in the presence of Otto, the Pope's Legate, should stand good; and that the proposal there made, of a marriage between the daughter of the King of England and the son of the King of Scots, should be carried into effect. Alan Durward, at this time the most accomplished knight and the best military leader in Scotland, Henry de Baliol, and David de Lindsay, with other knights and prelates, then swore on the soul of their lord the King, that the treaty should be kept inviolate by him and his heirs."*

Thus ended this expedition of Henry's into Scotland, formidable in its commencement, but happy and bloodless in its result;† and such was the relative situation of the two countries, when Alexander the Third, yet a boy in his eighth year, mounted the Scottish throne.

This retrospective episode leaves the reader once more at the point where the coronation of Alexander the Third is described, beginning at the top of page 38 of this book. The quotation appears digressive; but in this the compiler just takes the same course which Tytler himself, as already stated, found it necessary to adopt. Page 39 presents a very brief summary of the transactions and events of Alexander's reign; the occasional Assemblies called by him at Perth and at Scone; the business negotiated there, especially the settlement in favour of the Maid of Norway; and, lastly, the melancholy and eventually disastrous death of the King himself. From this era the narrative again starts in chronological order.

Two knights of Fife, David Wemyss, and the celebrated Michael Scott, were now deputed to bring over the young Queen from Norway, with a view of uniting her in marriage with Henry, son of the King of England. Unfortunately, however, the Princess had died in Orkney, while on their way to Scotland, about the end of September, 1292; and her demise—which occasioned an interregnum from that year till the coronation of Robert Bruce at Scone, on the 27th of March, 1306—was the more proximate cause of the evils alluded to, as it gave immediate rise to the unhappy competition

* The original charter granted to Henry by Alexander may be found in Mathew Paris, p. 646, and in Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. i. p. 428. See Illustrations, A. It is curious, as showing the state of the Scottish peerage in 1244. Neither Lesley nor Buchanan take any notice of this expedition and treaty.

† Tyrrel, *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 930.

for the crown which arose between Bruce and Baliol, whose differences were as unhappily referred to the arbitrement of Edward the First, King of England. That crafty and truculent monarch, embraced this opportunity to intrigue and plot for the subjection of Scotland to his own sway; and, disappointed in the disgraceful conditions made to Robert Bruce, he the more effectually secured his purpose by the establishment of John Baliol on the throne, being declared King of Scotland in 1292. He was crowned at Scone on St. Andrew's Day, and rendered homage to Edward for the kingdom of Scotland on the ensuing 26th of December, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The nobles, who, with the exception of Bruce, had sworn fealty to him at first, were now filled with indignation, although for the present they thought it prudent to dissemble. Baliol held a Parliament at Scone on the 9th of February, 1292-3. On the 2d July, 1296, the brief and nominal reign of Baliol was terminated by Edward the First, who compelled him to resign the kingdom to himself, and detained him as a prisoner three years. Baliol was ultimately sent to France, where he soon after died. Bruce, on Baliol getting into disfavour, at first aided Edward, under promise of the kingdom, and engaged to enlist all his adherents in the cause. It was in this year, 1296, that Edward caused the famous marble chair, or coronation stone, to be removed from Scone to Westminster, where it still is, and was used on occasion of the present sovereign, Queen Victoria's coronation. The English also carried off several charters belonging to the Abbey of Scone, and destroyed the seals of others.

In 1297 Sir William Wallace commenced his successful efforts against the English forces; and for some time he and his compatriot Bruce held the anomalous position of antagonism to one another. Some of Wallace's adventures are connected with the vicinity of Perth, particularly with Elcho Castle, about a mile below the remains of Elcho Nunnery, where stands a remarkable tree, long known as Wallace's Yew. Wallace performed many valorous exploits single-handed, and generally mustered but a small band of followers. Tradition has it, that occasionally, with only some ten or a dozen of these, he occupied, as a place of refuge, the Dragon's Hole, in the face of Kinnoull Rock, where they defended themselves against all who attempted to assail them. Emboldened by his success, he at length essayed greater achievements. Thousands flocked around his banner. He latterly reduced the Castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, Montrose, and Aberdeen. In Septem-

ber, 1297, while Wallace had laid siege also to Cupar-Fife, he heard of the approach of a large body of troops from England, despatched by Edward, then in France, under Earl Warrene. To oppose that force he raised the siege, and marched directly to Stirling, where an event took place highly favourable to his cause. During the passage of the English army over the Forth, the bridge broke down, upon which Wallace instantly attacked the troops who had passed over, killed their General, drove many into the river, and gained a signal victory. In this conflict, the Scots lost not a man of any distinction but Andrew Murray, whose son was afterwards Regent of Scotland. The loss sustained by the English was very great; many of their nobility were slain, and Wallace ultimately succeeded in driving the whole of their army out of Scotland.

In 1298 Wallace assumed the title of "Governor of Scotland, in name of King John, and by consent of the Scottish nation;" but perceiving that he was not supported by the nobility, and that his elevation occasioned bitter jealousy and envy, he resigned the office after the battle of Falkirk, in the month of July, 1299, in which Wallace was unsuccessful, chiefly through dissension amongst the leaders. Above ten thousand of the Scots lay dead on the field.

These details are here stated, as in connection with the fact that Wallace marched to Perth with the residue of his followers, where he disbanded them altogether, to obviate the envy he was unable to resist. After the battle of Falkirk, Edward the First dismantled all the fortresses in Scotland, but fortified Perth, and rebuilt the walls in the strongest manner. It was often the residence of his deputies, and his son Edward lived here some years.

A Regency was then formed, consisting of John Comyn the younger, of Buchan, and John de Soulis, who were afterwards joined by Bruce, then Earl of Carrick, and Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews. An Assembly was convened at Scone, 23d February, 1301, to which was presented a letter from these Regents, or Guardians, as they were designated, of Scotland—the Prelates, Earls, and Barons—to Philip le Bel, King of France, regarding the observance of a truce.

Meanwhile, Wallace ceased not to annoy his enemies by an irregular warfare, carried on, as formerly, with the aid of only a few adherents. At length, in 1305, he was basely betrayed by Monteith, a professed friend, into the hands of the English, and was sent prisoner to London, where he was barbarously tortured, and put to death by order of the cruel and ambitious Edward.

The career of Sir William Wallace is thus summarily, and in consequence imperfectly, sketched; but in order that those who wish it may peruse the interesting subject more in detail, it has, on second thoughts, been deemed proper to give the statement in full, as it appears in Mr. Adamson's Notes to Gall's Poem:—

“Heroic virtue shines in none of the heroes of antiquity with a purer lustre than in Sir William Wallace, and none of them have deserved better of their country than he has done. This gentleman was a younger son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie. The Scottish historians represent him a man of wisdom, prudence, and undaunted courage, a warm asserter of the liberties of his country, generous, and brave.

“He began to appear after Edward had deposed John Baliol (A.D. 1296), and carried him prisoner to England, and usurped the sovereignty of Scotland. Wallace beheld with disdain almost all the nobility of Scotland meanly bowing the knee, and swearing allegiance to the English King, not excepting the Princes of the blood. He boldly made excursions in divers places, and harassed the English. He insensibly gathered together a small army, which he commanded with military skill and prudence. His fame was spread abroad, and many resorted to his standard. Among these were several persons of distinction, such as Earl Malcolm Lennox; Lord William Douglas; Sir John Graham; Sir Niel Campbell; Sir Christopher Seton; Sir John Ramsay; Sir Fergus Barclay; Andrew Murray of Bothwell; William Oliphant, predecessor of the lord of that name; Hugh Hay; Robert Boyd; John Johnston; Adam Gordon; Robert Keith; Ronald Crawford; Adam Wallace; Roger Kilpatrick; Simon and Alexander Frazers; Robert Lauder; — Scrymzeour, Constable of Dundee; Ruthven, Sheriff of Perth; Alexander Auchinleck; Lundie of Lundie; Arthur Bisset; Cleveland Ker; Little; Rutherford; with Mr. John Blair, who was chaplain to Wallace, and wrote his history in Latin, which was afterwards, in the days of James the Fourth, translated into Scottish rhyme by one Blind Harry, which is extant, while nothing of Blair's history remains excepting a few fragments. Wallace, encouraged with such a number of trusty friends and their followers, boldly attacked and defeated an army of 10,000, under the command of the Earls of Warrene and Lancaster, at Biggar. After this he was chosen warden and governor of Scotland, in the absence of Baliol at the Forest Kirk. In a short time he recovered all the fortresses on the borders. The English, dreading his rapidity, and

fearing the loss of Scotland, subtly entered into a truce with him for a year, commencing in February. In June following, the English governor proclaimed a justice-ayr to be held at Ayr and Glasgow: all landed men, according to custom, assembled at this court. The English condemned them of felony, and hanged them immediately, among whom were Sir Ronald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr, and uncle to Wallace; Sir Bryce Blair; Sir Niel Montgomery; besides many of the barons of Kyle, Cunningham, Carrick, and Clydesdale. Some escaped, and advertised Wallace, who was on his way to the court. He advanced quickly, and in the night-time set fire to the town, and burnt the English, few escaping. He proceeded to Glasgow, and repulsed Lord Henry Percy, with great slaughter. He took the Castle of Stirling, recovered Argyle and Lorn; he laid siege to and took the town of Perth; he proceeded north, and made himself master of all the fortresses in Angus and Mearns; he advanced to Aberdeen, and found the city set in flames by Lord Henry Beaumont, who fled to England. Beaumont had married the heretrix of Buchan, a daughter of Comyn.

“Wallace, on his return, sat down before the strong castle of Dundee. While he was vigorously carrying on the siege, news came of the approach of 30,000 English and Scots, commanded by the Earl of Surrey and Sir Hugh Cressingham; Wallace, with 10,000 hardy men, met with them on the north side of Forth, near to Stirling. He ordered the wooden bridge to be weakened by cutting some of the planks; he suffered the one-half of the army to pass the bridge, which fell down with the heavy baggage; he immediately fell on the troops that had passed, and cut them to pieces, with Sir Hugh Cressingham, their commander. Many were drowned in the river. Earl Malcolm Lennox, governor of Stirling, issued out and joined Wallace: they jointly attacked the Earl of Surrey, who narrowly escaped, and fled to the Castle of Dunbar, commanded by the Earl of March, who was in the English interest. After this victory, Wallace marched to Perth, where he held a Convention of the Estates, settled the whole country, and took an oath of the nobility to be faithful to the state, until such time as they should condescend who should be King. The Earl of March refused to acknowledge the authority of this Convention, and was driven out of Scotland. For some years the lands were left uncultivated: a famine ensued, which was followed with a pestilence. To relieve the country, Wallace led his troops into England, and wintered there, living on the spoils of the enemy.

“ In the spring following, Edward met him with a huge undisciplined army on the plains of Stanmure ; but, perceiving the order and discipline of the Scotch troops, and fearing to hazard an engagement, he retreated. Wallace suspecting an ambuscade, with difficulty he restrained the army from pursuing the King. Peace was concluded for five years. Berwick and Roxburgh were delivered up to the Scots.

“ During this peace, Wallace, on invitation from Philip the Fair, set sail for France, with fifty of his officers. He was encountered on the way by Thomas of Chartres, commonly called Thomas of Longueville, who with sixteen sail infested the seas, and spread terror everywhere. When he drew near on the head of his ships, Wallace gave orders to strike sail, and every person to go below. Longueville, with sword in hand, boarded the ship. Wallace disarmed him ; and, though he was a very stout man, he laid him on the deck. When Longueville understood in whose power he was, he submitted ; and on Wallace promising to procure his pardon from Philip, he gave orders to his officers to follow the Scotch ship into Rochelle, where they arrived with the Scotch flag hoisted. Wallace repaired, with Longueville, to Philip, who at his request not only pardoned but knighted him. He continued ever after a faithful friend to Wallace, and attended him to Scotland, fought in all his battles, and after his death was a faithful friend to Robert Bruce after he ascended the throne. His posterity continued long in Perthshire, of whom we shall hear afterwards. Wallace is said to have commanded in the French King’s army against the English in Guienne. Edward, under pretence that Wallace had broke the truce, musters an army of 40,000 men, and prepares to invade Scotland. Wallace, being advertised of the King’s preparations, returns and assembles an army of 30,000, and meets Edward at Falkirk (22d July, 1298). The Scottish army was drawn up in three divisions, commanded by the Warden, Sir John Stewart of Bonkill, brother to James, the seventh Lord High Steward of Scotland,* and John Comyn of Badenoch and Dalswinton. Wallace knew not that Edward had found means by his emissaries to stir up Stewart and Comyn against him. As Warden and Commander-in-Chief, he claimed a right to lead the van of the army. Stewart, representing his brother, asserted his right and privilege of the Lord

* Simson’s *History of the Stewarts*.

High Steward's family; that, although Wallace had extraordinary merit, yet being a creature of the people's making, he ought not to invade the privilege of the Lord High Steward; and compared him to an owl,* which, from his original, had begged a feather from every bird, by which, being richly plumed, he advanced himself above them all. This fatal and ill-timed contention was followed with dismal consequences. Under these unhappy circumstances, Edward began the charge. After a small show of resistance, Comyn marched off with 10,000 men without stroke of sword. Stewart, with his division, stood a violent shock, and fought with great magnanimity; but Robert Bruce, with his squadron, fetching a compass round a hill, fell upon his rear. Wallace observing him sustaining the whole heat and weight of the engagement, hastened to his aid; but before he could advance to him he was oppressed with multitudes, and having performed wonders, was killed, as were also Sir John Graham of Abercorn, and M'Duff, grand-uncle to Duncan, Thane of Fife, with many thousands about them. Wallace, after exerting the conduct of an able general, was forced to retreat over Carron, where he and Bruce, standing on opposite banks of the river, had an interview. Bruce reproached him with aspiring to the sovereignty, and with madness in opposing Edward and the best part of the barons of Scotland, which was denied by Wallace, who told him, that he very well knew that the right and title belonged to him, who was basely assisting Edward to ruin his country, and tear out the bowels of his mother; that he was determined to live and die free, without the least stain or imputation of treachery to his country; that he was well aware of Edward's arts in dividing the nobles, and playing them off against one another, that he might the more easily seize the crown and kingdom. This conference drew tears from Robert, who from this time began to see the artifices of Edward, and meditated a revolt from him. Wallace gathered up the scattered remains of his army and marched to Perth; and being more afraid of the envy and dissension of the nobles than of all Edward's power, he called a Convention and resigned his office of warden and general. This great man, who never would submit to Edward, who offered him honours and riches, yielded to the envy of the barons. The government was conferred on John Comyn, who had an eye to the crown, and who deserved so well of his country by his spirited behaviour at Falkirk. Wallace

* Fordun, Simson.

retired as a private gentleman, lamenting the desolation of his country, and the death of his friends at Falkirk, especially Sir John Græme, whom he highly esteemed and loved.

“Seven years afterward (A.D. 1305) he was betrayed at Glasgow by his intimate friend Sir John Monteith, and sent in chains to London, where he was condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. His head was fixed on a spire at London: one of his legs was set up at Perth, and the other at Aberdeen. His condemnation and cruel death fixed an indelible stain on Edward’s character, who was otherwise a brave and generous prince. The English chroniclers, Walsinghame, Knighton, and Hollinshed, affect to fasten on Wallace the character of an outlaw and robber. The later and more enlightened historians of that nation lament his hard fate, and censure the cruelty and injustice of Edward, as Wallace never acknowledged his supremacy over Scotland, nor could be bought off to bow the knee and swear fealty to him. This mighty monarch, waving the argument of his descent from Maud, King David’s sister, had proved in his letter to the Pope, beyond all possibility of contradiction, his just title to the sovereignty over all Britain, by his lineal descent from the eldest son of Brutus, the great-grandson of Eneas, who was certainly the first monarch of all Britain, after he had exterminated the race of giants.”

Tytler gives rather a more circumstantial account of the patriot Wallace’s deplorable fate. He remarks, as to “the circumstances of refined cruelty and torment which attended his execution,” as “scarcely to be believed, were they not stated by the English historians themselves.” His account is, that having been carried to London, he was brought with much pomp to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned for high treason. A crown of laurel was, in mockery, placed on his head, because Wallace had been heard to boast that he deserved to wear a crown in that hall. Sir Peter Mallorie, the king’s justice, then impeached him as a traitor to the King of England,* as having burned the villages and abbeys, stormed the castles, and slain the liege subjects of his master the King. Wallace indignantly and truly repelled the charge of treason, as he had never sworn fealty to Edward; but to the other articles of accusation he pleaded no defence: they were notorious, and he was condemned to death. The sentence was executed on the 23d of August. Discrowned and chained, he was now dragged at the tails

* Stow, *Chron.* p. 209.

of horses through the streets, to the foot of a high gallows, placed at the Elms in Smithfield.* After being hanged, but not to death, he was cut down yet breathing, his bowels taken out and burnt before his face.† His head was then struck off, and his body divided into four quarters. The head was placed on a pole on London Bridge, his right arm above the bridge at Newcastle, his left arm was sent to Berwick, his right foot and limb to Perth, and his left quarter to Aberdeen.‡ “These,” says an old English historian, “were the trophies of their favourite hero, which the Scots had now to contemplate, instead of his banners and gonfanons, which they had once proudly followed.” Tyranny is proverbially short-sighted: and Edward, assuredly, could have adopted no more certain way of canonizing the memory of his enemy, and increasing the unforgiving animosity of his countrymen. Such, however, was the melancholy end of a man whose personal prowess and daring achievements could not be overmatched by any of the fabled heroes or demi-deities of ancient mythology.

It has already been subject of remark, the base and anomalous conduct of Robert Bruce in making common cause with the English king against the liberties of his country, and bearing arms in opposition to its brave defender, the patriotic Wallace. Not long after the death of that renowned hero, he chose a different course. The following account of his return to the duty he owed his country is from Sir Walter Scott; who, after stating that “the feeling was universal in Scotland that they would not any longer endure the English government, and therefore such great Scottish nobles as believed they had a right to the crown began to think of standing forward to claim it,” goes on to state—

“Amongst these, the principal candidates (supposing John Baliol, by his renunciation and captivity, to have lost all right to the kingdom) were two powerful noblemen. The first was Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, the grandson of that elder Robert Bruce who disputed the throne with John Baliol. The other was John Comyn, or Cuning, of Badenoch,§ usually called the Red Comyn,

* Winton, vol. ii. Notes, p. 502. Wallace was executed at Smithfield, on the site now occupied by Cow Lane.

† Math. Westminster, p. 451. ‡ MS. *Chronicle of Lanercost*, p. 203.

§ “He was the son of Marjory, sister of King John Baliol, by her marriage with John Comyn of Badenoch, one of the competitors with Baliol for the crown, but who afterwards withdrew his pretensions and supported the claim and the government of Baliol.”—*Wood's Peerage*, vol. i. p. 162.

to distinguish him from his kinsman, the Black Comyn, so named from his swarthy complexion. These two great and powerful barons had taken part with Sir William Wallace in the wars against England ; but, after the defeat of Falkirk, being fearful of losing their great estates, and considering the freedom of Scotland as beyond the possibility of being recovered, both Bruce and Comyn had not only submitted themselves to Edward, and acknowledged his title as King of Scotland, but even borne arms, along with the English, against such of their countrymen as still continued to resist the usurper. But the feelings of Bruce concerning the baseness of this conduct, are said, by the old traditions of Scotland, to have been awakened by the following incident. In one of the numerous battles, or skirmishes, which took place at the time between the English and their adherents on the one side, and the insurgent or patriotic Scots upon the other, Robert the Bruce was present, and assisted the English to gain the victory. After the battle was over, he sat down to dinner among his southern friends and allies without washing his hands, on which there still remained spots of the blood which he had shed during the action. The English lords, observing this, whispered to each other in mockery, " Look at that Scotsman, who is eating his own blood ! " Bruce heard what they said, and began to reflect, that the blood upon his hands might be indeed called his own, since it was that of his brave countrymen, who were fighting for the independence of Scotland, whilst he was assisting its oppressors, who only laughed at and mocked him for his unnatural conduct. He was so much shocked and disgusted, that he arose from table, and going into a neighbouring chapel, shed many tears, and, asking pardon of God for the great crime he had been guilty of, made a solemn vow that he would atone for it, by doing all in his power to deliver Scotland from the foreign yoke. Accordingly, he left, it is said, the English army, and never joined it again, but remained watching an opportunity for restoring the freedom of his country.

" Now, this Robert the Bruce was a remarkably brave and strong man : there was no man in Scotland that was thought a match for him except Sir William Wallace ; and now that Wallace was dead, Bruce was held the best warrior in Scotland. He was very wise and prudent, and an excellent general ; that is, he knew how to conduct an army, and place them in order for battle, as well or better than any great man of his time. He was generous, too, and courteous by nature ; but he had some faults, which perhaps be-

longed as much to the fierce period in which he lived as to his own character. He was rash and passionate, and in his passion he was sometimes relentless and cruel.

“Robert the Bruce had fixed his purpose to attempt once again to drive the English out of Scotland, and he desired to prevail upon Sir John the Red Comyn, who was his rival in his pretensions to the throne, to join with him in expelling the foreign enemy by their common efforts. With this purpose, Bruce posted down from London to Dumfries, on the borders of Scotland, and requested an interview with John Comyn. They met in the church of the Minorites in that town, before the high altar. What passed betwixt them is not known with certainty; but they quarrelled, either concerning their mutual pretensions to the crown, or because Comyn refused to join Bruce in the proposed insurrection against the English; or, as many writers say, because Bruce charged Comyn with having betrayed to the English his purpose of rising up against King Edward. It is, however, certain, that these two haughty barons came to high and abusive words, until at length Bruce, who was extremely passionate, forgot the sacred character of the place in which they stood, and struck Comyn a blow with his dagger. Having done this rash deed, he instantly ran out of the church and called for his horse. Two gentlemen of the country, Lindesay and Kirkpatrick, friends of Bruce, were then in attendance on him. Seeing him pale, bloody, and in much agitation, they eagerly inquired what was the matter?

“‘I doubt,’ said Bruce, ‘that I have slain the Red Comyn.’

“‘Do you leave such a matter in doubt?’ said Kirkpatrick. ‘I will make sicker!’—that is, I will make certain.

“Accordingly, he and his companion Lindesay rushed into the church, and made the matter certain with a vengeance, by despatching the wounded Comyn with their daggers. His uncle, Sir Robert Comyn, was slain at the same time.

“This slaughter of Comyn was a rash and cruel action; and the historian of Bruce observes, that it was followed by the displeasure of Heaven; for no man ever went through more misfortunes than Robert Bruce, although he at length rose to great honour.

“After the deed was done, Bruce might be called desperate. He had committed an action which was sure to bring down upon him the vengeance of all Comyn’s relations, the resentment of the King of England, and the displeasure of the Church, on account of having slain his enemy within consecrated ground. He determined,

therefore, to bid them all defiance at once, and to assert his pretensions to the throne of Scotland. He drew his own followers together, summoned to meet him such barons as still entertained hopes of the freedom of the country, and was crowned King at the Abbey of Scone, the usual place where the Kings of Scotland assumed their authority."

Another author gives the following account of this ceremony:—Bruce's first step was bold and decisive. He determined immediately to be crowned at Scone, and for this purpose repaired from his castle of Lochmaben to Glasgow, where he was joined by some of the friends who supported his enterprise. From Glasgow Bruce rode to Scone, and there was solemnly crowned on Friday, the 27th of March. Edward had carried off the ancient regalia of the kingdom, and the famous stone chair, on which, according to ancient custom, the Scottish kings were inaugurated. The fact as to the abstraction of the marble chair has already been incidentally noticed; but we may here state the circumstances under which this violent act was committed. In the year 1296, and towards the close of the feeble and infatuated Baliol's inglorious reign, Edward, because of that monarch having renounced his homage, became determined thoroughly to reduce and subdue his kingdom, and proceeded to invade Scotland with a most powerful army. After the sack of Berwick, and the massacre of its inhabitants, when 17,000 persons, without distinction of age or sex, were put to the sword—and the decisive action at Dunbar, where upwards of 10,000 Scotchmen fell on the field or in the pursuit—Edward made himself master of the Castle of Edinburgh, and took possession of Stirling, which he found abandoned. He continued his progress without opposition to Perth, where he halted to keep the feast of the Nativity of John the Baptist, with circumstances of high feudal solemnity, regaling his friends, creating new knights, and solacing himself and his barons. In less than three weeks after this, Baliol, at Brechin Castle, resigned his kingdom and people into the hands of the conqueror. Edward then continued his victorious expedition from Perth to Aberdeen, and thence to Elgin in Moray, without having experienced a single check in his progress. It was on his return from the north, that, in passing the ancient Abbey of Scone, he took with him the famous and fatal stone, upon which, for many ages, the Scottish Kings had been crowned and anointed. This, considered by the Scots as their national palladium, along with the Scottish sceptre and crown, the English monarch placed in the

Cathedral of Westminster, as an offering to Edward the Confessor, and a memorial of what he deemed his absolute conquest of Scotland;* a conquest, however, which, before a single year had elapsed, was entirely wrested from his hands.†

Returning to the coronation of Robert Bruce—after a digression in which the compiler has once more followed the course adopted by Tytler—it next falls to him to state the circumstances attending that twice-performed ceremony, and the mode in which the want of the abstracted regalia was supplied. The ready care of Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, supplied from his own wardrobe the robes in which Robert appeared at his coronation; and a slight coronet of gold,‡ probably borrowed by the Abbot of Scone from some of the saints or kings which adorned his Abbey, was employed instead of the hereditary crown. A banner, wrought with the arms of Baliol, was delivered by the Bishop of Glasgow to the new king, and Robert received beneath it the homage of the prelates and earls who attended the ceremony. On the second day after the coronation, and before Bruce and his friends had left Scone, they were surprised by the sudden arrival of Isabella, Countess of Buchan, sister of the Earl of Fife, who immediately claimed the privilege of placing the king upon the throne. It was a right which had undoubtedly belonged to the Earls of Fife from the days of Malcolm Canmore; and as the Earl of Fife was at this time of the English party, the Countess, a high spirited woman, leaving her home, joined Bruce at Scone, bringing with her the war-horses of her husband.§ The new king was not in a condition to think lightly of anything of this nature. To have refused Isabella's request, might give to his enemies some colour for alleging that an essential part of the ancient solemnity had been omitted in the coronation. The English historians would have us believe that the lady was influenced by tenderer feelings than ambition or policy; but this is doubtful, and is at best a gratuitous assumption. This much is certain, that on the 29th March the king was a second time in-

* Fordun, a Goodal, book xi. chap. xxv. vol. ii. p. 166. Hemmingford, vol. i. pp. 37, 100.

† Tytler's *History*, vol. i. p. 105.

‡ Rymer, *Fœdera*, vol. ii. p. 1048. This *coronella aurea* came into the hands of Geoffrey de Coigners, who seems to have incurred the resentment of Edward the First, for concealing and preserving it. Langtoft, *Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 331. Maitland has no authority for asserting that the crown was made expressly for Robert's coronation by Geoffrey de Coigners.

§ Hemmingford, vol. i. p. 220. Robertson's Index, p. 17, No. 41.

stalled in the royal chair by the Countess,* who afterwards suffered severely for her alleged presumption. The fact just mentioned may account for an apparent discrepancy between Tytler and Sir Walter Scott, who differ to the extent of two days as to the precise time of the king's inauguration.

The details now given are thus particular, as being intimately connected with the annals of Perth and of Scone; besides, that these and some other passages in the life of the Bruce also connected with our local history are so very interesting. Others marking the career of this great man are perhaps equally so; but as any lengthened account of these would not be in keeping with the main object of this volume, they must be passed over with a very slight notice, that there may be the more space to devote to matters more strictly local.

Bruce was very unfortunate in the early part of his career; indeed, as Sir Walter Scott says, the commencement of his undertaking was most disastrous. In less than two months after his coronation—viz. on the 18th May following—he was excommunicated by the Pope on account of the murder of Comyn within consecrated ground—a sentence which not only excluded him from all the benefits of religion, but authorised any one to kill him; and just in one month more he experienced a complete defeat in this neighbourhood, after a few rapid movements not by any means successful.

On his return from ravaging the district of Galloway,† he marched towards Perth, at that time a town strongly walled and fortified, where the Earl of Pembroke lay with a small party of soldiers. Bruce, on arriving at Perth, and finding the Earl shut up within the walls, sent a challenge, requesting him, in the chivalrous style of the age, to come out and try his fortune in an open field. Pembroke answered, that the day was too far spent, but that he would fight with him next morning; upon which the King retired and encamped in the wood of Methven, a few miles distant. Towards evening, whilst his soldiers were busy cooking their supper,‡ and many were dispersed in foraging parties, a cry was heard that the enemy were upon them; and Pembroke, with his whole army, which outnumbered the Scots by fifteen hundred men, broke

* Trivet, p. 342. † *Chron. Lanercost*, p. 204.

‡ *Chron. Abingdon*, quoted in Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 172.

in upon the camp.* The surprise was so complete, that it can only be accounted for by the belief that the King had implicitly relied upon the promise of the English Earl. He and his friends had scarcely time to arm themselves. They made, however, a stout resistance, and at the first onset Bruce attacked the Earl of Pembroke, and slew his horse; but no efforts of individual courage could restore order, or long delay defeat; and the battle of Methven was from the first nearly a rout. The King was there unhorsed, and once so nearly taken, that the captor, Sir Philip de Moubray, called aloud that he had the new-made King, when Sir Christopher Seton felled Moubray to the earth, and rescued his master.† The King's brother, Edward Bruce, Bruce himself, the Earl of Athole, Sir James Douglas, Sir Gilbert de la Haye, Sir Nigel Campbell, and Sir William Barondoun, with about five hundred men, kept the field, and at last effected their retreat into the fastnesses of Athole; but some of his best and bravest friends fell into the hands of the enemy. On being informed of the victory, Edward gave orders for the instant execution of the prisoners; but the Earl of Pembroke, with more humanity, did not carry these orders into instant execution. Randolph, on being pardoned, deserted his uncle; others were ransomed; whilst the chaplain, with other knights who had been taken, were hanged and quartered.

Soon after, Edward raised a large army, and vowed vengeance on the whole Scottish nation. Death arrested his progress northwards at Carlisle, on 29th July, 1307; but, with his last breath, he enjoined his son and successor to prosecute the war, and subdue the kingdom. The belligerent powers carried on an irregular warfare, with various success, and several exploits were achieved. Not a few amongst the powerful of Bruce's own countrymen traitorously took a position hostile to the defender of their liberties, and aided the English—namely, Comyn, Earl of Buchan, Alexander, Lord of Argyll, Donald of the Isles, and others. Comyn was defeated at Inverary, with the loss of a large portion of his army in the field; and soon after, Bruce gained similar advantages over the other chiefs above mentioned. Edward made another extraordinary effort, and levied a still stronger force. Upon this, Robert withdrew for a time to the mountains, leaving the south open to the enemy to wear

* Barbour, by Jamieson, p. 37.

† Barbour, pp. 35, 36. Math. Westminst. p. 455, asserts that the king was unhorsed, and thrice rescued by Simon Fraser.

themselves out; and the want of provisions soon compelled Edward to retire, without having had any opportunity to perform any great exploit. Bruce, in his turn, made reprisals, and effected successful inroads into England, quartering his followers on the enemy, and teaching them to despise the military genius of a people that had been so long the object of their terror. Meantime, Bruce had allowed most of the strongholds of his country to remain in possession of the English; but, on his return, he recovered most of them. Amongst others, he laid siege to Perth in 1311, and took it by storm, putting the garrison to the sword, and razed the walls to the foundation. This was achieved with great difficulty, for at this time it was one of the most strongly fortified places in Scotland, and had been powerfully garrisoned by the English immediately before the battle of Methven. Since their first successes in the north, the Bruceans had repeatedly assailed it unsuccessfully. He now invested it with the most powerful force he could muster, and for a considerable time pressed the siege with great vigour, but still without effect at first, chiefly from the want of a competent power of engines. He was obliged to withdraw his troops for a time, and retire, lest famine, and the diseases occasioned by long encampment on low marshy ground in an inclement season, should cut off the flower of those true and faithful followers by whose aid he had now nearly wrested the whole of Scotland from the tyrannical grasp of Edward. But he would not relinquish his purpose to reduce Perth also, and suffer this single-walled town for ever to baffle his efforts. Therefore, providing himself with scaling ladders, and such other instruments as he could procure, he speedily renewed the siege, when those within were pleasing themselves with the persuasion that they were enclosed by impregnable walls, and had nothing to fear from without. Bruce chose a dark night; and, in its silence, taking a chosen band, conducted them himself in person, partly wading and partly swimming across the ditch, deep, broad, and full of water, that surrounded the walls. His men were animated, on this as on many other occasions, by the example of daring valour with which he exposed himself the foremost to danger. The contest amongst them was, who should be first to cross the fosse, and, by scaling ladders, which they carried along with them, to mount the wall. The gallant and perilous enterprise succeeded. The King himself was the second to enter the city.* The garrison and the townsmen

* Heron's *History of Scotland*.

were easily overpowered. In the Castle, and in the stores of the merchants, a considerable booty was found of those things the captors wanted the most for the relief of their own necessities. The slaughter of the vanquished was humanely stayed as soon as the resistance ceased. The houses were burnt, and the fortifications levelled with the ground. By this happy achievement, all Perthshire was freed from servitude to the English, and reduced under the authority of King Robert.

It does not appear that the fortifications of Perth were ever thoroughly repaired after this, or that it ever became a place of such strength as formerly, although at a later period it sustained the assaults of hostile forces, especially in the time of Edward the Third, who strengthened it greatly. It is not known by whom, or under whose reign, the defences demolished by Bruce were originally built;* but at a very early period the fosse or moat outside the walls was supplied by an aqueduct from the river Almond, which could with little difficulty be turned to such a purpose in our own time.†

King Robert the Bruce continued for a series of years his struggles against the English, who still persevered in their attempts to subjugate the kingdom. The celebrated and decisive battle of Bannockburn, near Stirling, was fought on 25th June, 1314. The victory there so gloriously achieved by the Scots, under their brave and patriotic Sovereign, secured the independence of Scotland, procured a lasting peace, enriched the country, and rendered the Scots illustrious for their valour throughout all Europe. The only other remarkable event in Bruce's reign in any shape locally connected with Perth, was the trial, condemnation, and execution there, of the traitors who had formed a conspiracy against his life and government, a few years after. This conspiracy arose out of an unpopular step adopted by Bruce—a step, at least, which gave great offence to those who considered themselves aggrieved by it. He unwisely called a convention of the nobles, and demanded by what

* Major, the historian, says, "*Est insuper oppedum de Perth quod sanctum Joannem sine Sancti Johannis, vellam vulgo dicimus, solum inter Scotiæ villas minatum.*"

† It may be here remarked, that some time before the period under review, the inhabitants of Perth had recourse to the same stratagem for nearly a similar purpose, which those of Moscow adopted in modern times. During the devastating progress of Edward's forces, after the battle of Falkirk, they began to be in distress for provisions, and pushed on to Perth, which they found already burnt, and all the supplies destroyed, by the Scots themselves.

title they held their estates? Every one immediately drew his sword and exclaimed, "We carry our titles in our right hand!" The boldness of this reply disconcerted the King, and he bore it with suppressed indignation. Not so with the declarants; they resented the imprudence, and formed a conspiracy against him. David Brechin, the King's own nephew; Lord Soulis, Governor of Berwick; and some others, were the active parties in bringing about this; but the plot being discovered before they effected their purpose, they were seized, and tried at Perth, where also they were condemned and executed. About or near this time a national council is mentioned as having been held at Perth in July, 1321. This appears from the rolls of King Robert the First.—*Ex Collect. Com. de Panmure*, No. lxxx. p. 65.

Various causes combined to keep up the feud betwixt the English and Scots for a number of years—Edward the Second being bent on the conquest of Scotland, and Robert the First determined to secure its independence and defend its liberties to the last extremity. Several attempts were made by other parties, particularly the Pope's Legate, but without success. So much enraged was this ecclesiastical envoy, that he fulminated sentence of excommunication against the Scottish nation; upon which Bruce levied a powerful army, and ravaged England, as far as York at least, with fire and sword. During these movements the English monarch encountered peril, and twice very narrowly escaped being made prisoner. In 1327 ambassadors were sent from England to conclude a peace, but were again unsuccessful. Randolph and Douglas were despatched into England with 20,000 light horse. Ruin and devastation over all the northern counties of England were the effects of this invasion. At last, on the 13th June, 1328, a treaty of peace was concluded, on condition that the English should renounce all claim to the crown of Scotland; that Cumberland and Northumberland should be the future boundary; and that David, son of Robert, should marry Joan, sister of Edward.

Robert, by this time, had descended into the vale of years, and being worn out with incessant labours, he retired from the direction of public affairs. That he intrusted to Randolph, Earl of Murray, and Sir James Douglas. He expired at Cardross, near Dumbar-ton, which he had chosen as a private residence, on the 9th July, 1329, in the forty-fifth year of his reign.

This great and good man was succeeded by his son, David the Second, when only five years of age, who was crowned at Scone on

the 24th November, 1329. Randolph was appointed Regent during his minority. He ratified the peace with England, and afterwards applied himself with great success to the restoration of internal tranquillity and order. But still Edward did not abandon the idea of obtaining what he had so long struggled for, but had recourse to stratagem to effect the end at which he aimed, and which he saw it was in vain to contend for openly. He hired a monk to poison the Regent, but the plot was discovered, and Edward, who had resolved to follow up the advantage he calculated on, marched to the Borders with a formidable army, but retreated on learning that Randolph, instead of falling his victim, had mustered a strong force to meet him, and which he shrunk from encountering. The Regent, however, was suffering under a severe malady, and soon after died, in the month of July, 1332.

“In the Earl of Moray,” says Tytler, “Scotland lost the only man whose genius was equal to manage the affairs of the nation, under circumstances of peculiar peril and difficulty. In his mind we can discern the rare combination of a cool judgment with the utmost rapidity and energy of action; and his high and uncorrupted character, together with his great military abilities, kept down the discordant factions which began to show themselves among the nobility, and intimidated the conspirators who meditated the overthrow of the government. Upon his death, a Parliament assembled at Perth for the election of his successor, and the spirit of civil disunion broke out with fatal violence. After great contention amongst the nobility, Donald, Earl of Mar, nephew to the late King, was chosen Regent.* This nobleman was in every way unfitted for so arduous a situation. When a child, he had been carried into England by Edward the First, and, on being released from captivity, had continued to reside in that country, and had even carried arms in the English army against Scotland. Although he was afterwards restored to his country, and employed by Bruce, it was in a subordinate military command. The King appears to have considered his talent for war as of an inferior order, and the result showed how well Bruce had judged.† In the meantime, on the very day that the reins of the state fell into this feeble hand, word was brought that the fleet of Edward Baliol, and the disinherited barons, had appeared in the Forth. They landed soon after with their army at Wester-King-

* Winton, vol. ii. p. 147. Fordun, a Hearne, p. 1018.

† Barbour, pp. 337, 339. *Rotuli Scotiae*, 13 Ed. II. m. 3.

horn, where the ground was so unfavourable for the disembarking of cavalry, that a small force, led by any of the old captains of Bruce, would have destroyed the daring enterprise in its commencement. But Mar, who was at the head of a Scottish army more than ten times the strength of the English, lingered at a distance, and lost the opportunity; whilst Alexander Seton threw himself, with a handful of soldiers, upon the English, and was instantly overpowered and cut to pieces.* Baliol immediately advanced to Dunfermline, where he found a seasonable supply for his small army in five hundred spears, and a quantity of provisions, laid up there by the orders of Randolph, then recently dead.† When he first effected a landing, he had with him only four hundred men; but by this time he had collected a force of about 2,000 foot soldiers;‡ and feeling more confident, he commanded his fleet to sail round the coast and anchor in the mouth of the Tay, while he himself pushed on to Perth, and encamped near Forteviot, having his front defended by the river Earn. On the opposite bank lay the extensive tract called Dupplin Moor, upon which the Earl of Mar drew up his army, consisting of 30,000 men, excellently equipped, and commanded by the principal nobility of Scotland. Eight miles to the west of Forteviot, at Auchterarder, was the Earl of March, at the head of an army nearly as numerous, with which he had advanced through the Lothians and Stirlingshire, and threatened to attack the English in flank.

“Nothing could be imagined more perilous than the situation of Baliol; but he had friends in the Scottish camps.§ Some of the nobility, whose relatives had suffered in the Black Parliament, were decided enemies to the line of Bruce, and secretly favoured the faction of the disinherited barons; so that, by means of the information which they afforded him, he was enabled, with a force not exceeding 3,000 men, to overwhelm the army of Mar at the moment that his own destruction appeared inevitable.||

* Fordun, a Hearne, vol. iv. pp. 1018, 1019. *Scala Chronicle*, p. 159.

† Leland, *Collect.* vol. i. p. 553. Raudolph had died twelve days before. Knighton, p. 2560.

‡ Knighton, p. 2560. Leland, *Col.* vol. i. p. 553. Walsingham, p. 131. Fordun a Goodall, vol. ii. p. 307, says, “600 was the original number.”

§ Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 304.

|| Bower's *Continuat.* Fordun, vol. ii. p. 301. “Annon audivisti de interne-
cione nobilium in Nigro Parlamento? Generatio eorum tibi adstabit.” Winton, vol. ii. p. 151. The place where the disinherited lords encamped, was called “Miller's Acre.”

“ It is asserted by an English historian, on the authority of an ancient manuscript chronicle, that the newly-elected regent had entered into a secret correspondence with Baliol; but the conduct of that ill-fated nobleman appears to have been rather that of weakness and presumption than of treachery.* Aware of the near presence of the enemy, he kept no watch, and permitted his soldiers to abandon themselves to riot and intemperance. Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, a Scottish baron, who served in the army of March, basely conducted the English to a ford in the river, which he had marked by a large stake driven into its channel.† Setting off silently at midnight, Baliol passed the river, and marching by Gask and Dupplin, suddenly broke in upon the outposts of the Scottish camp, and commenced a dreadful slaughter of their enemies, whom they mostly found drunken and heavy with sleep.‡ The surprise, although unfortunate, was not at first completely fatal. Young Randolph, Earl of Moray, Murdoch, Earl of Menteith, Robert Bruce, a natural son of King Robert, and Alexander Fraser, hastily collected 300 troops, and with the desperate courage of men who felt that all hung upon gaining a few moments, checked the first onset, and drove back the English soldiers. This gave time for the main body of the Scots to arm, and as the morning had now broke, the small numbers of the assailants became apparent. But the military incapacity of the Regent destroyed the advantage which might have been improved, to the total discomfiture of Baliol. Rushing down at the head of his army, without order or discipline, the immense mass of soldiers became huddled and pressed together; spearmen, bowmen, horses, and infantry, were confounded in a heap, which bore down headlong upon the English, and in an instant overwhelmed Randolph and his little phalanx.§ The confusion soon became inextricable: multitudes of the Scottish soldiers were suffocated and trodden down by their own men; and the English, preserving their discipline, and under brave and experienced leaders, made a pitiless slaughter.

“ The rout now became total, and the carnage, for it could not be called a battle, continued from early dawn till nine in the morning, by which time the whole of the Scottish army was slain, dispersed, or taken prisoners. So rapid and easy had been the victory, that the English ascribed it to a miraculous interference for their

* Barnes' *Hist. of Ed.* III. p. 60.

† Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 307.

‡ Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 305.

§ Winton, vol. ii. pp. 152, 153.

preservation, and the Scots to a sudden infliction of divine vengeance. But the military incapacity of Mar, and the treachery of Murray, sufficiently account for the disaster.

“On examining the field, it was found that multitudes had perished without stroke of weapon, overridden by their own cavalry, suffocated by the pressure and weight of their armour, or trod under foot by the fury with which the rear ranks had pressed upon the front.* On one part of the ground the dead bodies lay so thick, that the mass of the slain was a spear’s length in depth.† It is difficult to estimate the number of those who fell; but amongst them were some of the bravest of the Scottish nobility. The young Randolph, Earl of Moray, whose conduct that day had been worthy of his great father; Robert, Earl of Carrick, a natural son of King Edward Bruce; Alexander Fraser, Chamberlain of Scotland, who had married the sister of the late King; Murdoch, Earl of Menteith, and the Regent Mar himself, were amongst the slain. In addition to these, there fell many Scottish knights, and men-at-arms, and probably not less than 13,000 infantry and camp followers.‡ Duncan, Earl of Fife, was made prisoner, after a brave resistance, in which 360 men-at-arms, who fought under his banner, were slain. Of the English the loss was inconsiderable: besides those of less note, it included only two knights and thirty-three esquires, a disparity in the numbers, which, although very great, is not without parallel in history.§ There does not occur in our Scottish annals a greater or more calamitous defeat than the rout at Dupplin, even when stripped of the additions of some English historians.|| It was disgraceful, too, as its cause is to be found in the military incapacity of Mar the leader, and in the acknowledged treachery of one, and probably of more than one, of the Scottish barons. The principal of these, Murray of Tullibardine, was speedily overtaken by the punishment which he deserved: he was made prisoner at Perth, tried, condemned, and executed.¶

“After the battle of Dupplin, Baliol instantly pressed forward and took possession of Perth, which he fortified by palisades, with

* Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 305.

† Winton, vol. ii. p. 155. *Lanercost Chron.* p. 268.

‡ Walsingham, p. 131. Fordun a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1019.

§ At Cressy, the English lost only three knights and one esquire.

|| Echard, p. 145. Tyrrel, vol. iii. p. 372.

¶ Fordun, a Hearne, vol. iv. p. 1020. Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 307.

the intention of abiding there the assault of the enemy, for the Earl of March was still at the head of a powerful army of 30,000 men. March was a baron of great landed power, but lightly esteemed by all parties;* timid, and intent upon his own interest, unwilling to peril his great estates by an adherence to the losing side, and possessed of no military talents. Upon hearing the account of the defeat at Dupplin, he passed with his army over the field of battle, which presented a ghastly confirmation of the tale; and on reaching Lanmerkin Wood, commanded the soldiers to cut fagots and branches to be used in filling up the fosse, should they assault Perth, against which town he now advanced. The near approach of so great an army alarmed the citizens, who began to barricade the streets and the approach to their houses. But on reaching the high ground immediately above the town, March commanded his men to halt. Beaumont, who intently watched his operations, observing this, called out, 'To take courage, for he knew they had friends in that army, and need fear no assault.'† It is probable that, in the halt made by March, Beaumont recognized a sign of his friendly intentions, which had been previously agreed on. It is probable, at least, that this powerful baron himself, and certain that some of his leaders, had engaged in a correspondence with Baliol, as the intended assault was delayed, and the protracted measure of a blockade preferred—a change which, in the mutual situation of the two parties, can be accounted for on no ground but that of a friendly feeling to Baliol. At this moment, Crab, the Flemish mercenary, appeared with his fleet in the Tay, and attacked the English ships. He was at first successful, and made a prize of the Beaumondscogge, Henry de Beaumont's vessel; but the rest of the squadron defended themselves with such resolution, that in the end Crab was defeated, and compelled to fly to Berwick.‡ This disaster gave March a plausible pretext for deserting. The blockade was changed into a retrograde movement, which soon after ended in the total dispersion of the Scottish army, and, after

* *Scala Chron.* p. 161. Hailes, vol. ii. p. 189. 8vo edition.

† Winton, vol. ii. p. 156. Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 306.

‡ Walsingham, p. 130. The Cogga de Benmond, or Beaumondscogge, was purchased by the state in 1337. It had become the property of Reginald More, Chamberlain of Scotland, who sold it to the King for two hundred pounds. Chamberlain's Accounts, p. 256.

a decent interval, in the accession of the Earl of March to the English interest.*

“Baliol, secure from all opposition for the present, now repaired to Scone; and in the presence of many of the gentry from Fife, Gowrie, and Strathearn, was crowned King of Scotland.† Duncan, Earl of Fife, who had joined the English party, and Sinclair, Bishop of Dunkeld, officiated at the solemnity.

“The chief causes which led to this remarkable revolution, destined for a short time to overthrow the dynasty of Bruce, are not difficult of discovery. The concluding part of the late King’s reign, owing to the severity with which he punished the conspiracy of Brechin, had been unpopular; and part of the discontented nobility were not slow in turning their eyes from the line of Bruce, which his great energy and military talents had compelled them to respect, to the claims of Baliol, weak in personal power, but, as they imagined, better supported in right and justice. A party of English barons, headed by Henry Beaumont, one of the most influential subjects in England, having been dispossessed by Bruce of their estates in Scotland, determined to recover them by the sword, and united themselves with Baliol, concealing their private ambition under the cloak of re-establishing the rightful heir upon the throne. They were mostly men of great power, and were all of them more or less connected with the numerous sept of the Comyns, the inveterate enemies of Bruce. They received private encouragement and sup-

* Lord Hailes, *Ann.* vol. ii. p. 155, in a note, exculpates March, and softens his accession to the English lords. He tries to show that March raised the leaguer of Perth, not from treachery but necessity. It is evident that much of the question as to March’s treachery, and that of the “noble persons” who acted along with him, hangs on Beaumont’s speech. Now, Hailes has curtailed it. Beaumont really said, “Take courage, for that army, as I conjecture, will not hurt us, because I perceive, without doubt, our friends and well-wishers amongst them.” The author of the *Annals* makes him say, “Take courage, these men will not hurt us;” and he then observes, “Whether he said this merely to animate the English, or whether he formed his conjecture from the disordered motions of the enemy, or whether he indeed discerned the banners of some noble persons who secretly favoured Baliol, is uncertain.” Now, there is really no uncertainty about the speech. Beaumont, in the part of the passage which Hailes has overlooked, expressly affirmed that he perceived friends in March’s army. Had he consulted Winton, he would have found that this old and authentic chronicler, vol. ii. p. 156, makes Beaumont say,

Look that ye be
Merry and glad, and have no doubt,
For we have friends in yon rout.

† Winton, vol. ii. p. 157.

port from the King of England, and they began their enterprise when the civil government in Scotland, and the leading of its armies, was in the hands of Mar and March—the first a person of no talents or energy, and suspected of being inclined to betray his trust; the second undoubtedly a favourer of the English party.

“There was nothing, therefore, extraordinary in the temporary recovery of the crown by Baliol; but a short time showed him how little dependence was to be placed on such a possession. The friends of the line of Bruce were still numerous in the country: amongst them were the oldest and most experienced soldiers in Scotland, and the feelings of the nation were entirely on their side. Their first step was a decided one. Anxious for the safety of the young King, then a boy in his ninth year, they sent him and his youthful Queen with speed to the Court of France, where they were honourably and affectionately received by Philip the Sixth.*

“Perth had been fortified by the disinherited lords, after which Baliol made a progress to the southern parts of Scotland, and committed the custody of the town to the Earl of Fife. It was soon after attacked and stormed by Sir Simon Fraser and Sir Robert Keith, who destroyed the fortifications, and took the constable Fife and his daughter prisoners. Upon this first gleam of success, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, who had married Christian, the sister of the late king, was chosen Regent. Meanwhile Baliol, with ready pusillanimity, hastened to surrender to Edward the liberties of Scotland; and the English king moved on to the borders with the declared purpose of attending to the safety of that divided country. The transactions which followed at Roxburgh throw a strong light upon the characters of both sovereigns.”

These transactions led to the disastrous action of Hallidon Hill, on 16th July, 1333, in which thirty thousand of the Scots were slain, including their brave commander, Sir William Keith, and many of their most distinguished nobles.

In 1334, Edward Baliol was acknowledged King by a Parliament assembled at Edinburgh; the ascendancy of England was again recognised; and many of the Scottish nobility swore allegiance to Edward. The usurper's treachery, however, in ceding to England many of the Scottish strongholds, and a large portion of the Scottish territory, confirmed many of the suspicions entertained of him, and a universal hatred of his person and government was

* Winton, vol. ii. p. 158. Fordun, a Goodal, vol. ii. p. 307.

the consequence. The garrison of Lochleven Castle, amongst a few others, still remained faithful to David, its rightful sovereign. Baliol ordered Sir John Stirling to besiege it, but it was bravely defended by the troops. Wearied out with their exertions, and finding they made no progress, the assailants proposed to raise a lofty mound to shut up the outlet from the lake, and by inundating the island on which the castle yet stands, to drown all within the fortifications. With a view to prevent this, the garrison, after considerable progress had been made in building the wall, broke it down during cloud of night, when the waters suddenly overflowing the English camp, involved men, horses, and tents in one general scene of destruction.

The enemy's forces being withdrawn, the Scots revolted from Baliol, and again appointed Sir Andrew Murray Regent, who almost wholly expelled the adherents of the usurper from the kingdom. In 1336, Edward once more raised an army and marched into Scotland, but on this occasion the Scots retired to their fastnesses. Finding none to oppose him, he returned, taking Baliol with him, leaving Comyn, Earl of Athole, in command of his forces. At this time Murray was superseded by some of David's friends, who chose John Randolph and Robert Stewart joint Regents. Numbers, weary of the English yoke, now flocked to their standard, on hearing which, Edward once more marched with a powerful army as far as Perth. Stewart fell sick, but Randolph took the Earl of Athole prisoner; but on swearing allegiance to King David, he was set at liberty. Comyn, however, treacherously violated his oath, came to Edward at Perth, and engaged to drive all the adherents of Bruce out of Scotland. Randolph, with a chosen party, took prisoner some of the invaders near Edinburgh; but soon after he unfortunately fell into an ambush laid for him by the English, who carried him to Perth, where Edward still remained.

It was about this time that an event, remarkable in our local annals, took place. That was the murder of the Earl of Cornwall, in the East Church of this city, who fell under the hand of his own brother, Edward the Third of England, before the high altar of St. John—just on the spot which the pulpit at present occupies. While the King was standing there, the Earl, who had newly arrived from England, came to him. An altercation between the brothers took place in consequence of some highly aggravated cruelties which the Earl was reported to have perpetrated in the western counties on his way to Perth, and for which the King

reproached him. In the heat of the altercation, the King stabbed him with a kind of small sword, and he immediately expired.*

On hearing of some disasters that had overtaken a number of his ships at sea, Edward again returned to London, to prosecute a war against France; again, also, he took Baliol with him, and as before left Comyn of Athole to conclude the war in Scotland. Shortly after, however, Comyn was slain, and his forces routed, by an army commanded by the Earl of March, Sir William Douglas, and Sir Andrew Murray. Stewart being sick, and Randolph a prisoner, Murray was again chosen Regent, specially in consideration of his exploits on this occasion. At this time a severe famine raged in Scotland, by which thousands of the lower classes in Perth, as well as other places, perished. The scarcity of provisions compelled the English garrison of Cupar to desert; and the soldiers, having compelled a Scottish sailor, whom they cruelly treated, to transport them to East Lothian during the night, were left by him on a sandbank, where, on return of the tide, they were all drowned. Shortly after this, Murray the Regent died, much respected and lamented, and was succeeded in the Regency by Robert, the Steward of Scotland. He carried on the war, and chose for his general William Douglas, justly celebrated for his daring deeds and singular feats of valour. He was despatched to France, where David still remained, to inform him of the state of affairs at home. Meantime the Regent besieged Perth, but was defeated and wounded. Cant says, that "in the beginning of the year 1339, after the death of the Regent, Andrew Murray, the Regency (as already stated) was conferred on Robert, the Lord High Steward, afterwards King, who was but a youth. He resolved to distinguish himself by opening the siege of Perth, which Edward and his engineers had fortified with uncommon skill, and had placed in it an excellent garrison. The defence they made for three months was so brave, that the High Steward was about to raise the siege, when Douglas, Lord Liddesdale, arrived from France, whither he was sent on an embassy to David Bruce, and brought with him five (Fordun says only two) ships, with a supply of men and provisions. The siege was

* Fordun's words are—"Cumque idem rex ante magnum altare Sancti Johannis super premissis ipsum ut abiret azuerat; et ipse regi indignanti animo responderet subito fratris spatu sive culletto extracto percussus, rebus exutus est humanis."

renewed with vigour. Douglas was wounded in the leg by the shot of a crossbow, while he was going to the escalade. When the siege had lasted four months, and was like to have continued longer, the Earl of Ross, by digging of mines, drew away the water, and dried up the fosses and ditches, so that the soldiers, approaching the walls on dry ground, beat off the defenders with arrows and darts shot out of engines made for that purpose. The governor, Sir Thomas Ochtred, with his garrison, seeing the city untenable, surrendered, having capitulated for the safety of their lives and estates. Some marched off by land, and others were provided with shipping to England. Douglas rewarded the French very liberally, and sent them back into France well pleased. He caused also to be restored to Hugh Hambel, their commander, one of the best of his ships, which was taken by the English during the siege. Hambel had ventured to approach the town with his ships, to give an assault; one of them was taken, and now restored."

David and his Queen returned from France 2d July, 1341, after an absence of nine years. Edward of England again assembled an army of forty thousand foot and six thousand horse, with which he advanced as far as Newcastle, with the design of invading Scotland; but the fleet which conveyed his stores was driven by stress of weather on the shores of Belgium, and the consequent want of provisions compelled him to retrace his steps and abandon his purpose. After a few years of truce, David, having now reached his majority, took the reins of government into his own hands, and, in his turn, waged war against England, contrary to the advice and earnest entreaty of his most experienced military chiefs. With fifty thousand men he ravaged Northumberland to the very gates of Durham, near to which his host (A.D. 1346) was defeated with great slaughter, by the English forces under Percy. No fewer than fifteen thousand Scotsmen fell on that bloody field. Amongst the slain were Keith, Earl Marshall, and Charteris the Chancellor. The King himself was taken prisoner, along with the Earls of Fife, Douglas, Carrick, Menteith, and Sutherland. This disaster was attended with immense loss to Scotland, for the Scots had to quit possession of the northern counties of England, which they had held so long, with nearly as much territory north of the Tweed, through which Percy and Baliol roamed at will, and laid waste the country without opposition. These reverses were followed by an affliction still more awful—a destructive plague, which swept off one-third of the inhabitants of the kingdom. There are no local

records extant so far back as this epoch, and the pestilence being universal, no general history gives any intimation to what extent the dispensation affected Perth in particular.

About the year 1355, peace was brought about betwixt the two kingdoms, chiefly through the intervention of the Pope; and David, after having been detained in England for eleven years, was ransomed and set at liberty, on condition of the payment of one hundred thousand merks in silver. About this time such dreadful torrents of rain fell in Perthshire, and throughout the country generally, as carried away water-mills, bridges, houses, men, and herds of cattle, and destroyed or greatly damaged many of the towns which stood near the banks of rivers. These disasters were succeeded by an awful pestilence, which carried off a great number of the inhabitants. As in the case of plague noticed above, no record remains as to its ravages in Perth, nor is the inundation alluded to chronicled in any of our annals; but, from the position of Perth, and its peculiar liability to such visitations, it may reasonably be inferred that it suffered severely.

From his long minority and retirement in France, as also his captivity in England, David had little personal connection with the city of Perth, although its history is closely involved in some of the movements in the earlier part of his reign. He died in the Castle of Edinburgh, 22d February, 1371, in the forty-seventh year of his age, and forty-second of his reign.

In accordance with the destination of the crown, made by the Scottish Parliament in the reign of Robert Bruce, Robert the Second succeeded his uncle, David, immediately on his demise. About this period the plague again broke out in Scotland, and raged with greater violence, for the space of two years, than ever it had done before. The early part of Robert's reign was greatly disturbed by almost continual war with England, and its close was signalized by one of the most stirring events of that eventful period. This was the great conflict betwixt the Percy and the Douglas, at Otterburn, on the 21st July, 1388. The younger Douglas, son of the Earl of Galloway, who also accompanied the expedition, after performing the most astonishing achievements, had encountered and vanquished Percy in single combat, wresting from him his lance, in presence of both armies. Enraged at this affront, Percy raised a still more powerful force than before, and pursued the Scottish army to Otterburn, where the latter, although not amounting to half the number of their opponents, fought with the most deter-

mined valour. The contest was long very doubtful, but Percy and his brother were taken prisoners. Their followers at length gave way, and the Scots were victorious, although with the loss of their brave leader, who fell in the fight. Robert the Second died in less than two years afterwards, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and nineteenth of his reign.

About this epoch of Scottish history, the local annals of Perth again begin to be still more prominently identified with those of the nation, and of course more pertinent to the main object of this publication. During the reign of Robert the Third, and the six Jameses who succeeded him, many of the most interesting occurrences connected with the crown and the country had this City or its neighbourhood for their scene; and the events of the period are peculiarly interesting in a general as well as a local point of view. Amongst them may be mentioned the celebrated Battle of the Inch, the starvation of Rothesay, the murder of James the First, the Raid of Ruthven, and the occult and still inexplicable affair of the so-called Gowrie conspiracy. To these may be added some of the more engrossing passages of the life and reign of the unfortunate Mary, and especially the Reformation of religion in this country, which may be said to have been cradled in Perth—and each of these events, with some minor incidents, it is the compiler's intention to treat of with considerable minuteness of detail.

Middle Period.



ITHERTO we have arranged these Annals under the head "Ancient History:" What follows can scarcely be reckoned ancient, nor properly viewed as modern, until a more recent date. Having now got rid of the pretensions of England to the right of possession, and entered upon the establishment of the Stuart dynasty—the Annals of Perth will now be continued through another stage, under the title of "MIDDLE PERIOD."

Although Robert died in April, 1390, and was succeeded by his son John, otherwise Robert the Third, his coronation did not take place until the middle of August the same year. This delay ensued in consequence of the King's desire to have his name changed to Robert, which it required a decree of the Estates to sanction. It was then a popular remark, that the Kings named John, both of France and England, had been unfortunate; and the Scottish people were very partial to the name of Robert, from its having been borne by the great Bruce. John Stewart, therefore, on ascending the Scottish throne, assumed, with the sanction before mentioned, the name of Robert the Third, which availed him nothing, for his reign was unfortunate; and after swaying the sceptre for about sixteen years, he died of a broken heart.

Sir Walter Scott, in his *History of Scotland*, first published in the work entitled *Tales of a Grandfather*, observes, that, among many others, "the disturbances of the Highlands were one of the plagues of his reign;" and the same authority farther goes on to inform his young friend, to whom the *Tales* were originally addressed, that "that extensive range of mountains was inhabited by a race of men different in language and manners from the Lowlanders, and divided into families called Clans. The English termed them the Wild Scots, and the French the Scottish Savages; and, in good truth, very wild and savage they seemed to have been. The losses which the low country had sustained by the English wars had weakened the districts next to the Highlands so much, that they became unable to repress the incursions of the mountaineers,

who descended from their hills, took spoil, burned, and destroyed, as if in the country of an enemy.”

Perthshire was perhaps more noted than any other district of Scotland for such predatory visitations ; and the Lowlanders of the neighbouring county of Angus, as it was formerly styled, suffered severely from the inroads of these *caterans*, in common with the inhabitants of the western portion of the Great Strath. Towards the close of the thirteenth century this state of affairs became intolerable ; and in proof of the extent of their incursions, as above alluded to, it may not be improper here to cite a story which appears to be well authenticated. In the year 1392, a formidable body of these marauders broke down from the Grampians upon the low country. They consisted of a Perthshire clan, the chiefs of which were called Clan-Donnochy, or sons of Duncan, the same as the clan now called Robertson. Their bent seemed to be for Angus-shire ; for a party of the Ogilvies and Lindsays, under the Sheriff, Sir Walter Ogilvie, mustered and marched against them, and immediately proceeded to the charge. But notwithstanding the advantage of being mounted and armed *cap-a-pie*—in fact, literally sheathed in steel—the Highlanders maintained a defence with such desperate obstinacy as to repulse the Lowland gentlemen completely, who were compelled to retreat, leaving the Sheriff and sixty of his brave followers dead on the field. Such is a specimen of some of the raids referred to ; and to give a farther instance of the ferocity of the mountaineers, a fact may be mentioned as in connection with the encounter above narrated. Sir David Lindsay having, in the first onset, run his lance through the body of one of the Highlanders, bore him down and pinned him to the earth. In this condition, and in his dying agonies, the Highlander writhed himself upwards on the spear, and exerted his last strength in a sweeping blow at the armed knight with his two-handed sword. The stroke, made with the last energies of a dying man, cut through Lindsay's stirrup and steel boot, and though it did not sever the leg from his body, yet wounded him so severely that he was obliged to quit the field ; thus, almost at first, leaving his companions to carry on the conflict.

Sir Walter Scott also remarks, that it often happened fortunately, perhaps, for the Lowlands, that the wild Highlanders were as much addicted to quarrel with one another as with their Lowland neighbours. Two clans, or rather two leagues or confederacies, composed each of several clans, fell into such deadly feud with each

other, as filled the whole neighbourhood with slaughter and discord. This ultimately led to an appointed regular trial of strength, the details of which have long formed one of the most animated passages in the annals of the "Fair City." Some part of this story, as it has come down to later times, is no doubt matter of tradition, but, as Sir Walter Scott says, the general fact is certain. This passage-at-arms is made a leading feature, by Sir Walter, in one of his most beautiful historical romances, which are generally founded on facts. The work here referred to, as indeed Sir Walter himself specially refers to it by a note, in his own history of the event, is that portion of his *Chronicles of the Canongate*, called "St. Valentine's Eve, or the Fair Maid of Perth." The compiler makes no apology for departing in this instance, as he has done in some others, from Mr. Cant's Notes, as these are very meagre on this very interesting event.

Long before, and also for some time after, this period, the North and South Inches were the scenes of frequent combats; and it was on the former of these fine plains that the singular conflict alluded to took place between the two rival clans already mentioned—the "wild Scottes," as Wintoun designates them, or two clans of "irmen," according to Boetius—in the presence of Robert the Third and his Court, ladies as well as lords and gentlemen, and a vast assemblage of spectators. The former were the Macintoshes, but it is still matter of dispute who are indicated by the Clan Kay. Some allege that they were the Mackays, but to this opinion there are various objections. The Clan Kay were followers of the Comyns, thus distinguishing them from the Mackays, who were always a numerous and independent clan. Mr. Robert Mackay, in his *History of the House and Clan of Mackay*, follows the authority of Douglas and his *Baronage*, and maintains that the Clan Kay were Camerons, and the names by which they are distinguished by some of the old writers on this conflict—*Clanquhell* and *Clanwheell*, or *Clanhewyll*—make it not improbable that these are mere corruptions of *Clan Lochiel*, or Cameron, a name signifying *wry nose*, which they obtained in more recent times from a blemish in the physiognomy of a heroic chief of the name of Lochiel; for, about the period in question, they appear to have been often designated *Macewans*. Sir Walter Scott, in his notes to the "Fair Maid of Perth," inclines to the belief that the Mackays had no part in the transaction. "The Mackays," he says, "were in that age seated, as they have since continued to be, in the extreme north of the island; and their

chief at the time was a personage of such importance that his name and proper designation could not have been omitted in the early narratives of the occurrence. He on one occasion brought 4,000 of his clan to the aid of the royal banner against the Lord of the Isles."

This conflict of the Clan Chattan and the Clan Kay was much on the principle of the Horatii and Curatii in Roman history; and the common tradition is, that the two clans had become more notorious than any others for their bitter feuds and ferocious hostility towards each other, which could neither be decided by equity nor reconciled by friends. The Earls of Crawford and Murray were sent by Robert the Third, at the head of a considerable force, to reduce them to obedience, or to adjust their quarrels. Aware that they would have great difficulty in subduing two fierce septs who despised death, and who would probably, for the time, unite against the royal arms, these noblemen resolved to accomplish by policy what it might have been hazardous to attempt by force. They addressed the rival chiefs separately, and, after urging a variety of arguments, they submitted to them a method of adjusting their feuds, and putting a stop to bloodshed, neither dishonourable to themselves nor disagreeable to the King. This was, that thirty combatants, selected from the Clan Chattan, otherwise the Macintoshes, and thirty from the Clan Kay, armed with swords only, should decide the contention in presence of the King—the vanquished to have a pardon for all past offences, and the victors to be suitably rewarded.

The proposal was accepted, a day was appointed for the combat (Sir Walter Scott makes it Palm Sunday), and the North Inch of Perth was named as the arena. On the day fixed, an immense number of spectators assembled at Perth, where lists had been prepared for the contending parties, surrounded by a deep trench, and benches were constructed for the accommodation of the spectators. The specified numbers made their appearance under their respective chiefs, dressed in the half-naked costume of their country. The scene was altogether singular, without being over-coloured or exaggerated by the florid additions of Boetius and Leslie, or the speeches which Buchanan makes the contending semi-savages to utter, after the most approved style and manner of Livy.

The gardens of the Dominicans, or Black Friars, which at that time surrounded the monastery of that religious order, were of great extent, and part of them immediately adjoined the North Inch,



THE CITY OF PERTH.
FROM THE NORTH INCH.

covering all that space of ground now occupied by the fine buildings of Athole Place, the Crescent, and Rose Terrace. On a part of these grounds, overlooking the North Inch, and probably near the site of Charlotte Place, or betwixt that and the south end of Rose Terrace, stood a richly decorated summer-house, called the *Gilten Arbour*, from the balconies of which King Robert is said to have witnessed the conflict. The judges were seated still nearer the scene of strife. When the combatants on each side appeared and were ready to engage, it was discovered that one of the Macintoshes had withdrawn himself, through fear or some other cause—at least one of the thirty men selected from the Clan Chattan. This accident delayed the encounter, and, as Sir Walter Scott says, “Perhaps you think it may be difficult to get a man, who, for a small hire, would undergo the perils of a battle which was likely to be so obstinate and so deadly. But in that fighting age, men valued their lives lightly.” While yet in difficulty how to adjust the matter, a common tradesman belonging to Perth, named Henry Wynd, or Hal of the Wynd, still popularly called the *Gow Chrom*, or the bandy-legged smith of St. Johnston, offered to supply the place of the absent Macintosh for half a French crown. The terms were accepted, and by the addition of this stranger, who had apparently no personal interest in the dispute, the number of the Clan Chattan was complete.

It has been already stated that Palm Sunday was the day selected for this mortal fray. This looks rather strange—and Sir Walter Scott says, that “at an earlier period of the Christian Church, the use of *any* of the days of Passion week for the purpose of combat, would have been accounted a profanity worthy of excommunication. The Church of Rome, to her infinite honour, had decided that during the holy season of Easter, when the redemption of man from his fallen state was accomplished, the sword of war should be sheathed, and angry monarchs should respect the season termed the Truce of God. The ferocious violence of the latter wars betwixt Scotland and England had destroyed all observance of this decent and religious ordinance. Very often the most solemn occasions were chosen by one party for an attack, because they hoped to find the other engaged in religious duties, and unprovided for defence. Thus the truce, once considered as proper to the season, had been discontinued; and it became not unusual even to select the sacred festivals of the Church for the decision of the trial by combat, to which the intended contest bore a considerable resemblance.”

There are various versions of the particulars connected with this memorable conflict, and as none can be depended on as setting forth the real features of the sanguinary scene, it may be well to select the best. Sir Walter Scott's account is so graphic and animated, that, although in a great measure imaginary, it is here preferred, as being also very like what may have occurred on such an occasion. Of the great leading facts, as already said, there can be no question; and as every reader, in contemplating these, must naturally endeavour to picture the scene to his "mind's eye," he will not grudge to have his fancy enlivened by the great Wizard of the North. Sir Walter says—

"The mountain minstrelsy, which sounded the appropriate pibrochs or battle tunes of the rival confederacies, was silent when they entered on the Inch, for such was the order which had been given. Two stately but aged warriors, each bearing the banner of his tribe, advanced to the opposite extremities of the lists, and pitching their standards into the earth, prepared to be spectators of a fight in which they were not to join. The pipers, who were also to be neutral in the strife, took their places by their respective *brattachs*.

"The multitude received both bands with the same general shout, with which on similar occasions they welcome those from whose exertion they expect amusement, or what they term sport. The destined combatants returned no answer to this greeting, but each party advanced to the opposite extremities of the lists, where were entrances by which they were to be admitted to the interior. A strong body of men-at-arms guarded either access; and the Earl Marshal at the one, and the Lord High Constable at the other, carefully examined each individual, to see whether he had the appropriate arms, being steel-cap, mail-shirt, two-handed sword, and dagger. They also examined the numbers of each party; and great was the alarm among the multitude when the Earl of Errol held up his hand and cried—'Ho! The combat cannot proceed, for the Clan Chattan lack one of their number.'

"'What reck of that?' said the young Earl of Crawford; 'they should have counted better ere they left home.'

"The Earl Marshal, however, agreed with the Constable, that the fight could not proceed until the inequality should be removed; and a general apprehension was excited in the assembled multitude, that after all the preparation there would be no battle.

"Meanwhile the two Chiefs, each attended by a special friend and adviser, met in the midst of the lists, having, to assist them in

determining what was to be done, the Earl Marshal, the Lord High Constable, the Earl of Crawford, and Sir Patrick Charteris. The Chief of the Clan Chattan declared himself willing and desirous of fighting upon the spot, without regard to the disparity of numbers.

“‘That,’ said Torquil of the Oak, ‘Clan Quhele will never consent to. You can never win honour from us with the sword, and you seek but a subterfuge, that you may say when you are defeated, as you know you will be, that it was for want of the number of your band fully counted out. But I make a proposal—Ferquhard Day was the youngest of your band, Eachin MacIan (the young Chief of the Clan Quhele) is the youngest of ours—we will set him aside in place of the man who has fled from the combat.’

“‘A most unjust and unequal proposal,’ exclaimed Toshach Beg, the second, as he might be termed, of MacGillie Chattanach. ‘The life of the Chief is to the Clan the breath of our nostrils, nor will we ever consent that our Chief shall be exposed to dangers which the Captain of the Clan Quhele does not share.’

“Torquil saw with deep anxiety that his plan was about to fail, when the objection was made to Hector’s being withdrawn from the battle; and he was meditating how to support his proposal, when Eachin himself interfered. His timidity, it must be observed, was not of that sordid and selfish nature which induces those who are infected by it calmly to submit to dishonour rather than risk danger. On the contrary, he was morally brave, though constitutionally timid, and the shame of avoiding the combat became at the moment more powerful than the fear of facing it.

“‘Hear me, Lord Marshal,’ said the Constable. ‘The hour of combat may not be much longer postponed, for the day approaches to high noon. Let the Chief of Clan Chattan take the half-hour which remains, to find, if he can, a substitute for this deserter; if he cannot, let them fight as they stand.’

“‘Content I am,’ said the Marshal, ‘though as none of his own clan are nearer than fifty miles, I see not how MacGillie Chattanach is to find an auxiliary.’

They communicated their decision to the Highlanders, and the Chief of the Clan Chattan replied—‘You have judged impartially and nobly, my lords, and I deem myself obliged to follow your direction. So make proclamation, heralds, that if any one will take his share with Clan Chattan of the honours and chances of this day, he shall have present payment of a gold crown, and liberty to fight to the death in my ranks.’

“The heralds had made their progress, moving half-way round the lists, stopping from time to time, to make proclamation as they had been directed, without the least apparent disposition on the part of any one to accept of the proffered enlistment. Some sneered at the poverty of the Highlanders, who set so mean a price upon such a desperate service. Others affected resentment, that they should esteem the blood of citizens so lightly. None showed the slightest intention to undertake the task proposed, until the sound of the proclamation reached Henry of the Wynd, as he stood without the barrier, speaking from time to time with Bailie Craigdallie, or rather listening vaguely to what the magistrate was saying to him.

“‘Ha! what proclaim they?’ he cried out.

“‘A liberal offer on the part of MacGillie Chattanach,’ said the Host of the Griffin, ‘who proposes a gold crown to any one who will turn wild cat for the day, and be killed a little in his service! That’s all.’

“He had hardly said the word, when he beheld the Smith clear the barriers at a single bound, and alight in the lists, saying, ‘Here am I, Sir Herald, Henry of the Wynd, willing to do battle on the part of the Clan Chattan.’

“A cry of admiration ran through the multitude, while the grave burghers, not being able to conceive the slightest reason for Henry’s behaviour, concluded that his head must be absolutely turned with the love of fighting. The Provost was especially shocked.

“The champions were now ordered to march in their turns around the lists, crossing so as to avoid meeting each other, and making obeisance as they passed the Golden Arbour where the King was seated.

“While this course was performing, most of the spectators were again curiously comparing the stature, limbs, and sinews of the two parties, and endeavouring to form a conjecture as to the probable issue of the combat. The feud of a hundred years, with all its acts of aggression and retaliation, was concentrated in the bosom of each combatant. Their countenances seemed fiercely writhen into the wildest expression of pride, hate, and a desperate purpose of fighting to the very last.

“The spectators murmured a joyful applause, in high-wrought expectation of the bloody game. Wagers were offered and accepted both on the general issue of the conflict, and on the feats of particular champions. The clear, frank, and elated look of Henry

Smith rendered him a general favourite among the spectators, and odds, to use the modern expression, were taken, that he would kill three of his opponents before he himself fell. Scarcely was the Smith equipped for the combat, when the commands of the Chiefs ordered the champions into their places.

“Both parties were disposed by the respective Chiefs in three lines, each containing ten men. They were arranged with such intervals between each individual as offered him scope to wield his sword, the blade of which was five feet long, not including the handle. The second and third lines were to come up as reserves, in case the first experienced disaster. On the right of the array of Clan Quhele, the Chief, Eachin MacIan, placed himself in the second line betwixt two of his foster-brothers. Four of them occupied the right of the first line, whilst the father and two others protected the rear of the beloved chieftain. Torquil (of the Oak), in particular, kept close behind, for the purpose of covering him. Thus Eachin stood in the centre of nine of the strongest men of his band, having four especial defenders in front, one on each hand, and three in his rear.

“The line of the Clan Chattan was arranged in precisely the same order, only that the Chief occupied the centre of the middle rank, instead of being on the extreme right.

“When the clans were thus drawn up opposed to each other, they intimated their feudal animosity, and their eagerness to engage, by a wild scream, which, uttered by the Clan Quhele, was answered and echoed back by the Clan Chattan, the whole at the same time shaking their swords, and menacing each other, as if they meant to conquer the imagination of their opponents ere they mingled in the actual strife.

“The trumpets of the King sounded a charge, the bagpipes blew up their screaming and maddening notes, and the combatants, starting forward in regular order, and increasing their pace till they came to a smart run, met together in the centre of the ground, as a furious land torrent encounters an advancing tide.

“For an instant or two the front lines, hewing at each other with their long swords, seemed engaged in a succession of single combats; but the second and third ranks soon came up on either side, actuated alike by the eagerness of hatred and the thirst of honour, pressed through the intervals, and rendered the scene a tumultuous chaos, over which the huge swords rose and sunk, some still glittering, others streaming with blood, appearing, from the

wild rapidity with which they were swayed, rather to be put in motion by some complicated machinery, than to be wielded by human hands. Some of the combatants, too much crowded together to use those long weapons, had already betaken themselves to their poniards, and endeavoured to get within the sword-sweep of those opposed to them. In the meantime blood flowed fast, and the groans of those who fell began to mingle with the cries of those who fought; for, according to the manner of the Highlanders at all times, they could hardly be said to shout, but to yell. Those of the spectators, whose eyes were best accustomed to such scenes of blood and confusion, could nevertheless discover no advantage yet acquired by either party. The conflict swayed, indeed, at different intervals forwards or backwards, but it was only in momentary superiority, which the party who acquired it almost instantly lost by a corresponding exertion on the other side. The wild notes of the pipers were still heard above the tumult, and stimulated to farther exertions the fury of the combatants.

“ At once, however, and as if by mutual agreement, the instruments sounded a retreat: it was expressed in wailing notes, which seemed to imply a dirge for the fallen. The two parties disengaged themselves from each other, to take breath for a few minutes. The eyes of the spectators greedily surveyed the shattered array of the combatants as they drew off from the contest, but found it still impossible to decide which had sustained the greater loss. It seemed as if the Clan Chattan had lost rather fewer men than their antagonists; but in compensation, the bloody plaids and shirts of their party (for several on both sides had thrown their mantles away) showed more wounded men than the Clan Quhele. About twenty of both sides lay on the field dead or dying; and arms and legs lopped off, heads cleft to the chin, slashes deep through the shoulder into the breast, showed at once the fury of the combat, the ghastly character of the weapons used, and the fatal strength of the arms which wielded them. The Chief of the Clan Chattan had behaved himself with the most determined courage, and was slightly wounded. Eachin also had fought with spirit, surrounded by his body-guard. His sword was bloody; his bearing bold and warlike; and he smiled when old Torquil, folding him in his arms, loaded him with praises and with blessings.

“ The two Chiefs, after allowing their followers to breathe for the space of about ten minutes, again drew up in their files, diminished by nearly one-third of their original number. They now

chose their ground nearer to the river than that on which they had formerly encountered, which was encumbered with the wounded and the slain. Some of the former were observed, from time to time, to raise themselves to gain a glimpse of the field, and sink back, most of them to die from the effusion of blood which poured from the terrific gashes inflicted by the claymore.

“The wild pibroch again sounded the onset; but the two parties approached each other more slowly than at first, as men who knew and respected each other’s valour. Henry Wynd, in his impatience to begin the contest, advanced before the Clan Chattan, and signed to Eachin to come on. Norman, however, sprang forward to cover his foster-brother, and there was a general, though momentary pause, as if both parties were willing to obtain an omen of the fate of the day, from the event of this duel. The Highlander advanced, with his large sword uplifted, as in act to strike; but just as he came within sword’s length, he dropt the long and cumbrous weapon, leapt lightly over the Smith’s sword, as he fetched a cut at him, drew his dagger, and, being thus within Henry’s guard, struck him with the weapon (his own gift) on the side of the throat, directing the blow downwards into the chest, and calling aloud, at the same time, ‘You taught me the stab!’

“But Henry Wynd wore his own good hauberk, doubly defended with a lining of tempered steel. Had he been less surely armed, his combats had been ended for ever. Even as it was, he was slightly wounded.

“‘But the sonorous voice of Torquil thundered out, ‘*Far eil air son Eachin!*’ (Another for Hector!) and the two brethren who flanked their Chief on each side, thrust forward upon Henry, and, striking both at once, compelled him to keep the defensive.

“‘Forward, race of the Tiger Cat!’ cried MacGillie Chattanach, ‘save the brave Saxon; let these kites feel your talons!’

“Already much wounded, the Chief dragged himself up to the Smith’s assistance, and cut down one of the *Leichtach*, by whom he was assailed. Henry’s own good sword rid him of the other.

“‘*Reist air son Eachin!*’ (Again for Hector) shouted the faithful foster-father.

“‘*Bas air son Eachin!*’ (Death for Hector) answered two more of his devoted sons, and opposed themselves to the fury of the Smith and those who had come to his aid; while Eachin, moving towards the left wing of the battle, sought less formidable adversaries, and again, by some show of valour, revived the sinking

hopes of his followers. The two children of the oak, who had covered this movement, shared the fate of their brethren ; for the cry of the Clan Chattan Chief had drawn to that part of the field some of his bravest warriors. The sons of Torquil did not fall un-avenged, but left dreadful marks of their swords on the persons of the dead and living. But the necessity of keeping their most distinguished soldiers around the person of their Chief, told to disadvantage on the general event of the combat ; and so few were now the number who remained fighting, that it was easy to see that the Clan Chattan had fifteen of their number left, though most of them wounded ; and that of the Clan Quhele only about ten remained, of whom there were four of the Chief's body-guard, including Torquil himself.

“ They fought and struggled on, however, and as their strength decayed, their fury seemed to increase. Henry Wynd, now wounded in many places, was still bent on breaking through, or exterminating, the band of bold hearts who continued to fight around the object of his animosity. But still the father's shout of ‘ Another for Hector ! ’ was cheerfully answered by the fatal countersign, ‘ Death for Hector ! ’ and though the Clan Quhele were now outnumbered, the combat seemed still dubious. It was bodily lassitude alone that again compelled them to another pause.

“ The Clan Chattan were then observed to be twelve in number, but two or three were scarce able to stand without leaning on their swords. Five were left of the Clan Quhele ; Torquil and his youngest son were of the number, both slightly wounded. Each in alone had, from the vigilance used to intercept all blows levelled against his person, escaped without injury. The rage of both parties had sunk, through exhaustion, into sullen desperation. They walked staggering, as if in their sleep, through the carcasses of the slain, and gazed on them, as if again to animate their hatred towards their surviving enemies, by viewing the friends they had lost.

“ The multitude soon after beheld the survivors of the desperate conflict drawing together to renew the exterminating feud on the banks of the river, as the spot least slippery with blood, and less encumbered with the bodies of the slain.

“ The pipers on both sides blew their charge, and the combatants again mingled in battle, not indeed with the same strength, but with unabated inveteracy. They were joined by those whose duty it was to have remained neuter, but who now found themselves unable to do so. The two old champions who bore the standards had gra-

dually advanced from the extremity of the lists, and now approached close to the immediate scene of action. When they beheld the carnage more nearly, they were mutually impelled by the desire to revenge their brethren, or not to survive them. They attacked each other furiously with the lances to which the standards were attached, closed after exchanging several deadly thrusts, then grappled in close strife, still holding their banners, until at length, in the eagerness of their conflict, they fell together into the Tay, and were found drowned after the combat, closely locked in each other's arms. The fury of battle, the frenzy of rage and despair, infected next the minstrels. The two pipers, who, during the conflict, had done their utmost to keep up the spirits of their brethren, now saw the dispute well nigh terminated for want of men to support it. They threw down their instruments, rushed desperately upon each other with their daggers, and each being more intent on despatching his opponent than in defending himself, the piper of Clan Quhele was almost instantly slain, and he of Clan Chattan mortally wounded. The last, nevertheless, again grasped his instrument, and the pibroch of the clan yet poured its expiring notes over the Clan Chattan, while the dying minstrel had breath to inspire it. The instrument which he used, or at least that part of it called the chanter, is preserved in the family of a Highland Chief to this day, and is much honoured under the name of the *Federan Dhu*, or Black Chanter.*

“Meanwhile, in the final charge, young Tormot, devoted, like his brethren, by his father Torquil to the protection of his Chief, had been mortally wounded by the unsparing sword of the Smith. The other two remaining of the Clan Quhele had also fallen, and Torquil, with his foster-son, and the wounded Tormot, forced to retreat before eight or ten of the Clan Chattan, made a stand on the bank of the river, while their enemies were making such exertions as their wounds would permit to come up with them. Torquil had

* “The present Cluny MacPherson, Chief of his Clan, is in possession of this ancient trophy of their presence at the North Inch. Another account of it is given by a tradition, which says, that an aerial minstrel appeared over the heads of the Clan Chattan, and having played some wild strains, let the instrument drop from his hand. Being made of glass, it was broken by the fall, excepting only the chanter, which, as usual, was of *lignum vitæ*. The MacPherson piper secured this enchanted pipe, and the possession of it is still considered as ensuring the prosperity of the clan.”

just reached the spot where he had resolved to make the stand, when the youth Tormot dropped and expired. His death drew from his father the first and only sigh which he had breathed throughout the eventful day.

“And then, brandishing his sword, Torquil of the Oak rushed forward with the same fatal war-cry, which had so often sounded over that bloody field, *Bas air son Eachin!* The words rung three times in a voice of thunder; and each time that he cried his war-shout, he struck down one of the Clan Chattan, as he met them successively straggling towards him.—“Brave battle, hawk—well flown, falcon!” exclaimed the multitude, as they witnessed exertions which seemed, even at this last hour, to threaten a change of the fortunes of the day. Suddenly these cries were hushed into silence, and succeeded by a clashing of swords so dreadful as if the whole conflict had recommenced in the person of Henry Wynd and Torquil of the Oak. They cut, foined, hewed, and thrust, as if they had drawn their blades for the first time that day; and their inveteracy was mutual, for Torquil recognised the foul wizard, who, as he supposed, had cast a spell over his child; and Henry saw before him the giant, who, during the whole conflict, had interrupted the purpose for which alone he had joined the combatants—that of engaging in single combat with Hector. They fought with an equality which, perhaps, would not have existed had not Henry, more wounded than his antagonist, been somewhat deprived of his usual agility.

“Meanwhile Eachin, finding himself alone, after a disorderly and vain attempt to put on his foster brother’s harness, became animated by an emotion of shame and despair, and hurried forward to support his foster-father in the terrible struggle, ere some other of the Clan Chattan should come up. When he was within five yards, and sternly determined to take his share in the death-fight, his foster-father fell, cleft from the collar-bone wellnigh to the heart, and murmuring with his last breath, *Bas air son Eachin!* The unfortunate youth saw the fall of his last friend, and at the same moment beheld the deadly enemy who had hunted him through the whole field, standing within sword’s point of him, and brandishing the huge weapon which had hewed its way to his life through so many obstacles. Perhaps this was enough to bring his constitutional timidity to its highest point; or perhaps he recollected, at the same moment, that he was without defensive armour, and that a line of enemies, halting, indeed, and crippled, but eager for

revenge and blood, were closely approaching. It is enough to say, that his heart sickened, his eyes darkened, his ears tingled, his brain turned giddy—all other considerations were lost in the apprehension of instant death; and, drawing one ineffectual blow at the Smith, he avoided that which was aimed at him in return, by bounding backward; and ere the former could recover his weapon, Eachin had plunged into the stream of the Tay. A roar of contumely pursued him as he swam across the river, although, perhaps, not a dozen of those who joined in it would have behaved otherwise in the like circumstances. Henry looked after the fugitive in silence and surprise, but could not speculate on the consequences of his flight, on account of the faintness which seemed to overpower him as soon as the animation of the contest had subsided. He sat down on the grassy bank, and endeavoured to stanch such of his wounds as were pouring fastest.

“The victors had the general meed of gratulation. The Duke of Albany and others went down to survey the field; and Henry Wynd was honoured with particular notice.”

Such is the description of this extraordinary combat, by the Author of *Waverley*; and, notwithstanding its romantic colouring, it is probably nearer the truth than the narrative of other writers whose accounts appear in works dignified by the title of *history*. And, indeed, as truth is said to be even more powerful than fiction, this may not exceed the truth.

After what is above narrated, Henry Wynd and his surviving associates of course claimed the victory, to which, in fact, the *Gow Chrom* mainly contributed, and as, when the battle was over, he could not tell the name of the clan he had fought for, hence originated the old proverb still in use—“*Ilka man for his ain hand, as Harry Wynd fought.*”

The various designations by which Henry of the Wynd was known have called forward a host of competitors who claim to be his descendants. Mr. Morison observes—“First we have the Henry or Hendrie families, who can produce many other instances beside their own, in which a Christian name has become that of a family or tribe, from the celebrity attached to it through the great deeds of some of their ancestors by which it was borne. Then follow the Hals, Halls, and Halleys, among whom even some of the ancient and honourable race of the Halkets have ranged themselves. All these claims, however, are esteemed very lightly by the Wynds, who to this day pride themselves upon their thews and sinews, and

consider that their ancestor being styled *Henrie Winde* by the metrical historian of the town, is of itself proof sufficient that their claim is more solid than the name alone would altogether imply." It appears that the Gows are also found foremost among the claimants, and that the strife should lie chiefly betwixt them and their Saxon namesakes, the *Smiths*. "It only remains," adds Mr. Morison, "to notice the pretensions of the Chroms, Crooms, Crambs, or Crombies, a name which every school-boy will associate, if not with the athletic, at least with the gymnastic exercises for which the Gow Chrom and the Grammar School of Perth were equally celebrated. We need only add, that while the Saxon name corresponding with the word Gow has brought a host of competitors into the field, there has not started any claimant resting his pretensions on the quality expressed in the epithet *Chrom*, or *Bandy-legged*."

It is observed by Pinkerton, that "the modern improvements or corruptions of this tale are beneath notice, and unaccountably originate with Leslie and Buchanan." There is, however, nothing fabulous in the narratives of either of those authors, except the speeches which the latter makes the contending clans to utter; and tradition is at all times entitled to respect, or at least to attention, when it transmits nothing repugnant to probability. When the times and the ferocious habits of the clans are considered, even the animated account of this singular conflict, as given by Sir Walter Scott, in the tale repeatedly mentioned, may be almost received as authentic; and we repeat that he gives his own assurance that only "some parts of the story is traditional." The conversational details alone (of which but little has been here quoted) are professedly imaginary, and nothing could be imagined as more naturally arising out of the circumstances.

There is another interesting and remarkable fact recorded in history, which may also be held as intimately connected with the Annals of the Fair City. It continued to be a favourite residence of Robert the Third, and he frequently resorted to the Castle of Falkland, not above fifteen miles distant, to enjoy the pleasures of the chase, or rather, in his case, the quietude of seclusion from the more animated gaieties of the court and the cares of state, to which his dispositions were not very well adapted. Having been lamed in early youth by the kick of a horse, he was prevented from engaging in war. He was by nature and disposition peaceful and religious, but lacked firmness of purpose, and was easily imposed on by those about him. His brother, the Duke of Albany, was a man

of enterprising character, but he was crafty and designing, while he was also ambitious and cruel; and his royal brother was particularly liable to be misled by his wiles and misrepresentations. He had an eye to the crown himself, and fomented strife between the King and his children—particularly the Duke of Rothesay, Robert's eldest son, and next heir to the kingdom. The animosity betwixt the father and son was the more easily increased, as well as created, from the disparity of their habits and dispositions—Rothesay being young, gay, and irregular; the King aged, retiring, and strict in his principles. Albany took care to operate on the facile mind of his brother, much to Rothesay's disadvantage. The King and Queen being both of opinion that marriage might withdraw their son from an idle and licentious course of life, Albany seized the opportunity, and intrigued so as to bring about an ill-assorted match with a daughter of the Earl of Douglas, after the Prince had been contracted to a lady more beloved, a daughter of the Earl of March. Rothesay, as might have been expected, continued to give offence by the levity of his conduct, and through the machinations of Albany, who allowed no circumstance to slip in which he could poison the royal ear, also found this an easy means of making the father-in-law an enemy. In process of time the King gave up the Prince completely into Albany's power, and Douglas likewise treated him with the utmost cruelty.

In Sir Walter Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth* the reader will find an affecting narrative of the circumstances connected with the melancholy event which the previous remarks are intended to introduce; but as this bears in a peculiar manner the stamp of the novelist's fertile imagination, the plainer simple facts are here stated, as furnished chiefly from the same pen.

A villain named Ramornie, with the assistance of Sir William Lindsay, was furnished with a warrant for apprehending and confining the heir-apparent of Scotland. Armed with this authority, they seized on him as he was journeying from Perth through Fife, without any suspicion, placed him upon an ordinary work-horse, and conducted him to the strong tower or castle of Falkland, which the King had by this time granted to Albany. It was a heavy fall of rain, but the poor prince was allowed no other shelter than a peasant's cloak. When in that gloomy fortress, he was thrown into a dungeon (yet pointed out to visitors), and for fifteen days suffered to remain without food, under the charge of two ruffians, Wright and Selkirk, whose task it was to watch the agony of their

victim till it terminated in death. It is related, that one woman, touched with his lamentations, contrived to bring him, from time to time, thin barley cakes, concealed in her veil, which she passed through a chink in the wall; and that another female supplied him, through the bars of his prison, with milk from her own bosom! Both were discovered, and what scanty resources their charity could afford were intercepted; and the unhappy Prince was removed to a subterranean cell, accessible only by a trap door, and impervious to the admission of a single ray of light or the sound of a human voice, where he died in the month of March, 1402, of famine—the most severe and lingering mode among the many by which life may be ended.* While Rothesay was enduring these horrid sufferings, his royal parents were living in regal pomp at Perth, only about fifteen miles from the scene! On learning the fate of his son, the King sent for his brother Albany, and charged him with the guilt of thus making away with the Prince—but this he denied in the most solemn manner; and carrying out his dissimulation still farther, he ordered some persons whom he accused of the murder, to be put to the torture, in order to extort a confession of the crime which he himself had perpetrated!

Robert having such proofs of Albany's ambition and cruelty, and fearing his power, resolved to send his youngest son, James, then only eleven years of age, out of the country, and, if possible, beyond his cruel uncle's reach. With this view, he despatched him to France; but the vessel in which he embarked encountered a severe storm, and was driven on the English coast. The young Prince was seized and carried to London, where Henry the Fourth detained him, but gave him an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he ascended the throne, to reform in some measure the rude and barbarous manners of his native country. This new misfortune, which placed the only remaining son of the poor old King in the hands of the English, seems to have broken the heart of Robert the Third. The event at once produced a fatal effect on him, for he fainted on receiving the melancholy intelligence; and, by abstaining from every kind of food, he died soon

* When nature at last sunk, his body was found in a state too dreadful to be described, which showed, that, in the extremities of hunger, he had gnawed and torn his own flesh. It was then carried to the Monastery of Lindores, and there privately buried; while a report was circulated that the Prince had been taken ill, and died of a dysentery.—Tytler, vol. iii. p. 124.

afterwards, on the 1st of April, 1406, overwhelmed with calamities and infirmity.*

Robert of Albany continued to hold the government as Regent of Scotland for fourteen years† after the death of the King, and then died on the 3d of September, 1420, and was succeeded in that office by his son Murdoch, or Murdo, said to be of a slothful and indolent disposition, which led him to give too much indulgence to his sons, Walter, Alexander, and James, who, in consequence, became haughty and disobedient. Their behaviour was so intolerable, that their father began to think of putting a period to their bad conduct and his own government at once, by a step which, by-and-bye, leads us to another important and remarkable event in our local history. A singular piece of insolence on the part of his eldest son is said to have determined him to this measure. The Regent possessed a falcon of peculiar excellence, and which he prized much. The eldest son, Walter Stewart, coveted the bird, had often asked it of his father, and had been as often denied. At length, one day when the Regent had the hawk on his wrist, Walter renewed his importunity; and being again refused, he snatched it from its place, and wrung its neck. Greatly provoked at such an insult, the father addressed the youth in these words—"Since thou wilt give me neither reverence nor obedience, I will bring in another whom we must all obey." He accordingly called an assembly of the estates, and persuaded them to send an ambassador to England and demand their King. With this request Henry instantly complied, and the more readily as James had fallen in love with Joan, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, nearly related to the royal family of England. Henry stipulated a ransom, which the Scots agreed to pay. He married James to this lady, that he might be the more closely allied to the English, and be the more inclined to maintain peace between the two countries, of which the English appeared particularly de-

* "This last blow," says Sir Walter Scott, "completely broke the heart of the unhappy King Robert the Third. Vengeance followed, though with a slow pace, the treachery and cruelty of his brother. Robert of Albany's own grey hairs went, indeed, in peace to the grave; and he transferred the regency, which he had so foully acquired, to his son Murdoch. But nineteen years after the death of the old King, James the First returned to Scotland; and Duke Murdoch of Albany, with his sons, was brought to the scaffold, in expiation of his father's guilt and his own."

† During this regency, the year 1411 was remarkable for the erection of public schools at St. Andrews, by Bishop Wardlaw and other eminent men.

sirous. James, the first of that name, was thus set at liberty, and restored to his hereditary dignity as King in Scotland, after a captivity of eighteen years. He and his Queen were crowned at Scone, 21st May, 1424.

Murdo and his two eldest sons were afterwards tried for treason, and abuse of the King's authority, by a judge and twelve assessors, by whom they were condemned, and were executed the following day, near Stirling. They were beheaded on a little eminence, which is still shown on the Castle Hill. This took place on the 24th or 25th May, 1425.

King James, the first monarch of the name, was, as Sir Walter Scott informs us, also the first of his unfortunate family who showed a high degree of talent. He was also prudent and just, consulted the interests of his people, and endeavoured as far as he could, to repress those evils which had grown up through the partial government of Robert, Duke of Albany, the rule of the feeble and slothful Duke Murdo, and the vicious and violent conduct of his sons. It may be here mentioned, that the youngest, who, it will be observed, was not a partaker of the fate of his family, collected a band of men, slew John Stuart, the King's uncle, and burnt the town of Dumbarton, after which he fled into Ireland.

James afterwards turned his attention particularly to the state of the Highlands, which were in terrible confusion. He marched a strong army into the disturbed districts, and captured more than forty of the chiefs, who fomented rather than allayed the broils and quarrels of the clans. Many of the more active and prominent he put to death, and others he bound over to keep the peace under heavy securities and severe penalties. Amongst the former were three in particular, Alexander Macrorie, John M'Arthur, and James Campbell, noted for robbery and violence, as well as other crimes against society: these were seized, summarily tried, and immediately executed. Alaster Macdonald, Lord of the Isles, was exceedingly troublesome, and after obtaining an unmerited pardon, collected a force of 10,000 followers, and openly rebelled. He ravaged a large portion of the Highlands, burnt the town of Inverness, and laid siege to its Castle. Understanding, however, that a body of troops were on the march against him, and that the Chattans and Camerons, till then his allies, had deserted his cause, he resolved again to throw himself upon the royal mercy. Through the intercession of the Queen, this incorrigible offender was again pardoned, but detained a prisoner in Tantallon Castle.

James farther manifested his love of justice, and determination to suppress crime, cruelty, and oppression, in the punishment of one Macdonald, the leader of a band in Ross-shire, who had robbed a poor widow, and on her threatening to inform the King, ordered a blacksmith to nail horse-shoes on the soles of her feet, and then desired her to go in that condition to his Majesty! The poor woman, after having recovered, laid her case before the Sovereign, who immediately seized Macdonald, with twelve of his accomplices. He treated them all as Macdonald had treated the unfortunate female, ordered them to be carried through the town and exposed for three days in that condition, as a public example, and afterwards hanged.

“But his greatest labour, and that which he found most difficult to accomplish, was to diminish the power of the great nobles, who ruled like so many kings, each on his own territory and estate, and made war on the king, or upon one another, whenever it was their pleasure to do so. These disorders he endeavoured to check, and had several of these great persons brought to trial, and, upon their being found guilty, deprived them of their estates. The nobles complained that this was done out of spite against them, and that they were treated with hardship and injustice; and thus discontents were entertained against this good prince. Another cause of offence was, that to maintain justice, and support the authority of the throne, it was found necessary that some taxes for this purpose should be raised from the subjects; and the Scottish people being poor, and totally unaccustomed to pay any such contributions, they imputed this odious measure to the King’s avarice. And thus, though King James was so well-intentioned a King, and certainly the ablest who had reigned in Scotland since the days of Robert Bruce, yet both the high and the low murmured against him, which encouraged some wicked men amongst the nobility to conspire his death.

“The chief person in the plot was one Sir Robert Graham, uncle to the Earl of Stratherne. He was bold and ambitious, and highly offended with the King on account of an imprisonment which he had sustained by the royal command. He drew into the plot the Earl of Athole, an old man of little talent, by promising to make his son, Sir Robert Stewart, King of Scotland, in place of James. Others were engaged in the conspiracy from different motives. To many of their attendants they pretended they only wished to carry away a lady out of the court. To prepare his scheme,

Graham retreated into the remote Highlands, and from thence sent a defiance, renouncing his allegiance to the King, and threatening to put his sovereign to death with his own hand. A price was set upon his head, payable to any one who should deliver him up to justice; but he lay concealed in the wild mountains to prosecute his revenge against James.

“The Christmas preceding his murder was appointed by the King for holding a feast at Perth. In his way to that town, he was met by a Highland woman, calling herself a prophetess. She stood by the side of the ferry by which he was about to travel to the north, and cried with a loud voice, ‘My Lord the King, if you pass this water, you will never return again alive.’ The King was struck with this for a moment, because he had read in a book that a king should be slain that year in Scotland; for it often happens that when a remarkable deed is in agitation, rumours of it get abroad, and are repeated under pretence of prophecies; but which are, in truth, only conjectures of that which seems likely to happen. There was a knight in the court, on whom the King had conferred the name of the King of Love, to whom the King said in jest, ‘There is a prophecy that a king shall be killed in Scotland this year; now, Sir Alexander, that must concern either you or me, since we two are the only kings in Scotland.’ Other circumstances occurred, which might have prevented the good King’s murder, but none of them were attended to. The King, while at Perth, took up his residence in an abbey of Black Friars [the Dominican Monastery], there being no castle or palace in the town convenient for his residence; and this made the execution of the conspiracy more easy, as his guards, and the officers of his household, were quartered among the citizens.

“The day had been spent by the King in sport and feasting, and by the conspirators in preparing for their enterprise. They had destroyed the locks of the doors of the apartment, so that the keys could not be turned; and they had taken away the bars with which the gates were secured, and had provided planks by way of bridges, on which to cross the ditch which surrounded the monastery. At length, on the 20th February, 1437, all was prepared for carrying their treasonable purpose into execution, and Graham came from his hiding-place in the neighbouring mountains, with a party of nigh three hundred men, and entered the gardens of the convent.

“The King was in his night-gown and slippers. He had passed

the evening gaily with the nobles and ladies of his court, in reading romances, and in singing and music, or playing at chess and tables. The Earl of Athole, and his son, Sir Robert Stewart, who expected to succeed James on the throne, were among the last courtiers who retired. At this time James remained standing before the fire, and conversing gaily with the Queen and her ladies before he went to rest. The Highland woman before mentioned again demanded permission to speak with the King, but was refused, on account of the untimeliness of the hour. All now were ordered to withdraw.

“ At this moment there was a noise and clashing heard, as of men in armour, and the torches in the garden cast up great flashes of light against the windows. The King then recollected his deadly enemy, Sir Robert Graham, and guessed that he was coming to murder him. He called to the ladies who were left in the chamber to keep the door as well as they could, in order to give him time to escape. He first tried to get out at the windows, but they were fast barred, and defied his strength. By help of the tongs, which were in the chimney, he raised, however, a plank of the flooring of the apartment, and let himself down into a narrow vault beneath, used as a common sewer. This vault had formerly had an opening into the court of the convent, by which he might have made his escape. But all things turned against the unfortunate James; for, only three days before, he had caused the opening to be built up, because, when he played at ball in the court-yard, the ball used to roll into the vault through that hole.

“ While the King was in this place of concealment, the conspirators were seeking him from chamber to chamber throughout the convent, and, at length, came to the room where the ladies were. The Queen and her women endeavoured, as well as they might, to keep the door shut, and one of them, Catherine Douglas, boldly thrust her own arm across the door, instead of the bar, which had been taken away. But the brave lady's arm was soon broken, and the traitors rushed into the room with swords and daggers drawn, hurting and throwing down such of the women as opposed them. The poor Queen stood half-undressed, shrieking aloud; and one of the brutal assassins attacked, wounded, and would have slain her, had it not been for a son of Sir Robert Graham, who said to him, ‘ What would you do to the Queen? She is but a woman—Let us seek the King.’

“ They accordingly commenced a minute search, but without any success; so they left the apartment and sought elsewhere about the

monastery. In the meanwhile the King turned impatient, and desired the ladies to bring sheets and draw him up out of the inconvenient lurking-place. In the attempt, Elizabeth Douglas fell down beside the King; and at this unlucky moment, the conspirators returned. One of them now recollected that there was such a vault, and that they had not searched it; and when they tore up the plank, and saw the King and the lady beneath in the vault, one of them called, with savage merriment, to his followers, 'Sirs, I have found the bride for whom we have sought and carolled all night.' Then, first one, and then another of the villains, brethren of the name of Hall, descended into the vault, with daggers drawn, to despatch the unfortunate King, who was standing there in his shirt, without weapons of any kind. But James, who was an active and strong man, threw them both down beneath his feet, and struggled to wrest the dagger from one or other of them, in which attempt his hands were severely cut and mangled. The murderers also were so vigorously handled, that the marks of the King's gripe were visible on their throats for weeks afterwards. Then Sir Robert Graham himself sprung down on the King, who, finding no further defence possible, asked him for mercy, and for leisure to confess his sins to a priest. But Graham replied fiercely, 'Thou never hadst mercy on those of thine own blood, nor on any one else, therefore thou shalt find no mercy here; and as for a confessor, thou shalt have none but this sword.' So speaking, he thrust the sword through the King's body. And yet it is said, that when he saw his Prince lying bleeding under his feet, he was desirous to have left the enterprise unfinished; but the other conspirators called on Graham to kill the King, otherwise he should himself die by their hands; upon which Graham, with the two men who had descended into the vault before him, fell on the unhappy Prince with their daggers, and slew him by many stabs. There were sixteen wounds in his breast alone.

"By this time, but too late, news of this outrage had reached the town; and the household servants of the King, with the people inhabiting the town of Perth, were hastening to the rescue, with torches and weapons. The traitors accordingly caught the alarm, and retreated into the Highlands, losing in their flight only one or two, taken or slain by the pursuers. When they spoke about their enterprise among themselves, they greatly regretted that they had not killed the Queen along with her husband, fearing that she would be active and inexorable in her vengeance.

“Indeed, their apprehensions were justified by the event; for Queen Joanna made so strict search after the villainous assassins, that in the course of a month most of them were thrown into prison; and being tried and condemned, they were put to death with new and hideous tortures. The flesh of Robert Stewart, and of a private chamberlain of the King, was torn from their bodies with pincers; while, even in the midst of these horrible agonies, they confessed the justice of their sentence. The Earl of Athole was beheaded, denying at his death that he had consented to the conspiracy, though he admitted that his son had told him of it; to which he had replied, by enjoining him to have no concern in so great a crime. Sir Robert Graham, who was the person with whom the cruel scheme had origin, spoke in defence of it to the last. He had a right to slay the King, he said, for he had renounced his allegiance, and declared war against him; and he expressed his belief, that his memory would be honoured for putting to death so cruel a tyrant. He was tortured in the most dreadful manner before his final execution, and, whilst he was yet living, his son was slain before his eyes.”

The tortures to which those flagrant traitors were subjected, were perhaps the most appalling of any recorded in the history of this country, and, as detailed by Cant, are enough to freeze the blood with horror. The shocking scene is thus depicted by that authority:—“Walter’s punishment, as he was reckoned the chief conspirator, was inflicted on three successive days. On the first day, he was placed in a cart, in which a stock-like engine was erected, and by ropes let through pulleys he was hoisted up on high: the ropes being suddenly let go, he fell down, but stopped near the ground, with intolerable pain by the luxation of his joints. Then he was set on a pillory that every one might see him, and a red hot iron crown set on his head, with this inscription—‘THE KING OF TRAITORS.’ On the second day, he was bound upon a hurdle, and drawn at a horse’s tail through the principal streets of Edinburgh. On the last day, he was laid upon a plank, in a conspicuous place, his bowels were cut out while he was yet alive, and thrown into the fire before his face; afterwards his heart was pulled out, and cast out into the same fire. His head was cut off, exposed to the view of all, and set on a pole in the highest place of the city. His body was divided into four quarters, which were sent to be hung up in the most noted places of the principal cities of the kingdom. After him, his grandson was brought forth to suffer, but

because of his youth, they would not put him to so much pain ; besides, he was not the author, but only an accomplice, being under the direction of his grandfather ; therefore he was only hanged and quartered. But Robert Graham, who perpetrated the villany with his own hand, was carried in a cart through the city, and his right hand nailed to a gallows set up in the cart : the executioners came and run hot iron spikes into his thighs, arms, and other parts farthest removed from the vitals, and then he was quartered. After this manner was the death of James revenged, barbarous indeed, and which exceeds the bounds of humanity.”

Notwithstanding the greatness of their crime, it was barbarous cruelty to torture these wretched murderers in the manner we have mentioned ; and the historian says justly, that it was a cruel deed cruelly revenged. But the people were much incensed against them ; for, although they had murmured against King James while he lived, yet the dismal manner of his death, and the sense that his intentions towards his people were kind and just, caused him to be much regretted. He had also many popular qualities. His face was handsome, and his person strong and active. His mind was well cultivated with ornamental and elegant accomplishments, as well as stored with useful information. He understood music and poetry, and wrote verses, both serious and comic. Two of his compositions are still preserved, and read with interest and entertainment by those who understand the ancient language in which they are written. One of these is called *The King's Quhair* ; that is, The King's Book. It is a love poem, composed when he was prisoner in England, and addressed to the Princess Joan of Somerset, whom he afterwards married. The other is a comic poem, called *Christ's Kirk on the Green*, in which the author gives an account of a merry-making of the country people, held for the purpose of sport, where they danced, revelled, drank, and finally quarrelled and fought. There is much humour shown in this piece, though one would think the subject a strange one for a king to write upon. He particularly ridicules the Scots for want of acquaintance with archery. One man breaks his bow ; another shoots his arrow wide of the mark ; a third hits the man's body at whom he took aim, but with so little effect that he cannot pierce his leathern doublet.* There is a meaning in this raillery. James the First,

* See stanzas viii. to xii. of the poem. In stanza xiii. a fourth attempt is described :—

seeing the advantage which the English possessed by their archery, was desirous to introduce that exercise more generally into Scotland, and ordered regular meetings to be held for this purpose. Perhaps he might hope to enforce these orders, by employing a little wholesome raillery on the awkwardness of the Scottish bowmen.

On the whole, James the First was much and deservedly lamented. The murderer Graham was so far from being remembered with honour, as he had expected, for the assassination which he had committed, that his memory was execrated in a popular rhyme, then generally current:—

“ Robert Graham,
That slew our king,
God give him shame ! ”

King James was buried at Perth, where James the Sixth's Hospital now stands—then the Carthusian Monastery, which he himself had founded in the year 1429.

Our local historian, Cant, in his Notes to Adamson's poem, from which a portion of the foregoing narrative regarding the King's assassination, and the execution of the regicides, is quoted, very properly refers, for “the origin of this tragical scene,” to “the elegant pen of the justly-admired Dr. Robertson, who,” he observes, “never descends to retail historical *minutice*, but teaches us to examine the *origin* of public transactions, whether good or bad.” As it comprises a sketch of the private character and public acts of this excellent monarch, no apology is requisite for following Mr. Cant's example. Dr. Robertson says—

“The civil transactions in Scotland are better known since the beginning of the reign of James the First; and a complete series of our laws supplies the defects of our historians. The English made some amends for their injustice in detaining that Prince a prisoner, by their generous care of his education. During his long residence in England, he had an opportunity of observing the feudal system in a more advanced state, and refined from many of the

* * * * *

A yaip young man, that stude him neist,
Lous'd aff a schott with yre.
He ettlit the bern in at the breist,
The bolt flew ou'r the byre;
Ane cry'd fy ! he had slane a priest
A mtle beyond ane myre ;
Then bow and bag fra him he keist,
And fled as ferss as fyre
Of flint,
At Christis Kirk on the Grene that day.

imperfections which still adhered to it in his own kingdom. He saw their nobles great, but not independent; a king powerful, though far from absolute; he saw a regular administration of government, wise laws enacted, and a nation flourishing and happy, because all ranks of men were accustomed to obey them. Full of these ideas, he returned into his native country, which presented to him a very different scene. The royal authority, never great, was now contemptible, by having been so long delegated to regents. The ancient patrimony and revenues of the crown were almost totally alienated. During his long absence, the name of a king was little known, and less regarded. The license of many years had rendered the nobles independent. Universal anarchy prevailed. The weak were exposed to the rapine and oppression of the strong. In every corner some barbarous chieftain ruled at pleasure, and neither feared the King nor pitied the people.

“James was too wise a Prince to employ open force to correct such inveterate evils. Neither the men nor the times would have borne it. He applied the gentler and less offensive remedy of laws and statutes. In a Parliament, held immediately after his return, he gained the confidence of his people by many wise laws, tending wholly to re-establish order, tranquillity, and justice, in the kingdom. But, at the same time that he endeavoured to secure these blessings to his subjects, he discovered his intention to recover those possessions of which the Crown had been unjustly bereaved; and for that purpose obtained an Act by which he was empowered to summon those who had obtained crown-lands during the three last reigns to produce the rights by which they held them. As this statute threatened the property of the nobles, another, which passed in a subsequent Parliament, aimed a dreadful blow at their power. By it, the leagues and combinations, which we have already described, and which rendered the nobles so formidable to the Crown, were declared unlawful. Encouraged by this success in the beginning of his enterprize, James's next step was yet bolder and more decisive. During the sitting of Parliament, he seized at once his cousin, Murdo, Duke of Albany, and his sons; the Earls of Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and above twenty other barons and peers of prime rank. To all of them, however, he was immediately reconciled, except to Albany and his sons, and Lennox. These were tried by their peers, and condemned; for what crime is now unknown. Their execution struck the whole order with terror, and their forfeiture added possessions to the Crown. He seized likewise

the Earldoms of Buchan and Strathearn, upon different pretexs ; and that of Mar fell to him by inheritance. The patience and inactivity of the nobles, while the King was proceeding so rapidly towards aggrandizing the crown, are amazing. The only obstruction he met with was from a slight insurrection headed by the Duke of Albany's youngest son, and that was easily suppressed. The splendour and presence of a King, to which the great men had been long unaccustomed, inspired reverence. James was a Prince of great abilities, and conducted his operations with much prudence. He was in friendship with England, and closely allied to the French king. He was adored by the people, who enjoyed unusual security and happiness under his administration. And all his acquisitions, however fatal to the body of the nobles, had been gained by attacks upon individuals ; were obtained by decisions of law ; and being founded on circumstances peculiar to the persons who suffered, might excite murmurs and apprehensions, but afforded no colourable pretext for a general rebellion. It was not so with the next attempt which the King made. Encouraged with the facility with which he had hitherto advanced, he ventured upon a measure which irritated the whole body of the nobility, and which the event shows either to have been entered into with too much precipitancy, or to have been carried on with too much violence. The father of George Dunbar, Earl of March, had taken arms against Robert the Third, the King's father ; but that crime had been pardoned, and his lands restored by Robert, Duke of Albany. James, on pretext that the Regent had exceeded his power, and that it was the prerogative of the King alone to pardon treason, or to alienate lands annexed to the crown, obtained a sentence declaring the pardon to be void, and depriving Dunbar of the Earldom. Many of the great men held lands by no other right than what they derived from grants of the two Dukes of Albany. Such a decision, though they had reason to expect it in consequence of the statute which the King had obtained, occasioned a general alarm. Though Dunbar was at present the only sufferer, the precedent might be extended ; and their titles to possessions, which they considered as the rewards of their valour, might be subjected to the review of courts of law, whose forms of proceeding, and jurisdiction, were in a martial age little known, and extremely odious. Terror and discontent spread fast upon this discovery of the King's intentions. The common danger called on the whole order to unite, and to make one bold stand, before they were stripped successively of their acquisitions, and re-

duced to a state of poverty and insignificance. The prevalence of these sentiments among the nobles encouraged a few desperate men, the friends or followers of those who had been the chief sufferers under the King's administration, to form a conspiracy against his life. The first uncertain intelligence of this was brought him while he lay in his camp before Roxburgh Castle. He durst not confide in nobles to whom he had given so many causes of disgust, but instantly dismissed them and their vassals; and retiring to a monastery near Perth, was soon after murdered there in the most cruel manner. All our historians mention with astonishment this circumstance of the King's disbanding his army at a time when it was so necessary for his preservation. A king, say they, surrounded with his barons, is secure from secret treason, and may defy open rebellion. But those very barons were the persons whom he chiefly dreaded; and it is evident, from the review of his administration, that he had greater reason to apprehend danger than to expect defence from their hands. It was the misfortune of James, that his maxims and manners were too refined for the age in which he lived. Happy had he reigned in a kingdom more civilized! His love of peace, of justice, and of elegance, would have rendered his schemes successful; and instead of perishing because he had attempted too much, a grateful people would have applauded and seconded his efforts to reform and to improve them."

To this review of the character and conduct of James, we shall only add a short eulogium, pronounced by Buchanan, in his history of the time:—"Know, then, that after he had learned other parts of philosophy, he studied the regulation of kingdoms, and the manners of men. How great and how ripe his abilities for civil government were, sufficiently appear by the acts performed by him and by the laws which he made, by which he not only benefited himself, but became a benefactor of posterity," &c. Notwithstanding that many of his wise acts gave such umbrage to the nobles, Cant states, that "as soon as they heard of his being murdered, they came, of their own accord, from all quarters; and before a trial was regularly decreed, they sent everywhere to apprehend the regicides, and bring them to justice. Many were taken and hanged."

Shortly before the murder of James, Commissioners arrived from France to carry home Margaret, his daughter, to her betrothed husband, Louis, son of Charles the Seventh. On learning their errand, the English also despatched ambassadors to prevent their object, making at the same time tempting offers to the King

to oppose it, and league with them. James summoned an Assembly of Estates to meet at Perth, to which the envoys of both parties were referred. The Assembly declared in favour of the French alliance, and the English immediately announced war. James had gone to oppose Percy of Northumberland, who had invaded Scotland with a numerous army. James declared war in due form, and laid siege to the Castle of Roxburgh, but was induced to withdraw and return to Perth, the Queen having arrived with intelligence of the conspiracy which resulted in his tragical death.

It requires no apology, we trust, to advert more particularly, even in this local register, to the public acts and general conduct of a monarch so patriotic, and marked by so many amiable virtues in private as well as public life—and that especially, as Perth, amongst many other places, must have greatly benefited from the benign and enlightened qualities of his generous mind. He was amongst the first who conferred peculiar privileges on settled communities in the royal burghs, by which the inhabitants and several crafts had not only a higher status conferred on them, but their trade greatly improved. They enjoyed immunities, which, in the course of time and the change of circumstances, have themselves become antiquated, and in many instances have been shaken off. Perth, it may be supposed, was particularly favoured; and the benefits were reciprocal—for, by consolidating the corporations, the Monarch was the better enabled to curb the often intolerable pretensions of a feudal nobility, who in those times frequently exerted a power, not “behind the throne,” but openly and in spite of it, “greater than the throne itself.” The burgesses of those days had often to buckle on their armour, and do battle in defence of their King and of their own rights; and the citizens of Perth again and again maintained bravely the assertion contained in their motto—*Pro Rege, Lege, et Grege*. Of their prowess in the field, and their undaunted bravery in action, *Harry Wynd* presents a noble instance.

Amongst the many advantages generally conferred on the kingdom by the Sovereign, whose patriotism, whose regard for popular rights, and whose efforts to repress aristocratic arrogance and oppression, may have mainly contributed to bring about his melancholy end, it may be mentioned, that he appointed efficient and independent judges to attend to the strict administration of the laws in every county—he was the first to establish a regular system of weights and measures, and standards for their strict regulation—he was specially the patron of learning and learned men, whom he

liberally rewarded, and erected many schools, which he liberally endowed. It may be said that he brought Scotland out of what may be termed the dark age, improved all her institutions, and promoted a thirst for knowledge and refinement. It has been well observed, that "the King's example produced the most salutary effect, and tended to eradicate the false notions imbibed by the nobles, who supposed that study was inconsistent with action, that it weakened the military spirit, and was fit only for monks." James also did much to reform the clergy, who were about this time universally corrupted—indulging in sloth and avarice, and wallowing in luxury. The King restored the ancient discipline, and commanded the professors and governors of universities to make known to him from time to time the best of their pupils, in order that he might promote and assist them. Already his endeavours to improve the urban communities have been alluded to—he was celebrated, also, for attention to all inferior and more private measures for promoting the public good. Finding, on his return from the English Court, to take possession of his kingdom, that most of his cities had been burned or destroyed, and trade utterly neglected, he invited over tradesmen of all kinds from Flanders, whom he liberally encouraged. This rendered the towns more populous, all manufactured articles became proportionably cheaper, the comforts of the people were greatly enhanced, while many idle and vagrant persons were reclaimed to habits of useful industry. Altogether, he was a Prince remarkable for the rich endowments of his mind, which he cultivated to the highest degree; and he was no less distinguished by his affection for his subjects and his exertions to promote their happiness, of which the many salutary laws enacted during his reign, and many of them promulgated from Perth, are, we doubt not, imperishable monuments.

These remarks may be considered digressive, but they are made in order that those who take a particular interest in the Fair City may be the better acquainted with the patriotism and worth of a monarch who also loved the locality so well, and in whose cause, during his struggles to circumscribe the power, and mitigate the oppression, of feudal barons, our ancestors frequently unfurled the Standard of their Guild and the Blue Blanket of the Conventry—manifesting at once their fealty to the King, and their attachment to those popular rights and privileges he had done so much to establish. Yet such was the man who fell a victim to the deep-rooted hatred and vengeance of a faction, whose object it was to

monopolize the regal authority, and rivet the chains of the people he had done so much to relieve!

James the First was succeeded by his only son, of the same name, then a child only seven years of age, who was crowned at Holyrood on the 27th of March, 1437. Cant says, he was the younger of twins—the elder having previously died—the half of whose face was perfectly scarlet. This is of small moment, however; but his tender years, of course, implied a long minority, and also led to what had so frequently been a curse to the country before, and in several instances since—a regency. That of James the Second's minority was distinguished for all the plots and intrigues of rival factions, who take advantage of such a state of things; and never was Scotland more torn and distracted by their contentions for power. This unfortunate position of affairs was not much mended by the interference of the Queen-Mother, who, instead of impartially and independently exerting her own natural influence, took part with this or that sinister party. It was no matter of wonder that poor Scotland should again become a prey to discord and confusion, this regency taking place in a country "where even," as Scott observes, "the undisputed sway of a Sovereign of mature age was not held in due respect, and was often disturbed by treason and rebellion."

It is not the present purpose, however, to chronicle the contentions of parties in the affairs of the kingdom, as for a long period after this Perth was comparatively little connected with their movements, and bore no conspicuous part. Indeed, from the assassination of James the First may be dated the abeyance of the City as the favoured residence of royalty; most of the national business began to be transacted in Edinburgh, and Perth could scarcely be said to be any longer the seat of the administration of public affairs.

It may here be mentioned, however, that during the reign of that monarch, in 1420, a National Council was held, on the 16th July, at the Blackfriars Monastery, by William, Bishop of Dunblane, conservator, and, in that capacity, president of the council. There is an act of this council concerning the quotes of testament, but the act is more considerable, because it describes the form of the council, which is there called *Synodis provincialis, et concilium generale regni Scotiæ*, with the names of the Bishops present in person, or by procurator. Among other things, it appears that the decrees or statutes were sealed by all the Bishops' seals. This

act is in the original chartulary of Brechin—*penes Comitem de Panmure*, fol. 62.

In the reign of James the Second, John Gormac, of Athole, captain of a band of robbers, who laid all the country around him under contribution, attacked Sir William Ruthven, sheriff of Perth, at the head of his guards, while leading a thief from Athole to the gallows. A sharp skirmish began. Gormac, with thirty of his followers, were slain; the rest fled to the mountains. After this, the citizens, by an act of council, were ordered to keep the walls in repair next to their houses. James the Second, after the murder of his father at the Blackfriars Monastery, gave also an order to cause the walls of Perth to be repaired.

During the same reign, in 1457, another National Council was held at Perth, but, like that of 1420, it appears to have been of an ecclesiastical character. At this convocation, among other acts, a declaration was made concerning the King's right of nomination to benefices, during the vacancies of bishoprics, &c.—*Records of Parliament, James III*, fol. 75. And again, in 1459, a National Council was held at Perth, by Thomas, Bishop of Aberdeen, conservator, and, in that quality, president of the council, in which the aforesaid declaration was renewed.—*Records of Parliament*, as above.

From this last date Perth ceased to be a place of importance in a national point of view, until it again came into note about the period of the Reformation; but in accordance with the plan laid down, it is here proposed to present an epitome, as concise as possible, of the national history of the period, for the sake of connection.

The reign of James the Second, even after he arrived at majority, was greatly disturbed, in consequence of the overgrown influence of the Douglasses; and in many remarkable passages in the history of the time, that family stand conspicuous as disputing power even with the King. During this reign, the Scots were in a great measure left to quarrel amongst themselves, for their usual enemies (the English) were too much engaged at home with the dreadful civil wars of York and Lancaster. The battle of Sark, between the English, under the Earl of Northumberland, and the Scottish forces, commanded by Douglas, in which the former were defeated with great slaughter, and where the brave Wallace-Craigie fell, was the only action of particular importance which took place between these hostile kingdoms for several years. James, as well as his

Regents, struggled hard to reduce the power of the Douglasses. One head of the family was inveigled to attend an assembly of estates at Edinburgh, where the chancellor invited him to sup with the young King, and where the same night he was treacherously put to death. Some years afterwards, in 1452, his successor was induced to visit the King at Stirling Castle, under condition of a safe conduct, and an assurance under the great seal, pledging the King that he should be permitted to come to the court and return in safety. He was received kindly at first; but on refusing to relinquish an alliance he had formed with the Earls of Crawford and Ross, considered inconsistent with his allegiance and the quiet of the kingdom, the King himself first stabbed Douglas in the throat with his dagger, and instantly after in a lower part of the body; and he was finally despatched by members of the royal retinue, dying covered with twenty-six wounds!

James afterwards took and destroyed the town of Roxburgh, then in possession of the English, and laid siege to the castle. Here he met with his death. Having given orders to batter down part of the wall with some iron pieces of ordnance, while encouraging his troops one of the cannon exploded and killed him on the spot. This event occurred in the summer of 1460, in the thirtieth year of his age and twenty-fourth of his reign. The same day, the Queen, Mary of Guelderland, arrived in the camp, boldly exhorted the nobles to continue the siege, and added, that she would soon bring them another King. Shortly after, she introduced James the Third, who was saluted Sovereign with joy, when only seven years of age.

Passing several of the events in the commencement of this reign, it may be proper to mention, that on the 10th July, 1470, the King's marriage was celebrated with Margaret, daughter of the King of Denmark, by which alliance the Islands of Orkney and Shetland became attached to the Scottish territory, a permanent gift of them being made by that monarch, in name of dowery, to the young Queen. She is said to have been a woman of singular beauty, accomplishments, and probity, but died at a very early age. James conferred his favours and honours generally on persons held to be very unworthy of them, which tended to exasperate the nobility. They raised an army against him, the nominal command of which they forced his own son to accept. They pursued the King to Stirling Castle, where Shaw, the governor, refused to admit him; so that he was compelled to fight, and in the engagement which

took place his feeble army was routed and he himself slain. In his attempted flight from the field he was thrown from his horse, and being greatly stunned by the fall, a miller and his wife conducted him to their cottage. Being desirous to engage in religious observances, the woman ran out exclaiming, "A priest for the King!" upon which one of the rebels, in pursuit of the unhappy monarch, announced himself as a clergyman, and was introduced to the royal presence. This individual, whose name or rank has never been discovered, on satisfying himself as to the identity of his victim, stabbed him to the heart.*

Thus died King James the Third, on the 18th June, 1488, after the battle of Sauchieburn, as it has been usually called, in which his enemies were victorious. He was reckoned both unwise and unwarlike, and, like most of his unfortunate race, was cut off in the flower of his age, being only thirty-six years old.

It was during the reign of this monarch that Perth ceased entirely to be the capital of Scotland, the seat of government having been removed thence to Edinburgh in the year 1482.

James the Fourth succeeded his father, whom he far excelled in all those accomplishments and virtues which are necessary to adorn a throne. During his reign, the wisdom of Henry the Seventh of England endeavoured to find a remedy for the dissensions which had so long prevailed between the kindred kingdoms, and adopted a course much more likely to make and consolidate peace than had been tried in good faith before. He agreed to give his daughter, Margaret, a beautiful and accomplished princess, to James in marriage, and from this union—the union of the two dynasties—ultimately resulted the union of the two kingdoms. Unfortunately, however, in the meantime, the happy alliance failed to secure a permanent peace; for in less than ten years the two countries were again in open hostility. The important marriage alluded to was celebrated with great pomp, and at Edinburgh shows were got up to receive the royal pair, all in the romantic taste of the age. Many military spectacles were exhibited—tilts and tournaments in particular. James, calling himself the Savage Knight, appeared in a wild dress, accompanied by the fierce chiefs from the Borders and

* Beaton's Mill—the house so called, from the name of the person who then possessed it—is still shown to the traveller as the place where the King was murdered; and the great antiquity and thickness of the walls corroborate the tradition.—*Tytler*.

Highlands, who fought with each other till several were wounded and slain in these ferocious entertainments.* The scene, indeed, seems to have been very much similar to the Battle of the Inch—only the King, instead of being a spectator, himself engaged in the bloody work—rather strange work for a royal bridegroom; but it appears to have been in keeping with the taste of the times. James was well suited for such exercises, for he was distinguished by his strength and agility, leaping on his horse without putting his toe to the stirrup, and always riding full gallop, follow who could. In the representations above-mentioned, “all was sport except the blows, and these,” says Scott, “were serious enough.” It is said the King was not very sorry to see himself rid of those turbulent leaders who fell in the *melee*, and whose feuds and depredations continued so frequently to break the public peace.

“The sports on occasion of the Queen’s marriage,” continues the author above quoted, “and indeed the whole festivities of King James’ reign, and the style of living at his Court, showed that the Scots, in his time, were a wealthier and more elegant people than they had formerly been. James the Fourth was renowned among foreign nations for the splendour of his court, and for the honourable reception which he gave to strangers who visited the kingdom. He built palaces at Falkland, Stirling, and other places, by which he impaired his resources, but he organised the government, and, in many ways, greatly improved the moral and social condition of the people. One most important Act of Parliament was passed, permitting the King, and his nobles and barons, to *let their lands* (which was not so before), not only for military service, but for payment in money or in grain; a regulation which tended to introduce quiet peaceful farmers into the lands occupied, but left uncultivated, by tenants of a military character. Regulations also were made for attendance on Parliament, and the representation of the different orders of society in that assembly; while the possessors of lands were called on to plant wood, and make enclosures, fish-ponds, and other improvements.

But this season of tranquillity was not destined to be of long duration. On the 22d of April, 1509, Henry the Seventh died of consumption, in the fifty-second year of his age, and was succeeded by his son, Henry the Eighth. On his accession, the English

* Scott’s *Tales*, &c. vol. i. p. 351.

borderers began to make incursions into Scotland. To punish these aggressions, and instigated, it is said, by an amorous letter from the Queen of France, accompanied with a ring from her own finger, James immediately declared war against Henry, and marched a brave but tumultuary army of fifty thousand men across the border. With these, he was at first successful in the storming of several castles of considerable strength ; but the English were meantime collecting a numerous force, while provisions got scarce with the Scots, and many of James's followers had gone home. Some of the leaders entreated him to withdraw, but no persuasion could prevail. The brave Douglas, Earl of Angus, having failed in attempting to moderate the King's ardour, and foreseeing the impending ruin, burst into tears, and, being an aged man, returned home, leaving his two sons behind him. All this led immediately to the fatal Battle of Flodden, of which so much has been said and sung. This celebrated conflict took place on the 9th September, 1513. The English force amounted to twenty-six thousand men. The number who fell on each side was nearly equal, amounting to upwards of five thousand. During the battle, James behaved with great intrepidity, by dismounting from his horse, and fighting in the front rank with the English spearmen. He was cut down by a battle-axe, and many of his nobles shared the same fate. Altogether, the advantage lay on the English side, who lost only persons of small note ; whereas the Scots had to lament the slaughter of their King, together with the flower of their nobility.

In closing with the character of James the Fourth, it may suffice merely to quote the words of one historian more. There was great love, he says, betwixt the subjects and their Sovereign, for the King was free from the vice of avarice, which was his father's failing. Neither could he endure flatterers, cowards, or sycophants about his person, but ruled by the counsel of the most eminent nobles, and thus won the hearts of all men. He often went disguised among the common people, and asked them questions about the King and his measures, and thus learned the opinion which was held of him by his subjects. Scotland, under his administration, obtained a greater share of prosperity than she had ever yet enjoyed, and he was revered as well as beloved by all classes of his people.

There is no doubt that Perth, during this reign, enjoyed a share of the general prosperity, but very little of James's history or movements seems to have any particular connection with it. The only

notice appearing in any published history of the City, in which that Monarch's name is mentioned, is in reference to the year (1513) in which Flodden field was fought, and the King slain. We are told, that "in this year King James the Fourth issued a proclamation, dated Edinburgh, the 17th January, and twenty-fifth of his reign, addressed to the magistrates, to use their diligence to prevent the plague."

After the disastrous close of the preceding reign, Scotland was again doomed to a long minority, with all its attendant evils. James the Fifth succeeded his father when a child only two years old. The Queen-Mother was appointed Regent, in consequence of her husband's will, although it was contrary to the Scottish law. Soon after, however, she married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus; and John, Duke of Albany, then in France, was elected Regent in her stead, and on the 20th May, 1515, he landed at Dumbarton to take possession of the authority thus assigned to him. Suspecting that the Queen meditated a flight into England, carrying the infant King along with her, Albany seized the Castle of Stirling, where she then resided, and carried both to the Castle of Edinburgh. The education of James was entrusted to three trusty noblemen, at which the Queen became disgusted, and fled with her husband to the English Court, where they were kindly received. The young King was seized several times by the leaders of this and that faction, with a view to securing their own power, and promoting the purposes of their ambition; and these operations led to frequent feuds, in which the parties had recourse to arms, until the battle of Linlithgow ensued, in which the Earl of Lennox was killed, and his followers routed. This event left the King completely in the power of Douglas, but in 1527 he made his escape, and watching his opportunity, fled from Falkland to Stirling Castle, where he summoned his followers to meet him. At the ensuing Parliament, all the family of Douglas were deprived of their places, condemned as enemies of the State, and had their property confiscated; upon which they all fled and took refuge in England.

It is about this time that we have first mention made regarding the dawn of the Reformation, which by and by will bring us more intimately in contact with Perth. At the period now under consideration, it is recorded that "much severity was employed against the Protestants, by which the Pope was so much gratified, that he gave the King the tithes of all the patronages in Scotland for three years."

Meanwhile domestic discord disturbed the peace of the Queen-Mother and her husband, the Earl of Angus, who combined, with his enemy, Arran, to call James himself, although only twelve years old, to the management of public affairs; but Angus returning from France at this crisis, soon obtained a superiority in the Scottish councils. Sir Walter Scott says, that Margaret might have maintained her authority, for she was personally much beloved; but it was the fate or the folly of that Queen to form rash marriages. Like her brother, Henry of England, who tired of his wives, Margaret seems to have been addicted to tire of her husbands. Having obtained a divorce from Angus, she married a young man of little power and inferior rank, named Henry Stewart, a younger son of Lord Evandale. She lost her influence by this ill-advised measure. Angus, therefore, rose to the supreme authority in Scotland, obtained possession of the person of the King, transacted everything in the name of James, but by his own authority, and became in all respects the Regent of Scotland, though without assuming the title.

It may here be the most proper place to mention a fact in the history of James the Fifth's reign particularly connected with the City of Perth—and this we embrace the more readily, that, for the sake of preserving a proper historical connection, it has been found necessary to follow the Stewarts out of our local arena, which would almost seem to have fallen into royal disfavour after the barbarous murder of the first James within its precincts. It has been already stated, that, during the reign of James the Fourth, in 1482, the seat of Government was removed to Edinburgh, and Perth was no longer the residence of the Court. James the Fifth, however, created the above-mentioned Henry Stewart, the husband of his mother, a peer, under the title of Lord Methven. The Queen-mother, the reader will have marked, was the daughter of Henry the Seventh of England, and sister of Henry the Eighth. It does not distinctly appear, but it may be inferred, that the demesne of Methven, in this neighbourhood, belonged to the said Henry Stewart. Be this as it may, Queen Margaret had latterly taken up her abode at Methven Castle, for there she endured her last illness, and died in the year 1539, and was interred within a few yards at most of the very spot where the compiler of this history is recording the fact—viz. in the Carthusian Monastery, beside the tomb of James the First and his consort Jane. James the Fifth attended the funeral of his mother, and, with a numerous retinue of his nobles, accompanied the pro-

cession to this the last resting place of his mother Margaret. The following notice of this event is from the pen of Mr. Cant; and it may here be remarked, that he assigns a different and a stronger cause for Queen Margaret's aversion to her second husband, Douglas, Earl of Angus, than the mere fickleness in her affections ascribed to her by Sir Walter Scott:—

“Margaret, eldest sister of Henry the Eighth, was first married to James the Fourth. After his fatal death at Flodden, she married Archibald Douglas, the second Earl of Angus of that name, to whom she bore Lady Margaret Douglas, mother of Lord Darnley, who was father of James the Sixth. The Queen remained in England, at her brother's court, about a year after Lady Margaret's birth, and then returned home. Having got intelligence that Angus, during her absence, had a daughter by a daughter of Lord Traquair, who was afterwards married to Patrick, Lord Ruthven, the Queen would not be reconciled to Angus, and procured a divorce, contrary to the advice of her brother Henry. She afterwards married Henry Stewart, son to Lord Evandale, whom her son, James the Fifth, created Lord Methven, and made him General of the Ordnance. She died about the end of the year 1539, at Methven Castle, and was buried with great funeral pomp at the Charterhouse Monastery in Perth, near the tomb of James the First and his Queen Jane. The King, accompanied by many of the nobility, attended the funeral.”

The tomb of James the Fifth's own queen, Mary of Guise, was very recently discovered at Edinburgh. We are not aware that the bodies of the royal personages above mentioned were ever discovered here, or that any search was ever made. It is rather singular, indeed, that the precise spot where their dust is deposited cannot now be pointed out, although the interment of Queen Margaret, at least, is nearly as recent as that of Mary of Guise. It is probable that, in the destruction of the monastery itself, any monuments of departed royalty may have shared the same fate.

In process of time, and after several bloody struggles, all recorded in Scottish history, the King at length escaped from the power of the Douglasses, whom he detested. He prevailed on his mother, Queen Margaret, to yield up to him the Castle of Stirling, which was her jointure-house, and secretly to put it into the hands of a governor whom he could trust. James comported himself towards Angus and his relations in a manner exhibiting such apparent confidence, that they were lulled into security. The King was then

residing at Falkland, a place in which he seemed to take great pleasure. Angus himself had left the court on some urgent business in Lothian. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie went to Dundee on a visit to a lady to whom he was attached; and George Douglas had gone to St. Andrews, to extort some farther advantages from Chancellor Beaton, who was now archbishop of that see, and primate of Scotland. There were thus none of the Douglasses left about the King's person, except Parkhead, with his guard of one hundred men, in whose vigilance the others confided. The King's escape is an interesting event in history, and as connected with our neighbourhood, and heralding other incidents which again lead to others of which Perth was subsequently the scene, the narrative is here given in the words of Sir Walter Scott:—

“The King thought the time favourable for his escape. To lay all suspicion asleep, he pretended he was to rise next morning at an early hour, for the purpose of hunting the stag. Douglas of Parkhead, suspecting nothing, retired to bed after placing his watch. But the King was no sooner in his private chamber, than he called a trusty page, named John Hart:—‘Jockie,’ said he, ‘dost thou love me?’ ‘Better than myself,’ answered the domestic. ‘And will you risk any thing for me?’ ‘My life with pleasure,’ said John Hart. The King then explained his purpose, and dressing himself in the attire of a groom, he went with Hart to the stable, as if for the purpose of getting the horses ready for the next day's hunt. The guards, deceived by their appearance, gave them no interruption. At the stables three good horses were saddled and in readiness, under charge of a yeoman or groom, whom the King had entrusted with his design.

“James mounted with his two servants, and galloped, during the whole night, as eager as a bird just escaped from a cage. At daylight he reached the bridge of Stirling, which was the only mode of passing the river Forth, except by boats. It was defended by gates, which the King, after passing through them, ordered to be closed, and directed the passage to be watched. He was a weary man when he reached Stirling Castle, where he was joyfully received by the governor, whom his mother had placed in that strong fortress. The drawbridges were raised, the portcullises dropt, guards set, and every measure of defence and precaution resorted to. But the King was so much afraid of again falling into the hands of the Douglasses, that, tired as he was, he would not go to sleep until the keys of the castle were placed in his own keeping, and laid underneath his pillow.

“In the morning there was great alarm at Falkland. Sir George Douglas had returned thither, on the night of the King’s departure, about eleven o’clock. On his arrival, he inquired after the King, and was answered by the porter, as well as the watchman upon guard, that he was sleeping in his chamber, as he intended to hunt early in the morning. Sir George therefore retired to rest in full security. But the next morning he learned different tidings. One Peter Carmichael, bailie of Abernethy, knocked at the door of his chamber, and asked him if he knew ‘what the King was doing that morning?’

“‘He is in his chamber asleep,’ said Sir George.

“‘You are mistaken,’ answered Carmichael; ‘he passed the bridge of Stirling this last night.’

“On hearing this, Douglas started up in haste, went to the King’s chamber, and knocked for admittance. When no answer was returned, he caused the door to be forced, and when he found the apartment empty, he cried, ‘Treason!—the King is gone, and none knows whither.’ Then he sent post to his brother, the Earl of Angus, and despatched messengers in every direction, to seek the King, and to assemble the Douglasses.

“When the truth became known, the adherents of Angus rode in a body to Stirling; but the King was so far from desiring to receive them, that he threatened, by sound of trumpet, to declare any of the name of Douglas a traitor who should approach within twelve miles of his person, or who should presume to meddle with the administration of government. Some of the Douglasses inclined to resist this proclamation; but the Earl of Angus and his brother resolved to obey it, and withdrew to Linlithgow.

“Soon afterwards, the King assembled around him the numerous nobility who envied the power of Angus and Arran, or had suffered injuries at their hands; and, in open Parliament, accused them of treason, declaring, that he had never been sure of his life all the while that he was in their power. A sentence of forfeiture was, therefore, passed against the Earl of Angus, and he was driven into exile, with all his friends and kinsmen. And thus the Red Douglasses, of the house of Angus, shared almost the same fate with the Black Douglasses, of the elder branch of that mighty house; with this difference, that as they had never risen so high, so they did not fall so irretrievably; for the Earl of Angus lived to return and enjoy his estates in Scotland, where he again played a distinguished part. But this was not till after the death of James the

Fifth, who retained, during his whole life, an implacable resentment against the Douglasses, and never permitted one of the name to settle in Scotland while he lived.

“James persevered in this resolution even under circumstances which rendered his unrelenting resentment ungenerous. Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, the Earl of Angus’s uncle, had been a personal favourite of the King before the disgrace of his family. He was so much recommended to James by his great strength, manly appearance, and skill in every kind of warlike exercise, that he was wont to call him his Graysteil, after the name of a champion in a romance then popular.* Archibald, becoming rather an old man, and tired of his exile in England, resolved to try the King’s mercy. He thought that as they had been so well acquainted formerly, and as he had never offended James personally, he might find favour from their old intimacy. He, therefore, threw himself in the King’s way one day as he returned from hunting in the park at Stirling. It was several years since James had seen him, but he knew him at a great distance, by his firm and stately step, and said, ‘Yonder is my Graysteil, Archibald of Kilspindie.’ But when they met, he showed no appearance of recognizing his old servant. Douglas turned, and still hoping to obtain a glance of favourable recollection, ran along by the King’s side; and although James trotted his horse hard against the hill, and Douglas wore a heavy shirt of mail under his clothes, for fear of assassination, yet Graysteil was at the castle gate as soon as the King.† James passed him, and entered the castle; but Douglas, exhausted with exertion, sat down at the gate, and asked for a cup of wine. The hatred of the King against the name of Douglas was so well known, that no domestic about the court dared procure for the old warrior even this trifling refreshment. The King blamed, indeed, his servants for their discourtesy, and even said, that but for his oath never to employ a Douglas, he would have received Archibald of Kilspindie into his service, as he had formerly known him a man of great ability. Yet he sent his

* See a reprint of *The History of Sir Eger, Sir Grahame, and Sir Gray Steil*, in a volume of *Early Metrical Tales*, 12mo, W. & D. Laing, Edinburgh, 1826.

† Godscroft adds, “The King approaching, Douglas fell upon his knees and craved pardon, and promised from thenceforward to abstain from all meddling in public affairs, and to lead a quiet and a private life. The King went by without giving him any answer, and trotted a good round pace up the hill.”—P. 262.

commands to his poor Graysteil to retire to France, where he died heart-broken soon afterwards. Even Henry the Eighth of England, himself of an unforgiving temper, blamed the implacability of James on this occasion, and quoted an old proverb—

A King's face
Should give grace."

Modern History.



AMES having fully freed himself from the control of the Douglasses, continued to act from the impulse of his own will, and his natural character gradually unfolded itself. From this period we date the commencement of a new era, and shall continue to chronicle events as they arise, under the head, MODERN HISTORY; for the annals of Perth and of the country from this time become comparatively familiar. Most of the incidents that follow form a retrospect which is scarcely considered as penetrating backwards into the obscure; and so little of the fabulous is there in the historical details, that the whole appears to the mind's eye as distinct and palpable as those of the first French Revolution, or the campaigns of Napoleon Buonaparte. The peregrinations of James the Fifth, and the humours of his *incognito*, formed the fireside stories of many a family till the beginning of the present century; and the manners and habits of the people, as well as the more domestic transactions of our own community, may be read in the existing archives we have access to in the most ample abundance. In these may almost be traced the history of particular families; and, altogether, from this epoch of time, we may, with propriety, reckon the remaining portion of our labours as belonging to the modern stage of our local as well as national annals.

It seems to be universally admitted, that James displayed the qualities generally of a wise and good Prince. He was handsome in his person, and resembled his father in fondness for military exercises, and the spirit of chivalrous honour, which his father loved to display. He also inherited his father's love of justice, and his desire to establish and enforce wise and equal laws, which should protect the weak against the oppression of the great. The laws had been so long in abeyance, as it were, in the more remote districts, that the outrages which were practised by the strong against the weak, seemed to the perpetrators the natural course of society, and to present nothing that was worthy of punishment. The carrying of the new laws into effect often incurred the ill-will of the more powerful nobles. The King was also a well-educated

and accomplished man ; and, like his ancestor, James the First, was a poet and a musician. It must be added, however, that, when provoked, he was unrelenting, even to cruelty ; for which he had some apology, considering the ferocity of the subjects over whom he reigned. But, on the whole, James the Fifth was an amiable man, and a good sovereign.

The object of his first care and exertions was the reduction of the Highland Clans, but more especially the Border Chiefs, who were no better, to some degree of order and subjection—the more especially as the depredations of the latter occasioned wars between England and Scotland, which would not otherwise have taken place. His first step was to secure the persons of the principal chieftains by whom these disorders were privately encouraged. These men had no distinct idea of the offences which they had committed, and consequently no apprehension of the King's displeasure against them. He visited most of the wild districts in his kingly capacity. In the beginning of his expedition, he suddenly approached the castle of Piers Cockburn of Henderland, while that baron was in the act of providing a great entertainment to welcome him, when James caused him to be suddenly seized and executed. Adam Scott of Tushielaw, called the King of the Border, shared a similar fate. John Armstrong of Gilnockie, near Langholm, had been a notorious marauder, and thereby given special offence to the King, although he seems to have been unconscious of having merited any severe usage at his sovereign's hands. On the contrary, he came to meet and give him welcome about ten miles from Hawick, richly dressed, and having with him twenty-four gentlemen, his constant retinue, as well attired as himself. The King, incensed to see a freebooter so gallantly equipped, commanded him to be instantly led to execution. Armstrong made great offers for his life, but nothing could move James from his purpose—John Armstrong and all his men were instantly hanged without mercy. Such were the effects of the terror struck by these general executions, that James was said to have made "the rush bush keep the cow ;" that is to say, that even in the most lawless parts of the country men dared no longer make free with property, and cattle might remain on their pastures unwatched.* These details are stated as instances of the course adopted in regard to the Highland chieftains of our own county who led a

* Scott.

similar course of life. By executions, forfeitures, and other severe measures, he brought our northern mountaineers, as he had already done those of the south, into comparative subjection. And as these fiery chiefs, after this severe chastisement, could no longer, as formerly, attack each other's castles and lands, they were forced to vent their deadly animosities in duels, which were frequently fought in the King's presence, his royal permission being first obtained. This so much gratified the unruly barons, that they were induced to live in peace elsewhere.

James the Fifth, says Scott, like his father, James the Fourth, had a custom of going about the country disguised as a private person, in order that he might hear complaints which might not otherwise reach his ears, and, perhaps, that he might enjoy amusements which he could not have partaken of in his avowed royal character. This is also said to have been a custom of James the Fourth, his father, and several adventures are related of what befell them on such occasions. One of these narratives is here quoted, having occurred in this county.

“When James the Fifth travelled in disguise, he used a name which was known only to some of his principal nobility and attendants. He was called the Goodman (the tenant, that is) of Ballengiech. Ballengiech is a steep pass which leads down behind the Castle of Stirling. Once upon a time, when the court was feasting in Stirling, the King sent for some venison from the neighbouring hills. The deer was killed, and put on horses' backs to be transported to Stirling. Unluckily they had to pass the castle gates of Arnpryor, belonging to a chief of the Buchanans, who chanced to have a considerable number of guests with him. It was late, and the company were rather short of victuals, though they had more than enough of liquor. The chief, seeing so much fat venison passing his very door, seized on it; and to the expostulations of the keepers, who told him it belonged to King James, he answered insolently, that if James was King in Scotland, he, Buchanan, was King in Kippen; being the name of the district in which the castle of Arnpryor lay. On hearing what had happened, the King got on horseback, and rode instantly from Stirling to Buchanan's house, where he found a strong fierce-looking Highlander, with an axe on his shoulder, standing sentinel at the door. This grim warder refused the King admittance, saying, that the laird of Arnpryor was at dinner, and would not be disturbed. ‘Yet go up to the company, my good friend,’ said the King, ‘and tell him that the

Goodman of Ballengiech is come to feast with the King of Kippen. The porter went grumbling into the house, and told his master that there was a fellow with a red beard at the gate, who called himself the Goodman of Ballengiech, who said he was come to dine with the King of Kippen. As soon as Buchanan heard these words, he knew that the King was come in person, and hastened down to kneel at James's feet, and to ask forgiveness for his insolent behaviour. But the King, who only meant to give him a fright, forgave him freely, and, going into the castle, feasted on his own venison, which Buchanan had intercepted. Buchanan of Arnpryor was ever afterwards called the King of Kippen."

It would occupy too much space to detail even a tithe of the stories regarding this King's perambulations in disguise, which, so recently as the close of last century, were currently related as an amusement at the country firesides in winter. But there is one regarding a scene which really took place in the Highlands of Perthshire which must not be omitted. James the Fifth was very fond of the chase—and the reader will observe, that it is one of his rambles in disguise (but not, as generally, in humble guise) of which Sir Walter Scott avails himself for the theme of his beautiful poem, *The Lady of the Lake*, the scene of which also lies in this county. That of the other story just mentioned lay in Athole. On one occasion, in 1533, when the King had an ambassador of the Pope along with him, with various other foreigners of distinction, they were splendidly entertained by the Earl of Athole in a huge and singular rustic palace. It was built of timber in the midst of a great meadow, and surrounded by moats or fosses full of the most delicate fish. It was enclosed and defended by towers, as if it had been a regular castle, and had within it many apartments, which were decked with flowers and branches, so that in treading them one seemed to be in a garden. Here were all kinds of game and other provisions in abundance, with many cooks to prepare them, and plenty of the most costly spices and wines. The Italian ambassador was greatly surprised to see, amongst rocks and wildernesses, which seemed to be the very extremity of the world, such good lodging and so magnificent an entertainment. But what surprised him most of all was, to see the Highlanders set fire to the wooden castle so soon as the hunting was over and the King in the act of departing. "Such is the constant practice of our highlanders," said James to the ambassador: "however well they may be lodged over night, they always burn their lodging before they leave it." By this, the

King intimated the predatory and lawless habits of these mountaineers.* When James pursued the amusement of hunting in the Highlands, he used to wear the peculiar costume of that country, having a long and wide Highland shirt and a jacket of tartan velvet, with plaid hose, and every thing else corresponding. The accounts for these are in the books of his chamberlain, still preserved.†

James the Fifth invented and instituted the College of Justice, the supreme court of Scotland in civil affairs—or what is now more popularly termed the Court of Session—and he is still honourably remembered on account of many wise laws for the government of his people, and for restraining the crimes and violence so frequently practised among them. He was also remarkable for his encouragement of literature and the sciences. He had considerable qualifications as a poet himself, and permitted great freedom to the rhymers of his time, who frequently addressed verses to him, “some of which conveyed severe censures of his government, and others satires on his foibles.”‡

But the cares and calamities of the later years of James’ life—though still a young man—contrasted sadly with the gaiety and gallantry of his early youth. His misfortunes and his death resulted from causes which he little anticipated. As these causes introduce us to a new era in the history of Perth, which was again destined to bear a very active part in the movements here adverted to, it is proper to take a retrospect of their origin, and in so doing it becomes necessary to commence with the dawn of

The Reformation.

In this interesting stage of his present work, the compiler readily avails himself of the labours of Sir Walter Scott in preference to any other. And the reason of that preference is this: His account of the rise and progress of the great movement is the briefest, while it is the clearest of any other, embracing the greatest amount of information in the smallest space. Other treatises seem to hold it

* Scott’s *Hist. of Scotland*.

† *Ibid*.

‡ The two excellent comic songs, entitled, “*The Gaberlunzie Man*,” and “*We’ll gae nae mair a Roving*,” are said to have been founded upon the success of his amorous adventures when travelling in the disguise of a beggar. The latter is perhaps the best comic ballad in any language.—*Note, Canto vi, Lady of the Lake*.

for granted that the reader must know too much of this great change and what led to it, to be sufficiently minute. Sir Walter Scott's account is professedly written for the instruction of a youth—to inform the opening intellect—and the same minuteness of detail is highly necessary for many readers of riper growth. Without farther apology, Sir Walter's very simple statement is here presented, as a preface to a new and remarkable stage in our local history :

You remember, says Sir Walter, that James the Fifth was nephew to Henry the Eighth of England, being a son of Margaret, sister of that monarch. This connexion, and perhaps the policy of Henry, who was aware that it was better for both countries that they should remain at peace together, prevented for several years the renewal of the destructive wars between the two divisions of the island. The good understanding would probably have been still more complete, had it not been for the great and general change in religious matters, called in history the Reformation. I must give you some idea of the nature of this alteration, otherwise you cannot understand the consequences to which it led.

After the death of our blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, the doctrine which he preached was planted in Rome, the principal city of the great Roman empire, by the Apostle Peter, as it is said, whom the Catholics, therefore, term the first Bishop of Rome. In process of time, the Bishops of Rome, who succeeded, as they said, the apostle in his office, claimed an authority over all others in Christendom. Good and well-meaning persons, in their reverence for the religion which they had adopted, admitted these pretensions without much scrutiny. As the Christian religion was more widely received, the emperors and kings who embraced it thought to distinguish their piety by heaping benefits on the Church, and on the bishops of Rome in particular, who at length obtained great lands and demesnes as temporal princes ; while, in their character of clergymen, they assumed the title of Popes, and the full and exclusive authority over all other clergymen in the Christian world. As the people of those times were extremely ignorant, any little knowledge which remained was to be found among the clergy, who had some leisure to study ; while the laity, that is, all men who were not clergymen, learned little, excepting to tilt, fight, and feast. The Popes of Rome, having established themselves as heads of the Church, went on, by degrees, introducing into the simple and beautiful system delivered to us in the gospel, other doctrines, many of

them inconsistent with, or contradictory of, pure Christianity, and all of them tending to extend the power of the priests over the minds and consciences of other men. It was not difficult for the Popes to make these alterations. For as they asserted that they were the visible successors of Saint Peter, they pretended that they were as infallible as the apostle himself, and that all that they published in their ordinances, which they called Bulls, must be believed by all Christian men, as much as if the same had been enjoined in the Holy Scripture itself. We shall notice two or three of these innovations.

Some good men, in an early age of Christianity, had withdrawn from the world to worship God in desert and desolate places. They wrought for their bread, gave alms to the poor, spent their leisure in the exercise of devotion, and were justly respected. But by degrees, as well-meaning persons bestowed great sums to support associations of such holy men, bequeathed lands to the monasteries or convents in which they lived, and made them wealthy, the Monks, as they were called, departed from the simplicity of their order, and neglected the virtues which they undertook to practise. Besides, by the extravagant endowments of these convents, great sums of money and large estates were employed in maintaining a useless set of men, who, under pretence of performing devotional exercises, withdrew themselves from the business of the world, and from all domestic duties. Hence, though there continued to be amongst the Monks many good, pious, and learned men, idleness and luxury invaded many of the institutions, and corrupted both their doctrines and their morals.

The worship also of saints, for which Scripture gives us no warrant whatever, was introduced in those ignorant times. It is natural we should respect the memory of any remarkably good man, and that we should value anything which has belonged to him. The error lay in carrying this natural veneration to extremity—in worshipping the relics of a saintly character, such as locks of hair, bones, articles of clothing, and other trumpery, and in believing that such things are capable of curing sickness, or of working other miracles shocking to common sense. Yet the Roman Church opened the way to this absurdity, and imputed to these relics, which were often a mere imposture, the power, which God alone possesses, of altering those laws of nature which his wisdom has appointed. The Popes also encouraged and enjoined the worship of saints, that is, the souls of holy men deceased, as a sort of subordi-

nate deities, whose intercession may avail us before the throne of God, although the gospel has expressly declared that our Lord Jesus Christ is our only Mediator. And in virtue of this opinion, not only were the Virgin Mary, the apostles, and almost every other person mentioned in the Gospels, erected by the Roman Catholics into the office of intercessors with the Deity, but numerous others, some of them mere names, who never existed as men, were canonized, as it was called, that is, declared by the Pope to be saints, and had altars and churches dedicated to them. Pictures, also, and statues, representing these alleged holy persons, were exhibited in churches, and received the worship which ought not, according to the Second Commandment, to be rendered to any idol or graven image.

Other doctrines there were, about fasting on particular days, and abstaining from particular kinds of food, all of which were gradually introduced into the Roman Catholic faith, though contrary to the Gospel.

But the most important innovation, and that by which the priests made most money, was the belief that the Church, or, in other words, the priest, had the power of pardoning such sins as were confessed to him, upon the culprit's discharging such penance as the priest imposed on him. Every person was, therefore, obliged to confess himself to a priest, if he hoped to have his sins pardoned; and the priest enjoined certain kinds of penance, more or less severe, according to the circumstances of the offence. But in general these penances might be excused, providing a corresponding sum of money were paid to the Church, which possessed thus a perpetual and most lucrative source of income, which was yet more increased by the belief in Purgatory.

We have no right, from Scripture, to believe in the existence of any intermediate state betwixt that of happiness, which we call Heaven, to which good men have access immediately after death, or that called Hell, being the place of eternal punishment, to which the wicked are consigned with the devil and his angels. But the Catholic priests imagined the intervention of an intermediate state, called Purgatory. They supposed that many, or indeed that most people, were not of such piety as to deserve immediate admission into a state of eternal happiness, until they should have sustained a certain portion of punishment, but yet were not so wicked as to deserve instant and eternal condemnation. For the benefit of these they invented the intermediate situation of Purgatory, a place of

punishment to which almost every one, not doomed to Hell itself, was consigned for a greater or less period, in proportion to his sins, before admission into a state of happiness. But here lay the stress of the doctrine. The power was in the Church to obtain pardon, by prayer, for the souls who were in Purgatory, and to have the gates of that place of torture opened for their departure sooner than would otherwise have taken place. Men, therefore, whose consciences told them that they deserved a long abode in this place of punishment, left liberal sums to the Church to have prayers said for the behoof of their souls. Children, in like manner, procured masses (that is, a particular sort of devotional worship practised by Catholics), to be said for the souls of their deceased parents. Widows did the same for their departed husbands—husbands for their wives. All these masses and prayers could only be obtained by money, and all this money went to the priests.

But the Pope and his clergy carried the matter still farther, and not only sold, as they pretended, the forgiveness of Heaven to those who had committed sins, but also granted them (always for money) a liberty to break through the laws of God and the Church. These licenses were called indulgences, because those who purchased them were indulged in the privilege of committing irregularities and vices, without being supposed answerable to the divine wrath.

To support this extraordinary fabric of superstition, the Pope assumed the most extensive powers, even to the length of depriving kings of their thrones by his sentence of excommunication, which declared their subjects free from their oath of allegiance, and at liberty to rise up against their sovereign and put him to death. At other times the Pope took it upon him to give the kingdoms of the excommunicated prince to some ambitious neighbour. The rule of the Church of Rome was as severe over inferior persons as over princes. If a layman read the Bible, he was accounted guilty of a great offence; for the priests well knew that a perusal of the Sacred Scriptures would open men's eyes to their extravagant pretensions. If an individual presumed to disbelieve any of the doctrines which the Church of Rome taught, or to entertain any which were inconsistent with these doctrines, he was tried as a heretic, and subjected to the horrid punishment of being burnt alive; and this penalty was inflicted without mercy for the slightest expressions approaching to what the Papists called heresy.

This extraordinary and tyrannical power over men's consciences was usurped during those ages of European history which are called

dark, because men were at that period without the light of learning and information. But the discovery of the art of printing began, in the fifteenth century, to open men's minds. The Bible, which had been locked up in the hands of the clergy, then became common, and was generally read; and wise and good men, in Germany and Switzerland, made it their study to expose the errors and corruptions of the See of Rome. The doctrine of saint-worship was shown to be idolatrous—that of pardons and indulgences, a foul encouragement to vice—that of Purgatory, a cunning means of extorting money—and the pretensions of the Pope to infallibility, a blasphemous assumption of the attributes proper to God alone. These new opinions were termed the doctrines of the Reformers, and those who embraced them became gradually more and more numerous. The Roman Catholic priests attempted to defend the tenets of their church by argument; but as that was found difficult, they endeavoured, in most countries of Europe, to enforce them by violence. But the Reformers found protection in various parts of Germany. Their numbers seemed to increase rather than diminish, and to promise a great revolution in the Christian world.

Henry the Eighth, the king of England, was possessed of some learning, and had a great disposition to show it in this controversy. Being, in the earlier part of his reign, sincerely attached to the Church of Rome, he wrote a book, in defence of its doctrines, against Martin Luther, one of the principal Reformers. The Pope was so much gratified by this display of zeal, that he conferred on the king the appellation of Defender of the Faith—a title which Henry's successors continue to retain, although in a very different sense from that in which it was granted.

Now Henry, you must know, was married to a very good princess named Catherine, who was a daughter of the King of Spain, and sister to the Emperor of Germany. She had been, in her youth, contracted to Henry's elder brother, Arthur; but that prince dying, and Henry becoming heir of the throne, his union with Catherine had taken place. They had lived long together, and Catherine had borne a daughter, Mary, who was the natural heir-apparent of the English crown. But at length Henry the Eighth fell deeply in love with a beautiful young woman, named Anne Bullen, a maid of honour in the Queen's retinue, and he became extremely desirous to get rid of Queen Catherine, and marry this young lady. For this purpose he applied to the Pope, in order to obtain a divorce from the good Queen, under pretence of her having been contracted

to his elder brother before he was married to her. This, he alleged, seemed to him like marrying his brother's wife, and therefore he desired that the Pope would dissolve a marriage, which, as he alleged, gave much pain to his conscience. The truth was, that his conscience would have given him very little disturbance, had he not wanted to marry another, a younger and more beautiful woman.

The Pope would have, probably, been willing enough to gratify Henry's desire, at least his predecessors had granted greater favours to men of less consequence; but then Catherine was the sister of Charles the Fifth, who was at once Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, and one of the wisest, as well as the most powerful, princes in Christendom. The Pope, who depended much on Charles' assistance for checking the Reformation, dared not give him the great offence, which would have been occasioned by encouraging his sister's divorce. His Holiness, therefore, evaded giving a precise answer to the King of England from day to day, week to week, and year to year. But this led to a danger which the Pope had not foreseen.

Henry the Eighth, a hot, fiery, and impatient prince as ever lived, finding that the Pope was trifling with him, resolved to shake off his authority entirely. For this purpose he denied the authority of the Pope in England, and declared, that he himself was the only Head of the English Church, and that the Bishop of Rome had nothing to do with him or his dominions. Many of the bishops and clergymen of the English Church adopted the Reformed doctrines, and all disowned the supreme rule hitherto ascribed to the Pope.

But the greatest blow to the papal authority was the dissolution of the monasteries, or religious houses, as they were called. The King seized on the convents, and the lands granted for their endowment, and, distributing the wealth of the convents among the great men of his court, broke up for ever those great establishments, and placed an insurmountable obstacle in the way of the Catholic religion being restored, after the interest of so many persons had been concerned in its being excluded.

The motive of Henry the Eighth's conduct was by no means praiseworthy, but it produced the most important and salutary consequences; as England was for ever afterwards, except during the short reign of his eldest daughter, freed from all dependence upon the Pope, and from the superstitious doctrines of the Roman Catholic religion.

Such, so far, is Sir Walter Scott's account of the circumstances which gave rise to the Reformation in Scotland, which he connects with the life and death of James the Fifth. The author of a work very recently published tells us, that, "as it respects the era of the Reformation, a curious point still remains to be investigated in the history of the Scottish people of the sixteenth century, viz. the singular phenomenon, almost unexampled in any other country, of the same generation abandoning the ancient ritual which they had been accustomed to revere, and rushing into the extreme of theological novelties undeniably the inventions of the day." It is not our present purpose to grapple with the allegations or arguments of the erudite writer here quoted, but it does appear that he has reached this conclusion somewhat hastily. The people of Perth, and of Scotland generally, did not very rapidly make a leap so extreme; and as to the *invention* of "theological novelties," we have only allegation without proof. The Reformed doctrines had been gradually making head in this part of the country long before the period of their great demonstration at Perth. From the tenor of a conversation which Sir Walter Scott represents, in the *Fair Maid of Perth*, as having taken place betwixt the heroine and a Carthusian Monk, it is evident that he himself imagined that the principles of the Reformed faith were beginning to manifest themselves, as at least in an incipient stage, so early as the reign of Robert the Third. Indeed, it is beyond question that ere this they had made considerable progress on the Continent of Europe; and, intimately connected as Scotland then was with the Continental nations, these principles must have made their way into this country at a very early stage of their progress. Perth, even in the time of James the Fifth, could boast of a comparatively intelligent community, and in it they must have prevailed and taken deep root, otherwise they could not have broken out with such fervour when Knox fanned the flame with such extraordinary effect. But the truth is, that the great majority of mankind are at all times naturally averse to organic or violent changes: it is only when oppression, abuse, or corruption brings on a crisis that they will come to a stand for reform—and even then they must be either led or driven. All experience proves this. That the principles of the Reformation had taken deep root in Perth long before 1559—the generally accepted epoch of that great change—is proved from facts we have yet to record, viz. the circumstance of several martyrdoms having taken place in Perth fifteen years earlier, because of attach-

ment to the Reformed faith, and repudiation of the alleged errors and absurdities which the Reformation completely eradicated. There was, therefore, no very sudden or reckless abandonment of an ancient ritual, nor did the change thoroughly operate in the same generation.

That the Reformation became more sweeping and general in this country than in some others must be admitted, but for that fact it is by no means difficult to account. The main reason lies in the part adopted by the sovereign and the nobility. In England, Henry the Eighth, although manifesting but little of the power of religion in his own heart, or the practice of piety in his life and conversation, was the great champion of the Reformation; while the pressure of events obtained for its principles the *quasi* countenance of royalty in Scotland—occasionally at least; and the temporal interests of the nobles bore powerfully in the same direction. The ways of Providence appear in many respects strange to us; and when the Almighty has great ends in view, they are not always effected by the, apparently, purest instruments.

The reader will recollect of the very near connection of the Scottish Monarch, the transactions of whose reign form the present stage of our history. James the Fifth being the son of Henry's sister, was thus the nephew of the English King. This connection operated, indirectly at least, in aid of the process of Reformation in this the northern portion of the island.

The spirit of the age was getting in advance of Popish error, or rather it held up a speculum in which the innovations and impostures of the Romish priesthood were strongly reflected and exposed to the public eye. The recent invention of printing had begun to clear the scales and films from its perverted vision, and truth was now destined to triumph over falsehood and error.

It is very natural to conclude, that, in such a state of affairs, Henry would be desirous of prevailing on his very near relative, James the Fifth, to bring about a similar revolution in Scotland. To cement their alliance still more closely and adhesively, he offered James the hand of his daughter, Mary, in marriage. James, it is thought, was at one time inclined to favour the Reformation, and he encouraged Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and his favourite preceptor, George Buchanan, in "lashing the vices of the clergy and exposing the absurdities and superstitions of Popery in the most popular and poignant satires." James, it is said, "retained a strong attachment to the companion of his early sports, and the

poet who had often amused his leisure hours.”* The fact of such men as Lindsay and Buchanan being the censors and satirists of the Catholic faith as it then existed, may allay all surprise or wonder at the prevalence of the new doctrines amongst a people who had begun to inquire and to think for themselves; and even at this early stage the work of Reformation was perhaps half-accomplished. But James felt, also, that he depended greatly on the learning and intelligence of the clergy for aid in the government of his kingdom—for the nobility were too unruly, ignorant, and ambitious, to be either sound or safe advisers.

These circumstances no doubt involved James in considerable perplexity; and the Archbishop Beaton, uncle of David, the subsequent cardinal, and David himself, stood high in his favour, and no doubt exercised great influence over a Prince whose attachment to their profession had not been cooled down or withdrawn; and they sedulously encouraged a matrimonial alliance with France. Accordingly, James visited the French Court and espoused Magdalene, daughter of Francis the First, and brought her to Scotland; but being in bad health, she died in less than six weeks afterwards. This event took place in the beginning of 1537; and at St. Andrews, in June of the following year, the King married Mary of Guise, who, like the family to which she belonged, was a bigoted Catholic; and her influence, both during the life of the King, and long after his death, was exerted to obstruct the success of the Reformation, which, however, continued to gain ground in proportion to the opposition it encountered.

James was now getting more and more into difficulty. Learned men, who had embraced the principles of Calvin, returned from the Continent, and distributed copies of the Scriptures. The new doctrines made rapid and extensive progress amongst persons of all ranks; and the most violent and cruel measures were resorted to in order to crush this movement and to punish those connected with it. The spiritual court of St. Andrews became notorious; but its cruel sacrifices only served to make a deeper impression on those who beheld them, and on the public in general. The King got into disfavour with the people for the countenance he accorded to the ecclesiastical tyrants; and the popular discontent was greatly increased by the burning of Lady Glammiss, remarkable for her youth and beauty, who, with her husband, son, and an old priest,

* *Life of Knox*, vol. i. p. 50.

who all suffered along with her, was accused of a design to destroy the King by poison, or by witchcraft, and that with the view of restoring the power of the Douglasses in this country. The King was blamed as conniving at an unjust sentence, and John Lyon, their accuser, afterwards confessed the charge to be false. Other severities combined to destroy the King's former popularity and to disturb his peace. James was a Prince possessed of many good qualities and shining talents; and but that the Catholic priesthood succeeded in precipitating him into a war with England, the close of his career might have been as fortunate and happy as it was the opposite.

The young Queen was safely delivered of two princes the following year, which caused great rejoicing throughout the kingdom. The King was hard pressed by his uncle, Henry, to make common cause with him against the Catholic clergy; and that monarch became highly irritated at James's conduct in evading a meeting he had consented to at York—Henry having waited six days for him at that city. A fierce and sanguinary war was the consequence, and James got into farther trouble. He was successful in the first affair at Fala in 1542, but his nobility declined to follow up the advantage. The priests, however, encouraged the war and aided the King; and Oliver Sinclair was despatched, with ten thousand men, to invade England. These were thoroughly routed at Solway Moss; and this, together with tidings of the death of his two sons, one at St. Andrews and the other at Stirling, as well as the various other vexatious circumstances of his position, reduced James to the greatest consternation. This unhappy monarch, whose early life was so gay and so chivalrous, and presented so many fair prospects, fell a victim to emotions of rage and disappointment, shame and despair. These induced a burning fever, which issued in death. He breathed his last at the Palace of Falkland; and while in his dying agonies, he got intimation of the birth of his daughter Mary, at the Castle of Linlithgow. The tidings seemed to have caused him little emotion, and his only reply was, "Is it even so?" and in reference to the circumstances which had brought the Stewart line to the throne, he added, "God's will be done. It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass; many miseries await this poor kingdom." He spoke little more, but turned his face to the wall, and died of a broken heart on the 14th December, 1542.

During the reign of which we have been treating, an event took place in a neighbouring county which attracted a great share of

public attention, and hurried on matters to a crisis. Patrick Hamilton, a young gentleman related to the royal family, suffered martyrdom at St. Andrews for his firm adherence to the new faith. He had been sent abroad for his education, became acquainted with the foreign Reformers, imbibed their doctrines, and, returning to his native land, he began zealously to propagate them amongst his friends and countrymen. He was tried for heresy, condemned, and suffered death at the stake the same day! Instead of inspiring terror, as intended, this only tended to bring his principles more into view, and take a stronger hold of the public mind.

Mary Stewart, the daughter of James, was, as already said, born at Linlithgow while her father was on his death-bed in Falkland Palace, and succeeded him in the sovereignty in less than eight days afterwards. She became the Queen of a distracted country almost ere her infant eyes had opened to the light. To her has been aptly applied the epithet *unfortunate*; and the author so often referred to has justly remarked, that "of all the unhappy princes of the line of Stewart, she was the most uniformly unfortunate." As usual in long minorities, the country became a prey to the ambition of rival factions, and the cruelties practised by the Catholic clergy against the Reformation proselytes, during the disputed regency, tended greatly to accelerate the great event to its final consummation. In course of a few years the administration of Scottish affairs fell almost entirely into the hands of Cardinal Beaton, an able statesman, but a cruel bigot and relentless persecutor of the heretics, as he held all adherents to the Protestant faith to be. Another martyrdom inflamed the feelings of the people to the highest degree. This was the barbarous execution of George Wishart, a man of honourable birth, great wisdom and eloquence, and of primitive piety. This gentleman held the pastoral office in Dundee, where he preached with great zeal against the Romish superstitions, propagated the Reformed religion with remarkable success, and was expelled by the magistrates from his clerical appointment. He was soon afterwards recalled, because of the plague having broken out; but Cardinal Beaton was determined to make an example of him, in order to strike terror and alarm into the hearts of the Reformers. The Earl of Bothwell was made the instrument of his arrest: by him he was inveigled and betrayed into the hands of his inveterate foe. He was thrown into a dungeon under the Cardinal's Castle at St. Andrews, whence he was dragged to public trial before the supreme spiritual court, in which his persecutor presided, and ac-

cused of heresy. He appealed to the authority of the Bible, but his judges were inexorable, and he was condemned to be burnt alive. The execution of his sentence took place on the 28th March, 1545. He was made fast to the stake with iron chains, clad in buckram, and had several bags of gunpowder tied around his body. A quantity of faggots were ranged around the pile, and on the castle walls, decorated for the occasion, sat the cruel Cardinal to enjoy the dreadful torments of his victim. While the martyr stood in expectation of his cruel death, he cast his eyes towards his enemy, and to him who commanded the guard he said—"Captain, may God forgive yonder man, who lies so proudly on the battlement—within a few days he shall be seen lying there in as much shame as he now shows pomp and vanity."* The pile was then fired, the powder exploded, the flames rose, and Wishart suffered with remarkable Christian meekness and fortitude.

Instead of subduing the spirit of the Reformers, as was intended, these atrocious proceedings had a totally opposite effect. The public detestation against the Cardinal was greatly increased, and he was soon after assassinated in his own castle by Norman Leslie, Master of Rothes, at the head of sixteen others, who undertook the assault of the castle, and succeeded. The conspirators, after having despatched him with their swords, dragged the dead body to the walls, the very battlements on which he lay in triumph to witness the sufferings of Wishart's martyrdom.

These transactions could not fail to create great excitement in Perth, where the new principles were fast progressing, and where a man of Wishart's fame must have been well known. It exasperated the people, and tended to ripen their minds for that outburst of enthusiasm and fiery zeal which levelled with the dust those proud monuments of monastic grandeur which so long adorned the "Fair City"—a result which, in one sense, is much to be regretted.

Amongst these acts of persecution and intolerance, it was not to

* "The Cardinal seems to have been sensible that the minds of men would be much agitated by the fate of this amiable sufferer, and even to have apprehended that some attempt might be made to rescue him from the flames. He commanded all the artillery of the fortress to be pointed towards the scene of execution; and, either to watch the ebullitions of popular indignation, to display his contempt of the Reformers, or to satiate himself by contemplating the destruction of a man, in whose grave he hoped that their principles would be buried, he openly, with the prelates who accompanied him, witnessed the melancholy spectacle."—Dr. Cook's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 291.

be expected that the zealous Reformers of Perth would escape the resentment of Cardinal Beaton, who had obtained a sort of "roving commission" to coerce all whom he might hold guilty of heresy. For instance—and Cant is our authority—on 7th October, 1544, Patrick, Lord Ruthven, was elected Provost, but on the 26th of January following he was turned out by the Regent, at the instigation of the Cardinal, and his office was given to John Charteris, Provost and Sheriff, who was never received. Lord Ruthven's party prevailed.

"This was a busie year. Thomas Flemyng, late dean of gild, for himself, bailzies, councel, and crafts expatiand, that the Spy Tower was put in their keeping by the governor and lords of secret counsale, under great pains to this present day, whilk was lauchfully done, and the keys thereof was delivert to Mr. Alexander M'Breck, provest for that time, protestand that what followed thereupon in time coming prejudgit them nocht, nor turn to them in prejudice. Whilk day John Rosse of Craigie deliverit to them the keys of the Spy Tower, to the hands of Mr. Alexander M'Breck, provest for that time, protestand that he was relievit from his obligation given for keeping of the said tower, and that what followed thereupon turnit to him na prejudice.

"Whilk day Adam Ramsay, for himself and the laive of the merchandis and brether of gild of this burgh, protestit that the administration of Dionysius Cavers, goldsmith, in office of bailzierie, not electit nor chosen by them, hurt not their privilege in time to come." This protestation was continued by the Dean of Guild annually for many years, which they at last gave up.

Cardinal Beaton, in the last convention, having obtained an act in favour of the bishops and clergy, to prosecute and punish heretics to death, came in January this year to Perth, with the Regent, Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was a weak man.

Friar Spence accused Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayson, and Helen Stark, spouse to Robert Lamb. Lamb and his wife were accused for interrupting Spence in a sermon, in which he taught that there was no salvation without intercession and prayers to the saints. They confessed the charge, declaring that it was the duty of every one who knows the truth to bear testimony to it, and not suffer people to be abused with false doctrine, as that was. Anderson, Finlayson, and Ronald, were indicted for nailing two ram's horns to St. Francis's head, putting a cow's tail to his rump, and eating a goose on All-

Hallow Even. Hunter, a butcher, simple and unlearned, was charged with haunting the company of these heretics. Helen Stark was further charged with refusing to pray to the Virgin Mary when in child-birth, and saying that she would only pray to God in the name of Jesus Christ.

They were all imprisoned in the Spy Tower, being found guilty, and condemned. Great intercession was made to the Regent for them, who promised that they should not be hurt. The citizens, who were in a tumult, relying on the promise of Arran, dispersed, and went peaceably home. The Cardinal, who had the Regent in his power, had taken his measures. Determined to make an example of these heretics, he brought them forth next day to the gibbet, January 25, being St. Paul's day, and feasted his eyes from the windows of the Spy Tower with their execution. The men were hanged, and Helen Stark was drowned.

Robert Lamb, at the foot of the ladder, made a pathetic exhortation to the people, beseeching them to fear God, and forsake the leaven of Popish abominations. Helen Stark earnestly desired to die with her husband, but her request was refused ; however, they permitted her to accompany him to the place of execution. In the way, she exhorted him to constancy in the cause of Christ ; and, as she parted with him, said—" Husband, be glad ; we have lived together many joyful days, and this day of our death we ought to esteem the most joyful of them all, for we shall have joy for ever ; therefore I will not bid you good-night, for we shall shortly meet in the kingdom of heaven." As soon as the men were executed, the woman was taken to a pool of water hard by, where, having recommended her children to the charity of her neighbours, her sucking child being taken from her breast and given to a nurse, she was drowned, and died with great courage and comfort. Fox, the martyrologist, to whom we are obliged for this narrative, which was sent to him from Perth, adds further concerning Helen Stark, that, when she was demanded why she would not pray to the holy Virgin when in the pains of child-birth, she replied, that if she had lived in the days of the Virgin, God might have looked to her humility and base estate in making her the mother of Christ ; that there were no merits in the Virgin to procure her that honour, and to be preferred before other women ; that it was God's free mercy that exalted her to this honour. There were several priests in the town who were hospitably entertained in the houses of these sufferers, whose interest and intercession were requested in their be-

half, which they refused, and desired their death. The Regent was inclined to mercy, but the Cardinal and priests threatened to have him deposed if he refused to sign the warrant for their execution.

The town was so enraged at this procedure, that no credit was given to the clergy afterwards. At this time Sir Henry Elder, John Elder, Walter Piper, and Laurence Puller, with some other citizens of Perth, were banished.

Before the Cardinal left Perth, the Regent, at his instigation, turned Lord Ruthven, provost of the town, out of his office, and gave it to John Charteris of Kinfauns, who was allied to Lord Gray. The Cardinal hated Lord Ruthven, because he was a favourer of the new religion, as it was called, and an opposer of his political measures; neither did Beaton love Gray, who was no friend of his. But his policy was to sow discord between these two lords, to weaken their interest, which was 'against him—*divide et impera* was his maxim. This political stroke operated according to his wish. The citizens, who loved Lord Ruthven, refused to acknowledge Charteris for their Provost, and would not allow him to enter the town. He applied to his friend, Lord Gray, for assistance. Gray came with armed forces, and attacked the town from the bridge; but the tide did not answer Kinfauns' intentions, who was bringing up great guns by water to storm the open side of the town. Ruthven had purposely withdrawn his guards from the bridge into the neighbouring houses, that the bridge might seem to be left defenceless. Gray fell into this snare. He boldly marched up into the town; Ruthven suddenly sallied out, and gave him a brisk charge, which routed his party. In their flight through narrow passages to the bridge, the last were stopped by the foremost in the mouth of the passage, and in this confusion many were trodden to death, and sixty fell by the sword. Intelligence of this skirmish, and of Ruthven's victory, was brought to the Cardinal, which affected him, but he was well pleased that so many of his enemies were destroyed, for he despaired of ever making them his friends, therefore he rejoiced to see them destroy one another. This skirmish happened about sixteen years before the dawn of the Reformation. The seed was sown in Perth, which gradually sprung up, and was cherished under the protection of Lord Ruthven and his party, after the violent death of those witnesses for Christianity, in opposition to Popery, which verifies the truth of that ancient saying, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church." Di-

vine providence, which directs the counsels of great men, to pave a way for the Reformation, turned their wisdom against themselves. This skirmish, which happened on the 22d July, 1544, established Lord Ruthven and his party in the town.

After the death of Beaton, John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, succeeded him as Archbishop of St. Andrews; and the Duke of Somerset, Protector of England during the minority of Edward the Sixth, invaded Scotland with eighteen thousand men, to carry off Mary Stewart, the young Queen, with the view of uniting the crowns of the two kingdoms. The Regent was ready to meet him, and this led to the battle of Pinkie, near Musselburgh, where the Scots were totally routed, on the 10th September, 1547. No fewer than ten thousand of our countrymen fell in this fatal engagement, while the English loss amounted to not more than two hundred! From the field of battle to Edinburgh, the whole ground was strewed with dead bodies, many of them priests, who in this, amongst the last of their struggles, attended the army.

The long and deep-rooted aversion of the Scots to any union with England, led them easily to yield to the designs of other parties to promote the views and interests of France. Perhaps no one could blame the Queen-Dowager for taking an active part in such transactions. Proposals were made and agreed to for uniting the young Queen to the Dauphin of France. Mary, when only six years of age, was therefore sent to a Court where she formed habits and contracted prejudices which were afterwards the source of much calamity to this country, and of dire misfortune to her as its Sovereign.

It was in July, 1548, that Mary embarked on board the French galleys, accompanied by four young ladies of her own age, and of distinguished rank. They also all bore the same name, and were styled the Queen's Maries. They belonged to the high families of Livingston, Fleming, Seaton, and Beatoun, and remained with their Royal mistress at the French Court until her return in 1561. Meantime the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise, had the address to have herself placed at the head of affairs in Scotland. In a Parliament, held 10th April, 1554, she was chosen Regent. Previous to this, and to reconcile him, no doubt, to such a change, the French Monarch had settled an annual pension of 12,000 livres on her predecessor, the Earl of Arran, and farther honoured him with the title of Duke of Chatelharault. Mary gave little satisfaction to her nobles or the country on her elevation to this dignity, and failed

to conduct herself with that moderation and prudence which had been expected of her. She disgusted the men of rank by bestowing upon foreigners offices of trust and emolument, and the people by a proposal to tax them for the support of a regular standing army.

The course of events is now about to bring us more closely in connection with the main subject of this work. Perth becomes the scene of some of the most stirring movements of this eventful period; but in order to bring these forward the more clearly and connectedly, it is still necessary to premise with a brief sketch of the general progress of the Reformation.

Most of the Scottish nobility had now adopted the Reform tenets, and they set themselves against any augmentation of the Queen-Regent's power, though she had, for interested reasons, rather encouraged than opposed the Protestant party.

Edward the Sixth of England succeeded his father, Henry, and readily embraced the Reform faith, and completed the Reformation in that country. His reign was very brief, and he was succeeded by his sister, Mary, who attempted to restore Popery, and enforced the laws against heresy most rigorously; and although her reign was short, as well as unhappy, many good and pious Protestants suffered at the stake while she swayed the sceptre. Elizabeth, her sister, daughter of Henry and Anne Boleyn, ascended the throne with the universal consent of her subjects; but her succession was objected to on the part of foreign Catholic states, and particularly by France, who maintained that she was illegitimate, because the Pope had never consented to the divorce of Catherine; and it was held that Mary of Scotland was the lawful heir to her deceased grand-uncle, Henry, who had now no other legitimate child. This was the origin of that remarkable hatred on the part of Elizabeth towards Mary, which resulted so fatally for the latter. Elizabeth established the Reform religion in England, and the Protestants of Scotland entertained for her profound feelings of affection and respect. This led to greater persecutions in this country, while it increased the internal dissensions. The most distinguished and intelligent of the country had cordially embraced the Protestant faith; and Lord James Stewart, a natural son of James the Fifth, Prior of St. Andrews, and afterwards more familiarly known as the Earl of Murray, became a convert. This, from the conduct, character, and talents of that individual, was a great acquisition to the party.

The Queen Regent was generally allowed to be gentle and moderate, but at the instigation of her brothers she opened the quarrel, by commanding a convocation of the Protestant preachers to a court of justice at Stirling, on 10th May, 1559. They repaired thence accordingly; but along with them appeared such a host of friends and supporters that the Queen took alarm, and offered to stop proceedings, provided they should not enter the town. She dealt treacherously with them, however; for, notwithstanding their having appeared and withdrawn at her own request, she ordered them to be declared outlaws. Both parties placed themselves in hostile attitude, when an incident happened which gave to the Reformation its most remarkable feature.

It may here be proper to notice, before proceeding farther, the part adopted by the citizens of Perth about the time the Queen Regent thus convened the Protestant preachers at Stirling. We have it on record, that in 1559 the Earl of Argyle, and James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrews, having learned that the Queen Regent was taking measures for gaining possession of Stirling, resolved to prosecute the cause of the Reformation, or perish in the attempt. They accordingly set out from Perth to Stirling, attended by three hundred citizens; and, that their determination might appear, and influence others, they, instead of ribbons, put ropes about their necks, intimating thereby that whoever of their number should desert their colours should be hanged by the ropes. Hence arose the proverb of "St. Johnstown's Ribbons." The people joined them everywhere as they proceeded. Wherever they met with monuments of superstition, they destroyed them. The gates of Stirling, and every other town in their way, were thrown open to receive them. They, without violence, took possession of Edinburgh, cast the images out of its churches, and placed in them ministers of the Reformation.*

For some time previous to this, the Protestants had established their head-quarters at Perth, and there the public exercise of their religion was first commenced. John Erskine of Dun, who, in re-

* There was a painting of the commencement of the march of these heroes of the Reformation, from the South Port of the City, in the Town-Clerk's office—subsequently the Chamberlain's, but now taken down—said to have been well executed. But it was wantonly defaced, in the year 1795, by the town-guard, who, in consequence of some riot in the town or neighbourhood, had obtained a temporary lodgement in the court-room adjoining the office. No vestige of the painting remains.

gard to the convocation at Stirling, had, at the Queen Regent's request, held the office of moderator betwixt parties, at length joined them on the defensive. John Knox had been called from Geneva—where he had for some time exiled himself, to escape the power of the Popish clergy—to assist his countrymen at this trying juncture. He was a bold and a popular leader, and the power of his rhetoric stimulated and inspired his adherents amazingly. Immediately on his arrival, he hastened to Perth to share the common danger—where, on the 11th of May, 1559, he delivered, from the pulpit of St. John's Church, a vehement discourse against the sin of idolatry, which had the effect of inflaming the minds of his hearers to the highest pitch of religious zeal and enthusiasm. Immediately after this address, a priest had the imprudence to open his repository of reliques and images, and to decorate the altar preparatory to a public celebration of the mass. A boy challenged what he maintained to be an unholy idolatrous rite, on which the priest struck him a blow. This was retaliated by the throwing of a stone, which broke one of the images, which seemed the signal for a general assault on the shrines, images, pictures, and painted windows. This was the work of the more thoughtless of the populace, for the most respectable citizens had gone home to dinner in a peaceable manner, and are said to have been much surprised to hear of the havoc and devastation that was going on. Cant says, that the conduct of the priest and the ready resentment of the youth, precipitated the people who remained into action, with tumultuary but unsuitable violence. They fell upon the churches, overturned the altars, and, proceeding to the monasteries and other religious houses, they, in a few hours, laid these sumptuous fabrics level with the dust. This riotous insurrection is admitted not to have been the effect of concert, or any previous deliberation, but merely an accidental irruption of popular rage. It was censured by the Reformed preachers, and publicly condemned by the persons of most power and credit with the party; and none, it has been said, regretted consequences more than John Knox himself, who may be held as the unintentional cause of such an outrage.* Not a vestige

* Of the demolitions at Perth, Knox says, that they were the acts of "the haille multitude convenit—not of the gentilmen, for the maist parte war gane to denner, nonther of thame that war earnest professouris, bot of the rascall multitude, who finding nothing to do in that church, did rin without deliberation to the Grey and Black Freiris," &c.—Knox's *Historie*, p. 128.

of the monastic grandeur of Perth was left as a monument for the admiration or contemplation of posterity. The old Church of St. John the Baptist was the only religious edifice left; and it is a popular tradition—probably the truth—that to the Incorporation of Fleshers are we specially indebted for its preservation from the mistaken zeal, or, rather, headlong fury, of the exasperated rabble.

After the multitude had left the Church, their first assault was upon the “splendid Convent of the Carthusians;” and the prior, who had prepared to defend his garrison with Highland tenants from Athole, having treated his protectors with cold and sordid discourtesy, they made little resistance against the mob, by whom the stately convent was entirely destroyed. All this is still the more to be regretted, as the example of the Reformers of Perth was imitated in many other places, such as St. Andrews, &c. where many beautiful buildings fell a prey to popular frenzy, and, if not totally destroyed, were reduced to piles of shapeless ruins. The citizens of Glasgow acted differently: they mustered in arms, and when the “rascall multitude” there were about to attack the Cathedral of St. Mungo, they agreed to the removal of all the emblems of Popery, but resolutely insisted on the preservation of the church itself as a place of Protestant worship.

In our account of this memorable outrage, the nature of our information has compelled us to be rather general. A more particular and rather interesting detail was published more than twenty years ago by our intelligent townsman, Mr. D. Morison, along with lithographic *Sketches of Scenes in Scotland*, by Sir William Keith Murray, Bart. of Ochtertyre, Ravelston, and Dunnottar. Some sticklish readers hold this narrative as rather apocryphal and traditional; but Mr. Morison avers—and what reason have we to doubt him?—that the substance “was obtained many years before from a lady, a descendant of Principal Tullideph of St. Andrews, one of whose ancestors had warmly espoused the cause of the Reformers. Where her outline of the story,” says Mr. Morison, “has in any case been filled in, it has been by reference to Mr. Row’s MS. to the local chronicles, and to history.” The compiler considers it of value to the present work, as interesting in itself, and of great probability, while it is strikingly illustrative of some points requiring illustration.

Late in the evening of a beautiful day at the close of April,

1559, a young man arrived at the Hospital of Suggieden,* bearing marks of long travel. He was accommodated with a seat at the chimney corner, and to the usual simple fare that was set before him by the attendant monk he did ample justice. When his hunger was somewhat appeased, he began to survey the apartment and its inmates. It was one of those long, narrow, and rudely-finished rooms common to the monkish hospitals or places of refreshment: the fire-place occupied nearly one of the narrow ends, and a long stone table with stone benches at either side of the fire, with a few chairs of heavily-carved oak, were its only furniture. The attendant sat near the door. Three other monks had occupied the bench on the other side of the fire, but had withdrawn to a greater distance on the entrance of the stranger. They appeared engaged in earnest conversation, and the subject seemed to relate to the traveller, towards whom their eyes were frequently directed. The distance from the fire at which they sat prevented the stranger from examining their features minutely, but it seemed to him as if the face of the monk who sat between the others, and who was evidently imparting news to his neighbours, was not unknown to him.

“You bear tokens of having travelled far to-day, young man?” said one of the trio, who by his habit seemed to be the master or superior. “I have walked across the greater part of Fife since sunrise,” replied the traveller, “intending to have reached St. Johnstown to-night; but I fear I must crave lodging of your bounty, for I feel exhausted and unable to proceed farther. The boatman at the Ferry of the Loaf,† who seemed to pity my halting, told me I was secure of your hospitality.” “The poor brethren of St. Augustine never shut their door against the weary traveller,” responded the same monk, “and although our fare, according to the rule of our order, be homely, thanks to the good Prioress of Elcho over the water, and the good Knight of Kinfauns, the friend of all true Catholics, it is seldom scant, and it is given as freely as it is received. But, young man,” added the monk, while he laid his tablets and writing materials on the table, “these are troublous times, and we must render a faithful account of all to whom the

* The Hospital of Suggieden stood on or near the site now occupied by the mansion-house of Seggieden, which is seen among the trees on the north or left bank of the river, nearly opposite the ruinous Nunnery and Castle of Elcho.

† The *Ferry of the Loaf*, noticed in *St. Valentine's Eve, or the Fair Maid of Perth*, is about a mile down the river below Seggieden.

shelter of this roof is granted : to whom shall I say it hath been extended this night ?” “ I knew not,” said the youth, “ that such was ever the custom in merry Scotland. But I have no motives for concealment. My name is Oliver Tullideph ; I come from St. Andrews, and am now so far on my way to visit certain friends in St. Johnstown.” “ Knewest thou that arch-heretic Wishart ? ” * asked the other monk, whose features Oliver had been in vain endeavouring to remember. At this moment the attendant threw a fresh pile of faggots on the fire, and a bright glare was suddenly thrown over the gloomy apartment. A painful expression of recognition passed over the features of the youth, as he replied in bitter accents, “ I was present at his—death.” The monk to whom he addressed himself rose, and was about to reply, when his companions checked him. All three resumed their seats, and again communed for some time in a low voice. No farther notice was taken of Oliver, and he soon retired to his pallet. In the course of the night he was awoke by the monk who had taken no part in the interrogatories of the preceding evening. “ Stranger,” he said, “ you are suspected and watched. Leave this place with the first streak of dawn. Go not by the way of Kinfauns. The Charteris family were never friendly to the Huguenots. A path to the left will conduct thee along Kinnoull to the Fair City. Be circumspect there. You have friends, but you have also many enemies.”

Ere Oliver could reply, the monk was gone. He did not again sleep ; rose with the first indications of morning, with grateful feelings towards his unknown friend ; took the path to which he had been directed, and, ere the sun had risen, found himself far above the place of his sojourn, among the cliffs and crags of Kinnoull. The view from the spot he had now attained was well calculated to arrest his attention. Above him rose the stupendous cliffs of Kinnoull, with a magnificence so rude and wild as almost to make him doubt whether he could be so near the busy habitations and resort of men, while beneath him lay stretched far the steep declivity formed of the debris of the rocks, covered with furze, now in full golden bloom, interspersed with clusters of the sloe tree, which, laden with their white flowers, lay like patches of snow along the broken declivity. At the bottom of the valley the majestic Tay

* Wishart was incriminated at St. Andrews on the 1st of March, 1545-6, upwards of thirteen years previous to the demolition of the Religious Houses.

wound along, now skirting the woods of Kinfauns, above which the towers of the Castle* rose majestically, now winding around the walls of the Hospital of Seggieden, reflecting from the opposite shore the spires and towers of Elcho, now meeting the waters of the Earn and widening into the broad frith, while they were lost to view between the height of Norman Law and the broken and wooded knolls of Inchyra. As Oliver stood contemplating this splendid combination of all that constitutes beauty in a landscape, enriched, as it then was, with the mellow light of the rising sun, he was startled by the sound of loud cries, mingled with shouts and peals of laughter, reverberating among the rocks. It seemed to come from the westward, and in that direction he cautiously bent his steps. On attaining one of the abrupt projections of the rocks, where the whole extent of the crags on both hands stood exposed to view, a singular scene presented itself. At the opening of a dark but narrow fissure in the rocks stood a figure fantastically dressed, and adorned with garlands of flowers. Several young men and women were clambering up the rocks towards the cavern, while a knot of spectators stood below, whose shouts rent the air, as occasionally some unlucky aspirant missed his or her hold, slipped down again into the crowd, or, more unlucky still, regained not their footing until they had toppled down the steep bank beneath, which was formed of small stones too recently dislodged from the parent rock to admit even of a handful of furze or fern to break the fall of the unskilful. Beyond this crowd a long line of people in their holiday attire, among which many religious habits were visible, extended along by the foot of the cliff, until lost to view within a ravine, out of which the procession seemed still slowly advancing.

As Oliver drew near, he observed an elderly respectable looking citizen standing aloof from the rest. To him he advanced, and, after the usual salutations of the morning, inquired what this concourse meant? "You are surely a stranger in these parts," replied his informant, "not to have heard of the Festival of the Dragon on May morning?"† "I had heard of such a custom being observed

* This was the ancient Castle of Kinfauns, long removed, the seat of the influential family of Charteris of Kinfauns. The present Castle of Kinfauns, the seat of Lord Gray, was begun in 1822, from a design by Smirke, and was erected by Francis, fifteenth Lord Gray.

† The Dragon Hole on the front of Kinnoull Hill is prominently noticed, and its May-Day frequenters are particularly denounced, in extracts from the Perth Kirk-Session Registers, which will be found in the Appendix. The Hole,

at St. Johnstown, but knew not that a spot so wild and romantic had been chosen for its celebration. I think it is said to have had its origin in the rejoicings which were instituted after the slaughter of a dragon which long infested the neighbourhood." "And a dragon of no contemptible taste," rejoined the citizen, "for the virgins he kept in durance here were remarkable for beauty. Between ourselves, I suspect the true monster lived on the Law below us, while the inhabitant of the rock was the offspring of the priests, who wished to cloak the misdemeanours of their patron under the wing of this dragon. But the mummeries to which the fable has given rise will soon, like many others, be rooted out of the land." "I am surprised," remarked Oliver, "that you should so freely give expression to such opinions. We who live within gunshot of the Cardinal's Castle, or within reach of his many ears, are obliged to keep such sentiments within our own bosoms." "And such was until of late the case," replied the citizen, "within the walls of Perth. Many summers have not yet passed since these eyes witnessed the execution of five men on the South Inch, and the wife of one of them drowned for refusing to join in intercession to the saints. One of them, with his wife, had been so bold as to interrupt a friar in his discourse when he taught that there was no salvation without prayers to the saints. Three of the men had manifested their dissent in a still stronger manner—they nailed two ram's horns to St. Francis' head, put a cow's tail to his rump, and ate a goose on All-Hallow Even. The fifth, a simple fellow, was hanged for keeping company with them, although it was proved that he did not taste of the goose. The Cardinal and the Earl of Arran enjoyed the execution from the windows of the Spy Tower.* But such cruelty would not now be tolerated—the people would

or Cave, itself, is still distinctly visible from three grand thoroughfares—viz. the steam-boat track on the Tay, the Dundee turnpike, and the Dundee and Perth Railway. It is yet a favourite resort for adventurous juveniles from Perth, who reach it both from above and below.

* The Spy or Spey Tower stood at the south-eastern corner of Gowrie House gardens, its foundations washed by the waters of the Tay; very near the same angle of the area in front of the new County Buildings. On the south side of that, there was, at one time, a gullet, or old-fashioned dock, an indentation of what is called the Old Shore or Pier, where small sea-craft were often moored, as a shelter from the river floods and the small icebergs brought down by the impetuous current. It is not unreasonable to suppose that it was here that Helen Stark suffered death: indeed, it is most probable.

rise in a body. The clergy are aware of this ; and although it galls them to the quick to hear the open manner in which the citizens talk, they dare not testify their displeasure otherwise than in their discourses, where they do lash us, it must be confessed, pretty freely." "Alas !" said the youth, "it was about the same time I was forced not only to witness but to aid in the cruel death inflicted on one of my own kinsmen under the windows of the Cardinal's Castle. The tortures inflicted on the unhappy people you mention were merciful compared to those which Wishart suffered." "Was Wishart, then, your kinsman ?" interrupted the citizen. "He was my mother's brother," replied Oliver. "What !" said the old man, "are you Robert Tullideph's son ?" "The same." "Then you must have heard of his school companion, George Johnston ?" "I bear a letter to him," he replied. "I rejoice to see you," said the old man, holding out his hand ; "next to Robin himself, there is no one whom I could welcome more heartily to my roof. Come, let us leave these mummers ; I but came out in my capacity of Bailie to see that no bruilzie arose, and as they all seem peaceably disposed, I may leave them to their daffin'." So saying, the old man conducted Oliver by a winding path which gradually led them to the western shoulder of the hill. "There," he cried, as he attained the summit a few paces in advance of his young friend, "there stands the Fair City, and I think you will say she deserves the name." Oliver's exclamations of surprise and pleasure when he came within sight of it seemed greatly to gratify his guide, to whose garrulous mood it gave additional impetus. "Aye, there she reposes, calm and serene, betraying none of those warring passions and factious throes which are secretly agitating her bosom. What a pity it is, my young friend, that these proud priests, who have decked her out so finely, will not read the signs of the times, and cease to fan the flame of civil discord by the intemperance of their harangues ! The religious communities with which Perth is surrounded are tearing asunder the bonds which erst united her citizens together, and these gorgeous buildings you now admire are become the pest-houses from which evils innumerable are creeping out upon the land. Yet there are not wanting moderate men among them, who would willingly allow us liberty of conscience if the more bigoted would but listen to them. The Warden, now, of the Franciscan Observantine or Grey Friars Monastery—that building you see nearest us outside the walls—is well known to be the secret favourer of the new doctrines. There are but eight of them in that

huge house—good canty fellows all of them ; known, too, privately, to keep an excellent table, and willing to let all the world alone so that they are not disturbed at dinner time. But then they are in constant dread of the firebrands in that princely building you see on the same side of the town farther to the west, who can write although their rules forbid them to speak. Austere fellows they are, these Carthusians, and pride themselves not a little on this their only establishment in Scotland, and on the odour they and it are in with the Queen-Regent. But for all their austerity, there are queer stories told of them and the nuns in the Convents of St. Leonard and the Magdalene, both of which are a short distance to the southward ; they are hid from us just now by these trees on the left. Certain jolly skippers, too, from the coast, from whom I sometimes get a keg of Nantz under cover of a few oysters or had-docks, and who take my gloves and other leather articles of dress to Dundee, wink and glance knowingly towards this “*Monasterium Vallis Virtutis*,” as the monks call it, while they hint about the many good and ghostly customers they have in Perth. Then there are these Dominicans: beggars they profess themselves, like the Franciscans, and sturdy ones they are. See how comfortably they have set themselves down in that palace you see without the walls, on the north side of the town, just over the Castle there. Ah! these Black Friars are your men for the pulpit! If you want a good easy confessor, go to the chapels of St. Paul or St. Katherine you see peering above the trees on the west side of the town, and there find one of the Carmelites, or White Friars, from Tullilum, a Monastery still farther to the west, hid from us by the wood ; but if you want a discourse that will keep you quaking for a week, go to the church of the Dominicans. And well worthy, let me tell you, it is of a visit : such halls, such aisles, such windows!—the gardens too, and the Gilten Arbour! No wonder our monarchs forsook that old gloomy palace you see at the end of the bridge, for the sweet arbours and soft beds of the Black Friars, although James the First, of blessed memory, found it anything but secure. But come,” added the good-humoured old man, “I forget that neither of us have broken our fast this morning yet. Let us be moving onwards, and as we descend the hill I shall try to make you acquainted with others of these stately edifices, which you will, I hope, take many days to examine and note. There, now, where will you find in Scotland, letting alone your Cathedrals, a more graceful fabric than the Church of St. John, towering above all the

other buildings in the very centre of the town? It is well worthy of being dedicated to our tutelary Apostle, although, in truth, so many altars have been reared within it to other Saints, that our great patron has scarcely been left a niche he can call his own; as if there were not chapels enough in the town beside. There you have the Chapel of the Virgin close by the end of the Bridge,* where no traveller, however wearied, omits in passing to put up his Ave. Our own Craft have a Chapel dedicated to St. Bartholomew, whose flaying alive, strange enough, finds more sympathy among those who live by flaying than among any other craft. It is hid from us by the Castle walls, and there the bell which warns the inhabitants to go to bed betimes is hung.† St. Anne, the mother of the Virgin, is honoured under these pinnacles you observe near the Church of St. John.‡ The school-house is just at hand, and in the sanctuary of this patroness of instructors the little urchins are taught to mumble their Paternosters, and receive a weekly lecture from some of the Friars appointed by the patrons. To the west, again, besides the Chapels of St. Paul and St. Katherine already pointed out to you, outside the walls there is a Chapel of the Cross or Holyrood at the South-west Port, the resort of those who have heavy consciences and light purses. Nearer us, and not far distant from the Chartriex or Carthusian Monastery, you may observe a building with the spire in the form of a crown: that is the Chapel

* The Bridge then standing spanned the Tay in a continuous line with the High Street. In certain states of the river, the foundations of some of the piers are still visible. The Chapel of the Holy Virgin occupied the adjoining site, at its north-west corner, where the Police Office, Burgh Court, and Council Hall now stand. In fact, there can be no question that the principal walls, or foundations at least, of these public offices are the same as those of Our Lady's Chapel. The present entrance to the Police Office is an ancient aperture, discovered only when the old Council Hall was removed to improve the street some years ago. For a long period previous to that date, and until the new County Jail was erected in Speygate, the Chapel had been made to subservise that purpose, as well as that of a Justiciary Circuit-Court House; and there was, till then, a hole in the south wall, now built up, but yet visible, through which a beam was occasionally protruded from the Court-House, as a gibbet, on which the execution of condemned criminals took place. The apartments are all considerably improved of late years, but the edifice bears no marks of a place of worship, internally or externally.

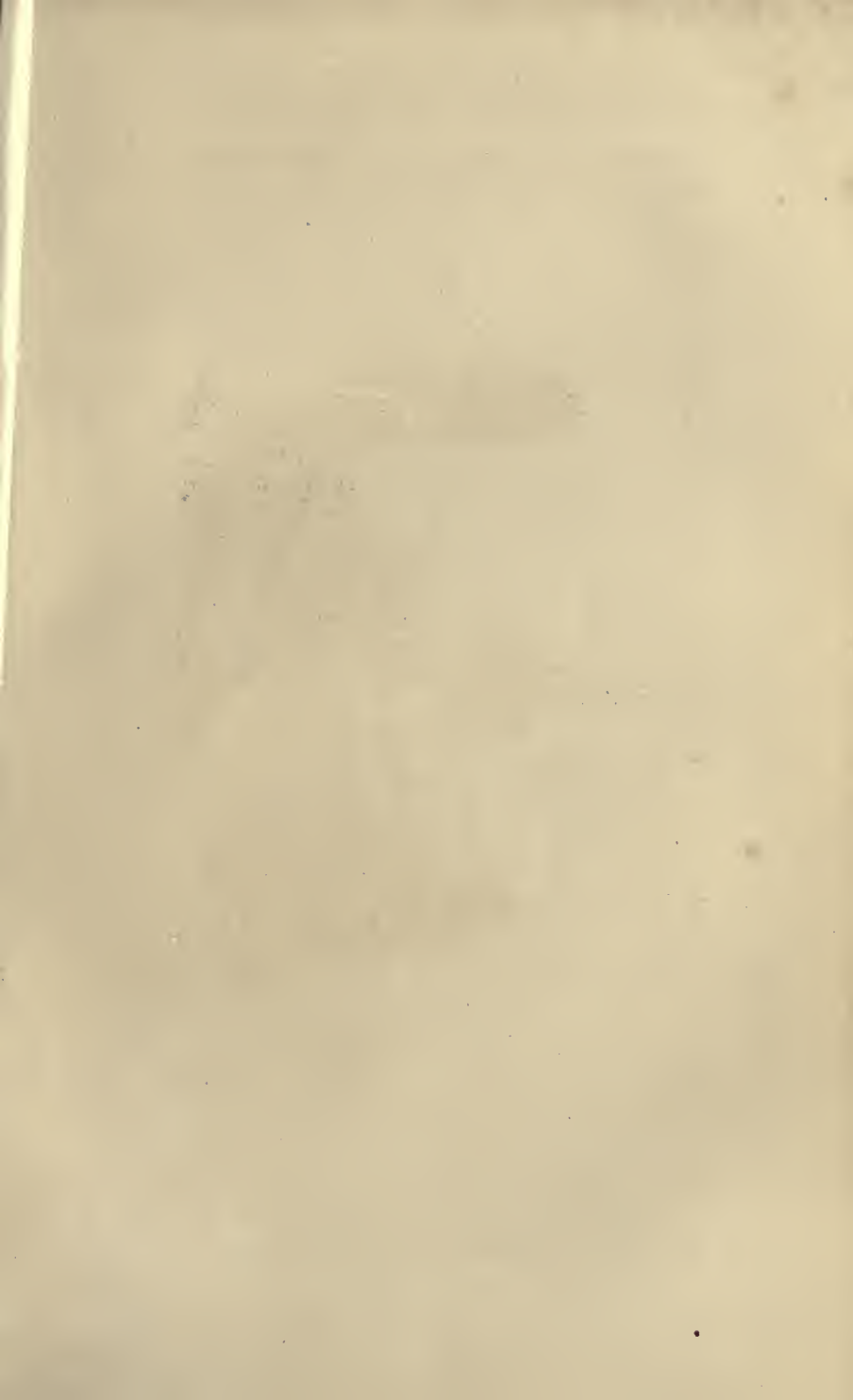
† In *Convre-feu Street*, or *Curfew Row*, as it is commonly termed, where the old *Glover Hall* yet stands, and small vestiges of monastic ruins are still pointed out.

‡ In what was long called the *School Vennel*, now *St. Anne's Lane*. Messrs. *Ballingals'* premises occupy the site.

of Loretto. Some of the populace have long had their eye on the gold and silver which is lying useless there.—But I tire you with my gossip. We shall soon be at the Bridge. Ah! there it is among the trees—a stately fabric, is it not, with its towers and minarets? Dreadful was the conflict which was witnessed there in the time of the late persecution, when the troops commanded by Lord Ruthven, and the soldiers brought from Dundee by Lord Gray, disputed that entrance to the town. Many a stout fellow who escaped the steel and the lead that day found a watery grave, when the parapet yielded to the press of the multitude. Those towers you see flanking the Bridge at the Town Gate are perhaps the strongest and most defensible of any around the walls. The North Gate near the Castle is scarcely inferior, and the Spy Tower, near the Grey Friars Monastery on the south, is higher and more capacious, being often used as a prison; but the Bridge Gate is considered by men of skill in such matters a masterpiece of its kind.”

They were now within the city, and were ere long comfortably set in the Bailie's house in the Skinnergate, rewarding the appetite which their morning walk had given them with a cold pasty and a stoup of claret. The Bailie's family consisted of his wife, a daughter, and a son, the latter a shrewd lad of sixteen. Oliver soon found himself at home amongst them, and spent some days in surveying more closely the numerous and interesting buildings of which the Bailie had given him a sketch from the Hill of Kinnoull.

One evening, while discussing around the hearth those subjects which were then all-engrossing, the glover's son was observed to take no part in the conversation, and to be in a mood unusually thoughtful and reserved. “What is the matter, William?” said his father; “I have not often seen you so studious.” After some little hesitation, the lad confessed that a circumstance which had happened to him in the school that day was likely to bring him into trouble. He stated, that on the preceding Sabbath, the boys of the Grammar School, to the number of three hundred, had been assembled in the Chapel of St. Anne to listen to the discourse of a Friar from the Dominican Monastery. Towards the conclusion of his sermon, the Father narrated some of the many miracles which the brethren of his Order had performed. Many of his narratives were too absurd even for the schoolboys; and a hiss, once begun by the most forward, soon found a ready echo among the juvenile assembly. The Friar stormed and fumed, threatened them with the rod and the displeasure of the Church, but the juvenile re-





ST JOHN'S CHURCH, PERTH

Engraved for Perth, its Annals & its Archives by W. H. L. 1841
PERTH, THOMAS RICHARDS, ST.

formers were not to be intimidated; they took up the stools and forms, and chased the Friar out into the School Vennel. A stranger monk, who was to preach to them next Sabbath, went and demanded the protection of the civil power. Mr. Adamson, the Dean of Guild, ancestor of the local Poet of that name, to whom he applied, advised him to let the subject of miracles alone, and confine himself to facts. Enraged at this reception, the monk waited on Mr. Symson the teacher, a rigid Catholic, and obtained his promise that he would find out the ringleaders, and give them such wholesome arguments, *a posteriori*, as would convince them of the miraculous power of the Church. He had that day made inquiry, and William Johnston had confessed the early part he took in the offensive proceedings. "He was preparing to flog me," added William, "when I took out Davie Lindsay's little book, which you, father, gave me some time since. I told him that was the book which showed me the folly of the Friars' stories, and that if he did not laugh when he read it, I would submit to double punishment. It is the fear of your displeasure, father, for what I have done, which distresses me." "Bravely done!" said Oliver. "Rather rashly done, however," added his father, "but it was right of you, William, to tell the truth: we must now abide the result." To the no small surprise and pride of the Bailie, he was waited upon privately, a few days afterwards, by Mr. Symson, who, telling him of his son's conduct, with many expressions of encomium which brought the tears into the old man's eyes, added—"I have read the book, and I cannot gainsay it. The teacher stands reprov'd by the scholars. I shall interpose between them and the irritated monks." Such was one of the many indications which were then given of the rapid progress which the new doctrines were making among disciples of all ages.

At this eventful crisis, John Knox arrived in Perth on Wednesday, the 10th of May, 1559. The following day (a day of weekly commemoration in Perth ever since), Oliver, along with Bailie Johnston, joined the crowds who flocked to the Church of St. John to hear the sermon which the great advocate of Reform doctrines was expected to deliver. That spacious building, not shorn as now of its fair proportions, nor cut down into separate apartments, nor choked with galleries, but forming one simple and majestic temple, was, long ere the speaker appeared, thronged in every part, save in those divisions of the aisles which were set apart for the altars and shrines of the several Saints, to whose service the wealth of not

a few substantial burghers and powerful barons had at various times been dedicated. Within these little sanctuaries many a churchman now stood, looking with no benignant eye on the crowds who occupied the steps or pressed irreverently against the balustrades, which they, until now, were wont to approach with bended knee. At the east end, on the steps ascending to the High Altar of St. John, the loftiest of the shrines, Oliver and the Bailie had found a place from whence they obtained a full view of the interesting scene. On either hand the middle walls rose to a great height, supported on ranges of massive pillars terminating in high pointed arches. Unlike the more richly decorated cathedrals of the south, no groins or tranverse arches broke in upon the long central hall, save where the arches on which the tower rested swept across between the transepts. The simplicity of this arrangement gave great effect to the upper lights from the long ranges of narrow Saxon casements which run along the walls above the arches, and brought out in bold relief the rich ornaments of the heavily carved and gilded ceiling. The hour was early, and the beams of the sun fell slantingly through the eastern and southern windows, producing an alternation of lights and shadows which added greatly to the picturesque effect and apparent extent of the building, lighting up with varied and brilliant hues the choir in which they stood, and throwing gradually into shade the receding arches, which being actually lower and narrower at the more distant and more ancient part of the "Kirk of the Holy Cross of St. John," beyond the tower to the west, gave an appearance of almost unlimited perspective in that direction.

From this imposing sight, rendered doubly interesting by the dense congregation and the cause which had brought them together, Oliver's attention was withdrawn by what was passing within the pale of the altar near him. A number of the priests stood in a line in front, clothed in their most gorgeous vestments, as if to overawe the multitude by the splendour with which the altar and its attendants were adorned. But they looked in vain for the homage of the once subservient crowd. A few among those nearest the pageant doffed their bonnets, but none, even of the men who under other circumstances might still have bowed the knee, now ventured to render any marks of external worship; there was that in the aspect and bearing of the multitude which made even the proud priests quail before it. One eye alone was firm, one breast unmoved. "See," whispered Oliver to his friend, as he directed

his attention to the tall figure of a monk who stood close by the altar, "observe that man standing by the altar: while every lip quivers and every cheek around him is pale, he alone is as insensible to fear as I know him to be to pity. I need scarcely tell you that that is Aubrey—he who was not content with mocking the sufferings of my kinsman, but compelled his friends to witness them—he whom I met again at Seggieden. I have learned since I came here that he has been sent to try what effect his well-known inflexibility and eloquence may have in stemming the tide of popular discontent; and were it not that I see equal determination and firmness written on the brows of all around me, I should fear much from the talents and craft of that man. See, something is in agitation amongst them: they gather round him and consult. They are preparing to celebrate mass!" Although this was addressed to Johnston in a low voice, the purport of it seemed to have been overheard by some of their neighbours, whose attention was thus directed to the group near the altar, and a low murmur began to circle round them, attended by some agitation. "For goodness' sake, my friends," said the Bailie in a low tone to those near him, "be quiet, be silent!—they cannot be so mad as to attempt it. Do be quiet! Oliver, I entreat, be calm!" he added, as he saw the blood mantling to the young man's cheek. But this was called up by a cause different from what the Bailie surmised, who stood with his back to the trellis work as he addressed his townsmen, and did not observe that Aubrey had approached them. "Rash boy," said the monk, in a tone so hollow as to be heard only by the person whom he addressed, "I thought thou hadst already tasted too deeply of the cup which the Church puts into the hands of her enemies, again to seek the chalice. By that Divine Apostle, the steps of whose altar are now profaned by thee and the contumacious rabble whom thou seekest to excite, the tortures of thy kinsman shall be forgotten in the pangs which await thee, the recital of which shall make the ears of every one that heareth tingle! Be not deceived with the hope, that because the Church this day vouchsafes a hearing to one of her apostate sons ere she cast him off for ever, that she will abate aught of her heavenly attributes, or that she will yield one iota of that power which is delegated to her from on High—that power which will be as fierce in the day of vengeance as it is now placable and mild in the last hour of long suffering." At this moment, a noise and movement in the crowd between the gate and the pulpit which stood at the

west end of the choir, marked the entrance of Knox and his friends.

The movement in the crowd which called away the attention of Oliver Tullideph and his friends from the proceedings of the Monks, was occasioned by the entrance of John Knox, accompanied by some of the leaders of the Congregation. A passage was opened up for them between the north door at which they entered and the small pulpit opposite, which was placed against one of the centre pillars supporting the tower. The Earl of Argyll, and Stewart the Prior of St. Andrews, withdrew to one of the aisles; Erskine of Dun, Ogilvie of Invercarity, and Scott of Abbotshall, advanced with Knox to the foot of the pulpit stair, where room was made for them on one of the few narrow benches around, generally reserved for the elders of the people. The light which streamed in from the east window of the transept fell on the aged Reformer as he ascended the pulpit, and rendered every feature of his care-worn countenance distinctly visible where Oliver stood. The glare of the light probably incommoded him, for his manner at first appeared confused and hesitating; and when, with a voice naturally weak, and a frame nervous and unsteady, he began to address the yet restless crowd, Oliver wondered how fame could have so extolled the merits of the preacher, or how his addresses could have produced the effect which had been ascribed to them. But as he proceeded to lay open the defections of the Church—as he contrasted the luxury and splendour in which she now appeared, with the simplicity and poverty of her youth—his whole frame seemed to undergo a change, and strength and animation took the place of debility and doubt.

With the energy of the preacher, the attention of the assembly awoke: every eye was fixed upon him, and his every word seemed to find its way to their bosoms, calling up the most marked expressions of enthusiasm and approbation on the great mass of the crowd, and of stern defiance among the priests, whom the fervour of his address brought by degrees out of the lateral recesses, and who were now seen peering from among the protecting balustrades.

From contrasting the present with the past state of the Church, he proceeded to hurl against her the sublime denunciations of the Old Testament Prophets against ancient Babylon, confirming them with the anathemas against her spiritual antetype from the Revelation; and as he quoted the passage in which an angel is repre-

sented as casting down a great millstone, and pronouncing, "Thus with violence shall Babylon be thrown down," the pulpit seemed to yield under the almost frantic energy with which he was agitated. Had he ceased at that moment, the enthusiastic feelings of the auditory were so wound up, that nothing could have withheld them from executing literally on the monuments around them the predictions of the Prophets. But, gradually subsiding from this enthusiastic tone, he addressed himself to the more sober judgment of his hearers, painted in forcible language the ultimate consequences of perseverance in error to themselves individually as well as to the nation, and closed by exhorting them to put away the unclean thing from among them, but to do it with meekness, and to temper mercy with judgment. So rapt were the audience, that Knox withdrew from the church, along with the attendant lords, almost unobserved; and for some time afterwards, the people stood as if expecting the preacher again to appear amongst them.

During the discourse, Oliver and his friend kept their places on the steps of the great altar. The young man was deeply interested in all he saw and heard, and for a time forgot that he was so near his arch-enemy; but as Knox concluded, he remembered Aubrey, and turned aside to see the effect of the address on one who had hitherto resisted and scorned every appeal. If that stern priest had been among the listeners, he had now withdrawn; nor could Oliver recognise him among the monks who, within the shrine, were evidently resuming the rites which the sermon had interrupted. "Infatuated fools!" said Oliver to his friend, "they rush headlong on destruction! See, they persist in their frantic design!" This was said sufficiently loud to be overheard by the bystanders, whose eyes were now directed to the shrine. In front of a low altar, surmounted by an ebony crucifix, on which a figure of the Saviour was most exquisitely carved in ivory, several priests in their officiating vestments kneeled. The tapers were lit; and as they began a chant, which was responded to by voices in the opposite aisle, a curtain behind the crucifix slowly rose, disclosing a painting representing the martyrdom of St. Bartholomew. The scene was imposing, and had the intended effect on a few of the crowd, who instinctively did reverence. In vain Johnston attempted to keep back his companion. Oliver rushed towards the railing and exclaimed—"Down with the profane mummery!" at the very instant of the elevation of the Host. "Blasphemer!" responded a well known voice, and Oliver was at the same moment struck to the ground. It was the

application of the spark to the mine. Simultaneously the crowd in the choir rushed towards the shrine of St. Bartholomew, the balustrades gave way before them, and ere the priests could arise from their prostrate attitude, they were trampled under foot, the altar overthrown, the picture torn from the wall, and all the rich ornaments wrenched from their places and demolished. The example thus set spread: the other niches shared the same fate; and "with-in one hour, the great riches" of the once beautiful church of St. John were "come to nought."

The blow which felled Oliver had been inflicted by a staff or other lethal weapon, and he lay for some time nearly insensible, while the crowd passed over him. When Johnston at last extricated him, he, to the entreaties that he should go home, professed himself quite recovered and desirous to see the issue. "To say the truth," the Bailie replied, "although I would not wish you to exert yourself beyond your strength, I should myself like to see the result of this. I am afraid the fury of the populace, once roused, will not be allayed while a monument of what they now call idolatry is left. I do not grudge these arrogant priests being reminded that they are men and not gods, but I do lament much that they cannot be taught this without the destruction of so much that was ornamental to the land and to our good town in particular." With these words he led the way out of the church, now empty and desolate, saving a few straggling priests, who, pale and dismayed, were skulking in the most retired corners. Following the track and buzz of the crowd, they passed south by the Chapel of St. Anne, now despoiled like her more majestic brother—the windows broken and the tables of the school-room shattered and lying about in the yard, the boys themselves having gladly availed themselves of the opportunity to escape, and to lend their assistance in repaying to their taskmasters the monks some of the correction which had been, as they thought, so unsparingly dealt out to them.

The noise was now in the direction of the Grey Friars Monastery; but when they reached the South or Spy Tower they saw enough to convince them that interference there was too late, the clouds of dust from the crumbling walls indicating too distinctly the near completion of the work of destruction. In a few minutes the multitude began to move in a dense body along the Spy-ground, or glacis in front of the Tower, where the Bailie and Oliver stood. "Alas!" said the former, "they go to the Chartrieux, that princely, that gorgeous edifice—the glory of Scotland—the pride of Perth!

The Queen will go mad! Something must be done: surely their hands may be stayed." As he thus ejaculated, he bustled through the stupendous south gate, rushed among the leaders of the people—entreated, scolded, supplicated, and threatened. As well might he have spoken to the waves of the ocean when they rise and are troubled. Onward the crowd went, and the two friends were carried along by the current. At the Chartrieux, or Charterhouse, a pause took place. The gates were fastened from within. "Come out, ye men of Belial, ye slaves of Jezebel!" shouted the infuriated mob. But no voice responded from the Monastery, where all seemed still as death. "The Cross! the Cross!" cried a voice from among the crowd; and immediately a party debouched towards a large wooden cross which stood outside the walls near the west gate. It was torn up, and carried to the gate of the Monastery, which soon yielded to the blows with which it was assailed. Here Oliver, separated from his companion, was hurried into the building along with the leaders of the mob. Every hall was empty, and the choicest pictures removed—not a monk was to be seen. While the populace were demolishing the few articles of furniture which remained, Oliver observed a part of the wainscoting open gently, and rapidly close again. Pointing this out to some of his companions, they without difficulty detected the concealed door, forced it open, and descending a narrow flight of steps, found themselves in a large dimly-lighted vault, on the floor of which, amidst a profusion of shells, and other relics of viands more dainty than the rules of the Order exactly warranted, the costly gear of the Monastery was lying in heaps. The monks assembled there at first offered resistance, which from the narrowness of the entrance might easily have been made effectual; but on being reminded that if the part of the building above them were pulled down they must inevitably perish amidst the ruins, they came to terms with their invaders. Through their representations, the conservatory immediately above the vault, with its far-famed gateway, was, of all the monastic buildings in Perth, alone saved; and to the timely caution of the Observantine Brethren, Perth owed the preservation of that beautiful gateway, which was removed to, and was long deemed the chief ornament of, St. John's Church.

Oliver, satisfied with having been instrumental in saving one fragment of the finest building in Scotland, and little dreaming that the successor of his friend Johnston in the civic chair would in less than a century join in ordering the demolition of that solitary me-

morial of departed greatness,* now directed his steps homeward, and as he passed down the South Street, met a party of the destructives emerging from an arched way leading to the Chapel of the Holy Rood. Having wreaked their vengeance on that secluded sanctuary, they were now proceeding to the Chapel of Loretto in the neighbourhood, which speedily shared the same fate. Just cause as he had to hate the monks, his heart sickened at these endless scenes of wanton mischief, and he hastened to leave them, and to seek the quiet of his own chamber. Finding his direct road to Johnston's obstructed by the crowds which the alarum bell had called together, he took a more circuitous route by the Watergate, which was in a state of comparative calm. On leaving it, and turning down the High Street in order to reach the northern side of the town by the boulevard stretching from the Bridge within the city walls, he had to pass the small Chapel of the Virgin adjoining the Bridge Gate. He stood a moment to admire it, and to lament that an object so unobtrusive, yet so beautiful, was not likely to escape the ruthless hand of the Reformers. The architecture was Saxon, with a mixture of the style of a later date, the most prominent part of which was a tower † in the style of architecture ascribed to Cochran, the favourite of Robert the Third. Curiosity prompted him to step within the threshold. In the small but tastefully ornamented oratory several nuns were in the attitude of prayer before the altar. He remained only to cast a hurried glance around, but during that short interval the door at which he entered had been shut. While endeavouring with no small impatience to undo the bolt, he was suddenly laid hold of, gagged, lifted up in the arms of two monks, and, accompanied by a number more of the same order, hurried out of the oratory at a low narrow door, and through a long dark passage, on emerging from which he found himself in the Lady Walk near the Bridge. ‡ A wicket adjoining the large gate was

* Towards the conclusion of the eighteenth century, this beautiful gate, which then ornamented St. John's Church, was demolished by an edict of the Magistrates.

† The lower part of this tower still remains. The spire on it is modern. There are other parts of this Chapel still standing. The fine Saxon arch, giving access from the new circular stair-case to the Council Hall, still stands, and is no doubt part of the fabric of the Chapel.

‡ The "Lady Walk" is still known by that name, amongst the old citizens at least, to the present day. It proceeds northwards from the statue of Sir Walter Scott, at the foot of High Street, by the east end of the Council House,

opened to them, through which they hastened, and, mounting some horses apparently awaiting them on the Bridge, rode off at a brisk trot, with Oliver, now released from his oral bondage, but with his hands tied, mounted behind one of the monks. At a rate very inconvenient to one in Oliver's situation they ascended the Hill of Kinnoull by a circuitous path among the trees, the foliage of which was so impervious that all view of the valley below was shut out, until near the summit of the shoulder of the Hill round which the road wound. At a projecting point of the road there, they came suddenly within view of the valley, when the party halted. Even at that distance the desolations which a few short hours had wrought on the Fair City were but too evident. Of all the stately buildings which Oliver had so recently been called upon to admire, St. John's alone remained; shapeless masses of ruins now filled up, on the south and west, the spaces which the day before shone with pinnacles and spires; while, to the northward of the walls, volumes of smoke darkening the air attested too fatally that the royal halls of the Dominicans had not escaped the wreck and ruin of that dread day.

The party to which our traveller was unwillingly attached surveyed the scene in silence, but their cowls were too closely drawn around their faces to enable Oliver to scan the emotions with which they contemplated it. Turning from it, and plunging again into the wood, they soon surmounted the highest point of the ridge, and began to descend towards a building, the lofty towers of which rose between them and the broad expanse of the Frith of Tay. The scene had too recently drawn forth Oliver's admiration not to be instantly recognised by him. He had seen it the previous morning partially obscured by the early mists: it now lay under a cloudless sky, deeply tinted by the setting sun, which imparted a striking depth and breadth to the shadows of the surrounding hills, and to the long lines of trees and hedgerows intersecting the broad and luxuriant Carse of Gowrie. Not a breath of air moved the leaves

or Chapel of the Holy Virgin, through the locality called *Deadlands*, by the river side—the property of Sir John Stewart Richardson of Pitfour, Bart.—close along the east wall, and immediately under the windows of the suite of apartments in the George Hotel, occupied by her Majesty Queen VICTORIA, the Prince Consort, and Royal Family, with the Court attendants, on the night of Friday, the 29th September, 1848. The Lady Walk must have been a common and fashionable promenade for the old aristocratic families of the Water-gate, from the High Street to the North Inch, until the formation of the modern thoroughfare of George Street and Charlotte Street.

of the trees which formed the dark rich foreground, or rippled the surface of the wide bosom of the waters. The rooks were wending their way silently towards Strathearn, and the hawk, heedless of his prey, sought his eyry in the grey cliff. Such were the sweetness and repose of the scene, that, but for the noise of the horses and his uneasy seat, Oliver could almost have forgotten that he was a prisoner. As they approached the Castle, however, the stillness was broken by shouts of revelry from within its walls. Suddenly the noise of mirth ceased, and the party had entered the court, and were at the threshold without either groom or servants appearing. The monk to whom the prisoner was bound halted under the great oriel window, so that Oliver was soon able to discern the cause of the stillness. At the head of a long table, thronged with the fair and the gay, sat Sir John Charteris, the Lord of Kinfauns. Near him an aged minstrel bent over his harp, which he gently touched at brief intervals, as if to allow time for the attendants to arrange themselves around the lower part of the hall, into which they had hastened when the first note of his prelude was heard; for often as the minstrel had sung within those walls the exploits of Longueville and Wallace, the subject was associated with so many feelings gratifying alike to their pride and patriotism as always to seem new. On a velvet cushion beside the minstrel was laid a large double-handed sword, while above him a banner waved, on which the arms of the Protector of Scotland were coupled with those of the Lord of Kinfauns. Gradually changing his hesitating note to one of warlike accent, and again subsiding to a more mournful key, the aged man thus mingled the accents of a full though tremulous voice with the music of his harp.

The Minstrel's Song.

HUSH'D, hush'd be the sounds of the wassail and laughter!
 The smile of the maiden to sadness be changed!
 For the proud hearts of Scotland are called to the slaughter,
 The foemen are now on the battle-field ranged.

But where is the lion-heart foremost in danger,
 The patriot who stemmed the usurper's career?—
 Alas! o'er the wide sea he wanders a stranger,
 An alien from home and from all he holds dear!

See! see that proud galley o'er mounting-waves bounding!
 The pirate's black pennon is seen through the blast:—
 Hear! hear how the clang of the conflict is sounding!
 And the colours of Scotland are nailed to the mast!

He yields to the prowess of Scotland's Protector!
 De Longueville's pennon is torn from its crest!
 But the arm is outstretched of the valiant victor—
 He takes him, an ally and friend, to his breast!

See! see them returning, companions in danger!
 The walls of Kinfauns echo welcome again!—
 Alas! he returns to be sold to the stranger,
 A dungeon his kingdom—his empire a chain!

This sword, of his friendship the pledge, be the token
 That Scotsmen are firm, and their country is free!—
 Till the spirit of Gray and of Charteris be broken,
 Memorial of Wallace, we gather round thee!

Ere the customary plaudits had subsided, the person who seemed to act as the leader of the monks had entered the hall, and as he passed up towards the dais, Oliver's suspicions of having fallen into the power of Aubrey were confirmed. In brief space the monk told his disastrous tale to the Knight, who hastily communicating it to his guests, the whole party were instantly in the court-yard in quest of their steeds. More than once, during their flight from Perth, Oliver had endeavoured in vain to draw the monk who guarded him into conversation, and he now again attempted to get from him some information respecting the intentions of the party, entreating, on account of the weakness and fatigue he laboured under, to be left, even in confinement, at Kinfauns. Still no answer was returned, and when the Knight and his companions set forth, the monks with their prisoner accompanied them. They took the same path over the hill which Oliver had already travelled; then, keeping more to the right, crossed the Tay above Scone, and, ere morning dawned, had joined the forces of the Queen Regent at Auchterarder.*

Oliver was strictly examined respecting the views of the Reform party, but although it was evident to his examiners that he really was possessed of no information beyond what they themselves knew, still he was kept a prisoner; and, on the plea of his having been principally accessory to the rising of the people, was in that capacity taken publicly into Perth, when the town, under pretence of moderation, was occupied by the Queen's party. Johnston interested himself greatly in his behalf; but the Magistracy was now changed, and so far from acting according to their professed prin-

* Auchterarder is fourteen miles from Perth, on one of the roads to Stirling.

ciples, the High-Church party* exercised the utmost hauteur and even cruelty towards the inhabitants, the soldiers wantonly shooting at them on the streets without calling forth a reprimand from their superiors. All that Johnston could obtain was the promise of an open trial for his young friend, who in the meantime was conveyed to Scone, where he was kept in close confinement.

One night he was roused from his uneasy couch, and conducted to a different building from that in which he was incarcerated. There, passing under a lofty gateway, and through a hall studded with escutcheons not merely of nobility but of royalty, he was led into a long cloister or gallery, at the upper end of which, on a bench surmounted by the usual funereal emblems of the inquisition, Aubrey and others of his brethren sat. The scene was one calculated to strike terror into stronger minds than Oliver's, worn out as his body now was with the unwholesome air and food of his cell. Along each side of the long gallery were ranged attendants clothed in black, each holding a torch which threw a lurid and unearthly glare through what seemed an almost interminable cavern, while their flickering flame gave the semblance of life and motion to the strange, uncouth, and fantastic figures portrayed on the ceiling. The mockery of trial was scarcely attempted; no witnesses were examined; and Oliver, aware of his fate, and worn out in body and mind, gave no answer to the interrogatories put to him. His execution was ordered for the following evening, and in the meantime the tender mercy of the Church was to be shown in employing the remainder of the night in endeavouring to reclaim him from his heretical state of perdition. For this purpose he was again led across the yard in which he was to suffer, to the gorgeous chapel annexed to the Abbey, where he spent the night amidst a scene and ceremonies which, under any other circumstances, would have excited his admiration by their gloomy splendour.

Next day, when his attendant brought his usual scanty supply of food, and had not yet left his apartment, he was startled by a foot-step, which he thought he could recognise, on the outer stair leading to his cell, and was confirmed in his expectations by hearing his name softly called in Johnston's well-known voice. The attendant instantly turned round, and with savage rage thrust his sword through the narrow space between the door and the threshold. A

† This is an absurd designation. No *High-Church party*, so called, existed at that time.—*Lawson*.

groan, and the fall of a heavy body to the ground, indicated that his aim had been too true, and that Johnston had fallen from the unprotected platform to a great depth.

When the attendant retired, the noise of voices in altercation was heard for a few minutes, and then all was still. But the quietness lasted not above an hour. The news of the injury inflicted on Johnston spread rapidly to Perth, and the sight of their respected citizen bleeding, and apparently dying, roused the feelings which had been externally suppressed but inwardly aggravated by the presence of the French troops employed by the Queen Regent. Formerly the populace alone took an active hand in the work of destruction; now all ranks joined them; and the setting sun, which was to have witnessed another victim to bigotry and oppression immolated within the walls of Scone, shone forth on a shapeless mass of her ruins, amongst which a part of the Palace, including the royal gallery in which Oliver had been condemned, alone remained to attest for a time its former magnificence.

The fate of Aubrey never was known. He was probably among the monks who retreated to the Continent after the example of Perth had been followed throughout all Scotland. Johnston recovered, and often, in after years, his children visited Oliver Tullideph at St. Andrews, to hear him rehearse the stirring events in which their father had borne a part.

In clearing away the ruins at Scone, the Cross was found uninjured, and it was afterwards placed, and still stands, beside one of the gates of the Abbey, also discovered entire. The part of the Palace *which even the Reformers spared* is now no more.*

On a beautiful morning† towards the end of June, 1559, as the people were attending mass in the Cathedral, a noise as of armed

* The ecclesiastical Palace and Abbey of Scone, destroyed by the insurgents, were succeeded by another residence on the site of the Abbot's Palace, when the Gowrie family obtained possession of the property. After the erection of Scone into a temporal Lordship in favour of Sir David Murray, the Palace built by the Earl of Gowrie received additions, though it never was completed, and the whole of it was renewed when the present magnificent Palace of Scone was begun in 1803 by William, third Earl of Mansfield and eighth Viscount Stormont.

† "To the source," says Mr. Morison, "from whence the account of the circumstances attending the breaking out of the Reformation at Perth was drawn, we are indebted for the above particulars relating to the same event at DUNBLANE."

men was heard within the surrounding court.* Presently a band of warriors entered by the western portal, and advanced towards the choir in two lines, the one led by the Earl of Argyle, and the other by the Prior of St. Andrews. The worshippers in the body of the church, rising from their prostrations, retreated into the aisles, while those within the choir, forgetting their devotions, rose up and turned with inquiring eyes towards the intruders, who, halting in their double array, nearly filled the body of the Cathedral. Their appearance was every way calculated to excite the curiosity of the spectators. Some of them were completely armed, while the greater part wore the guise of citizens, who seemed to have taken up arms in a moment of excitement or alarm; but whatever diversities in other respects were visible, in one part of their dress, and it was truly a singular one, they were alike—a rope or *halter* was suspended around the neck of each!† One of the officials at the altar, descending the steps and advancing towards the balustrade which divided the choir from the main body of the church, said—“My Lord of Argyle, and you, my Lord Prior, what means this martial array in the house of God, and what the symbols thy followers wear? Methinks, if they betoken penance, it were fitter to enter this threshold as suppliants than as conquerors!” “We come, Dean,” replied the Earl, “to set forward the reformation of religion according to God’s Word, and to purify this kirk; and, in name of the Congregation, warn and charge you, that whatsoever person shall plainly resist these our enterprises, we, by the authority of the Council, will reduce them to their duty.” “And moreover,” added the Prior, “we, with three hundred burgesses of Perth, whom ye see here, have banded ourselves together in the kirk of St. John, now purified from its idolatry, and bound ourselves by a great oath, that we are willing to part with life, as these symbols around our necks testify, if we turn back from this our holy

* They had marched all night from Perth.

† Each man of Argyle’s party had this singular decoration, and the reason assigned for it was, not only that it was an emblem of their own resolution, but that they intended to hang all who deserted from them. Hence originated the soubriquet of *St. Johnstown’s Ribbons*, applied to halters in Scotland. The reader may observe a slight discrepancy here. An account of an expedition from Perth to Stirling, including the origin of this soubriquet, is given *ante*, at page 140. On consulting references, we find that the Queen Regent did summon a meeting of clergy at Stirling previous to the demolition of the Monasteries, and hence the at least apparent mistake.

calling, or desist from this our enterprise, until we have purged the land. So, therefore, shall we, with all the force and power which God shall grant unto us, execute just vengeance and punishment upon you; yea, we shall begin that same war which it was commanded the Israelites to execute against the Canaanites; that is, contract of peace shall never be made till ye desist from your open idolatry and cruel persecution of God's children." "We are here in the peaceable exercises of our holy religion," replied the Dean: "if there be persecutors within these walls, they who violate the sanctuary are the men." "Peace!" interrupted the Prior: "we are not here to wrangle, but to see the commands of the Council executed. Say if ye and your brethren are willing to obey, and of your own consent to remove the stumbling-blocks, even these monuments of idolatry?" "Most reverend Father, and you, most puissant Earl," answered the Churchman, "we that are here are but servants or menials, so to speak: whatsoe'er our will may be, our power reacheth not to the things whereof ye speak. Our beloved Bishop is even now with the Queen Regent, conferring, doubtless, of these weighty matters. To him your request shall be made known, and by his orders we shall abide and act." The Prior and the Earl conferred a short time together, when the latter again addressed the Dean—"We are even now on an expedition of great weight and moment, which brooketh not delay, and but turned aside to warn the lieges of Dunblane of the danger of upholding the errors and enticements of Papistry, else we had not departed without leaving this house stript of these vain trappings. Ye are now in our hands; time presseth, and we cannot trust William Chisholm. He hath bent himself too pliantly to the will of that woman who still teacheth the people of these lands to eat things sacrificed unto idols; yet we would not have it said that the people here assembled, and whom ye yet strive to deceive, were not allowed time to repent of their evil ways. This therefore will we do:—We will not advance beyond this barrier, nor disturb those who are assembled within it, but with our own hands will we cast down the images and destroy the altars which on every side ye have reared to the gods of your own making; and let the desolation now to be executed be an earnest of that which awaits, not only the place wherein ye stand, but every high place, and every abominable thing within the land." The words were scarcely out of the speaker's mouth when the shrines were entered, the images and pictures displaced, and trampled under foot. "To the brook with them!"

cried the Prior; and the armed multitude, rushing out at the portal by which they had entered, bore the relics to the banks of the Allan, and cast them in. It was the work but of a few moments, and the troops were again marshalled, and on their march to Stirling. The multitude within the choir saw what passed with an air of stupified surprise, and leaving the services of the morning unfinished, gradually withdrew to their respective houses, wondering at the things which they had witnessed.

Whatever opinion may now be expressed on the utility of such memorials of the ancient Hierarchy, it is impossible not to view them with peculiar interest. In the language of Lord Hailes, who refers to David the First—"We ought to judge of the conduct of men according to the notions of *their* age, not of *ours*. To endow monasteries may *now* be considered as a prodigal superstition, but in the days of David the First it was esteemed an act of pious beneficence. In monasteries the lamp of knowledge continued to burn, however dimly. In them men of business were formed for the State; the art of writing was cultivated by the monks; they were the only proficient in mechanics, gardening, and architecture. When we examine the sites of ancient monasteries, we are sometimes inclined to say with the vulgar—"That the clergy in former times always chose the best of the land and the most commodious habitations;" but we do not advert, that religious houses were frequently erected on waste grounds afterwards improved by the art and industry of the clergy, who alone had art and industry. That many monasteries did in process of time become the seats of sloth, ignorance, and debauchery, I deny not. Candour, however, forbids us to ascribe accidental and unforeseen evils to the virtuous founder. 'It was devotion,' says John Major, 'that produced opulence, but the lewd daughter strangled her parent.'"*

The Queen having heard, with serious concern, of the devastations committed at Perth, and the destruction of the *Chartrieux Monastery* in particular, "as it was a stately pile of building and a royal palace, as well as the repository of the remains of James the First," she determined to inflict the severest vengeance on the whole party. She had already drawn the troops in French pay to Stirling. With these, and what Scottish forces she could levy of a sudden, she

* *Annals of Scotland*, by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, 4to, Edin. 1776, vol. i. p. 98, 99.

marched directly to Perth, in hopes of surprising the Protestant leaders, before they could assemble their followers, whom, out of confidence in her disingenuous promises, they had been rashly induced to dismiss. Intelligence of these preparations and menaces was soon conveyed to Perth. The Protestants, animated with zeal for religion, and eager to expose themselves in so good a cause, flocked in such numbers to Perth, that they not only secured the town from danger, but, within a few days, were in a condition to take the field and to face the Queen, who advanced with an army 7,000 strong, commanded by D'Oysel the French general, a creature of the house of Guise. The army hastened and pitched their tents at Auchterarder, ten miles (Scots) west from Perth, guarding all the avenues to that city. The Earl of Glencairn, by rapid marching through by-paths and narrow ways, eluded D'Oysel's utmost precaution, and arrived, the 27th of May, with a reinforcement of 2,500 men from Kyle, Cunningham, and Glasgow. The Queen dreaded the event of a battle with men whom the fervour of religion raised above the sense of fear or of danger. The Protestants beheld with regret the Earl of Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrews, and some other eminent persons of their party, still adhering to the Queen, and, destitute of their aid and counsel, declined hazarding an action, the ill success of which might have proved the ruin of their cause. The prospect of an accommodation was, for these reasons, highly acceptable to both sides. Commissioners were appointed to negotiate a treaty. Erskine of Dun, Ogilvie of Invercarity, and Scott of Abbotshall, were sent by the Lords of the Congregation, who met with the Earl of Argyle and James Stewart (Prior of St. Andrews), the Queen's commissioners, who were sincerely desirous of reconciling the contending factions. The Earl of Glencairn's unexpected arrival with a powerful reinforcement to the Congregation, augmented the Queen's eagerness for peace.*

A treaty was accordingly concluded, in which it was stipulated, that both armies should be disbanded, and the gates of Perth set open to the Queen: that indemnity should be granted to the inhabitants of that city, and to all others concerned in the late insurrection: that no French garrison should be left in Perth, and no French soldiers should approach within three miles of that place: and that a Parliament should immediately be held, in order to compose whatever

* Knox. Robertson.

differences might still remain.* The Congregation, with their leaders, were so sincere in their intention of keeping the peace, that with one voice they cried, " Accursed be they that seek effusion of blood ; let us profess Christ Jesus, and the benefits of his gospel, and none within Scotland shall be more obedient subjects than we shall be."† But, distrustful of the Queen's sincerity, and sensible that concessions flowing not from inclination, but extorted by the necessity of her affairs, could not long remain in force, they entered into a new association, by which they bound themselves, on the first infringement of the present treaty, or on the least appearance of danger to their religion, to reassemble their followers, and to take arms in defence of what they esteemed the cause of God and of their country.‡ This covenant was signed in their name by Argyle, the Prior of St. Andrews, Glencairn, Lord Boyd, Lord Ochiltree, and Campbell of Teringland.

Upon the 29th of May the Queen entered Perth, with the Duke of Hamilton and the French General D'Oysel, and by her conduct demonstrated those precautions to be the result of no groundless or unnecessary fear. No sooner were the Protestant forces dismissed, than she broke every article of the treaty. She introduced French troops into Perth ; and while Patrick Murray, one of the Reformers, with his family, from a balcony, were beholding the French troops marching down the street, the soldiers levelled six or seven shots at the place, and killed his son, a boy about twelve years old. His dead body was carried before the Queen, who, understanding whose son he was, expressed her sympathy in these words—" It is pity that it chanced on the son, and not on the father ; but, seeing that it so hath happened, we cannot be against fortune." This was her happy entry into Perth. The whole town was oppressed by the French ; a swarm of priests entered with her, and began to make preparations for celebrating mass. Lord Ruthven and the bailies were stripped of their authority. John Charteris of Kinfauns was made provost, who was no friend to the Reformers, and who bore a hostile hatred to the citizens since the year 1544. He was the Queen's tool in fining, imprisoning, and banishing the inhabitants, but his reign was short.§

The Queen, on her retiring to Stirling, left behind her a garrison of 600 men, with orders to allow the exercise of no other religion than the Roman Catholic. The situation of Perth—at that

* Knox. Robertson. † Knox. ‡ Robertson. Knox. § Knox.

time of some strength, and a town the most proper of any in the kingdom for the station of a garrison—seems to have allured the Queen to this unjustifiable and ill-judged breach of public faith, which she endeavoured to colour by alleging, that the body of men left at Perth was composed of native Scots, though kept in pay by the King of France.* The Queen's scheme began gradually to unfold. It was now apparent, that not only the religion but the liberties of the kingdom were threatened, and that the French troops, about 3,000 in number, commanded by D'Oysel, a creature of the house of Guise, were to be employed as instruments for subduing the Scots, and wreathing the yoke about their necks. The Earl of Argyle and Prior of St. Andrews instantly deserted a court where faith and honour seemed to be no longer regarded. The barons from the neighbouring counties repaired to them at St. Andrews. The preachers roused the people to arms; and, wherever they came, the same violent operations, which accident had occasioned at Perth, were now encouraged out of policy. The enraged multitude was let loose, and churches and monasteries, the monuments of ecclesiastical pride and luxury, were sacrificed to their zeal.

In order to check their career, the Queen, without losing a moment, put her troops in motion; but the zeal of the Congregation got the start once more of her vigilance and activity. Though they set out from St. Andrews with a slender train of 100 horse, crowds flocked to their standards from every corner of the country through which they marched; and before they reached Falkland, only ten miles distant, they were able to face the Queen with superior force.

The Queen, surprised at the approach of so formidable a body, had again recourse to negotiation; she found, however, that the preservation of the Protestant religion, zeal for which had at first roused the leaders of the Congregation to take arms, was not the only object they had now in view. They were animated with the warmest love of civil liberty, which they conceived to be in imminent danger from the attempts of the French forces; and these two passions mingling, added reciprocally to each other's strength. Knox, and the other preachers of the Reformation, infused generous sentiments concerning government into the minds of their hearers; and the Scottish barons, naturally free and bold, were

* Robertson.

prompted to assert their rights with more freedom and boldness than ever. Instead of obeying the Queen-Regent, who had enjoined them to lay down their arms, they demanded not only the redress of their religious grievances, but as a preliminary towards settling the nation, and securing its liberties, they required the immediate expulsion of the French troops out of Scotland.*

In order to amuse them, and gain time, she agreed to a cessation of arms for eight days, and, before the expiration of these, engaged to transport the French troops to the south side of the Forth, and to send Commissioners to St. Andrews, who should labour to bring all differences to accommodation, as she hoped, by means of the French troops, to overawe the Protestants in the southern counties. The former article in the treaty was punctually executed; the latter having been inserted merely to amuse the Congregation, was no longer remembered.

By these reiterated wanton instances of perfidy, the Queen lost all credit with her adversaries; and no safety appearing in any other course, they again took arms with more inflamed resentment, and with bolder and more extensive views. The removing of the French forces had laid open to them all the country situated between Forth and Tay. The inhabitants of Perth alone remaining subjected to the insolence and exactions of the garrison which the Queen had left there, implored the assistance of the Congregation for their relief. Thither Argyle, the Prior, and Lord Ruthven marched; and having, without effect, required the Queen to evacuate the town in terms of the former treaty, they, on refusal, prepared to besiege it in form. The Queen employed the Earl of Huntly and Lord Erskine to divert them from this enterprise. Her wonted artifices were now of no avail—repeated so often, they could deceive no longer; and, without listening to her offers, they continued the siege. Lord Ruthven attacked it on the west, and Provost Halyburton, with his people from Dundee, fired with his artillery from the bridge, and soon obliged them to capitulate on the 26th of June, 1559.†

After the reduction of Perth, the populace went to Scone to destroy the abbey and palace. Patrick Hepburn, Bishop of Moray, son of the first Earl of Bothwell of that name, held the abbacy in perpetual commendam, and resided in the palace. He had been a severe scourge to the Reformers, and was obnoxious to them ever

* Robertson.

† Robertson. Knox. Buchanan.

since the death of Mr. Walter Mylne, who, by his particular counsel, was burnt at St. Andrews. They, with assistance from Dundee, attacked the abbey and palace, though guarded by a hundred horsemen. Halyburton, Provost of Dundee, with his brother, and Mr. Knox, hearing of this tumult, went and entreated the people to spare the edifices, to whom they hearkened, and separated, after they had destroyed the monuments of idolatry; but the next day, a citizen of Dundee was run through the body with a sword by one of the Bishop's sons, while he was looking in at the door of the Bishop's granary, which so enraged the people, both of Perth and Dundee, that they quickly repaired to Scone, and, notwithstanding the entreaties of Argyle, Ruthven, the Prior, and all the preachers, they pillaged and set fire to these noble edifices, and burned them to the ground on the 27th of June. An aged matron, whose house was near to the abbey, when she beheld it in flames, said—“Now I see that God's judgments are just, and that no man is able to save where He will punish. This place, since I could remember, hath been nothing but a den of whoremongers. It is incredible to believe how many wives have been adulterated, and virgins deflowered, by the filthy beasts who have been fostered in this den, but especially by that wicked man who is called the Bishop. If all men knew as much as I, they would praise God, and no man would be offended.”*

Amidst these irregular proceedings, a circumstance which does honour to the conduct and humanity of the leaders of the Congregation deserves notice. They so far restrained the rage of their followers, and were able so to temper their heat and zeal, that few of the Roman Catholics were exposed to any personal insult, and not a single man suffered death.† At the sametime we discover, by the facility with which these great revolutions were effected, how violently the national favour run towards the Reformation.

It need be no matter of wonder that the severities we have recorded should have not only exasperated the people of Perth to a high degree, but that they contributed greatly to produce that frame of mind which led to the utter demolition of the monastic edifices. It would have been singular, indeed, had it been otherwise. It was, however, highly creditable to our local ancestors, and, indeed, it is chronicled to their credit, that they forebore from all personal vengeance. Satisfied with wreaking that feeling on property merely,

* Knox.

† Robertson.

they respected the personal safety of their opponents. It has been said that John Knox counselled them to "pull down the nests," and they would find "the rooks fly off." This very naturally led to outrages much to be regretted; but it is so far well that the denunciation was not meant as against the churches, which even Knox was anxious to preserve as places of worship. In this respect, however, some of the Reformers "bettered his instruction."

It would be little to our purpose, in prosecuting a local history of Perth, to advert to all the stirring movements connected with what may be called the progress of the Reformation, which continued to gain ground, with steady pace, until finally and thoroughly established on the ruins of Popery. It possesses little in common with the annals of our city, to say that the Protestants took up their head-quarters at Edinburgh, and that they appointed John Knox and other Reformed preachers to fill their pulpits. The Lords of the Congregation, as the noble leaders in the Reformation were called, energetically followed up their measures, but were frequently unsuccessful in their struggles with the French troops. An application was made to Elizabeth of England for aid, which she readily granted. In 1560, the Scottish Parliament approved of a reformed *Confession of Faith*, and the Regent having died the preceding year, matters soon assumed a more settled form; while the death of Francis, Mary's husband, on the 4th December, 1561, dissolved the only national bond of union between Scotland and France, Mary having arrived in her own kingdom on the 19th August before. As, however, it was an event instrumental in introducing to the nation one with whom we shall yet have much to do in connection with Perth, it may be proper to mention, that, in 1565, Mary married Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lennox, a relation of her own, whose propinquity we have already had occasion to state; and by which union Mary was, on the 19th June, 1566, delivered of a son, in the Castle of Edinburgh—James the Sixth—under whom the kingdoms of England and Scotland were happily at length united.

The nuptials of Mary with Lord Darnley were most distasteful to Queen Elizabeth, and carried out in the teeth of her remonstrances; and the birth of their son caused her much sorrow, and increased her envy of her fair relative. When the tidings reached London she was engaged in the merry dance, which she left in chagrin; and to her attendant ladies she exclaimed with passionate emotion, "Do you not hear how the Queen of Scots is mother of a

fair son, while I sit here a barren stock!" Sir James Melville had been sent as Ambassador to the English Court to communicate the fact, where he was received with at least apparent civility, and Elizabeth courteously accepted Mary's offer of the office of god-mother to her infant son. Melville, in his *Memoirs*, says—"The next morning was appointed for me to get audience. At what time my brother and I went by water to Greenwich, and were met by some friends who told us how sorrowful her Majesty was at my news; but that she had been advised to show a glad and cheerful countenance; which she did, in her best apparel, saying, 'That the joyful news of the Queen her sister's delivery of a fair son, had recovered her out of a heavy sickness which she had lyen under for fifteen days.' Therefore she welcomed me with a merry volt, and thanked me for the diligence I had used in hasting to give her that welcome intelligence. All this she said before I had delivered unto her my letter of credence. Then I requested her Majesty to be a gossip to the Queen; to which she gladly condescended. 'Your Majesty,' said I, 'will now have a fair occasion to see the Queen, whereof I have heard your Majesty is oft desirous;' whereat she smiled, saying, she wished her estate and affairs might permit her. In the meantime, she promised to send both honourable lords and ladies to supply her room." This was all of a piece with the dissimulation and deceit uniformly practised by Elizabeth to her unfortunate relative. The Earl of Murray had also opposed the Queen, his sister's, union with Darnley, and fell into disfavour, accordingly, for a time.

Notwithstanding what has been stated above, it may in one sense be germane to the subject mainly treated of, as incidental to our local history, that, on her arrival from France, Mary, through the influence of her natural brother, the Prior of St. Andrews, so far extended her grace and favour to the adherents of the new faith, that she publicly countenanced their religion, and even issued a royal proclamation, declaring it a *capital crime* to attempt in any way either to alter or subvert it. What more could the most zealous Protestants desire of her? The Prior, on the other hand, obtained for Mary and her domestics full liberty to exercise their own religion without molestation. Her whole Council consisted of Protestant Lords and gentlemen; and the Prior, who may be said to have moved at the head of the Lords of the Congregation, was constituted her lieutenant, in which capacity, and as a reformer of all civil abuses, he became exceedingly popular. The Queen conferred

on him the title of Earl of Mar, and bestowed on him other marks of royal favour. All this looked well for the Protestant cause and the leaders in it; but the preachers did little to conciliate her goodwill. They assailed her with indecent violence from their pulpits, and even John Knox used expressions so severe that Mary stooped from her high estate to expostulate with that rather vehement ecclesiastic, and entreated him to deport himself more mildly in the discharge of his sacred duties. The clergy may have intended to work on the Queen's fears, and to extort something more from her; for, although in the second General Assembly after her return from France, the Parliament, on being petitioned, annexed one-third of all ecclesiastical benefices to the Crown, out of which the Queen agreed to provide for the Protestant clergy, and appointed Mar, Maitland of Lethington, and others, to distribute the fund, a few only of the clergy obtained an allowance of 300 merks Scots, but most of them had only one-third of that sum allotted to them. The dissatisfaction which this created was increased by the fact, that Mary continued to decline or evade rectifying the religious system adopted by Parliament the previous year (1560), and would not agree to the confiscation of the Church lands. In the mean time, Mary conferred on her husband the crown matrimonial, an honour of which he was very unworthy. About this period she also exacted a fine from the City of Perth, as well as from the neighbouring towns of St. Andrews and Dundee, because of their friendship to Murray, whom she had degraded. It must have been about this time that a Convention of Estates was held at Perth, which was attended by Mary and Darnley—although it does not very clearly appear what business was transacted. We learn the fact, however, from what is recorded in history, that Murray had conceived a stratagem to seize Darnley at least, if not also the Queen. The scheme was laid to intercept them, with the view, it was surmised, of either putting the former to death or placing him in the power of Elizabeth, by sending him a prisoner to England. For many years before and after this point of time, Elizabeth seemed ambitious to have in her custody all having claims to the Scottish Crown, who were also equally entitled to her own. On the occasion alluded to, while the King and Queen were on their way from the Convention at Perth, it was planned to have a strong party of horse stationed at a pass called the Parrot Well, just under the steep Hill of Benarty, well known to all passengers by the Great North Road from Perth to Edinburgh, being on the left, a short distance beyond Kin-

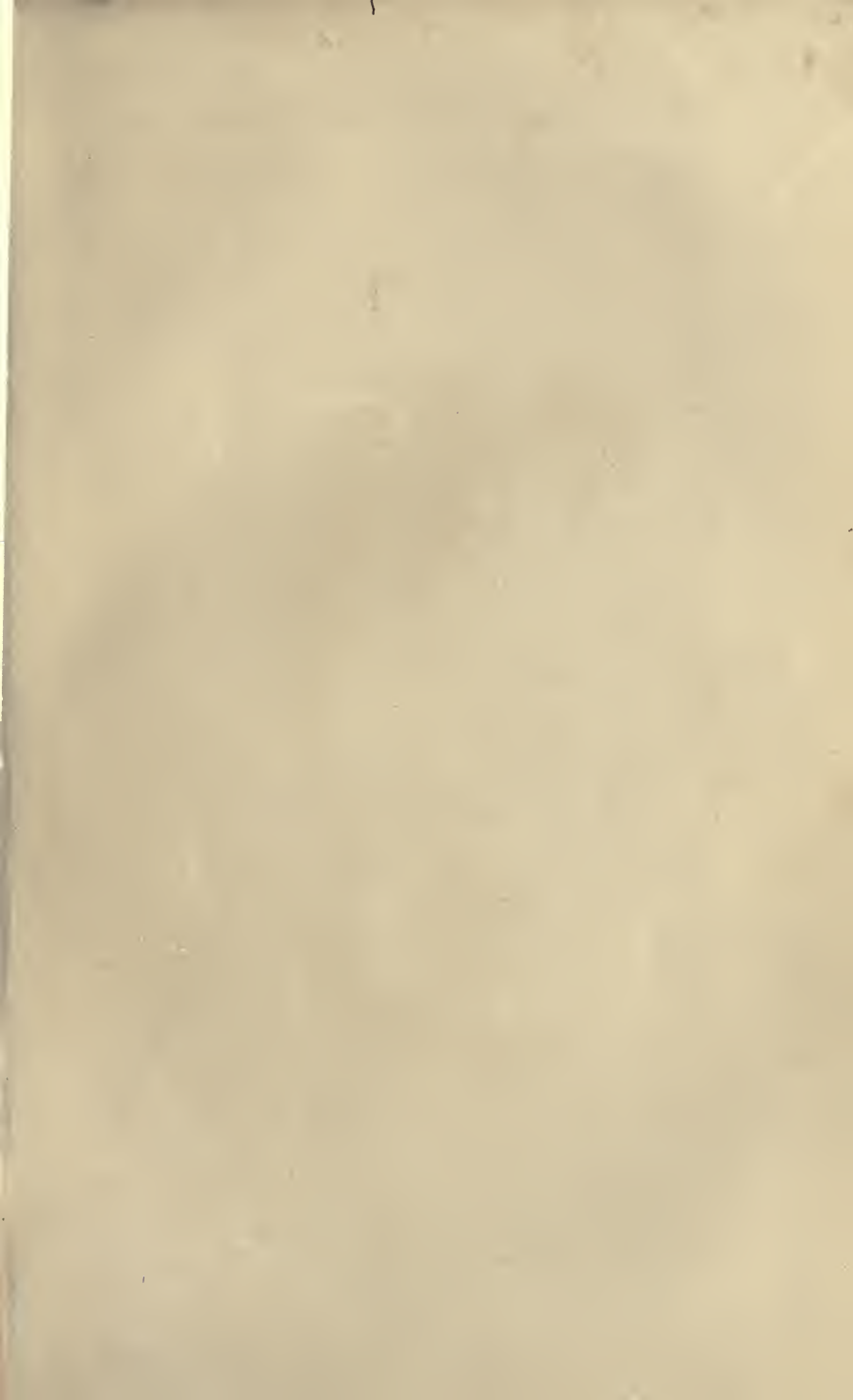
ross and Lochleven. The intended victims must have got notice of this, for it is said that they only escaped the snare by starting from Perth at an early hour in the morning, and prosecuting a hasty march. This is one of the last, or almost so, of the National Conventions held in the Fair City. Soon after this, the murder of David Rizzio, the Queen's French Secretary and favourite, in her presence at Holyrood, by Lord Ruthven, the Earl of Morton, Darnley, and others, caused a great sensation throughout the country. On the night of the 9th February, 1567, the mysterious murder of Darnley was perpetrated—a dark deed, in which the Earl of Bothwell, a new favourite of the Queen's, was seriously implicated, and in regard to which Mary herself incurred suspicion. Shortly before this, the baptism of James the Sixth was celebrated at Stirling with great magnificence. In 1567, Bothwell was brought to trial for Darnley's murder; but the prosecutor, under the impression of fear, failed to appear, and the jury found the accused NOT GUILTY. To regain his lost popularity, Bothwell prevailed on Mary to pass an act in favour of the Protestant religion, and soon after married her.

Those who have read the national history of the time know the fate of Bothwell, and the distressing position to which Mary was reduced. As nearly connected with our locality and its history, the future career of the unfortunate Queen shall now be very briefly noticed. After being subjected to the most mortifying indignities in Edinburgh, the confederated lords immured her in Lochleven Castle, in which she suffered the harshest treatment. There the Lords of the Secret Council compelled her to abdicate, and to subscribe documents resigning the crown to her son, James, and conferring the regency on the Earl of Murray, her own brother. James was crowned at Stirling on the 26th July, and the government was henceforth carried on in his name. On the 5th December following, a Parliament, called by the Regent, confirmed those public deeds, and declared the Queen's imprisonment legal. A ratification of all former acts in favour of Protestantism also took place, and additional new ones passed. It is considered as remarkable, however, even at the present day, that those men who had everything in their power did nothing to improve the condition of the Protestant clergy, and relieve them from the abject state of poverty in which previous regulations had left them.

On the 2d May, 1568, Mary, depressed and worn out with the privations of her condition, prevailed on George Douglas, the son

of her inexorable keeper, to aid her escape, which was accordingly effected. Many influential adherents soon rallied around their Queen, but the Regent was her most active foe, and conducted the movements against her with activity and skill. It is needless here to detail the circumstances of the battle of Langside, the result of which placed Mary completely in Elizabeth's power, from which she was relieved only by death, under this cruel Sovereign's authority, about eighteen years afterwards. Meanwhile the country was involved in all the horrors of civil war, and great were the contentions betwixt the King's party (James', under the Regent Murray) and the Queen's party; and it is reported that king's-men and queen's-men, even among the boys, were to be found in almost every town and village in the kingdom, pitted in mortal strife against one another. During Mary's captivity in England, the Duke of Norfolk was attracted by her charms, and laid a plot for her rescue, and a marriage was to be the consequence. This scheme was favoured by many of the great nobles both in Scotland and England. Amongst others were the Earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland. Chiefly through the perfidy of Regent Murray, the plot was disclosed, and soon after Norfolk was condemned and suffered death. Northumberland was betrayed into the Regent's hands, and by him he was committed to Lochleven Castle, the same dreary prison which had been previously occupied by the Scottish Queen. In course of time he was surrendered by the Regent Morton to England; the Douglas betrayed the Percy; the former accepted a rich bribe, which he divided with Douglas of Lochleven, and ultimately, in 1572, Northumberland was beheaded at York. It is curious to consider how infamous treachery and perfidy are so rapidly visited with due retribution. Two years ere this, the Regent Murray had been assassinated, and Morton was himself beheaded on the 2d June, 1581, the first victim by an instrument called the *Maiden*, a sort of guillotine, introduced into Scotland by himself!

Passing over the many exciting circumstances and stirring events of the civil contentions, it is time to make way speedily to moving matter, more especially local. So much has been said, chiefly as in connection with the progress of the Reformation, in which Perth took such a prominent part, and as introducing to our history James the Sixth, with whom we are about to have so much ado. Meantime, however, as in the same direction, it may not be improper to notice, that the Regent fell under the deadly aim of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, from a balcony in Linlithgow. This gentleman





HUNTING TOWER.

From the Cliff Road.

Engraved for Perth, its Annals & its Archives by W. H. Lizars, Edinburgh.

PERTH, THOMAS RICHARDSON

had some heavy scores to clear with the Regent ; and so fatal was the shot, that the ball from his carabine, after passing through Murray's body, killed the horse on which one of his attendants rode. The Regent died the same night. This event took place on the 23d January, 1570 ; and Lennox, the father of Darnley, and grandfather to the King, was chosen Regent in Murray's stead. The following year, the adherents of the Reformation got rid of another of their persecutors, Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, the successor of Cardinal Beaton, some of whose condemned victims he incriminated, after they had escaped their fate by flight for several years. About the time we mention, Hamilton was made prisoner in Dumbarton Castle by the King's party, to whom he was most obnoxious. He had taken refuge from them in the very place where he was seized ; and having formerly been proclaimed a traitor, they put him to death as such without mercy. He was condemned at Stirling without farther trial, and hanged the fourth day after. The Reformation of religion may now be said to have been almost altogether consummated. John Knox died on the 24th November, 1572 ; and the Regent Morton, who attended his funeral obsequies, pronounced at his grave-side the honourable eulogium—"There lies one who never feared the face of man !"

This brings us to an important stage of our local annals ; for now we approach an event to which that dark passage in Scottish history, the so-called Gowrie Conspiracy, may with probability be traced. The fact more immediately alluded to is what has been popularly termed

The Raid of Ruthven.

While great civil commotion prevailed throughout the realm, James indulged an erratic disposition, and, what was worse for his subjects, manifested an inclination to adopt and patronise weak and unworthy favourites. Two of these had great influence with the King, and practised on his foibles. The one was Esme Stewart of D'Aubigny, nephew and heir to the late Earl of Lennox, to whom he not only restored the family honours, but created him Duke, and exalted him to high office in the state. Another special favourite was Captain James Stewart, second son of Lord Ochiltree. The latter was the most unprincipled and unworthy of the two, and soon set himself to accomplish the ruin of Morton, which he fully accomplished, being chiefly instrumental in bringing him to the block. The King also showered favours on this minion, and made

him Earl of Arran, when he was soon found to possess all the vices and corruptions of his victim, the late Regent, without any of his redeeming qualities. Stewart of D'Aubigny was likewise unpopular, and fell specially under the suspicion of the Protestant preachers as entertaining a latent attachment to the Roman Catholic faith, although he openly and avowedly professed the Protestant religion. It is said that in their public preaching they unscrupulously denounced him, speaking of him as "a great champion, called his Grace, who, if he continued to oppose himself to religion, should find little grace in the end."

These favourites of royalty rendered themselves so obnoxious to the nobility, and especially to those who were otherwise discontented with the position of public affairs, that they joined in a plot, not only to have them removed from the Court, but to put themselves in possession of the King's own person. It was no uncommon thing in those troublous times to effect a Ministerial change by such stratagems.

On consulting the local records, we find it stated that Lord Gowrie was executed at Stirling on the evening of the 2d May, 1584. From our local historian, Cant, we learn that the occasion of the Earl of Gowrie's violent death must be sought for a few years back. Captain James Stewart, son of Lord Ochiltree, who, in 1581, accused and brought to the block the Regent, Earl of Morton, for being concerned art and part in the murder of Lord Darnley, procured the guardianship of the young Earl of Arran, who was disordered in his senses, occasioned by ill usage, vexation, and disappointment. This unfortunate nobleman, once beloved by the Reformers, the Captain shut up in a close prison, used him with barbarous cruelty, and took possession of his titles and estates. He was profligate; a scorner of every thing that was serious; aspiring, artful, revengeful, and avaricious. He had the address to insinuate himself into the favour of the young King, whom he flattered and humoured in all his juvenile passions; he wounded his ears with lectures on dissipation and debauchery. He was hospitably entertained at the house of the Earl of March, grand-uncle to the King. Without regarding the laws of hospitality or of gratitude, he carried on a criminal intrigue with the wife of his benefactor, a woman young and beautiful, but, according to the description of a contemporary historian, "intolerable in all the imperfections incident to her sex." Impatient of any restraint upon their mutual desires, they, with equal ardour, wished to avow their union publicly, and to legiti-

mate, by a marriage, the offspring of their unlawful passion. The Countess petitioned to be divorced from her husband, for a reason which no modest woman will ever plead. The judges, overawed by Arran, passed sentence without delay, and this infamous scene was concluded by a marriage solemnized with great pomp, and belied by all ranks of men with the utmost horror.* When the King was at Kinneil, and not sixteen years old, Arran took his sister in his arms in her shirt, carried her to the King's apartment, desiring him to take and use her in the devil's name.† This was one of the King's counsellors and minions. The other was Lord D'Aubigny, a Frenchman, afterwards Duke of Lennox. It was said that he was under the influence and conduct of the Duke of Guise, of an easy and humane disposition, and although a Papist, he affected to favour the Reformers. These two engrossed the favour of the young King, and ruled the nation with a rod of iron. The ancient nobility were disregarded; the Reformers hated and despised.

The two favourites, by their ascendancy over the King, possessed uncontrolled power over the kingdom, and exercised it with the utmost wantonness. James usually resided at Dalkeith or Kinneil, the seats of Lennox and Arran, and was attended by such company, and employed in such amusements, as did not suit his dignity. The services of those who had contributed most to place the crown upon his head were but little remembered. Many who had opposed him with the greatest virulence enjoyed the rewards and honours to which the others were entitled. Exalted notions of regal prerogative, utterly inconsistent with the constitution of Scotland, being instilled by his favourites into the mind of the young monarch, unfortunately made, at that early age, a deep impression there, and became the source of almost all the subsequent errors in the government of both kingdoms.‡ Courts of justice were held in almost every county; the proprietors of land were called before them, and, upon the slightest neglect of any of the numerous forms which are peculiar to feudal holdings, they were fined with unusual and intolerable rigour.

The Lord Chamberlain revived the obsolete jurisdiction of his office over burghs, and they were subjected to exactions no less grievous. A design seemed likewise to have been formed to exasperate Queen Elizabeth, and to dissolve the alliance with her, which

* Robertson.

† Calderwood.

‡ Robertson.

all good Protestants esteemed the chief security of their religion in Scotland.

A close correspondence was set on foot between the King and his mother, and considerable progress made towards uniting their titles to the crown, by such a treaty of association as Maitland had projected ; which could not fail of endangering or diminishing of his authority, and must have proved fatal to those who acted against her with greatest vigour.

All these circumstances irritated the impatience of the Scottish nobles, who resolved to tolerate no longer the insolence of the two minions, or to stand by while their presumption and inexperience ruined both the King and the kingdom. Elizabeth, who, during the administration of the four Regents, had the entire direction of the affairs of Scotland, felt herself deprived of all influence in that kingdom ever since the death of Morton, and was ready to countenance any attempt to rescue the King out of the hands of favourites, who were leading him into measures so repugnant to all her views. The Earls of Mar and Glencairn, Lord Ruthven, lately created Earl of Gowrie, Lord Lindsay, Lord Boyd, the Tutor of Glammiss, the Master of Oliphant, with several Barons and gentlemen of distinction, entered into a combination for that purpose. The King's situation, and the security of the favourites, encouraged them to have recourse to force.

James, after having resided for some time in Athole, where he enjoyed his favourite diversion of hunting, was now returning towards Edinburgh, August 22, with a small train. He was invited to Ruthven Castle, which lay in his way. The multitude of strangers whom he found there gave him some uneasiness, which he concealed with the utmost care. Next morning he prepared for the field, expecting to find there some opportunity of making his escape. As he was ready to depart, the nobles entered and presented a memorial against the illegal and oppressive actions of his two favourites, whom they represented as most dangerous enemies to the religion and liberties of the nation. James, though he received this remonstrance with the complaisance which was necessary in his present situation, was extremely impatient to be gone ; but, as he approached the door, the Master of Glammiss rudely stopped him. The King complained, expostulated, threatened, and finding all these without effect, burst into tears. "No matter," said Glammiss, fiercely, "better children weep than bearded men." These words made a deep impression on the King's mind, and were never for-

gotten. The Lords, without regarding his tears and indignation, dismissed such of his party as they suspected, allowed none but their own followers to have access to him, and, though they treated him with the greatest respect, guarded his person with the utmost care. This enterprise is usually called by our historians, "The Raid of Ruthven."*

Sir James Melville, a member of the Privy Council, and the King's sincere friend, informs us, that after the deposition of Morton, the last of the four Regents, the King, not fifteen years of age, took the reins of government in his own hands, and was conducted by Lennox and Arran. Lennox was wholly guided by Arran and his wife, whom they began to envy, and endeavoured to supplant, that they might attain to the sole government of the King and management of affairs. To accomplish this end, they gave him bad advice, and invidious information against his best friends. Lennox, having been educated a Papist, was suspected to be at the Duke of Guise's devotion, and therefore a dangerous man to be about his Majesty. The whole country was stirred up against him. The ambassador of England helped to kindle the fire. At the instigation and misinformation of Arran and his lady, he first cast off his true friend the Master of Mar, Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh; and afterwards Sir William Stewart, Captain of Dumbar-ton; Alexander Clark, Provost of Edinburgh; and the Earl of Gowrie, Treasurer. The rest of the nobility were also dissatisfied to see these two young Lords the only favourites of a young King, and aiming at the lives of the noblemen to get possession of their estates. They likewise suspected the Reformed religion to be in danger, the one being Popish, and the other an enemy and sneerer at all religion. They thought that from two such counsellors no wholesome advice would proceed for the peace of the country: therefore many of them consulted together to remove them both from court. Accordingly, they presented to the King the following supplication at Ruthven Castle:—

"It may appear strange to your Majesty, that we, your most humble and faithful subjects, are here convened beyond your expectation, and without your knowledge; but after your Majesty hath heard the urgent occasion that hath pressed us, your Majesty will not marvel at this our honest, lawful, and necessary enterprise.

"Sire, for the dutiful reverence that we owe unto your Majesty,

* Robertson.

and because we abhor to attempt any thing that might seem displeasing unto you, we have, for the space of two years, suffered such false accusations, calumnies, oppressions, and persecutions, by means of the Duke of Lennox, and him who is called the Earl of Arran, that the like insolencies and enormities were never heretofore borne with in Scotland ; which wrongs, albeit they were most intolerable, yet, when they only touched us in particular, we comported with them patiently, ever attending when it should please your Majesty to give a remedy thereto. But seeing the persons foresaid have plainly designed to trouble the whole body of the commonwealth, as well the ministers of the blessed Evangel as the true professors thereof, but in special that number of noblemen, barons, burgesses, and community, who did most worthily behave themselves in your Majesty's service during your youth ; whom principally and only they molest, and against whom they use most extremity and rigour of laws, oftentimes most sinistrously perverting the same for their destruction—so that one part of these your best subjects are exiled, another part tormented, and put to questions which they are not in law obliged to answer ; and, withal, do execute with partiality and injustice all your laws ; and if any escape their barbarous fury, they can have no access to your Majesty, but are falsely calumniated, and debarred from your presence, and kept out of your favour.

“ Papists, and most notable murderers, are called home daily, and restored to their former honours and heritages, and oft-times highly rewarded with the offices and possessions of your most faithful servants.

“ Finally, your estate royal is not governed by the council of your nobility, as your most worthy progenitors used to do, but at the pleasure of the foresaid persons, who enterprise nothing but as they are directed by the Bishops of Glasgow and Ross, your denounced rebels, having with them joined in their ordinary councils the Pope's Nuncio, with the ambassador of Spain, and such other of the Papists of France as endeavour to subvert the true religion, and to bring your Majesty in discredit with your subjects. They travel to cause you negotiate and traffic with your mother, without the advice of your estates, persuading your Majesty to be reconciled with her, and to associate her with you conjunctly in the authority royal, meaning nothing other thereby but to convict us of usurpation and treason. And so, having these best subjects out of the way, who, with the defence of your authority, maintained the true religion, as two things united and inseparable, what else would have followed but the wreck and destruction of both ?

“ For conclusion, your whole native country, for which, Sire, you must give an account to the eternal God, as we must be answerable to your Majesty, is so disturbed and altered, and the true religion, the commonwealth, your estate and person, are in no less danger than when you were delivered out of the hands of the cruel murderers of your father—who they were we will not insist on at present.

“ Sire, beholding these great dangers to be imminent, and at hand, without speedy help—and perceiving your noble person in such hazard, the preservation whereof is more precious to us than our lives—finding, also, no appearance that your Majesty was forewarned hereof, but like to perish before you could see the peril—we thought that we could not be answerable to our eternal God, neither faithful subjects to your Majesty, if, according to our ability, we prevented not this present distress, preserving your Majesty from the same.

“ For this effect, with all dutiful humility and obedience, we, your Majesty’s true subjects, are here convened, desiring your Majesty, in the name of God, and for the love you bear to his true religion, to your country and commonwealth, and as you would see the tranquillity of your own estate, to retire yourself to some part of the country, where your Majesty’s person may be most safely preserved, and your nobility secured who are in hazard of lands, life, and heritages; and then your Majesty shall see the disloyalties, falsehoods, and treasons of the persons aforesaid evidently proved, and declared to their faces—to the glory of God, advancement of his true religion, your Majesty’s preservation and honour, and the deliverance of your commonwealth and country, and to their perpetual ignominy and shame.”*

The nobles, in the meantime, treated the King with great respect, and humoured him in his favourite diversion of hunting. He often resided at Gowrie’s palace in Perth, made excursions to the country, and to Stirling, Linlithgow, and Edinburgh, the Lords keeping constantly about him.

Lennox and Arran were astonished to the last degree at an event so unexpected, and so fatal to their power. The former endeavoured, but without success, to excite the inhabitants of Edinburgh to take up arms in order to rescue their Sovereign from captivity. The latter, with his usual impetuosity, mounted on horseback the moment he heard what had befallen the King, and with a few followers

* Melville’s *Memoirs*, p. 240-44.

rode towards Ruthven Castle; and as a considerable body of the conspirators, under the command of the Earl of Mar, lay in his way ready to oppose him, he separated himself from his companions, and with two attendants arrived at the gate of the Castle. At the sight of a man so odious to his country, the indignation of the conspirators rose, and instant death would have been the punishment of his rashness, if the friendship of Gowrie, or some other cause not explained by our historians, had not saved a life so pernicious to the kingdom. He was conveyed, however, to the Castle of Stirling, without being admitted into the King's presence.

Lennox was banished to France, where he soon after died. Arran was driven from Court. After the King had been ten months in the hands of the enterprising noblemen, by a stratagem he found means to escape to the Castle of St. Andrews, where the heads of the opposite faction attended him. Only Gowrie of the other party remained and made his peace with the King. He returned to Ruthven Castle, and not long after the King made him a visit at that place; but Arran, who was restored to his former power and favour with the King, was determined to ruin him, and therefore procured an act banishing him the kingdom. Gowrie was ordered to France; but while he lingered at Dundee, Colonel Stewart, captain of the guards, was sent to apprehend him, who made him prisoner after an obstinate defence. Two days after, Angus, Mar, and Glammiss, seized the Castle of Stirling, and, erecting their standards there, published a manifesto, declaring that they took arms for no other reason but to remove from the King's presence a minion who had acquired power by the most unworthy actions, and who exercised it with the most intolerable insolence. The account of Gowrie's imprisonment struck a damp upon their spirits. They were disappointed of a sum of money promised by Elizabeth, their friends and vassals came but slowly in, the King was advancing at the head of twenty thousand men, they fled precipitately towards England, and with difficulty made their escape. This rash and feeble attempt hurt the cause for which it was undertaken, added strength and reputation to the King, confirmed Arran's power, and enabled them to pursue their measures with more boldness and greater success.* Gowrie was the first victim of Arran's resentment. After a very informal trial, a jury of peers (among whom was Arran) found him guilty of treason, and he was beheaded at Stirling.† The

* Robertson.

† Ibid.

King had no intention of taking Gowrie's life. He was a grandchild of the Earl of Angus, and near kinsman to the King. But Arran was determined to have his estates, and therefore, to make a party to assist him in the design of ruining him, he engaged to divide his lands with them. At his death he shewed himself a devout Christian, a resolute Roman, and was much regretted by all who heard his last speech. After a career of tyranny and wickedness, Arran was surprised and slain by James Douglas of Parkhead, in revenge of his uncle the Earl of Morton's death. So much was he hated and despised, that little inquiry was made after Douglas.

The conspirators, as they were perhaps justly termed, after dismissing such of the King's attendants as they suspected, took care to guard the royal person with special care. They succeeded in obtaining the banishment of Lennox from the kingdom, who, having retired to France, soon afterwards died of grief. Arran was thrown into prison. James was compelled to publish a proclamation, declaring that he approved of what had been done, and the conspirators exerted themselves to gain the approval of their countrymen, by obtaining a legal sanction of their enterprise from the King, the Parliament, and the General Assembly. This they perhaps expected to accomplish the more easily on account of their main, or at least ostensible, object, to quit the kingdom of the King's obnoxious favourites. Religious zeal mingled with the exertions for civil liberty at this time; for before the Raid of Ruthven, the General Assembly had decreed that the office of a bishop, as it was then exercised at least, had no foundation in the Word of God. The Court would not acquiesce in this, and the ministers of Edinburgh publicly and boldly inveighed against the King's counsellors as the authors of this and all the other national grievances.

After the act of violence already detailed, and while James was still under restraint, being guarded by no fewer than one hundred gentlemen, under the command of Colonel Stewart, a relative of the incarcerated Arran, the King gained the favour of this gentleman with little difficulty, and got him engaged to aid him in his views. By his permission, he went to St. Andrews on a visit to the Earl of March. On obtaining admittance to the Castle, he ordered the gates to be shut, and excluded Gowrie and his other followers. James remained about ten months at St. Andrews. During this time Arran unfortunately got himself reinstated into favour with

his royal master, and had the influence to dissuade him from certain steps of amelioration he had resolved on. He also persuaded him to put forth a proclamation, calling on those nobles who had been concerned in his detention to surrender themselves prisoners, under threat of having them declared by Parliament as guilty of high treason. The Earl of Gowrie made his submission accordingly, and was allowed to exile himself in France. It is said, that afterwards, he, with his former accomplices, formed a new plot, with the view of regaining their lost power by a fresh insurrection, in which they failed. Gowrie had by this time returned to this country (some authorities state he never had sailed), and the King, advancing against the insurgents with a considerable force, made the Earl of Gowrie prisoner, while the other conspirators escaped into England. Gowrie was tried and executed at Stirling, as already stated, on the 5th May, 1584. Spottiswoode says—"Sentence was given that he should be taken to the market cross, have his head cut off, and be dismembered as a traitor. The last part thereof was dispensed, and he in the evening beheaded. This was the end of that nobleman, who in his lifetime was much honoured and employed in the chief offices of court; a man wise, but said to have been too curious, and to have consulted with wizards touching the state of things in future times. He was heard to make that common regret which many great men have done in such misfortunes, 'That if he had served God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that end.'"

After this event, Arran got still more into royal favour, and had his power completely restored, being raised higher in rank than ever—even to the highest in the state, the dignity of Lord Chancellor, ignorant and profligate as he was!

It may here be proper to mention, as we are informed by Cant, that in December, 1585, John, Earl of Montrose, Provost, Dionysius Conqueror, Dean of Guild, and their colleagues in office, elected as Magistrates of Perth at the previous Michaelmas, were, by virtue of the King's letter and charge, dated at Linlithgow, 11th December, set aside, when in their stead were chosen, as Provost, John, Earl of Athole, &c. Athole and others held the office of Magistrates for another year following that; and on 2d October, 1587, James Hepburn was chosen Provost, and others, all new men, filled the subordinate offices. It is on record that there were great contentions about that election, and complaints were made to the King and Lords of Secret Council, that the new set had applied the common good to

their own private use. They were convened before the King and Secret Council at Falkland. On hearing the cause, the chief authors were confined to the Castle of Blackness; and the King, with the advice of the Lords, ordered to be chosen, or rather appointed, in their stead, James, Earl of Gowrie, and others; and by the King's letter Gowrie was re-appointed, along with others, in the Magistracy, 2d October, 1588.

These circumstances we have noted more especially, as we have now to mention, that, after Arran was turned out, and degraded by the King and Protestant Lords, Gowrie's sons were restored to their honours and estates. James, Earl of Gowrie, was young when elected, and died when he was Provost, which occasioned a reference to the King for a new election. John, Earl of Athole, and others, were nominated, and continued for three years. On 2d October, 1592, John, Earl of Gowrie, was elected Provost, and held office, *de facto*, till the 6th August, 1594, when he intimated to the Council that he was to go abroad for his education. Upon this they unanimously passed a resolution to elect him Provost next Michaelmas, and became bound for their successors in office to elect him annually until he returned. This agreement is signed by the whole Town-Council, including Oliver Peebles, Oliver Young, Patrick Oliphant, and Thomas Johnstone, Bailies; Patrick Blair, Dean of Guild; and James Adamson, Treasurer; and this in presence of Mr. Patrick Galloway, Minister of Perth, the King's Chaplain, and Henry Elder, Town-Clerk. Such was the affection the Town entertained for this young Lord, that he was continued Provost until his death, the circumstances attending which are about to occupy a large share of our attention.

Although, as already stated, the upstart Earl of Arran was restored to Court favour, he did not retain it very long. His government became intolerable and himself detestable—a remarkable instance of the abuse of power; and in the same person we have an example no less striking of the just retribution which generally overtakes those so abusing it, and the precarious tenure of that distinction which is gained and supported by mere favouritism. The banished Lords had a welcome reception in Scotland in 1585, marched to Stirling at the head of ten thousand men, and compelled James to receive them into his counsels. Arran was deprived of his title and ill-acquired wealth, banished from the court of his royal patron, and continued to live miserably and in obscurity and fear in the wilds of Ayrshire till 1592, when he fell under the hand of James Douglas of Parkhead, who, with only three

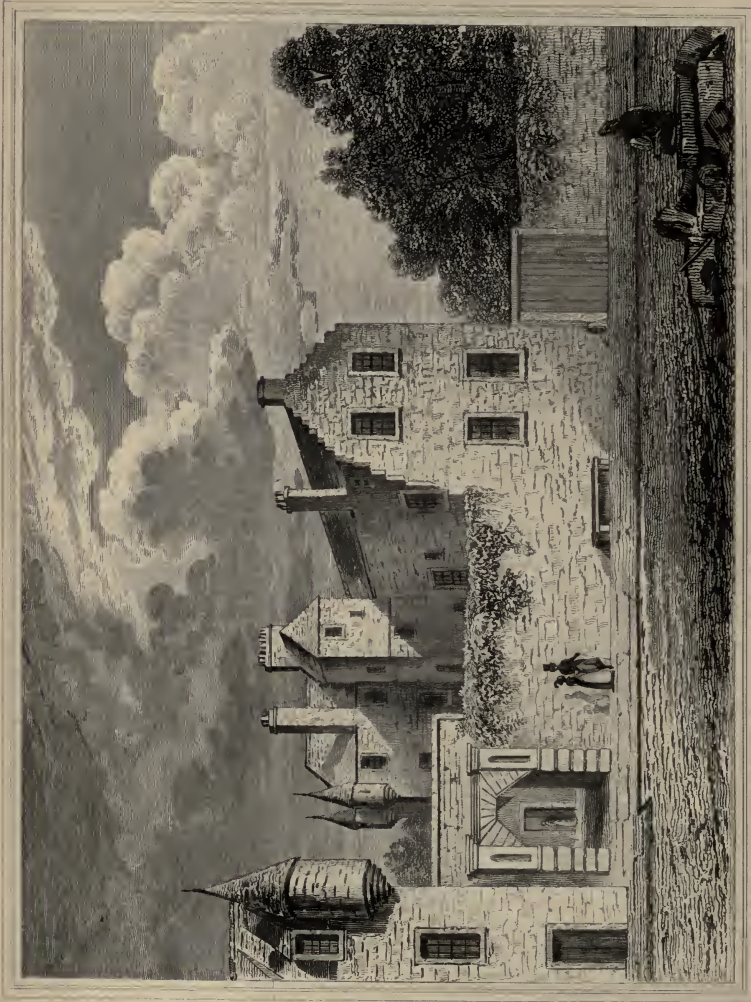
servants in his train, hunted him down, and despatched him by running him through the body with his spear.

Of this flagitious favourite, Dr. Robertson says—"The public beheld him with astonishment and indignation, a man educated as a soldier of fortune, ignorant of law, and a contemner of justice, appointed to preside in Parliament, in the Privy-Council, in the Court of Session, and entrusted with the supreme disposal of the property of his fellow-subjects. He was, at the same time, Governor of the Castles of Stirling and Edinburgh, the two principal forts of Scotland; Provost of the City of Edinburgh; and, as if by all these accumulated dignities, his merits were not sufficiently recompensed, he had been created Lieutenant-General over the whole kingdom. His venality as a judge was scandalous—his rapaciousness as a minister was insatiable—his spies and informers filled the whole country. The nearest neighbours distrusted and feared each other. All familiar society was at an end. There is not perhaps in history an example of a minister so universally detestable to a nation, or who more justly deserved its detestation."

The preference of such a minion is not very creditable to the character of James; and it is perhaps no great matter of wonder if that of itself might have induced better men, who were the sufferers, to form plots to obtain redress and relieve their country—so long at least as they meditated no personal injury to the Sovereign, but merely to detach him from the society of evil councillors, into whose fangs he might have fallen more as matter of accident than of his own culpable intention.

Our prescribed limits suggest the propriety, the necessity in fact, of overstepping various important national matters (supposing that the reader of Scottish history must be acquainted with them), and come at once to a subject of deep interest to all who desire to be well informed regarding our local annals. It has been justly said, that the murder of Henry, Lord Darnley, the father of James the Sixth, and the transaction called the "Gowrie Conspiracy," in which that monarch was a leading actor, form the two most occult, mysterious, and inexplicable events in Scottish history—although Mr. Morison, in the published volume of *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth*, as justly remarks, that "so numerous have been the disquisitions written, and treatises and pamphlets printed, on the subject of the mysterious transactions which occurred in Gowrie House at Perth, in the month of August, 1600, that had they but elucidated or determined *one* fact each, the 'Gowrie Conspiracy' had, ere this, been one of the most lu-





Drawn by R. Gibb. 1827

Eng^d by W. Hazars

GOWRY HOUSE .

minous events in Scottish history. Unfortunately, the writers on this subject have not hitherto divested themselves of the feelings of party in their investigations, and, with the exceptions of Principal Robertson and Mr. Pinkerton, have advanced to the inquiry convinced, and unwilling to be undeceived, on the one hand, that Gowrie and Ruthven fell victims to 'King craft,' or on the other, that King James did indeed make a wonderful escape from a bloody and traitorous conspiracy. Thus the question remains nearly in the same state, or if possible still more dark, than when the cautious Scot replied to his Majesty's account of it, 'A very wonderful story, your Majesty, *if it be true.*'"

Be this as it may, we waive argument in the meantime, and at once come to that dark passage in our history popularly and generally known or recognised as

The Gowrie Conspiracy.

We merely premise with a brief notice of Gowrie's career, after leaving his native country, until this "untoward event" took place.

It appears that the young Earl persevered in his purpose to go abroad; and, in the meantime, he, along with his younger brother, were under the educational training of Robert Rollock, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, under whom both, but especially the Earl, made great progress in their studies. The brothers ultimately left this country under the charge of their tutor, Mr. William Rhynd, and proceeded through England and France, to Padua, in Italy, then famous as a seat of learning in science and literature. The tutor, with his younger pupil, returned to Scotland in 1597; but the Earl remained behind, and attained to such proficiency as a scholar that he even became Rector of that celebrated university. He left Padua in the autumn of 1599, and visited by the way, on special invitation, the celebrated theologian, Theodore Beza, at Geneva, where he remained three months, enjoying the benefit of his theological prelections. He returned to Britain by Paris, and was received with high respect by the Court. He next proceeded to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, arriving in London on the 3d April, 1600, and was most graciously received by her Majesty and Court. He held intimate converse with Elizabeth; and some have insinuated that it was in his conferences with that Sovereign that the plot which resulted in death and ruin to himself and family had its origin.

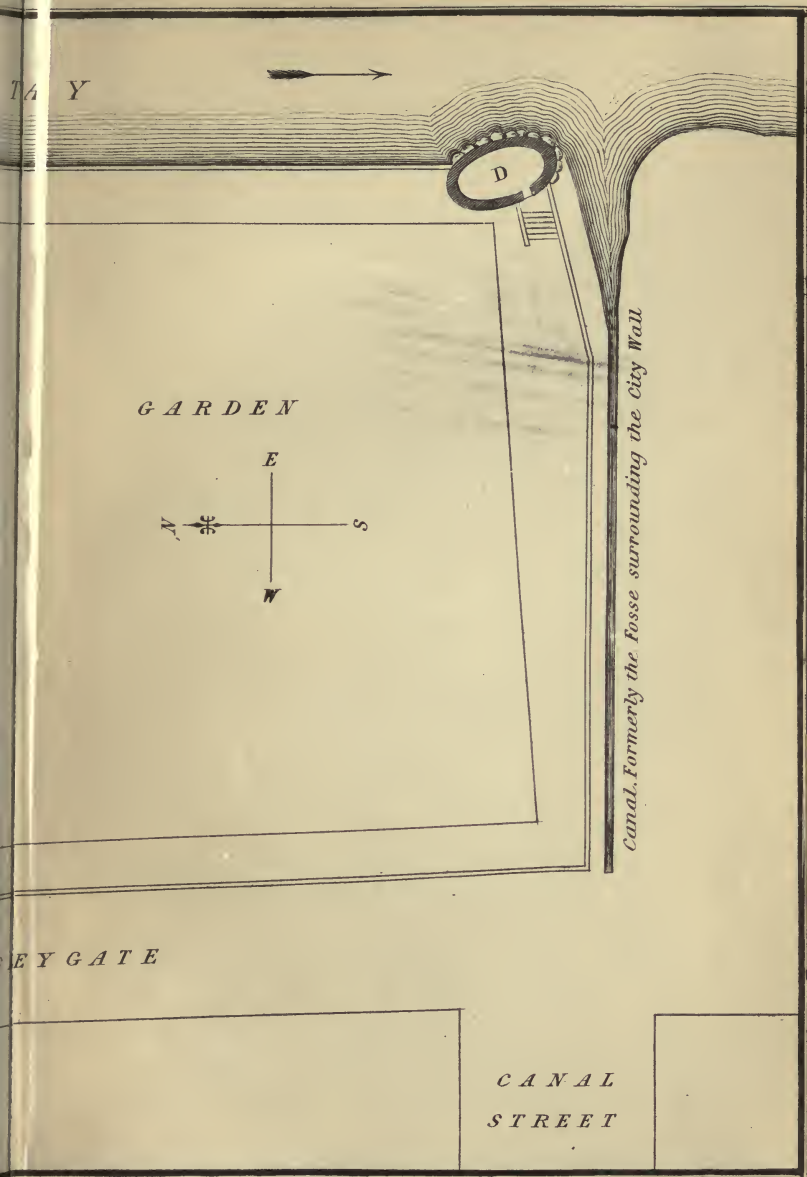
It was in the beginning of May of the same year that the accomplished Earl arrived in Scotland, where he was enthusiastically

welcomed by all ranks in the capital. From his appearance, manners, and shining accomplishments, he soon became an universal favourite, on account of which, it is said, King James himself made a very unhandsome and vulgar allusion to his grandfather's fate, and manifested a strong feeling of jealousy. Tytler says—"He was equally accomplished in all knightly sports, and could discuss the merits of a hawk or hound as enthusiastically as any subject in the circle of the sciences. This," continues Tytler, quoting a letter from Sir John Carey to Cecil, dated 29th May, 1600, "was much to James's content; and as the monarch was at breakfast, he would often keep Gowrie leaning on the back of his chair, and talk to him with that voluble, undignified familiarity which marked the royal conversation. He rallied the young nobleman also on his long stay at the English Court, and assailed him with many 'fleytes and pretty taunts' on the high honours paid him by Elizabeth, his frequent great conferences with the Queen, her offer to bribe him with gold, and the sumptuousness of his reception and entertainment. He marvelled, too, with good-humoured irony, that his old friends, the ministers of the Kirk, had not ridden out to meet him, and form part of his triumphant cavalcade; and, half between joke and earnest, contrived to show him that he had watched all his movements, and was perfectly aware of his confidential intercourse with Neville (the English Ambassador at Paris), Cecil, and Elizabeth herself. All this Gowrie took, or seemed to take, in good part. 'He had, certainly,' he said, 'been honourably entertained, and very graciously received by the Queen of England, but this, he believed, was for the King his master's sake, and so he had accepted it. As for gold, he had been offered none, nor did he need it—he had enough of his own.'"

It appears the King continued to maintain a footing of familiarity with Gowrie, which was interrupted only by the discussion of some public state affairs. These things we pass over, and come now to the circumstances of the main event itself. Of these we have many versions, and shall present only two—one drawn up by a reverend gentleman, Mr. Duff of Tibbermuir, which he calls a *Traditional Account*; the other, that which is styled *The King's Narrative*, and was "published by authority." For our own part, we should be inclined to give a preference to the former, "traditional" although it is admitted to be; but we shall give also as much of the evidence of witnesses as our limits will permit, that the reader may, in so far, judge for himself.

In the first place, however, it may be well to present a description





more modern portion of Gowry House. C.C. Temporary Sheds, latterly used for Artillery;
 The Black Turnpike. L.U. Flight of Steps leading to the Garden.

of the edifice and apartments in which this strange affair took place ; and this we quote from the first and only published volume of the *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth*, as being, we believe, very accurate.

Fortunately, there were views and plans of this remarkable edifice taken by Dr. M'Omie, one of the original projectors and first members of the Literary and Antiquarian Society, of which, through the kindness of that gentleman's surviving friends, as acknowledged by Mr. Morison, he was enabled to avail himself. From these plans, he says, aided by our own recollections, corroborated by the testimony of others, such outlines are annexed of the position of the house, and of its apartments, as may assist in obtaining a distinct idea of the situations of the various actors in the tragedy of the 5th August.

The house, or palace, as it has often been called, stood, as already noticed, and as may be seen in the Plan, No. 1, near the junction of the Watergate and South Street (or Shoegate, as it is designated in the depositions of the witnesses on the trial, and by not a few even to the present day), a short distance from the Tay, which river formed the eastern boundary of the large garden pertaining to the house. In the south-east corner of the garden stood the Monk's Tower, D ; and to the westward, rather beyond the place on the plan where the words "Canal Street" are written, stood the Spey or Spy Tower,* a strong fort which guarded the south gate of the City, but which had been pulled down many years before the plan was drawn. The wall of the City extended in a line nearly due east and west from the Spey to the Monk's Tower ; and there is reason to believe, that at the time of the King's memorable visit to Gowrie House the greater part of the ground between South Street and that wall was laid out as gardens adjoining respectable houses, in the same manner as the garden to the southward of Gowrie House.† The house itself formed nearly a square. The most modern part was on the north and west side, B B. The most ancient, and that in which the affray took place, was on

* It may be proper here to correct a clerical error, at page 146, where, by inadvertency, the word *south-eastern* is written when *south-western* was intended, in stating the position of the Spey Tower.

† We should be much inclined to question this notion. West of the Spey-gate, the north side of Canal Street, as well as the south side of South Street, was densely built for time immemorial ; and the grounds *south* of the former are called Spey Gardens to the present day.

the south and east side of the square, A A. The principal gate, G, fronted up the South Street. The buildings, C C, were merely temporary sheds erected for the service of the artillery, to which corps the building had served as a barracks for some years previous to its demolition. The principal staircase, Y, was at the south-east angle of the court. There was also a smaller staircase at T, called in the depositions the Black Turnpike, which, as well as a turret at the west end of this wing of the building, had been removed about the beginning of the last century, but of which vestiges were apparent when Dr. M'Omie's plans were drawn.* The elevation given represents the building as seen from South Street at the time the ground plans were taken. The gate at G, the turrets S S, the principal staircase Y, will be readily recognised on comparing the plan with the view.

The principal building, A A, was of two storeys or floors, besides the kitchen or ground floor, and attics. The family apartments and bed-rooms were chiefly in the eastern division, A D (see Plan, No. 2), and were surmounted on the north by two turrets. The dining-room was at D (Plan, No. 2), the windows of which looked into the garden, and commanded a delightful view of the scenery on the river. The principal hall, H, was very lofty and spacious, and communicated directly with the staircase, Y, and with the dining apartment, D. There was also a door at U, leading by a flight of steps, U L, to the garden. What use was made of the apartment on the first floor, C, at the upper end of the hall, H, does not appear.

The greater part of the second floor (see Plan, No. 3), was occupied by a gallery, A, which extended over the whole of that part of the building occupied on the first floor by the hall and dining-room above mentioned. This "fair" gallery is frequently noticed in the depositions. It had been ornamented and enriched with paintings, and other works, by the Earl of Gowrie, whose attachment to the fine arts had not only been remarkable in that age, but would have done credit to more modern times.

At the west end of the gallery was the GALLERY CHAMBER, C, so often referred to in the depositions, which was divided from the gallery by a partition, and communicated by a door in that partition. There was a stair at T, leading from this chamber down to the court, called in the depositions the Black Turnpike. There

* In Cant's Notes to *Gall's Gabions*, the removal of the Black Turnpike and the fatal turret are mentioned as having recently taken place.

was a turret, X, communicating with the Gallery Chamber, in which (if the windows were placed in the same manner as in the other turrets, which were entire when the views were taken) there would be one window at O, and another opposite it at S. These minute circumstances require to be noticed, as they are of importance in examining the evidence.

TRADITIONAL ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF JOHN, EARL OF GOWRIE,
AND HIS BROTHER, MR. ALEXANDER RUTHVEN.

On the 5th August, 1600, King James set off from Falkland for Perth. On the road he gave the following account of his journey to some of them who accompanied him:—That Mr. Alexander Ruthven, Earl Gowrie's brother, had met with him privately that morning, when he was going out to the chase, and told him that the Earl and he had, the day before, apprehended a foreign monk in the neighbourhood of Perth, with a great quantity of gold coin in an earthen pot, and that they had secured him, on suspicion of his being sent over to employ this money to sow discord, and support the interest of Popery; and he had come to inform his Majesty, that he might go himself and examine the matter. That he (the King) having resolved to delay the affair till they had finished a chase, Mr. Alexander Ruthven, who acted with great secrecy, was returned to Perth; and his Majesty inquired at those who were with him, if Mr. Ruthven was altogether solid in his judgment? to which it was answered, that he always behaved himself as a man of prudence and worth.

About dinner-time, word was brought to the Earl, who was attending a marriage between a young man of the name of Lamb, and a young woman called Bell, the daughter of a respectable citizen of Perth, that the King and a company with him had come to his house, on which Earl Gowrie's countenance changed, and he appeared to be a good deal perplexed; and being asked by the bride's father, in whose house he was, what ailed him? he said he was distressed for a dinner to the King and his retinue, who had come upon him unexpectedly. Mr. Bell urged him to accept of the dinner that was prepared for the wedding, and it is believed he did accept of it. The Earl of Gowrie went to meet the King, and conducted him into his house, where his Majesty dined in a room by himself; and about the end of dinner, the King, looking steadfastly to Lord Gowrie, said he would make free to tell him that he

had imported some foolish customs from France, to the neglect of some good social customs that pertained to his own country. Earl Gowrie having asked what he meant? "Why don't you shake hands with your guests," said the King, "and bid them welcome?" The Earl, on this, took the King by the hand and bade him welcome. "Go now," said his Majesty, "and do the same with the rest of the company." And when Lord Gowrie had gone for this purpose to the King's attendants, who were dining in a different apartment, the King said, that Mr. Alexander Ruthven suggested to him that now was the proper time to go and examine the monk. They passed through the room where the Court-people were dining, his Majesty saying, "Sit ye merry, gentlemen, and much good may it do you." They then went through three other apartments, the doors of which Mr. Ruthven locked behind them, and came at last to the fatal closet, where the tragedy that day was performed. The stories of their finding a man in armour, instead of a monk—of Mr. Ruthven making the King to swear, that in his absence he would not move nor call out for assistance—of his then going to advise with the Earl his brother, and telling the King, on his return, that there was no help, he must die—have been considered at Perth as having no other support but the King's assertion; for the declaration of Andrew Henderson—who, after three other persons, concerning whom the King had said he was certain that one of them was the man in armour, had made it appear that neither of them was that man, affirmed that he was the man in armour shut up with his Majesty in the closet—was looked on as false, and Henderson was held as infamous. It is even affirmed, that after swearing he was the man found in the closet, he never had the courage to look a man in the face, but always had the appearance of a crest-fallen, dejected creature, whose countenance seemed to confess the justice of that general and great contempt which was cast upon him.

When the King's retinue had dined, one of his servants told them that his Majesty had set off a little before for Falkland, on which they ran to get their horses; and having mounted, when they were near the Port, they heard the King's voice from a window in Earl Gowrie's house, which he had got half-opened, crying, "Treason, treason!" They immediately returned, and tried to get into the closet from which the voice had come, but the doors were barricaded, and it took some time to break them open with hammers from an adjoining smith's shop, and such other instruments as they could first procure. Earl Gowrie, being alarmed at

the uproar, ran up by a private stair to a smaller entrance, accompanied with some servants, and armed with a sword in each hand. He found the King in the closet, and along with him his surgeon, called Herries, his page Ramsay, and his groom Murray, which three men had got into the closet without the knowledge of the other company who had come with the King. Earl Gowrie stuck his swords in the floor, and desired to know the cause of such disturbance? He was answered by Ramsay, that there was a design to kill the King; and immediately he and the other two fell on the Earl, and dispatched him, as they had done his brother, Mr. Alexander Ruthven, a little before. At this time those persons who were forcing their way by the principal entry got to the closet, and the King telling them what danger he had been in, they congratulated him on his deliverance from it.

The news being quickly spread through the town, the inhabitants, and even the Magistrates, exasperated beyond measure by the death of their beloved Provost, ran in crowds to Earl Gowrie's house, and threatened to kill the King and all his attendants. Various means were employed to soothe their passions. His Majesty endeavoured to appease their anger by narrating the great danger he had so narrowly escaped. He tried also to turn it against the deceased Earl and his brother; but after all they could do to allay the fury of the enraged multitude, they found it most advisable to keep themselves within doors till daylight was gone, and then in a dark night they slipped away privately, and returned to Falkland. When the King mentioned the circumstance of the man in armour who had been with him in the closet, being asked if he knew him, he answered, that he was positive about his being one of the three persons whom he named. Two of them being near at hand, gave full proof that neither of them was the man in armour; and his Majesty having affirmed that he was clear it was the third person mentioned by him, who was a servant of Lord Gowrie's, called Younger, this man also, being able to prove that he could not be with the King in the closet, having been at Dundee when his master was killed at Perth, wrote to a friend in Falkland that he would not lie under the imputation; and being on his way to disprove it, he was found of a morning in a corn field with his throat cut.

His Majesty published an appointment of a day of thanksgiving, to be observed through the nation, on account of his wonderful deliverance from this dangerous conspiracy. Several clergymen, par-

ticularly the ministers of Edinburgh, refused to observe it; and one of them, very eminent for integrity and spirit, Mr. Robert Bruce, did actually submit to perpetual banishment, rather than dissemble, by saying he was convinced that Earl Gowrie had conspired against the life of his sovereign. Murray, the groom, being sent to expostulate with Mr. Bruce for not obeying the King's edict, he replied, "It would be more for the King's honour to have less to do with such persons as you." Two younger brothers of Earl Gowrie, Messrs. William and Patrick Ruthven, were at Dirleton when he and Mr. Alexander were killed at Perth. When the King got to Falkland, he dispatched Murray, his groom, to kill these two young gentlemen, that they might not survive the misfortune of their family, and, perhaps, be the avengers of it. But one of the King's servants, named Kennedy, who had formerly been servant to Earl Gowrie, and had a regard for that family, getting information of this cruel purpose, stole a horse from the King's stable, arrived before the groom, gave intelligence to the unfortunate youths of what had been done to their brothers, and was designed against themselves. They fled, got abroad, and were kindly received and entertained by the famous Reformer, Theodore Beza, who had been well acquainted with Earl Gowrie, had the highest respect for his character and memory, and never would give credit to the story of his having conspired against the King. Ramsay, Murray, and Herries, received titles and riches in reward of their services on this important occasion.

The above, so far as I have been able to procure information, is the most distinct and complete account that has been preserved in the Town of Perth concerning that remarkable event, which is generally (though with great injustice, I most sincerely believe) called Gowrie's Conspiracy. When I showed the old Castle of Ruthven, in this parish, now called Huntingtower, once the dwelling-place of the family of Gowrie, to that intelligent and ingenuous traveller, Thomas Pennant, Esq. he expressed a desire to have the best account of this matter which tradition had preserved in the place where it happened. After diligent search, the above narration is the result of my inquiries. In the course of a dozen of years, during which it has been in my custody, the sentiments of mankind on this subject are much changed, and an opinion corresponding with the strain of this tradition, which makes the conspiracy on the King's side, doth greatly gain ground; and this, it appears, was the opinion of Perth, from the day when that melancholy affair

was transacted there. The circumstance of three armed men being privately admitted into the closet before the King and Mr. Alexander Ruthven came there, removes the principal difficulty which stood in the way of supposing the Sovereign to be the conspirator. His Majesty was in no danger by going into the closet with Mr. Ruthven, who was much stronger than him, when three armed men were previously lodged there to protect him, and assassinate the other so soon as he entered. We cannot well suppose that these armed men got into that closet without the connivance at least of some of Earl Gowrie's servants, who had been gained over to give them access. In support of this hypothesis, Mr. David Calderwood, who lived at that period, and hath left a manuscript *History of the Affairs of Scotland*, says, that Earl Gowrie's porter, and Doggie, his waiter, were serving Lord Scone when he wrote of this transaction, shortly after it happened. The places occupied by these servants gave them the best opportunity of admitting persons into their master's house; and Mr. Calderwood, by mentioning them as being, soon after Lord Gowrie's death, taken into the service of Lord Scone, who was a considerable sharer in the division of Lord Gowrie's property and offices, certainly means to insinuate that these servants were retained by their present master in reward of having betrayed their former one. That this same Lord Scone, formerly Sir David Murray, was informed of the King's evil designs against Lord Gowrie's life, appears from a circumstance mentioned by Mr. Calderwood. In a Convention of the States, held at Edinburgh, very soon after the Earl's return to his native country, after an absence of almost six years, he strenuously opposed his Majesty's measures about some proposed taxation, upon which Sir David Murray said, "There is an unhappy man; they are but seeking an occasion of his death, and now he has given it." That Dr. Herries, one of the three armed men who were lodged in the closet, was acquainted with the mischief that was meditating against the Gowrie family, is also mentioned by Mr. Calderwood. Mrs. Beatrix, a sister of Earl Gowrie's, and one of the Queen's ladies, laughed at the Doctor's bowed legs: he took her by the hand, considered it after the manner of a fortune-teller, and said, "Mistress, before long a great disaster will befall you."

However, it is not my intention to consider this subject in its full extent; all that I farther propose about the matter, is to take notice of a few facts which connect with this affair, and throw light upon it, which I have had occasion to discover by looking into some

old records belonging to the Town of Perth, and shall add some observations and reasonings from them.

Mr. William Coupar, one of the ministers of Perth at that time, came very soon and very seasonably with a story to support the King's account of this matter, and great stress was laid upon it then, and since, by persons who have been investigating this subject. Mr. John Spottiswoode, at that time parson of Calder, in Mid-Lothian, who was afterwards, in 1615, promoted to be Archbishop of St. Andrews, gives the following account of Mr. Coupar's story:—"I remember," says he, "that, meeting with William Coupar, then minister at Perth, the third day after it, in Falkland, he showed me, that not many days before that accident (he means the conspiracy) happened, visiting by occasion the Earl at his own house, he found him reading a book, *De Conjurat-ionibus adversus Principes*. Having asked him what book it was? Earl Gowrie answered, it was a collection of the conspiracies against princes, all of which, he said, were foolishly contrived, and faulty in one point or other, for he that goeth about such a business, said the Earl, should not put any man on his council. Mr. Coupar, not liking such discourse, desired him to lay away books of that kind, and read others of a better subject." He then proceeds to give his own opinion of the matter in the following words:—"I verily think he was then studying how to go beyond all conspirators recorded in any history; but it pleased God, who giveth salvation to princes (as the psalm speaketh), to infatuate his councils, and by his example to admonish all disloyal, traitorous subjects, to beware of attempting any thing against their sovereigns." This story was produced very opportunely, and, we may believe, it was most acceptable.

Earl Gowrie's servants were examined, and several of them executed, solemnly declaring that they knew of no conspiracy. His travelling governor, Mr. William Rhynd, a most worthy man, was put to the torture twice at least, and in these circumstances declared that he knew of no conspiracy. No person knew or could bear testimony of any such thing; but Mr. Coupar accounted for all this, by telling that Earl Gowrie had premeditated to put no man on his council. I shall only observe at present, that though Mr. Coupar's story in a single point of view seems to serve the King's purpose, it is against it on the whole; for there are symptoms of debility, and even suicide, attending, that are more than sufficient to destroy it. The reverend gentleman says, "I verily think that he (meaning the Earl of Gowrie) was studying to go beyond all conspirators recorded

in any history." Do facts support this assertion? The King is brought to Earl Gowrie's house, according to their own account, within an hour of mid-day, attended with a considerable retinue; and there was a plot formed to assassinate him, the very house where he was, and the doors about it, being occupied by his attendants. Has this the aspect of a studied conspiracy? If you look for it from Earl Gowrie, there could not be any thing so simple and stupid. If the King had been killed, it must have ruined the Gowrie family. As his Majesty had publicly gone into the Earl's house, he was accountable for him: the nation would have required him to produce their Sovereign. It must have obviously occurred to Earl Gowrie, that the utter extirpation of himself and family would be the unavoidable consequence of the King being destroyed, or having disappeared in his house. The fate of his own father was a recent and striking example of the danger of meddling with the person of a King. If King James had been killed in a clandestine manner by some unknown person, Mr. Coupar's story might have furnished a thread of direction to travel through a dark labyrinth; but there is no circumstance appears in the transaction of that 5th of August, on the part of Lord Gowrie and his brother, from which one could conclude that there was a well-concerted scheme, premeditated by a man of eminent abilities, improved by a most liberal education, for cutting off the King in a way that should accomplish the purpose, and baffle all discovery. Mr. Coupar seems to have felt this difficulty, and endeavours to remove it by alleging that the providence of God had infatuated Earl Gowrie's councils. God Almighty doth often defeat the wicked councils and purposes of men, by making some occurrence to interfere and counteract them; but still their councils do show themselves, and instruct the deliberated ingenious malice of the contrivers; but here it would be necessary to believe that God had deprived Earl Gowrie of his reason, as if he meant to excuse the deed, by reducing the agent below the rank of accountable beings.

I now proceed to mention some circumstances which explain the access that Mr. Coupar had to know Earl Gowrie's character, and the nature of that conspiracy, and will also explain the character of Mr. Coupar, and the degree of credit that may be due to his testimony.

He had very little opportunity to form an acquaintance with the Earl of Gowrie. That nobleman left Perth at the age of seventeen years, in August, 1594, to finish his education at a foreign

university. He only returned to Scotland in the end of February, 1600, arrived at Perth the 20th of May, and was killed there the 5th of August that same year. The Earl had a house in Perth, but the principal dwelling-place of the family was in the parish of Tibbermuir. His estates were extensive through Perthshire, his relations, vassals, and dependants, were very numerous; and after an absence of almost six years, it must occur to every person, that a crowd of company, and a multitude of objects, would engage his attention; and for the space of ten weeks, which was all the length of time that this unfortunate nobleman was allowed to live after he returned to his native place, it is scarce possible that any man, who before that period was an utter stranger to him, could procure such frequent and intimate access to his company as would give sufficient opportunity to study his dispositions and character. Mr. William Coupar was translated from Bothkennar, near Falkirk, to be minister of Perth, in the year 1595, after Earl Gowrie had gone abroad, and therefore could have no acquaintance with him, except in the few weeks he lived after his return to Perth; and a natural inference from this view of the matter is, that the shortness of the time did not allow sufficient space to ponder and bring forward the various particulars which such a transaction must have required.

Mr. William Coupar was absent from Perth on that 5th of August when Earl Gowrie and his brother were killed there. The Session Record of Perth, dated August the 4th that year, contains the following fact: "No matters of discipline handled this day, the ministers being at the Synodal Assembly in Stirling." The Synod sat down at Stirling that very 5th of August, and the ministers of Perth had gone off the day before to attend it. Mr. Coupar, therefore, being at such a distance, was not a competent witness of what was then doing at Perth; and his testimony, on this account, cannot be relied on as if he had been on the spot, and known the immediate circumstances of the case, and the uncorrupted sentiments of mankind on the subject.

Mr. Coupar went from Stirling to Falkland, and published his story before he came back to Perth; and Bishop Spottiswoode writes, that William Coupar, leaving Stirling, came to Falkland, where the King was, on Friday, August 8th, and there told of his having found Earl Gowrie reading the book of conspiracies, with his own very violent conclusion from this circumstance. Thus he was an ultroneous witness, without being called or suspected. Without taking leisure to examine matters, he rode immediately to the

King, and unasked he comes out with his story. It has not the most favourable aspect when a person goes spontaneously to thrust in his evidence; and it looks exceedingly suspicious when he makes conclusions of his own contrivance, greatly stronger than he gives any ground to support. If a man, by looking into any book, gives reason to suppose that he is going to adopt all the principles, or execute all the mischief, contained in that book, what man who reads can be safe for a moment? Mr. Coupar, it is pretty clear, wished to recommend himself to his Sovereign, and probably even then had his eye towards that preferment which he attained not long after, being made a Bishop of Galloway by a grateful Sovereign. Mr. Coupar appears to have been a man of a political, time-serving turn of mind. This agrees with the character given of him by some historians of that time, who give a bad account of him; and to me it is fully instructed by a deed I have seen, wherein he, after he was Bishop of Galloway, concurs with other bishops and temporal lords, in introducing the magistrates of Perth to be managers of the Hospital there, and in alienating and complimenting the Hospital funds to the use of the burgh. If some others did this ignorantly, he certainly did it intentionally. Mr. Calderwood mentions a fact which shews that he had a bad opinion of himself. When on his death-bed, he discovered great agitation of mind, by frequently beating on his breast, and calling out, "A fallen star, a fallen star!"

If these observations leave any credibility with Mr. Coupar's story, it must be completely destroyed by the following undoubted circumstance. It appears, by looking into an account of the proof taken at the trial, on which the Earl and his brother were attainted and forfeited after their death, which was published by George, Earl of Cromarty, in 1713, that William Coupar was not cited as a witness in that process. I confess that the discovery of this particular did very much surprise me. To what can it be ascribed? Not to their being ignorant of what he had to say, neither can it be ascribed to a want of concern for gaining credit to their story—the violence used to the ministers of Edinburgh, who were compelled either to feign belief, or to fly their country, shews an excess of anxiety on this point. The only account that remains of his not being called is, that he could do them no good. It is easier to tell a story than to swear to the truth of it; and if Mr. Coupar could have verified what he had said by giving his oath in confirmation, it is not supposable that his evidence would have been over-

looked. By omitting to get his tale authenticated, it is to be considered, in all reason, as totally deserted; and any credit that might otherwise have been due to it, falls to the ground.

I shall now state some facts which I find to have been done by King James himself, shortly after the date of this unhappy affair, and which, it is presumed, will be looked upon as throwing much light on it. The 15th of November that same year, 1600, the King gifted a charter of confirmation to the town of Perth of all their ancient rights and privileges. The date of it is on the very day when sentence of forfeiture was pronounced against Earl Gowrie and his brother, and the whole family was disinherited, declared incapable of enjoying any possession or honour, and the very surname of Ruthven prohibited for ever. This was an exceedingly severe sentence with respect to the younger brothers, and any branches of the family who were not so much as suspected of the least concern in the matter, and gives us no very favourable idea of the impartiality and justice of those who pronounced it. When we consider the date of the charter, and the size thereof—it being a small volume—it is necessary to suppose that some time must have been employed in preparing it for the subscription, which will make the operations about it to coincide with the time spent about the trial of the alleged conspirators, which was from the 9th to the 15th of the said month of November; and there is reason to suspect that this matter might be made use of to influence the persons who had gone over from Perth to give evidence at the trial, and also to reconcile the people there to the sentence of Parliament when it should be reported. There is much reason to believe that these things were intended by it, when we examine the contents of this charter. Besides the privileges formerly enjoyed by said town, there were some new things granted that must have been highly acceptable. His Majesty then ordered that Perth should afterwards be held prior to Dundee in the roll of burghs, and that the magistrates and commissioners thereof should, in time coming, have the precedence of any magistrates or commissioners of the same order belonging to Dundee. This point had often been warmly disputed between the two jealous burghs, and was at that very time the subject of a keen, expensive, and tedious process. In 1582, the Convention of the Royal Burghs met at Perth, and this question about priority and precedence between Perth and Dundee was brought before them as a competent court, and they decided in favour of Perth. Immediately after, the burgh of Dundee com-

menced a process before the Lords of Council and Session, alleging that great injustice had been done them by the decision at Perth, which, they affirmed, had been obtained by the undue influence of William, the first Earl of Gowrie, then Provost of Perth, who had misled the Convention in that matter. His Majesty, during the subsistence of this process, by the new charter gave the point entirely in favour of Perth; but it did not end there, the process went on, and next year the matter, by desire, was submitted to his Majesty and Privy Council, who gave the priority and precedence for Perth, but endeavoured to soothe the people of Dundee by retracting some privileges respecting the navigation of the Tay, which had been also granted by the said charter of confirmation to Perth, but were now given to Dundee. Nothing could be a higher gratification to the inhabitants of Perth. It was a stretch of prerogative to think of giving it, and the very submission which afterwards took place, shews that the King was sensible he could not grant it. However, it produced the effect; the Privy Council had too much courtesy to tear up what the King had done; but this straining to favour the one town to the prejudice of the other, does ill accord with the hypothesis of the conspiracy at Perth, if we consider that the inhabitants of Dundee took arms when the report reached them that the King was in danger at Perth, and were advancing rapidly for his rescue. By this charter of confirmation, also, the sum of eighty pounds sterling, yearly, at that time paid into the Exchequer for his Majesty's use, was gifted for the following purposes, and in the following proportions, to the town of Perth: Sixty-nine pounds, eight shillings, and eightpence sterling, to an Hospital which his Majesty had some time before founded there; and the remaining ten pounds, eleven shillings, and fourpence, to the bridge; and there is a fact which I believe holds with respect to this whole donation—but I am certain respecting the share thereof which now belongs to the Hospital—that neither any charter, nor so much as any information thereof, was given to the Hospital. The original grant in favour of the poor at Perth, which is called King James's Hospital, was made in 1567, and the ministers and elders of Perth had, from said date, got the administration of certain funds belonging to said Hospital; but this second grant was kept an entire secret from them, nor did they discover it till the year 1754, one hundred and fifty-four years after it was made. Is it not surprising that King James, when he made so large an addition to the Hospital revenue, being at that time nearly equal to all the other

funds, should not have given them a charter for it, or at least instructed them of that article in the town's charter, by which they had right to demand it?

From these last-mentioned facts, I would argue in the following manner :—If there was a conspiracy at Perth against King James on the day when Earl Gowrie, and his brother, Mr. Alexander Ruthven, were killed there—if there be any truth in the circumstances mentioned by his Majesty as tending to the execution thereof—it is necessary to suppose that there were several persons in the concert prepared to support the principal actors ; at any rate, it is certain that all orders of people at Perth did on that occasion show vast attachment to the Gowrie family, and by their behaviour expressed a decided opinion that the death of Earl Gowrie their Provost, and his brother, was a cruel murder. Let us try to suppose that the King was conscious of his innocence, and that there had been a real plot to take away his life—was the town where an assassination had been attempted against him immediately after a proper object of favour ? Were those very persons—several of whom, it is likely enough, conspired to do this wicked action, and who had certainly insulted and threatened him on this trying occasion—entitled so soon to such extraordinary attention and good offices from him ? One would imagine that the dread and the resentment of it would have induced him to keep at a distance from such a place, and to banish all thoughts of it for years to come ; but before three months are over, after such a wonderful escape, to find him employing uncommon exertions to heap honours and riches on that very city where such a horrid plot had been contrived, and almost executed against him, doth in my apprehension surpass all bounds of credibility. If we make Earl Gowrie, and others about Perth, the conspirators, his Majesty's conduct is unnatural and absurd ; but if we place the conspiracy to the King's side, all the goodness shown and all the gifts bestowed were employed with much wisdom and policy to soften the sentiments of men, and put to silence their ill-natured conjectures and reflections on this subject. A long and violently contended for preference to a rival burgh must have been extremely flattering ; a donation to the poor is always a popular deed ; if, therefore, the gift to the Hospital should come to be known, it would prove an acceptable present to the people ; but if it could be kept secret (and I appeal to the impartial world, if its being kept an impenetrable secret for more than a hundred and fifty years does not give reason to believe

that there was a settled scheme of covering it with perpetual obscurity?), in this way, that donation, which was nominally to the Hospital, was actually to the township, to the people of power in the place, and was meant as a bribe to make them have favourable thoughts, or at least keep silence, about his Majesty's conduct in the matter of Earl Gowrie and his brother's death.

I have one other fact to mention, which concurs with the foregoing, in giving ground to believe that King James took no little pains, at this particular period, to conciliate the affections of the citizens of Perth, and to procure popularity among them. A manuscript chronicle, preserved in the town, called *Mercer's Manuscript*, of very good credit, contains the following particulars:—"April the 15th, 1601. The King's Majesty came to Perth, and was made burgess at the Market Cross, subscribed the Guild-Book with his own hand, *Jacobus Rex; Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos*. There were eight puncheons of wine set down at the Cross, and all drunken out. He received the banquet of the town." The same story of there having been a vast banquet and riot at Perth on that day, when his Majesty and courtiers, together with the magistrates and chief people of the place, were entertained at the expense of the town, is instructed by other vouchers, particularly by the manuscript chronicle of one Patrick Dundee; and the record of his Majesty having then been made burgess with his own subscription, as mentioned above, is still extant at Perth; and a descriptive poem of that burgh, lately published,* bears that the King was then made Provost of that town. To no other burgh did his Majesty show so much respect, and this vast favour was crowded within a smaller space than the compass of one year after Earl Gowrie's death. Perth was then a most darling object; but it does not appear that this partiality was continued to Perth, after gifts and feasting had quieted the tongues and reconciled the minds of this honoured town to their then liberal and festive monarch. These circumstances in his Majesty's conduct are not the features of innocence; they do not express either suspicion or resentment of evil having been contrived against him there; but if the King himself, and those who acted with him in the matter, have contrived this most wicked deed, no conduct could be more artfully conceived to quench the clamours of men and to smother the remembrance of mischief.

* *The Muse's Threnodie.*

I shall add a few observations, which have occurred chiefly by reading Lord Cromarty's account of this trial. The deposition of Andrew Henderson, who says that he was secretly lodged in the closet, stuffed in his coat of mail, without being instructed and pre-engaged for the part he was to act, gives an air of fiction to his whole evidence. Who can believe that he could be put upon such desperate service without being told of it, and understanding to go through with it? Such an attempt was not to be trusted, except to one whose passions were excited and courage roused, to encounter the dangers, and overcome the horrors, of such a shocking deed. The conduct of the two brothers, and their last words, as witnessed after they were gone, by the very persons who slew them, betray no consciousness of guilt nor indifference about character. Mr. Alexander Ruthven was killed coming down the turnpike-stair from the closet; he had been twice wounded in the closet, and was thereafter run through the body. He made an effort, and was able, before he expired, to turn up his face to them who had pierced him, and to say, "Alas! he was not to blame." Sir Thomas Erskine, and those who were with him, running at the King's cry towards the closet, and finding Lord Gowrie in the close before the house-door, seized him, saying, "Thou art the traitor!" on which he asked what was the matter, and said he did not know. With respect to the character of the two brothers, the King says, he was informed of Mr. Alexander, and the Duke of Lennox depones, that he informed him that he always acted as a man of prudence and worth. With respect to the Earl himself, at the University of Padua, where he had been at his education, he was so much regarded, that in his last year there he was made Rector of their College. He was much esteemed by Theodore Beza; and in the short time he lived after his return, his behaviour was open and candid, as, in the opposition to the tax proposed by his Majesty, there appeared no reserve or cunning, much less anything dark or diabolical, about him. There is nothing alleged respecting his character similar to such a deed, or that seems to approach it. In King James's character, on the other hand, there are several particulars that are equally atrocious.

The execution of William, the first Earl of Gowrie, after his Majesty was seventeen years of age, and had taken the government upon himself, for a fault which, when tried by the practice or opinion of the nation in those days, was not very great, and for which the King had solemnly pardoned him, and lived with him as fully re-

conciled, was not much inferior to it. The murder of Lord Down, about the year 1590, shortly before made Earl of Murray by the courtesy of Scotland, he having married the Countess of Murray, daughter and heiress of the good Regent, as he was called, for no other offence but because this marriage, which was offered to him by the lady's mother and herself, interfered with his politics, was fully as bad as that of Earl Gowrie and his brother; and our own historians generally say, that the King set on the Marquess of Huntly, and Goodin of Buckie, who burned the Castle of Dunnybristle, and murdered the Earl; and it is affirmed, that, with design to remove the odium of the nation, which his Majesty had incurred by this cruel assassination, he went into the General Assembly, and made that hypocritical declaration about the Presbyterian Church of Scotland being the purest in the world, and that he was resolved to protect it to his life's end. His conduct in pardoning the Earl and Countess of Somerset, for the unexampled murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, though he had prayed that God might curse him and his posterity if he pardoned them, and the execution of that great man, Sir Walter Raleigh, do clearly show that dissimulation and artifice, cunning and cruelty, were striking features in James's character; and that, supposing him to have ordered the killing of Earl Gowrie and his brother, it is not a singular nor anomalous circumstance in his history.

There was an appendix to, or second edition of, this plot, which made so much noise some years after, that it will probably be expected I should take some notice of it when canvassing this subject. In the year 1608, the Earl of Dunbar informed the King's advocate that one Sprott, a notary at Eyemouth, knew something of some secret plotting between the deceased Earl of Gowrie and Logan of Restalrig, then also deceased, against King James. Sprott is apprehended by order of the said Lord-Advocate, and he confessed that he had seen letters wrote by Restalrig about such a business, among the papers of one Laird Bower, who had been servant to Restalrig, and that he had abstracted the principal one, which he directed them how to find among his papers; and he said that he had concealed this matter till all the persons concerned in it were dead. He does not seem, then, to have thought that he was concerned in it himself, or had reason to apprehend any danger to his own person. His papers are searched; and, instead of one, five letters are produced, four of them signed Restalrig, the other not signed at all, at least the subscription taken away, and none of them

addressed to any person ; and several clergymen and others deponed that they believed they were Restalrig's writing. They speak of some dark design which was to be executed at the danger of life and fortune ; but it does not appear, from the letters, to whom they were sent, or that they were ever sent to any person. Here, then, is a gap in the evidence. To fill this, Sprott, after second thought, declares, that he had conversed on the subject with Laird Bower and Restalrig himself, and that, to his knowledge, these letters had been sent to Lord Gowrie, and returned by him, with other letters written by the Earl in answer thereto. This confidence in one who has not said that he was to be employed to act any part in the matter, appears both unnecessary and unreasonable. It is as extraordinary that, though he was admitted into the secret, he has not told what their design was ; and after the great anxiety mentioned in the letters about burning or returning them to Restalrig, it is surprising that they should have been carelessly left in the keeping of a servant, and as carelessly allowed by the servant to remain among his ordinary papers. Another thing is equally surprising, that though, according to Sprott's account, there were answers by Earl Gowrie to these letters, and Earl Gowrie was cut off prematurely in the midst of this correspondence, we must suppose, yet there were no letters about it, or traces of it found among Earl Gowrie's papers, nor indeed of any conspiracy, though all his letters and papers must have come, without disguise, into the hands of his prosecutors. Neither does this history correspond with Mr. Coupar's narrative, and the first hypothesis about Gowrie's conspiracy, which was, that he had taken no person into his secret. It as little accords with the alleged conspiracy at Perth. The King's declaration bears, that Mr. Alexander Ruthven told his Majesty there was no help for him, he must die ; whereas, by Mr. Sprott's story, Earl Gowrie and Logan of Restalrig were corresponding in the month of July. On the 29th, and even on the 31st days of that month, were letters wrote by Restalrig sent to the other, and answers received from him, of some scheme which was to be executed against the King, at Restalrig's house of Fastcastle ; if, then, the Earl and his brother were employed in settling this plot at Fastcastle till the 1st of August, which was to have been transacted there in a remote and cautious manner, how came they, so soon as the 5th of said month, to attempt assassinating the King almost publicly, and most imprudently, in the Town of Perth ? But if this story of Sprott's was as firm as a mountain in other respects, the concluding circumstance

would make it vanish into smoke. He is tried, condemned, and brought to the gallows. He there acknowledges that he well deserved to be put to death; confesses that he had told many lies about the matter; affirms that all he had said since a certain date was true; and then promises, that, before he expired, he would make some remarkable sign that what he now said was true. Accordingly his hands were left loose for the purpose; "and what was marvellous," says Lord Cromarty, "after he had hung some time, he lifted up his hands, and clapped them three times." People are not now so credulous about miracles; nor was Sprott, who, according to his own account, was a liar and a conspirator, the person by whom, or for whom, such works were to be done. If God had been to work a miracle, he could have loosed his hands, or in some other way accomplished it all himself. The having his hands loose manifestly indicates that there was some plan concerted among them, for which this clapping of the hands was to be the signal; and it is impossible to figure that it could be anything else than encouraging a worthless man to proceed with a wicked story, by a promise, that, after hanging some time, on his making this sign, which they would call a miracle, the rope should be cut, and his life spared. But dead people tell no tales; and it was safest that he should not survive this transaction, to give an explanation of it. Lord Cromarty informs us, that Dr. Abbot, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, happening to be in Scotland when Sprott was tried and executed, was convinced, by his behaviour, of the truth of Gowrie's conspiracy. But in opposition to this, Dr. Spottiswoode, who was afterwards an Archbishop also, and who knew everything about Sprott's trial, and was on the scaffold at his execution, did not believe him, and speaks of his story with contempt.

Upon the whole of this affair, I consider myself as well founded in saying, that Earl Gowrie, and his brother, Mr. Alexander Ruthven, did not conspire against King James the Sixth, as was affirmed by him, but that his Majesty did conspire against them, and caused their lives to be taken from them.

Unfortunate Earl Gowrie! thou hast been cruelly slaughtered! Horrible assassination did, on that 5th of August, which proved so fatal to thy family, deprive thy country of as promising, as valuable a nobleman, as it has at any time produced. In foreign countries, thou wast revered; in thine own nation, thou wast basely murdered! Among strangers who knew thy virtue, honour and esteem were accumulated upon thee; because thy virtue was great, when thou

didst return to thine own, thy Sovereign degraded himself to become thine assassin, because he dreaded that very virtue which others admired ! He robbed thee of thy life ; and even that was not sufficient to satisfy his spite. Courtesy and riot, donations and festivity, exhausted all their force to rob thee also of thine honourable fame, and to consign thy name to future ages in the abominable list of dark and detestable conspirators ! This was worse than tenfold murder. How insatiable is savage cruelty ! But though justice may be perverted, it cannot easily be extirpated altogether ; the sentiments of humanity may, for a time, be diverted by bribes or drowned in uproar, but they will recur in this matter. Justice and humanity are recollecting themselves ; and I doubt not but future ages will consider this article of history, which supreme power and cunning have studied to clothe with obscurity, as abundantly clear, and wonder that this ancient and honourable family, when extirpated by the cruelty of their King, should not have excited the strongest and most generous sympathy which their country could bestow.

THE KING'S NARRATIVE, OR, AS OTHERWISE STYLED, THE
 " ACCOUNT PUBLISHED BY AUTHORITY."

His Majestie having his residence at Falkland, and being daily at the buck hunting (as his use is in that season), upon the 5th day of August, being Tuesday, hee raide out to the parke between six and seven of the cloke in the morning, the weather being wonderfull pleasant and seasonable. But before his Majestie could leape on horseback (his Highnesse being now come down by the Equerie ; all the huntsmen, with the hounds, attending his Majestie on the green, and the Court making to their horses, as his Highnesse selfe was), Maister Alexander Ruthven, second brother to the late Earle of Gowrye, being then lighted in the town of Falkland, hasted him fast down to overtake his Majestie before his onleaping, as he did ; where meeting his Highnesse, after a low courtesie, bowing his head under his Majestie's knee (although hee was never wont to make so low courtesie), drawing his Majestie aparte, hee begins to discourse with him—but with a very dejected countenance, his eies ever fixed upon the earth—howe that it chanced him, in the evening before, to be walking abroad about the fields, taking the ayre solitarie alone, without the towne of Saint Johnstoun, where his present dwelling with the Lorde his brother was, and there, by accident, affirmed to have recontered

a base like fellow, unknowne to him, with a cloke cast about his mouth; whom, as hee inquired his name, and what his errand was to be passing in so solitarie a part, being from all waies, the fellow became on a sodaine so amazed, and his tongue so faltered in his mouth, that, uppon his suspitious behaviour, hee beganne more narrowly to look unto him and examine him; and perceiving that there appeared to be something hid under his cloke, he did cast by the lappet of it, and so finds a great wide pot to be under his arme, all full of coined gold in great peeces, assuring his Majestie that it was in very great quantity. Uppon the sight whereof, as hee affirmed, he tooke backe the fellow, with his burthen, to the towne, where hee, privately, without the knowledge of any man, took the fellow and bound him in a privy derved house, and after locked many doors upon him, and had hasted himself out of Saint Johnstoun that day, by four houres in the morning, to make his Majestie advertised thereof according to his bound dutie, earnestlie requesting his Majestie, with all diligence and secresie, that his Majestie might take order therewith, before any knew thereof; swearing and protesting that he had yet concealed it from all men, yea from the Earle his own brother. His Majestie's first answer was, after thanking him for his good will, that it could not become his Majestie to meddle any waies in that matter, since no man's treasure, that is a free and lawfull subject, can, by the law, appertain unto the King, except it be found hid under the earth, as this was not. Whereunto he answered, that the fellow confessed unto him, that he was going to have hid it under the ground, but could not take leizure at that time to inquire any further of him. Whereunto his Majestie replied, that there was great difference betwixt a deed and the intention of a deed, his intention to have hid it not being alike as if it had been already hid. Maister Alexander's answer was, that hee thought his Majestie over-scrupulous in such a matter, tending so greatlie to his Majestie's profit; and that if his Majestie deferred to meddle with it, then it might bee that the Lorde his brother, and other great men, might meddle with it, and make his Majestie the more adoe. Whereuppon the King, beginning to suspect that it had been some foreigne gold, brought home by some Jesuites or practising Papists, therewith to stir up some new sedition, as they have oftentimes done before, inquired of the said Maister Alexander what kinde of coyne it was, and what a fellowe he was that carried it? His answer was, that so farre as he could take leizure to see them, that they seemed to be foreigne strokes of

coyne ; and although the fellow, both by his language and fashions, seemed to be a Scots fellow, yet hee could never remember that hee had seene him before. These speeches increased his Majestie's suspection that it was foreigne coyne brought in by some practising Papists, and to be distributed into the countrie, as is before sayde ; and that the fellowe that carried it was some Scots priest, or seminarie so disguised, for the more sure transporting thereof.

Whereuppon his Majestie resolved that he would send back with the said Maister Alexander a servant of his own, with a warrand to the Provost and Bailiffes of Saint Johnstoun, to receive both the fellow and the money at Maister Alexander's hand, and, after they had examined the fellow, to retaine him and the treasure till his Majestie's further pleasure was knowne.

Whereat the said Maister Alexander stirred marvellously, affirming and protesting that if either the Lorde his brother, or the Bailiffes of the Towne, were put on the counsaile thereof, his Majestie would gett a very badde count made to him of that treasure ; swearing that the great love and affection hee bare unto his Majestie had made him to preferre his Majestie in this case bothe unto himself and his brother ; for the which service he humbly craved that recompense, that his Majestie would take the paynes once to ride thither, that he might be the first seer thereof himselfe ; which being done, hee would remitt to his Majestie's owne honourable discretion how far it would please his Majestie to consider uppon him for that service.

His Highnesse being stricken in great admiration, both of the uncouthnesse of the tale, and of the strange and stupide behaviour of the reporter—and the Court being already horsed, wondering at his Majestie's so long stay with the gentleman, the morning being so faire, the game already found, and the huntsmen staying so long on the fields on his Majestie—he was forced to break off, only with these wordes, that he could not stay any longer from his sport, but that hee would consider of the matter, and at the end of his chace give him a resolute answer what order hee would take therein ; whereuppon his Majestie parted in haste from him towards the place where the game was.

Maister Alexander parting from his Majestie very discontent, that indelayedlie he raide not to Saint Johnstoun, as he desired him, protesting that his Majestie would not finde every day such a choice of hunting as he had offered to him, and that he feared that his Majestie's long delay and slowness of resolution would breed

leisure to the fellow, who was lying bound, to cry, or make such dinne as would disappoint the secrecie of the whole purpose, and make both the fellow and the treasure to be meddled with before any worde could come from his Majestie; as also that his brother would misse him, in respect of his absence that morning, which, if his Majestie had please to haste, hee might have prevented, arriving there in the time of his brother's and the whole towne's being at the sermon, whereby his Majestie might have taken such secret order with that matter as hee pleased, before their outcomming from the church. But his Majestie, without any further answering him, leapinge on horseback, and riding to the dogs where they were beginning to hunt, the said Maister Alexander stayed still in that place where he left his Majestie, and having two men with him, appointed by the Earle his brother, to carry backe unto him the certayne news in all haste of his Majestie's comming, as hereafter more particularly shall in this same discourse be declared.

He directed the one of them—called Andrew Henderson, Chamberlain to the said Earle—to ride in all haste to the Earle, commanding him, as hee loved his brother's honour, that he should not spare for spilling of his horse, and that he should advertise the Earle that he hoped to move his Majestie to come thither, and that he should not yet look for him the space of three hours thereafter, because of his Majestie's hunting, adding these words—"Praye my Lorde my brother to prepare the dinner for us." But his Majestie was no sooner ridden up a little hill above the little woode where the dogges were layde on in hunting, but that, notwithstanding the pleasant beginning of the chase, he could not stay from musing and wondering upon the news. Whereuppon, without making any body acquainted with this purpose, finding John Nesmith, chirurgian, by chance riding beside him, his Majestie directed him back to bring Maister Alexander with him—who being brought unto his Majestie, and having newlie directed, as said is, one of his men that was with him backe to my Lorde his brother, his Majestie, unknowing or suspecting that any man living had come with him, then told him that he had been advising with himself, and, in respect of his last words so earnest with him, he resolved to ride thither for that errand in his own person, how soone the chase was ended which was already begunne. Likeas, his Majestie, upon the very ending of these words, did ride away in the chase; the said Maister Alexander did follow him at his back, no

other creature being with his Highnesse but hee and John Hamilton of Grange, one of his Majestie's master stablers, the rest of the Court being all before in the chase, his Majestie only being cast back upon the staying to speake with Maister Alexander, as is before sayde.

The chase lasted from about seaven of the clocke in the morning untill eleven and more, being one of the greatest and sorest chases that ever his Majestie was at: All which time the said Maister Alexander was, for the most part, ever at his Majestie's backe, as is sayde. But there never was any stope in the chase, or so small a delay, that the saide Maister Alexander omitted to round his Majestie, earnestly requesting him to hasten the end of the hunting, that hee might ride the sooner to Saint Johnstoun. So as, at the death of the bucke, his Majestie not staying uppon the curry of the diere (as his use is), scarcelie took time to alight, awayting the coming of a fresh horse to ride on, the greatness of the chase having wearied his horse.

But the saide Maister Alexander would not suffer the King to stay in the park where the bucke was killed while his fresh horse, which was already sent for, was brought out of the equerie to him (altho' it was not two flight-shot off betwixt the parte where the bucke was killed and his Majestie's equerie); but with verie importunitie forced his Majestie to leape on again upon that same horse that he had hunted all the day upon, his fresh horse being made to gallop a mile of the way to overtake him; his Majestie not staying so much as upon his sword, nor while the Duke and the Earle of Mar, with diverse other gentlemen in his company, had changed their horse: only saying unto them, that he was to ride to Saint Johnstoun to speak with the Earl of Gowrie, and that he would be presentlie back again before even.

Whereupon some of the Court galloped back to Falkland as fast as they coulde, to change their horse, but could not overtake his Majestie untill he came within four miles of Saint Johnstoun. Others rid forward with their horses, wearied as they were, whereof some were compelled to alight by the way; and had they not both refreshed their horses, fed them, and given them some grasse by the way, they had not carried them to Saint Johnstoun: the cause of his Majestie's servants following so fast, undesired by him, being only grounded upon a suspition they had conceived that his Majestie's intention of riding was for the apprehension of the Master of Oliphant, one who had lately done a vile and proud op-

pression in Angus, for repairing of the which they thought that his Majestie had some purpose for his apprehension.

But the said Maister Alexander, seeing the Duke and the Earle of Mar, with diverse of the Court, getting fresh horse for following of his Majestie, earnestlie desired him that he would publish to his whole traine, that since he was to return the same evening, as is afore saide, they needed not to follow him, especiallie that hee thought it meetest his Majestie should stay the Duke and the Earle of Mar to follow him, and that hee should only take three or foure of his owne servants with him—affirming that if any nobleman followed him hee could not answer for it, but that they would marr that whole purpose. Whereuppon his Majestie, half-angry, replyd, that he would not mistrust the Duke nor the Earle of Mar in a greater purpose than that, and that he could not understand what hindrance any man could make in that errand.

But these last speeches of Maister Alexander's made the King begin to suspect what it should meanne. Whereuppon many and sundrie thoughts began to enter into the King's minde: yet his Majestie could never suspect any harme to be intended against his Highnesse by the young gentleman, with whom his Majestie had been well acquainted, as he had not long before been in suite to be one of the gentlemen of his chamber. So as, the farthest his suspicion could reach to was, that it might be that the Earle his brother had handled him so hardly, that the young gentleman, being of a hie spirit, had taken such displeasure as he was become somewhat beside himself, which his Majestie conjectured, as well by raised and uncouth staring, and continual pensiveness all the time of the hunting, as likewise by such strange sorte of unlikely discourses as are already mentioned.

Whereuppon the King took occasion to make the Duke of Lennox acquainted with the whole purpose, inquiring of him very earnestly what he knew of that young gentleman's nature, being his brother-in-law, and if hee had perceived him to be subject to any high apprehension? his Majestie declaring his suspicion plainlie to the said Lord Duke, that he thought him not well settled in his wits; alwise desiring my Lord Duke not to faile to accompany him into that house where the allegid fellow and treasure was.

The Lord Duke wondered much at that purpose, and thought it very unlikelie, yet hee affirmed that hee could never perceive any such appearance in that gentleman's inclination. But Maister

Alexander perceiving his Majestie's privy conference with the Duke, and suspecting the purpose as it appeared, came to the King, requesting his Majestie very earnestlie hee should make none living acquainted with that purpose, nor suffer none to go with his Majestie where he should convey him, but himself onlie, until his Majestie had once seen the fellow and his treasure. Whereunto his Majestie, half-laughing, gave answer, that he was no good teller of money, and behoved therefore to have some to help in the errand. His reply was, that he would suffer none to see itt but his Majestie's self at the first, but afterwards he might call in whom he pleased.

These speeches did so increase his suspicion, that then he beganne directlie to suspect some treasonable devise, yet many suspicions and thoughts overwhelming everie one another in his mind, his Majestie could resolve uppone no certain thing, but rode further on his journey, betwixt trust and distrust, being ashamed to seem to suspect, in respect of the cleanness of his Majestie's owne conscience, except he had found some greater ground. Maister Alexander still pressing the King to ride faster, though his own horse was scarcelie able to keepe company with the King for weariness, having ridden with him all the chase before, the King being come two mile from Falkland, Maister Alexander stayed a little behinde the King in the way, and posted away the other servant, Andrew Ruthven, to the Earle his brother, advertising him how farre the King was on his way to come thither. Then how soone soever the King came within a mile of Saint Johnstoun, he saide to his Majestie, that he would poste in before, to advertise the Earle his brother of his Majestie's coming; who at his incomming to him was sitting at the midst of his dinner, never seeming to take knowledge of the King's coming till his brother told it him, notwithstanding that two of his servants had advertized him thereof before. And immediately upon his brother's report, rising in haste from the board and warning all the servants and friends to accompany him to meete his Majestie, who met him with three or foure score men at the end of the Inshe, his Majestie's whole traine not exceeding the number of fiftene persons, and all without any kinde of armour, except swordes, no, not so much as daggers or whingears. His Majestie stayde an hour after his comming to the saide Earl's lodging in Saint Johnstoun before his dinner came in, the langsameness of preparing the same, and badness of the cheere, being excused upon the sodaine comming of his Majestie, unlooked for there.

During which time his Majestie inquired of Maister Alexander when it was time for him to goe to that private house about that matter whereof he had informed him? who answered, that all was sure enough, but that there was no haste yet for an houre till the King had dined at leizure—praying his Majestie to leave him, and not to be seen to round with him before his brother, who, having missed him that morning, might thereupon suspect what the matter should meane. Therefore his Majestie addressed him to the Earle, and discoursed with him uppon sundrie matters, but could gette no direct answere of him but half words and imperfect sentences.

His Majestie being set down to his dinner, the saide Earle stood very pensive, and with a dejected countenance, at the end of his Majestie's table, oft rounding over his shoulder, one while to one of his servants, and another while to another, and oft times went out and in to the chamber. Which forme of behaviour he likewise kept before the King's sitting downe to dinner, but without any welcomeing of his Majestie, or any other hearty form of entertainment. The noblemen and gentlemen of the Court that were with his Majestie standing about the table, and not desired to dine (as the use is when his Majestie is once set downe, and his first service brought up) until his Majestie had almost dined. At which time the Earle convoyed them forth to their dinner, but sate not downe with them himselfe (as the common manner is), but came backe, and stood silent at the end of the King's table, as hee did before; which his Majstie perceiving, began to entertaine the Earle in a homely manner, wondering he had not remained to dine with his guests, and entertayne them there.

His Majestie being readie to rise from the table, and all his servants in the hall at their dinner, Maister Alexander standing behinde his Majestie's backe, pulled quietlie upon him, rounding in his Majestie's eare that it was time to goe, but that he would faine have beene quit of the Earle his brother, wishing the King to send him out into the halle to entertayne his guests; whereuppon the King called for drinke, and in a merry and homely manner sayde to the Earle, that although the Earle had seen the fashion of entertainements in other countries, yet hee would teach him the Scottish fashion, seeing he was a Scottish man; and therefore, since he had forgotten to drinke to his Majestie, or sit with his guests and entertayne them, his Majestie would drinke to him his own welcome, desiring hime to take it forth and drinke to the rest of the company, and in his Majestie's name to make them welcome. Where-

uppone, as he went forth, his Majestie rose from the table, and desired Maister Alexander to bring Sir Thomas Erskine with him, who, desiring the King to goe forward with him, and promising that he should make any one or two follow him that he pleased to call for, desiring his Majestie to command publickly that none should follow him. Thus the King, accompanied only with the saide Maister Alexander, comes forth of the chamber, passeth through the ende of the hall where the noblemen and his Majestie's servants were sitting at their dinner, up a turnepecke, and through three or four chambers, the saide Maister Alexander ever locking behind him every doore as he passed; and then, with a more smiling countenance than he had all the day before, ever saying he had him sure and safe enough kept; until at the last, his Majestie passing through three or foure sundry houses (?), and all the doores locked behinde him, his Majestie entered into a little study, where he sawe standing, with a very abased countenance, not a bondman, but a freeman, with a dagger at his girdle; but his Majestie had no sooner entered into that little study and Maister Alexander with him, but Maister Alexander locked to the study door behind him, and that instant changing his countenance, putting his hatte on his head, and drawing the dagger from that other man's girdle, held the point of it to the King's breast, avowing now that the King behoved to be in his will, and used as he list, swearing many bloody oaths, that if the king cryed one worde, or opened a windowe to look out, that dagger should presently goe to his heart—affirming that he was sure that howe the King's conscience was burthened for murthuring his father. His Majestie wondering at so sodaine an alteration, and standing naked, without any kinde of armour but his hunting horn, which he had not gotten leizure to lay from him, betwixt these two traytors who had conspired his life—the saide Maister Alexander standing (as is sayde) with a dagger in his hand, and his sworde at his side—but the other trembling and quakeing, rather like one condemned than an executioner of such enterprise.

His Majestie begunne then to dilate to the saide Maister Alexander how horrible a thing it was for him to meddle with his Majestie's innocent blood, assuring him it would not be left unrevenged, since God had given him children and good subjects, and if they neyther, yet God would raise uppe stocks and stones to punish so vile a deede; protesting before God that he had no burthen in his conscience for the execution of his father, both in respect that

at the time of his father's execution his Majestie was but a minor of age, and gyuded at that time by a faction which overruled both his Majestie and the rest of his countrey; as also that whatsoever was done to his father, it was done by the ordinary course of law and justice. Appealing the saide Maister Alexander upon his conscience, how well he at all times since deserved at the hands of all his race, not only having restored them to all their lands and dignities, but also in nourishing and bringing up of two or three of his sisters, as it were in his own bosome, by a continued attendance uppon his Majestie's dearest bedfellow in her privy chamber.

Laying also before him the terrors of his conscience, especially that he made profession, according to his education, of the same religion which his Majestie had ever professed; and, namely, his Majestie remembred him of that holy man, Maister Robert Rolock, whose scholar he was, assuring him that one day the saide Maister Robert's soule would accuse him that he never learned of him to practise such unnatural cruelty; his Majestie promising to him, on the word of a Prince, that if he would spare his life, and suffer him to goe out againe, he never would reveale to any flesh living what was betwixt them at that time, nor never suffer him to incur any harm or punishment for the same.

But his Majestie's fear was, that he could hope for no sparing at his hands, having such cruelties in his looks, and standing so irreverently with his hatte on, which forme of rigorous behaviour could prognosticate nothing to his Majestie but present extremitie. But at his Majestie's perswasive language he appeared to be somewhat amazed; and, uncovering his head againe, swore and protested that his Majestie's life should be safe if he would behave himselfe quietly, without making noise or crying, and that he would only bring in the Earle his brother to speake with his Majestie. Whereuppon, his Majestie inquiring what the Earle would do with him, since (if his Majestie's life was safe, according to promise) they could gaine little in keeping such a prisoner? His answer only was, that he could tell his Majestie no more, but that his life should be safe in case he behaved himselfe quietly; the Earle his brother, whome he was going for, would tell his Majestie at his comming. With that, as he was going forth for his brother, as he affirmed, he turned him about to the other man, saying these words unto him, I make you here the King's keeper till I come back againe, and see that you keepe him uppon your owne peril: and there-

withall sayde to his Majestie, you must content yourselfe to have this man now your keeper untill my comming backe.

With these words he passeth forth, locking the doore after him, leaving his Majestie with that man he found there before him, of whom his Majestie then inquired, if he were appoynted to be the murtherer of him at that time, and how farre he was upponne the counsell of that conspiracie? whose answer, with a trembling and astonished voyce and behaviour, was, that as the Lord should judge him, he was never made acquaynted with that purpose, but that he was put in there per force, and the doore locked upponne him, a little space before his Majestie's comming: as indeed all the time of the saide Maister Alexander menacing his Majestie he was ever trembling, requesting him, for God's sake, and with many other attestations, not to meddle with his Majestie, nor to do him any harme. But because Maister Alexander had, before his going forth, made the King sweare he should not cry nor open any window, his Majestie commanded the saide fellow to open the window on his right hand, which he readily did; so that, although he was put in there to use violence on the King, yet God so turned his heart as he became a slave to his prisoner.

While his Majestie was in this dangerous estate, and none of his owne servants nor traine knowing where he was, and as his Majestie's traine was arising in the hall from their dinner, the Earle of Gowrye being present with them, one of the Earl of Gowrye's servants comes hastily in, assuring the Earle his master that his Majestie was horsed and away through the Inshe; which the Earle reporting to the noblemen, and the rest of his Majestie's traine that was there present, they all rushed out together at the gate in great haste; and some of his Majestie's servants inquiring of the porter when his Majestie went forth? the porter affyrmed that the King was not yet gone forth. Whereupponne the Earle looked very angrilie upponne him, and sayde he was but a liar, yet turning him to the Duke and to the Earle of Mar, sayde he should presently get them sure word where his Majestie was, and with that ranne through the close and uppe the staires. But his purpose, indeede, was to speak with his brother, as appeared very well by the circumstance of time, his brother having at that same instant left the King in the little study, and ranne down the stairs in great haste.

Immediately after the Earle commeth back, running againe to the gate, where the noblemen and the rest were standing in amaze, assuring them that the King was gone long since out at the back

yette, and if they hasted them not the sooner, they would not overtake him ; and with that called for his horse, whereat they rushed all together out at the gate and made towards the Inshe, crying all for their horses, passing all, as it was the providence of God, under the windows of that study wherein his Majestie was. Maister Alexander very speedily returned, and at his incomming to his Majestie, casting his hands abroad in a desperate manner, saide he could not mend it, his Majestie behoved to die ; and with that offered a garter to bind his Majestie's hands, swearing he behoved to be bound.

His Majestie, at that word of binding, saide, he was borne a free King and should die a free King. Whereuppon he, gripping his Majestie by the wrest of the hand, to have bound him, his Majestie sodainly relieved himself of his gripps ; whereupon, as he putte his right hande to his sworde, his Majestie with his right hande seized upon both his hande and his sworde, and with his left hand claspt him by the throat, likeas he with his left hand claspt the King by the throat, with two or three of his fingers in his Majestie's mouth to have stayed him from crying. In this manner of wrestling his Majestie per force drove him to the window, which he had caused the other man to open unto him, and under the which was passing by at the same time the King's traine, and the Earle of Gowrye with them, as is sayde, and holding out the right side of his head and right elbow, cried that they were murdering him there in that treasonable forme ; whose voice being instantlie heard and knowne by the Duke of Lennox and the Earle of Mar, and the rest of his Majesty's traine there, the saide Earle of Gowrye ever asking what it meant ? and never seeming any wayes to have seene his Majestie or heard his voice, they all rushed in at the gate together, the Duke and the Earle of Mar running about to come by that passage his Majestie came in at. But the Earle of Gowrye and his servants made them for another way up a quiet turnepeck, which was ever condemned before, and was only then left open (as appeared) for that purpose. And in this mean time his Majestie, with struggling and wrestling with the said Maister Alexander, had brought him per force out of that study, the door whereof, for haste, had been left open at his last incomming ; and his Majestie having gotten (with long struggling) the saide Maister Alexander's head under his arme, and himselfe on his knee, his Majestie drove him back per force hard to the doore of the saide turnepeck ; and as his Majestie was throwing his sworde out of his hand, thinking to have

stricken him therewith, and then to have shotte him over the staire, the other fellowe standing behind the King's backe, and doing nothing but trembling all the time, Sir John Ramsay, not knowing what way first to enter, after he had heard the King cry, by chance finds that turnepeck doore open, and following it up to the head, enters into the chamber, and finds his Majesty and Maister Alexander struggling in that forme, as is before sayde ; and after he had twice or thrice stricken Maister Alexander with his dagger the other man withdrewd himselfe, his Majestie still keeping his grippes, and holding him close to him. Immediately thereafter he took the said Maister Alexander by the shoulders, and shotte him down the stair, who was no sooner shotte out at the doore, but he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hew Herreis, who there, upon the staire, ended him ; the said Sir Thomas Erskine being cast behind the Duke and the Earle of Mar, that ran about the other way by the occasion of his meddling with the said late Earle in the street after the hearing of his Majesty's cry. For uppon the hearing thereof, he had clasped the Earl of Gowrye by the gorget, and casting him under his feet, and wanting a dagger to have stricken him with, the said Earle's men rid the Earle their master out of his hands ; whereby he was cast behind the rest, as is sayde ; and missing the company, and hearing the sayde Sir John Ramsay's voice upponne the turnepeck head, ran up to the sayde chambre, and cryed uppon the said Sir Hew Herreis and another servant to follow him ; where, meeting with the sayde Mr. Alexander in the turnepeck, he ended him there, as is sayde—Alexander crying for his last words, Alas ! I had not the wyte of it. But no sooner could the sayde Sir Thomas, Sir Hew, and another servant winne into the chamber where his Majestie was, but that the sayde Earle of Gowrye, before they could gett the door shut, followed them in the back, having cast him directly to come up that privy passage as is before sayde ; who, at his first entry, having a drawne sworde in everie hand, and a steele bonet on his head, accompanied with seven of his servants, every one of them having in like manner a drawne sworde, cried out with a great oath, that they should all die as traitors. All the which time his Majestie was still in the chamber, who, seeing the Earle of Gowrye come in with his swordes in his hands, sought for Maister Alexander's sworde which had fallen from him at his out-shutting at the doore, having no sorte of weapons of his owne, as is sayde, but then was shutt backe by his owne servants, that were there, into the little study, and the doore shut

uppone him ; who, having put his Majestie in safety, rencountered the sayde Earle and his servants, his Majestie's servants being only in number foure, to wit, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Herreis, Sir John Ramsay, and one Wilson, a servant of James Erskine's, a brother of the sayde Sir Thomas ; the sayde Earle having seven of his own servants with him ; yet it pleased God, after many strokes on all handes, to give his Majestie's servants the victorie, the sayde Earle of Gowrye being stricken dead with a stroke through the heart, which the said Sir John Ramsay gave him, without once crying upon God, and the rest of his servants dung over the stairs with many hurts, as in like manner the sayde Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir Hew Herreis, and Sir John Ramsay, were all three very sore hurt and wounded.

But all the time of this fight, the Duke of Lennox, the Earle of Mar, and the rest of his Majestie's traine, were striking with great hammers at the outer doore whereby his Majestie passed uppe to the chamber with the saide Maister Alexander, which also he had locked in his by-comming with his Majestie to the chamber ; but by reason of the strength of the saide double doore, the whole wall being likewise of boardes, and yielding with the strokes, it did bide them the space of halfe-an-houre and more before they could get it broken, and have enterensse, who, having met with his Majestie, delivered from so imminent a perill, and the saide late Earle, the principal conspirator, lying dead at his Majestie's feete, immediately thereafter his Majestie, kneeling down on his knees, in the midst of his owne servants, and they all kneeling rounde about him, his Majestie, out of his owne mouth, thanked God of that miraculous deliverance and victory, assuring himselfe that God had preserved him from so despaired a perill for the perfeiting of some greater work behind to his glory, and for procuring by him the weale of his people that God had committed to his charge. After this the tumult of the towne—hearing of the slaughter of the saide Earle of Gowrye, the Provost, and not knowing the manner thereof, nor being of the counsel of his treasonable attempt—continued for the space of two or three houres thereafter, untill his Majestie, by speaking oft to them out of the windowes, and beckoning to them with his own hand, pacified them, causing the bailiffes and the rest of the honest men of the town to be brought into the chamber ; to whom, having declared the whole forme of that strange accident, he committed the house and bodies of the saide traitorous brethren to their keeping, untill his Majestie's further pleasure were knowne.

His Majestie having, before his parting out of the towne, caused to searche the saide Earle of Gowrye's pockets, in case any letters that might further the discovery of the conspiracy might be found therein. But nothing was found in them but a little close parchment bag full of magical characters and wordes of enchantment, wherein it seemed that he had put his confidence, thinking himself never safe without them, and therefore carried them about with him; being also observed, that while they were upon him, his wound, whereof he died, bled not; but incontinent, after the taking of them away, the blood gushed out in great abundance, to the great admiration of all the beholders—an infamy which hath followed and spotted the race of this house for many descents, as is notoriouslie knowne to the whole countrie.

Thus the night was far spent, being near eight houres at evening before his Majestie could (for the great tumult that was in the town) depart out of the same. But before his Majestie had ridden foure miles out of the same towards Falkland, although the night was very dark and rainy, the whole way was clad with all sort of people, both horse and foot, meeting him with great joy and acclamation. The frequence and concourse of persons of all degrees to Falkland the rest of the weeke, and to Edinburgh the next, from all the quarters of the countrie, the testimonie of the subjectes' hearty affection and joy for his Majestie's delivery, expressed every where, by ringing of bells, bonfires, shooting off guns of all sortes both by sea and land, &c. with all other things issuing thereuppon, I have of set purpose pretermitted, as well knowne to all men, and impertinent to this discourse, contenting myself with this plain and simple narration; adding only, for explanation and confirmation thereof, the depositions of certaine personnes who were either actors, or eye witnesses, or immediate hearers of those things that they declare and testify; wherein if the reader shall find any thing differing from the narration, either in substance or circumstance, he may understand the same to be uttered by the deponer in his owne behoofe for obtaining of his Majestie's princely grace and favour.

As the present inquiry does not extend to any parts of the transaction but such as took place within the house, or in its immediate neighbourhood, it does not appear necessary to insert here the whole evidence. Much of it respects the previous conduct of the Earl, his habits and opinions. All such portions of it, together with the subsequent depositions of Sprott, are at present laid aside.

Our present inquiry is simply how far the statements made by eye-witnesses are confirmed or refuted by local circumstances.

The most material evidence is that of Andrew Henderson, who affirmed that he was with the King and Alexander Ruthven when they were closeted together. This man was twice examined; first at Falkland, and afterwards on the trial at Edinburgh. His depositions follow at length, along with those of the Duke of Lennox, and others.

HENDERSON'S DEPOSITION AT FALKLAND.

ANDREW HENDERSOUN sworn and examined, and demaunded, What purpose was betwixt him and the Earle of Gowrye, upon Munday at night, the fourth of this instant, in the sayde Earle's chamber? depones, That the Earle inquired of him what hee would be doing upon the morne? and hee answered, that he was to ride to Ruthven. The Earle sayde to him, "You must ride to Falkland with Maister Alexander my brother, and when he directs you backe, see that ye returne with all diligence, if he send a letter or any other advertisement with you." Depones, that the Maister directed him to send for Andrew Ruthven to be in readinesse to ride with them the morrow at foure houres in the morning. Declares, that they coming to Falkland about seven houres in the morning, the Maister stayed in a lodging beside the palace, and directed the deponer to see what the King was doing; and the deponer finding his Majestie in the close comming forth, he past backe, and told the Maister, who immediately addressed himselfe to his Highnesse, and spake with his Majestie a good space beneth the equirie: and after his Majestie was on horsebacke, the Maister cometh to the deponer, and commaunds him to fetch their horses, and bade him haste him, as he loved my lorde's honour and his, and advertise my lord that his Majestie and he would be there incontinent, and that his Majestie would be quiet. And the deponer inquiring of the Maister if he should goe presently, he did bid him leap on and follow him, and not to goe away until he spoke with the King. And the Maister having spoke with the King at a breache in the park wall, he turned backe and bade the deponer ride away; and the deponer making his returne in all possible haste to Saint Johnstoun, he founde my lorde in his chamber about ten houres, who left the companie he was speaking with, and came to the deponer, and asked, "Hath my brother sent a letter with you?" The deponer answered, "No; but they will be all here incontinent, and bade the deponer desire my lord to cause prepare the

dinner." Immediately thereafter my lord took the deponer to the cabinet, and asked at him, "How his Majestie took with the Maister his brother?" The deponer answered, "Very well; and that his Majestie laid his hand over the Maister's shoulder." Thereafter my lord inquired if there were many at the hunting with the King? the deponer answered, that he took no heede, but they who were accustomed to ride with his Majestie, and some English men, were there; and that my lorde inquired what special men were with his Majestie? and that the deponer answered, he did see none but my Lord Duke. And within an houre thereafter, when the deponer came in from his owne house, the Earle bad him put on his secret, and plaitte sleeves, for he had an Hylandman to take; which the deponer did incontinent: and about twelve houres, when the deponer was going out to his own house to dinner, the steward came to him; and told him that George Craigengelt was not well, and was laine downe, desired him to tarry and take up my lord's dinner: and about halfe an houre after twelve, my lorde commanded him to take up the first service. And when the deponer was commanded to take up the second service, the Maister and William Blaire came into the hall to my lord. The deponer remembereth himselfe, that Andrew Ruthven came before the Maister a certain space, and spake with my lord quietlie at the table, but heard not the particular purpose that was amongst them. And so soone as the Maister came to the hall, my lord and the whole company rose from the table; and the deponer hearing the noyse of their forthgoing, supposed they were going to make breaks for Maconilduy, and the deponer sent his boy for his gantlet and steel-bonnet; and seeing my lorde pass to the Inshe, and not to the Shoegate, the deponer did cast the gantlet in the pantry, and caused his boy to take his steele-bonnet to his own house. And he followed my lorde to the Inshe, and returned backe with his Majestie to the lodging, being directed to get drinke. And the Maister came to the deponer, and did bid him cause Maister William Rynde to send him up the keye of the gallerie chamber, who past up and delivered the key to the Maister; and immediately my lorde followed up, and did speake with the Maister, and came downe againe, and directed Maister Thomas Cranstone to the deponer, to come to his lordship in his Majestie's chamber. And that my lord directed him to go up to the gallerie to his brother; and immediately my lorde followed up, and commanded the deponer to bide there with his brother, and to do any thing

that he bade him. The deponer inquired at the Maister, "What have ye to do, Sir?" The Maister answered, "Yee must go in here and tarry till I come backe, for I will take the key with me." So he locked the deponer in the round within the chamber, and tooke the key with him. Shortly thereafter, the Maister returned, and the King's Majestie with him, to the saide cabinet in the rounde; and the Maister opening the doore, entered with the King into the sayde rounde; and at his very entrie, covering his head, pulled out the deponer's dagger, and held the same to his Majestie's breast, saying, "Remember ye of my father's murder? Yee shall now die for it." And minting to his Highness' heart with the dagger, the deponer threw the same out of the Maister's hand, and swore, that as God shall judge his soul, if the Maister had retained the dagger in his hand the space that a man may goe six steps, he would have stricken the King to the hilts with it; but wanting the dagger, and the King's Majestie giving him a gentle answeere, he sayde to the King's Majestie, with abominable oathes, that, if he would keepe silence, nothing should aile him, if he would make suche promise to his brother as they would crave of him. And the King's Majestie inquiring what promise they would crave? he answered, that he would bring his brother. So hee goes forth, and lockes the doore of the round upon his Majestie and the deponer, having first taken oathe of the King that he should not crie nor opene the windowe. And his Majestie inquiring of the deponer what he was? he answered, "A servant of my lorde's." And his Majestie asking of the deponer if my lord would do any evil to him? the deponer answered, "As God shall judge my soul, I shall die first." And the deponer pressing to have opened the window, the Maister entered, and said, "Sir, there is no remedie; by God, you must die." And having a loose garter in his hand, pressing to have bound his Majestie's hands, the deponer pulled the garter out of Maister Alexander his hands; and then the Maister did put one of his hands in his Majestie's mouth, to have stayed him to speake, and helde his other arme about his Majestie's necke, and that this deponer pulled the Maister's hand from his Majestie's mouthe, and opened the windowe, and then his Majestie cryed out thereat; whereuppone his Highnesse' servants came in at the gate, and this deponer did runne and open the doore of the turnpecke head, whereat John Ramsay entered; and the deponer stode in the chamber untill he did see John Ramsay give the Maister a stroke, and thereafter privily con-

veyed himself downe the turnpecke to his own house; and the deponer's wife inquiring of him what the fray meant? the deponer answered, that the King's Majestie would have been twice sticked had not hee relieved him. Further, the sayde Andrew Henderson depones, that after his returning from Falkland, on the 5th of this instant, Maister John Moncrieff inquiring of him where he had beene? he answered, that he had beene beyond the Bridge of Erne, and says, that he gave that answeere to Maister John, because my lord had commanded him to let no man know that he was to ride to Falkland; and that my lord's direction to him was, to come backe with his brother Maister Alexander's answeere, and to leave Andrew Ruthven to awaite upon the Maister. Further, the sayde Andrew Henderson depones, that, when he had taken the Maister's hand out of the King's mouth, and was opening the windowe, Maister Alexander sayde to him, "Wilt thou not helpe? woe be-tyde thee, thou wilt make us all die."

The Parliament was summoned to meet at Edinburgh, on the 1st of November, for the trial; but, being repeatedly adjourned, it was the 15th of the month before they proceeded to adduce evidence.

DEPOSITIONS AT THE TRIAL.

ANDREW HENDERSON, Chamberlain of Scoon, sworn, depones, That he is of the age of thirty-eight years. Declares, that upon Munday at night, the fourth day of August last past, this deponent being, after supper, in company with the Earl of Gowrie and Mr. Alexander Ruthven, within my lord's own chamber, the Earl of Gowrie inquired at this deponent what he had to do to-morrow? to whom this deponent answered, that he had to do to ride to Ruthven to speak with the tennants. Then the Earl of Gowrie answered, "Stay that journey; you must ride to Falkland in company with my brother Mr. Alexander, and take with you Andrew Ruthven, and that ye be ready to ride be four hours in the morning; and haste thou back with answer, as my brother orders you by writ or otherways; and let Andrew Ruthven remain with my brother." And in the morning, after four hours, they rode all three to Falkland; and coming to Falkland, they lighted at John Balfour's house, and seeing that Colonel Edmund was there, they lodged in an Lam's house. And the Master sent this deponent, about seven hours in the morning, to see what the King's Majesty was doing; and as he was within the place he saw the King's Ma-

jesty coming forth, midcloss, booted; and then he returned back again to the Master, and said to him, "Haste ye, the King's Majesty is coming forth;" and incontinent the Master followed his Majesty, and spake with his Majesty foreanent the equirie, and the King laid his hand on his shoulder and clapped him, where they spake together be the space of an quarter of an hour. And thereafter the Master directed this deponent to ride to Perth in haste, as he loved the Lord Gowrie's and his honour, and advertise his brother that his Majesty will be there with a few number incontinent, and cause make his dinner ready. Then this deponent answered, "Shall I ride presently?" The Master answered, "No, but stay a while, and follow the King and me, while I speak with his Majesty again." And as his Majesty was riding through the sloap [breach] of the park dyke the Master spake to his Majesty, and immediately thereafter the Master bade this deponent pass to St. Johnstoun with all possible diligence, according to his former directions. And at this deponent's coming to Perth (it was shortly after ten hours in the morning), he entered in the Lord of Gowrie's chamber, where he saw his lord speak with George Hay and Mr. Peter Hay. And how soon my Lord of Gowrie saw this deponent, he inquired, secretly, what word he had brought from his brother, and if he had brought a letter? This deponent answered, that the Master his brother bade tell his lordship, that the King's Majesty would be there incontinent, and bade haste his dinner. Then the Earl bade this deponent follow his lordship to the cabinet, and speired at him how his Majesty had tane with his brother? He answered, that he was well tane with; and when he did his courtesie the King laid his hand upon his shoulder. The Earl speired what number of persons was with the King at the hunting? who answered, that he knew not well, but that there were sundry of his own with him, and some English men; and then the Earl speired what noblemen was with him? he answered, none but my Lord Duke. And thereafter this deponent past to his own house in the town, and took off his boots, and returned to the Earl within an hour; and how soon the Earl saw him in his chamber, he called upon this deponent, and bade him put on his secret [a coat of mail] and plate sleeves; the deponent inquired to what effect? the Earl answered, "I have an Highland man to take in the Shoegate;" and then the deponent past to his own house, and putting on his secret and plate-sleeves, came back again to the Earl of Gowrie's house. And about half-an-hour to one the Earl commanded this deponent

take up his dinner, and this deponent past and took up the first service by reason George Craigingelt was sick. And incontinent the said Earl past to his dinner, accompanied with Mr. John Moncreif, Laird of Pitcreif, Master James Drummond, Alexander Peebles, Baron of Findowne. And shortly after the first service was set down, my lord sitting at the table with the foresaid company, Andrew Ruthven came in from the Master, and rounded to the Earl, but heard not what he said; and shortly after, this deponent passing down to take up the second service, Mr. Alexander Ruthven and William Blair came in to the Earl, my lord sitting at his dinner; and how soon my lord saw them, he and his hail company rose from the table; and then this deponent, hearing my lord on foot, bid send for his steel bonet and gantlet, believing that my lord was going to take the said Highland man. And as this deponent perceived my lord passing to the Inch, and not to the Shoegate, he sent home his steel bonet, and cast his gantlet in the pantry, and thereafter followed the Earl to the Inch, where he saw the said Earl with his Majesty, the Duke, and the Earl of Mar, and came in all together to the Earl's house. The Master of Ruthven speired at this deponent where the key of the gallery-chamber was? who answered, that he handled not that key since the Earl came in Scotland. Then the Master bid this deponent speak to Mr. William Rhind to give to him the said key. And the Master passing up to the gallery, Mr. William Rhind followed him, and gave to him the said key. And thereafter, immediately after his Majesty's down-sitting to his dinner, Mr. Thomas Cranston came to this deponent, and bade him gang to the Earl of Gowrie, which this deponent did. And the Earl of Gowrie, in the outer-chamber where the King dined, spake to this deponent secretly, and bade him pass to the gallerie to his brother. So he passed up, and the Earl follows him; and they being all three together in the gallery-chamber (whereof he had the key from Mr. William Rhind), the Earl said to this deponent, "Tarry still with my brother, and do anything he bids you." Then this deponent came to the Master, and speired, "What will you do with me, Sir?" Then the Master spoke to my lord, "Let Andrew Henderson go into the round [study or closet] of the chamber, and I will lock him in, and take the key of the chamber with me"—where this deponent bode half-an-hour or thereby, locked his allane, having his secret, plate-sleeves, sword, and whinger with him, and wanting his steel-bonet. And all this time, this deponent feared some evil to be done. That,

upon this, he kneeled and prayed to God ; and about the end of the half-hour, Mr. Alexander opens the door of the room, and entered first within the same, having the King's Majesty by the arm, and puts his hat upon his head, draws forth this (Andrew Henderson) deponent's whinger, and says to the King, having the drawn whinger in his hand, " Sir, you must be my prisoner ; remember on my father's death." And as he held the whinger to his Majesty's breast, this deponent threw the samen furth of Mr. Alexander's hands. And the time that Mr. Alexander held the whinger to his Majesty's breast the King was beginning to speak. The Master said, " Hold your tongue, Sir, or by Christ yee shall die." Then his Majesty answered Mr. Alexander, " Ye and I were very great together ; and as touching your father's death, man, I was but a minor. My council might have done anything they pleased. And farther, man, albeit ye bereave me of my life, ye will not be king of Scotland, for I have both sons and daughters ; and there are men in this town, and friends, that will not leave it unrevenged." Then Mr. Alexander answered, swearing with a great oath, that it was neither his life nor his blood that he craved, and the King said, " What traiks [then] albeit ye take off your hat ?" and then Mr. Alexander took off his hat. And the King said, " What is it ye crave, man, and ye crave not my life ?" Who answered, " Sir, it is but a promise." The King answered, " What promise ?" The said Mr. Alexander answered, " My Lord, my brother, will tell you." The King said, " Fetch lither your brother." And syne the said Master Alexander said to the King, " Sir, you will not cry, nor open the window, while I come again ?" and the King promised so to do. Then Master Alexander past forth and locked, and past not from the door, as he believes. In the meantime the King entered into discourse with this deponent, " How came you in here, man ?" And this deponent answered, " As God lives, I am shut in here like a dog." The King answered, " Will my Lord of Gowrie do me any evil, man ?" This deponent answered, " I vow to God I shall die first." And then the King bade the deponent open the window ; and he opened the window that looked to the Spy-Tower. And the King answered, " Fy, the wrong window, man." And thereafter this deponent passing to the other window nearest to his Majesty to open the same, before he got to the window Mr. Alexander opened the door, and came in again, and said to his Majesty, " By God, there is no remedy." And then he lous to the King, and got him by both the hands, having an garter in his

hands. Then the King answered, "I am a free Prince, man; I will not be bound." So his Majesty cast loose his left hand from Mr. Alexander. And at that same time this deponent draws away the garter from Mr. Alexander, his Majesty louns free from the said Mr. Alexander, and the said Mr. Alexander follows his Majesty, and, with his left hand above his Majesty's craig, puts his right neeve [fist] in his Majesty's mouth; so his Majesty, wrestling to be quit of him, this deponent puts his hand out of his Majesty's mouth. And thereafter this deponent did put his left hand over his Majesty's left shoulder, and pulled up the broad of the window, whereunto the said Mr. Alexander had thrust his Majesty's head and shoulders, and with the force of the drawing up of the window presses his Majesty's body about, his right side to the window; at which time his Majesty cries forth, "Treason, treason!" So the Master said to this deponent, "Is there no help with thee? Wo worth thee, villain, we all die." So twining his hand on the guard of his own sword, and incontinent the King's Majesty put his hand on the Master's hands and stayed him from drawing of his sword. And this ways they, being both grasped together, came furth of the cabinet to the chamber. In the meantime this deponent threw [turned] about the key then standing in the door at the head of the turnpike which entered to the chamber, and opened the door thereof to eschew [escape] himself, and to let his Majesty's servants in; and how soon he opened the door, John Ramsay came in at the same door with an hawk on his hand, and passed to the King's Majesty, and laid about him, and drew his whinger; and as he saw him minting with the whinger, this deponent past forth at the said door and passed down the turnpike. And as this deponent passed through the closs and came to the foregate, this deponent saw the Earl of Gowrie standing before the gate, accompanied by sundry persons, of whom he remembers none; but remembers well that the Earl had this deponent's knapschaw or head-piece on his head, and two swords drawn in his hands. And incontinent thereafter this deponent passed to his own lodging, where he remained while the King passed furth of the town; and then this deponent passed to the bridge and walked up and down for the space of an hour, and returned not again to the Earl's lodging. At the time of his entry to his house that night, this deponent's wife inquired at this deponent, "What trouble was within the place?" to whom he answered, "Well is me of one thing, that if I had not been there, the King had been twice sticked this night; but wo's me for the thing that is

fallen out." And this deponent being demanded by John Moncrieff, after his returning from Falkland, "Where have you been with your boots on?" answered, he had been two or three miles beyond Erne, and durst not tell him the veritie, by reason the Earl of Gowrie had discharged him to tell the errand he sent him to any body. And farther, this deponent declares, that when he saw the Earl of Gowrie standing with the drawn swords before the gate, this deponent spoke not to the Earl, neither yet the Earl to him at that time, but he passed to his own house.

The DUKE of LENNOX, sworn and examined, depones, That upon the 5th day of August last bypast, this deponent, for the time being in Falkland in company with his Majesty, he saw Mr. Alexander Ruthven speaking with his Grace before the stables, betwixt six and seven in the morning; and shortly thereafter, his Majesty passing to the hunting of the buck, and having slain one in the park of Falkland, his Highness spake to the deponent, desyring him to accompany his Majesty to Perth, to speak to the Earl of Gowrie. And incontinent thereafter this deponent sent his servant for another horse, and for a sword, and lap on and followed his Grace; and as this deponent overtook his Grace, Mr. Alexander Ruthven was speaking with his Majesty; and shortly after the deponent's coming to the King, his Highness rode apart, and spake with this deponent, saying, "Ye cannot guess, man, what errand I am riding for? I am going to get a pose in Perth; and Mr. Alexander Ruthven has informed me, that he has fund a man that has a pitchard full of coined gold of great sorts." And in the meantime his Highness inquired of this deponent of what humour he thought Mr. Alexander to be of? who answered, that he knew nothing of him but as of an honest, discreet gentleman. And after that his Highness had declared to this deponent the hail circumstances of the man who had the said gold, the place where it was found, and where it was kept, this deponent answered, "I like not that, Sir, for that is not likely." And they riding beside the Bridge of Erne, his Majesty called to the deponer that Mr. Alexander desyred him to keep that matter of the pose secret, and take nobody with him; and then his Highness, both at that time and thereafter at St. Johnstoun within the Earl of Gowrie's hall, said to this deponer, "Take tent where I pass with Mr. Alexander Ruthven, and follow me." And as his Majesty was within a mile to Pearth, after that Mr. Alexander had come a certain space

with his Highness, he rode away and galloped to Pearth before the rest of the company, towards his brother's lodging, of purpose (as the deponent believes) to advertise the Earle of Gowrie of his Majesty's coming there; and as his Majesty was within two pair of butt-langs to the town of Pearth, the Earl of Gowrie, accompanied with diverse persons all on foot, met his Highnesse in the Inche, and saluted him; and immediately thereafter, his Majesty, accompanied with this deponer, the Earl of Mar, Inchaffrey, Sir Thomas Erskine, laird of Urchil, James Erskine, William Stuart, Sir Hugh Heries, Sir John Ramsay, John Murray, John Hamilton of the Grange, and John Grahame of Balgowie [Balgowan], past all together in the Earl of Gowrie's hall, the said Earl of Gowrie and the said Mr. Alexander Ruthven being baith present with them; and after their entry, his Majesty cry'd for a drink, which was a long time a coming; and it was an hour after his first coming before his Majesty got his dinner; and in the time that his Majesty got his desert, the Earl of Gowrie came to this deponent, and to the Earl of Mar, and remanent persons foresaid, and desired them to dine, which they did, in the hall; and when they had near hand dined, the Earl of Gowrie came from his Majesty's chamber, to drink his scoll [health] to my Lord Duke and the rest of the company, which he did. And immediately after the scoll had past about, this deponent raise from the table to have waited upon his Majesty, conform to his former direction; and then the Earl of Gowrie said to the deponent, that his Majesty was gone up quietly some quiet errand; and then the Earl of Gowrie cryed for the key of his garden, and pass'd in company with this deponent to the garden, accompanied with Lindores and Sir Hugh Herries, and certain others; and shortly after their being in the garden, Mr. Thomas Cranston came down to the garden, crying, "The King's Majesty is on horseback and ridden through the Inche;" and then the Earl of Gowrie cryed, "Horse, horse!" and the said Mr. Thomas Cranston answered to him, "Your horse is in town;" to which the Earl of Gowrie made him no answer, but cried ay, "Horse, horse!" And this deponent and the Earl of Gowrie came first out of the garden, through the hall, to the closs, and came to the oute-gate; and this deponent speired at the porter if the King was furth? who answered, that he was assured that his Majesty was not come furth of the place. Then the Earl of Gowrie said, "I am sure he is first always; stay, my Lord, drink, and I shall gang up, and get the verity and cer-

tainty thereof." And the said Earl of Gowrie passed up, and incontinent came again to the closs, and he affirmed to this deponent that the King's Majesty was furth at the back gate and away. Whereupon this deponent, the Earl of Gowrie, and Mar, and hail company, past furth at the fore gate of the lodging, and staid before the same gate, upon the street; and as they were standing there, advising where to seek the King, incontinent, and in the mean time, this deponent heard a voice, and said to the Earl of Mar, "This is the King's voice that crys, be where he will." And so they all looked up to the lodging, and saw his Majesty looking furth of the window, wanting his hat, his face being red, and an hand gripping his cheek and mouth; and the King cry'd, "I am murdered! Treason! My Lord Mar, help, help!" And incontinent this deponent, the Earl of Mar, and their company, ran up the stair of the gallery chamber, where his Majesty was, to have relieved him. And as they passed up, they found the door of the chamber fast; and seeing a ladder standing beside, they rashed at the door with the ladder, and the steps of the ladder brake; and syne they send for hammers, and notwithstanding large forcing with hammers, they got not entry at the said chamber; while after the Earl of Gowrie and his brother were both slain, that Robert Brown past about be the back door, and came to his Majesty, and assured his Highness that it was my Lord Duke and the Earl of Mar that was stricking up the chamber-door, and the hammer was given through the hole of the door of the chamber, and they within brake the door, and gave them entry. And at their first entry they saw the Earl of Gowrie lying dead in the chamber, Mr. Alexander Ruthven being slain and taken down the stair before their entry. And at their first entry within that chamber where the King's Majesty was, the deponent saw sundry halberts and swords stricking under the door of the chamber and sides thereof, by reason the same was nae closs door, and knew none of the strickers, except Alexander Ruthven, one of the defenders, who desired to speak with this deponent through the door, and spiered at him, "For God's sake, tell me how my Lord of Gowrie was." To whom this deponent answered, "He is well." And the said deponent bade Alexander go his way, and that he was an fool, and that he would get little thanks for that labour; and, in the mean time, as they were continuing to strick with halberts under the door, meikle John Murray, servant to Tullibardin, was stricken through the leg; and how soon the said Alexander Ruthven had heard the said Lord

Duke speak, he and his hail complices past from the said door, and made no more trouble thereafter thereat, and past down to the closs, and stood there ; and saw none of the remanent defenders present at the doing of the violent turns that day, except by report, but the said Alexander Ruthven. But says that he saw Hugh Monerief, and Alexander Daithvenies, and Patrick Eviot, with the Earl of Gowrie, at the King's dinner that day. And that, before and thereafter, looking over the chamber window, he saw George Craigengelt and Alexander Ruthven ; and did see others of the Earl of Gowrie's servants, whom this deponent knew not, standing in arms within the closs. And also saw other persons carrying an joist from the town to the closs of the Earl of Gowrie's lodging ; and declares, that there abode sundry persons within the said closs, and in the High Street, before the said Earl's lodging, crying and making tumult, to the space of two hours and mair, next after the death of the said Earl of Gowrie and his brother.

The EARL of MAR, sworn and examined, depones, conform to the Lord Duke of Lennox's deposition, in all things substantial.

The ABBOT of INCHAFFREY, sworn and examined, deponed in confirmation of the testimony of the Earl of Mar and Duke of Lennox.

The ABBOT of LINDORES, sworn and examined, depones, Conform to the Lord Duke of Lennox in all things. *Addendo*, That after dinner, when word was of his Majestie's departure towards Falkland, that they had altogether come down to the porter, and had inquired at him, " Gif the King's Majestie was gone furth ? " The porter answered, " He was not passed furth ; " and the Earl of Gowrie affirmed that he was passed furth at the back-gate ; and the porter said to the Earl of Gowrie, " That cannot be, my lord, because I have the key of the back-gate." And after that his Majestie had cried furth of the round, " Treason, treason ! " this deponent saw James Erskine incontinent lay hands on the Earl of Gowrie upon the High Street ; and immediately Sir Thomas Erskine gripped the Earl of Gowrie : " Fy, traitor ! this is thy deed : thou shalt die." Then the Earl of Gowrie answered, " I ken nothing of the matter." Then instantly the Earl of Gowrie's men rugged the said Sir Thomas Erskine and James Erskine from the Earl of Gowrie ; who incontinent ran the space of half an pair of butt-lands from them towards Glenurchan's house, and drew furth

his two swords, and cried, "I will either be at my house, or die by the gate." And incontinently thereafter the said Earl, accompanied with thirty persons, or thereby, passed within the said place, wherein his Majesty was for the time; and shortly after, the deponent, as appeared to him, saw a multitude of people carrying a joist towards the place.

Sir THOMAS ERSKINE, of the age of thirty-six years, sworn, depones, Conform to the Lord of Inchaffrey, and Lord of Lindores. *Addendo*, That immediately after he heard his Majesty cry forth of the window of the round, "Fy, help! I am betray'd, they are murdering me!" he ran with diligence towards the place, to have helped his Majesty; and before his entry, seeing the Earl of Gowrie, this deponent and his brother gripped him by the neck, and said to him, "Traytor, this is thy deed." Whilk Earl answered, "What is the matter? I ken nothing." Immediately the Earl's servants severed him from this deponent and his brother. And when this deponent entered within the close, he foregathered with Sir Hugh Herries, who demanded of the deponent what the matter meant? and in the meantime, the deponent heard Sir John Ramsay crying out at the turnpike head, "Fy, Sir Thomas; come up the turnpike, even to the head." And as this deponent had passed up five steps of the turnpike, he sees and meets with Mr. Alexander Ruthven, blooded in two parts of his body, viz. in his face and in his neck; and incontinent this deponent crys to Sir Hugh Herries, and others that were with him, "Fy, this is the traytor, strike him!" and incontinent he was stricken by them, and fell; and as he was fallen, he turned his face and cryed, "Alas! I had not the wyte [blame] of it;" this deponent being standing above him in the turnpike. Thereafter this deponent passed to the head of the turnpike, and entered within the chamber at the head of the gallery, where the King and Sir John Ramsay were there alone present; and at the first meeting this deponent said to his Majesty, "I thought that your Majesty would have concredited more to me nor to have commanded me to have awaited your Majesty at the door, gif ye thought it not meet to have taken me with you." Whereupon his Majesty answered to this deponent, "Alas! the traytor deceived me in that, as he did in the leave [rest]; for I commanded him expressly to bring you to me, which he promised to me to do; and returned back, as I thought to fetch you, but he did nothing but steiked [shut] the

door." Shortly thereafter Sir Hugh Herries followed the deponent into the chamber, and George Wilson, servant to James Erskine. And immediately thereafter Mr. Thomas Cranstoun, with his sword drawn in his hand, entered within the said chamber; and the Earl of Gowrie followed him within the same chamber, with an drawn sword in every one of his hands, and an knapschaw [helmet] on his head, who struck at this deponent and his colleagues an certain space. Likeas they defended them and struke again. And that same time the deponent was hurt in the right hand be Mr. Thomas Cranstoun; and this deponent heard my Lord of Gowrie speak some words at his entry, but understands them not. At last Sir John Ramsay gave the Earl of Gowrie an dead straik; and then the Earl lean'd him to his sword, and the deponent saw a man hold him up whom he knew not; and how soon the Earl fell to the ground, Mr. Thomas Cranstoun, and the remanent who accompanied him, departed and passed down the turnpike. And the deponent remembers, that at that time there were more persons in the chamber with the Earl of Gowrie by [besides] Mr. Thomas Cranstoun, but knew nane of them, except he believes that an black man that was there in company within the chamber was Hugh Moncrief, but the deponent knows not well whither or not it was Hugh Moncrief.

Sir JOHN RAMSAY, of the age of twenty-three years, or thereby, sworn, depones, That immediately after he had dined, the day libelled, in the Earl of Gowrie's house, he took his Majesty's hawk from John Murray, to the effect the said John might have dined; and the deponent missing his Majesty, and foregathering with the Laird of Pittencreif in the Earl of Gowrie's hall, and demanding of Pittencreif where his Majesty was? the said Laird first convoy'd the deponent to the chamber where the King dined; thereafter to the yeard [garden], hoping that his Majesty had been there; and missing his Majesty in the yeard, convoy'd the deponent up to an fair gallery, where the deponent was never before; where having remained a certain space beholding the gallery, they came both down to the closs, where they met with Mr. Thomas Cranstoun in the midst of the closs, who said to them that his Majesty was away upon horseback at the Inch; whereupon this deponent and Pittencreif sindered, and the deponent passed furth of the gate to his stable, to have gotten his horse; and being standing at the stable door, he heard his Majesty's cry, knew his Highness's voice, but

understood not what he spoke ; whereupon he comes immediately within the closs, and finding an turnpike door open, he enters within the samen, and runs up the turnpike, while he comes to the door upon the head thereof, and hearing an struggling and din of men's feet, he ran with his hail force at the door of the turnpike head, which enters to the chamber at the end of the gallery, the deponent having in the mean time his hawk on his hand ; and having dung open the door, he sees his Majesty and Mr. Alexander Ruthven in other's arms, striving and wrestling together, his Majesty having Mr. Alexander's head under his arm, and Mr. Alexander, being almost on his knees, had his hand upon his Majesty's face and mouth ; and his Majesty, seeing the deponent, cry'd, "Fy ! strike him laigh, because he has an pyne doublet upon him." Whereupon the deponer cast the hawk from him, and drew his whinger, wherewith he strake the said Mr. Alexander ; and immediately after he was striken, his Majesty shot him down stairs whereat this deponent had entered. Thereafter this deponent addresses him to a window, and looking furth thereat, and saw Sir Thomas Erskine, the deponent cryed, "Sir Thomas, come up to this turnpike, even to the head." In the mean time his Majesty did put his foot upon the hawk-leash, and held her a long time, while the deponent came and took her up again, and then Sir Thomas Erskine entered. And further says, that when the deponent first entered within the chamber, he saw a man standing behind his Majesty's back, whom he noways knew, nor remembers not what apparelling he had on, but after that this deponent had stricken Mr. Alexander, he saw that man no more.

JOHN GRAHAM of Urquhill, sworn and examined, depones, Conform to the Lord Duke of Lennox and Earl of Mar in all things, *reddens candem causam scientiæ*, adding, That this deponent, the time he was at dinner in the hall with my Lord Duke and Earl of Mar, he saw the King and Mr. Alexander pass through the hall of the turnpike towards the gallery : and, as this deponent, John Hamilton, and others, were following, Mr. Alexander cried back, "Gentlemen, stay ; for so it is his Highness's will."

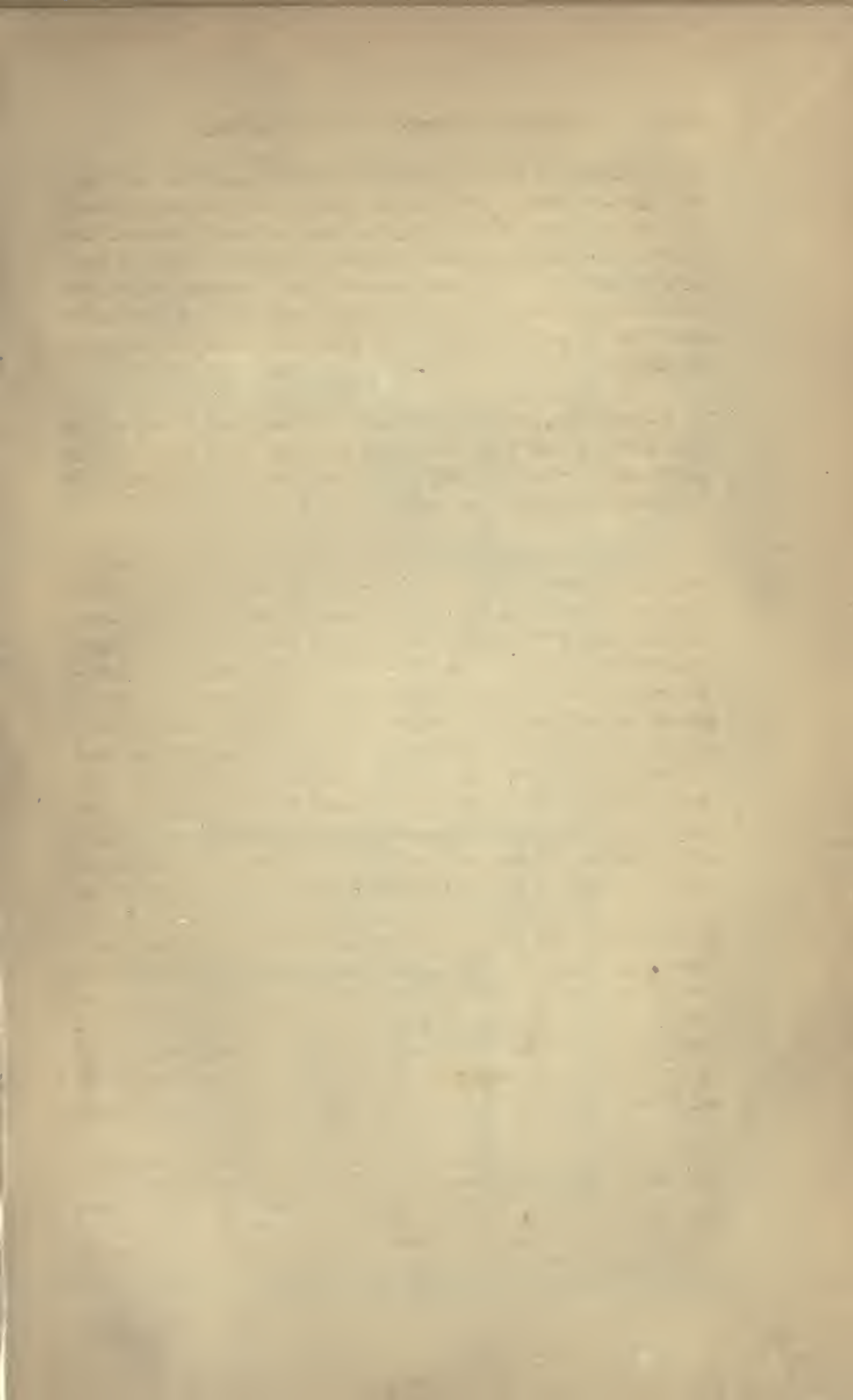
JOHN GRAHAM of Balgowne, of the age of fifty years, or thereby, married, depones, Conform to the Lord Duke in all things, adding, That this deponent, the day libelled, after the death of the Earl of Gowry and his brother, and hearing his Majesty report that Alex-

ander pressed to have bound his Majesty's hands with a garter, this deponent found a garter at the cheek of the round door among the bent, and immediately thereafter this deponent presented the garter to his Highness: and at the sight thereof his Majesty said, that the same was the garter wherewith Mr. Alexander pressed to have bound his hands; and then Sir Thomas Erskine gripped to the same garter, and said that he could keep it, which he has yet in keeping.

ANDREW ROY, one of the Bailies of the burgh of Perth, was at the dinner in the hall, and corroborated the foregoing evidence, particularly as to what passed at the gate, and described his activity in raising an alarm in the town.

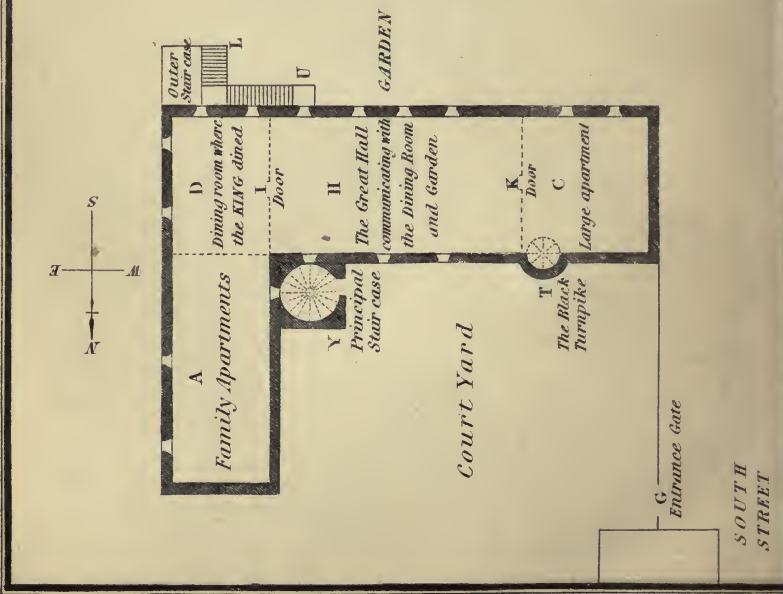
ROBERT CHRISTIE, porter to umquhile John, Earl of Gowry, of the age of thirty years, *solutus*, depones, That he was porter to the Earl of Gowry the fifth day of August libelled: sicklike, he was by the space of five weeks before. And shortly after the dinner, this deponent saw my Lord Duke, the Earl of Mar, the Earl of Gowry, come to the close; and my Lord Duke speir'd at this deponent if his Majesty was passed furth of the close? The deponent answered, that he was not furth. Then the Lord of Mar said, "Billy, tell me the verity, if his Majesty be furth or not?" And he answered, "In truth, he is not furth." The Earl of Gowry, looking with an angry countenance, said, "Thou lied, he is furth at the back-gate, and through the Inche." Then this deponent answered, "That cannot be, my Lord, for I have the key of the back-gate, and of all the gates of the place." Thereafter, this deponent heard and saw his Majesty looking furth of the window of the round, and crying, "Treason! treason! Fy, help, my Lord of Mar!" and incontinent my Lord Duke, the Earl of Mar, and others, ran up the stair of the turnpike to the gallery: and thereafter, the Lord of Gowry came from the High Street,* within the close, having a steel-bonnet on his head, and a drawn sword in his hand, accompanied with Alexander and Henry Ruthvens, Patrick

* The South Street, or Shoegate, is evidently meant in this and some other instances in the depositions, where the High Street is mentioned; what is now called the High Street being at a considerable distance from Gowrie House. This confusion of names seems to have arisen from the circumstance of the South Street being one of the principal or *high* streets in the town—just as one might speak of the public or highway.

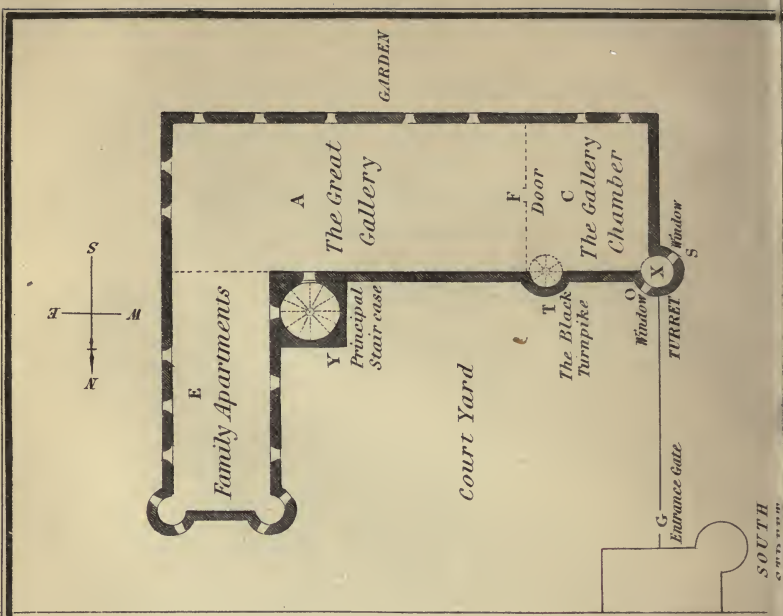


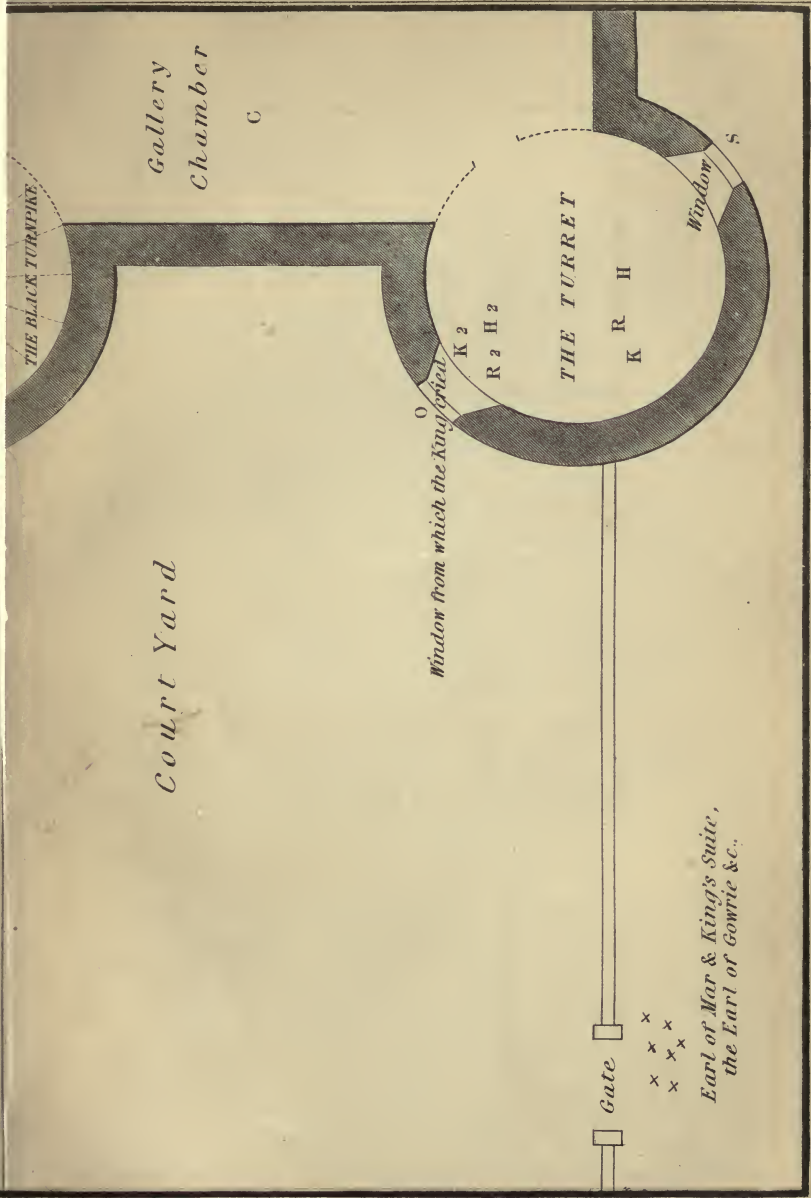
Howrie's Conspiracy.

I
FIRST FLOOR.
above the Kitchen or Ground floor.



II
SECOND FLOOR.
above the Kitchen or Ground floor.





Court Yard

Gallery Chamber

C

THE BLACK TURRIKE

THE TURRET

Window

Window from which the King cried.

K
R
H

K

Gate

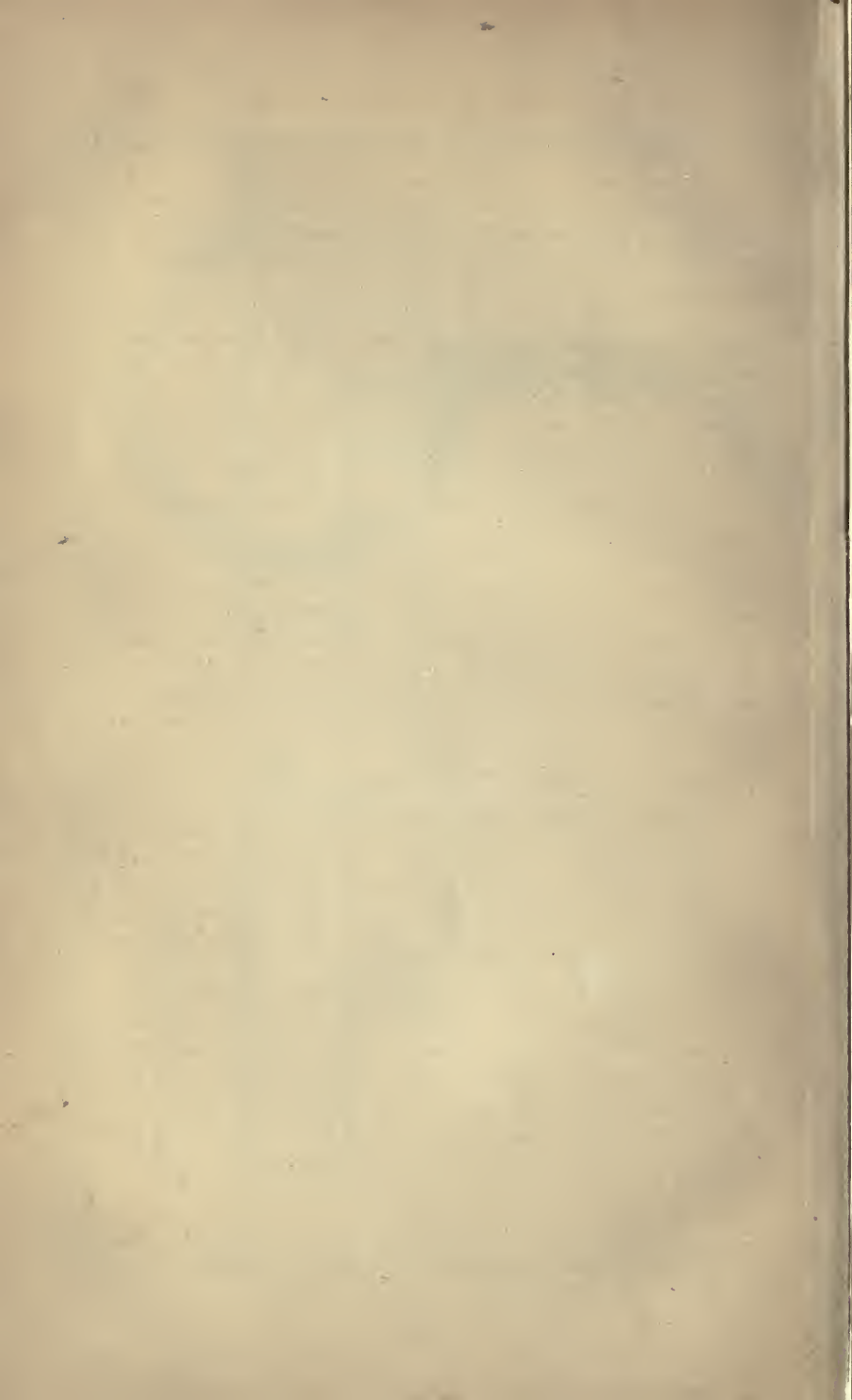
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*Earl of Mar & King's Suite,
the Earl of Gowrie &c.,*

W. H. Lizars sculp.

K, R, H, Position of the King, the Master of Ruthven and Andrew Henderson, on their entrance into the Turret & at the commencement of the Struggle.

K 2, R 2, H 2, Their relative Situations, at the time the King cried for help.



Eviot, and Hugh Moncrieff, Mr. Thomas Cranstoun, all having drawn swords in their hands, and passed altogether with my lord up the old turnpike; but what was done within the house and place thereafter, knows not but by report: neither saw he any joist brought to the place by way of the town. And knows no more of the matter.

The rest of the depositions chiefly respect the disturbances in the court-yard and in the town, excepting that of George Hay, the Prior of the Charter-House, who deponed as to the fact of Andrew Henderson having brought intelligence from Falkland of the King's intended visit to the Earl.

From the preceding depositions, the following facts seem to be clearly established.

On the 5th of August, 1600, King James, after hunting, rode from Falkland towards Perth, in company with Alexander Ruthven. He was followed by the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Lennox, and other attendants. When within two miles of Perth, Alexander Ruthven rode forward, and advised his brother of the King's approach; and the Earl, with various attendants, met his Majesty at the Inch, and accompanied him to the house, of which a description has been given. The King's purpose, however, had been intimated privately to the Earl of Gowrie, by Andrew Henderson, some hours earlier.

It was only one o'clock when the King entered the town; but the Earl had already dined, and the patience of his Majesty and the court seems to have met with a severe trial in being obliged to wait for dinner until the unusually late hour of *two* o'clock! The King dined in the room D (Plan No. 2); his attendants in the hall H.

After dinner, the King, attended by Alexander Ruthven, left the room D, passed through the hall H, where his train were drinking their *scoll-cup*, to the staircase Y, which he ascended, still attended by Alexander. In the meantime, the Earl called for the key of the garden, to which he conducted his guests from the hall by the staircase U L. While in the garden, Cranstoun, a friend of the Earl, came and informed them that the King was away to Falkland; upon which the Earl and his company returned through the hall to the court (or close, as it is named in the depositions), calling for their horses. In the court they were joined by Sir John Ram-

say and the Laird of Pittencrieff (one of the Earl's friends), who, instead of accompanying the others to the garden, had gone up the stair Y, into the gallery A (Plan No. 3), which they had spent some time in admiring.

On some doubts being expressed as to whether the King had gone away, the Earl asked them to wait while he went into the house to ascertain the truth of the report. They waited accordingly, while the Earl crossed the court and ascended the staircase Y. He returned in a short time, saying that the King was indeed gone. One of them then inquired of the porter whether the King had gone forth? to which he replied in the negative. On the Earl of Gowrie asserting that his Majesty *had* gone away by the back-gate to the Inch, the porter answered, that that was impossible, as he had the key of the back-gate in his pocket.

While they stood debating, the King's voice was heard crying "Murder" and "Treason;" and on looking up (from the street in front of the gate G) to the window in the turret O (Plan 3), they beheld the King, his face flushed, and the hand of a man attempting, it seemed, to prevent his cries by stopping his mouth. To all appearance, the King was *dragged* again within the turret.

On this, the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Lennox, and others, ran across the court to the staircase Y, which they ascended, and crossed the gallery A, but found the door to the gallery chamber at F locked. This door they endeavoured ineffectually to break open, and could gain no admittance until after the affray.

In the meantime, Sir John Ramsay, who had also heard the King's cries, finding the door to the turnpike T open, ran up that stair, and gained the gallery chamber C, where he found the King and Alexander Ruthven struggling. He deponed, that he also saw another man in the room; but being so intent on rescuing the King, and obeying his mandate in striking Alexander with his "whinger," he did not take particular notice of his appearance.

The tragical events which followed—Alexander thrust down the turnpike T wounded—his being met at the bottom of the stair by Sir Hugh Herries and Sir Thomas Erskine, and there slain—the Earl's attempt to reach the house, and its unfortunate result—the disturbances among the retainers of the two parties—the uproar in the town—it is not necessary to recapitulate. They were merely *consequents* of the affray in the turret or "*round*," and take their colouring from the view that may be entertained of the motives of the parties in the tower. If the King took Alexander there in

pursuance of a plan contrived at Falkland with his nobles for exterminating the family of Ruthven, the transaction is without a parallel in the annals of crime. On the other hand, if Alexander decoyed the King under false pretences to his brother's house, for the purpose of murdering him, the transaction would only then appear the less odious, inasmuch as the crime had drawn a just and immediate retribution on the heads of the devisers. Our present purpose is, briefly to inquire whether there were any *local* circumstances, taken in connection with the evidence, which render either or both of these suppositions improbable.

First, as to the murderous intentions of the King. If the witnesses were all perjured, and the plan had indeed been laid at Falkland, his Majesty and court must, at all events, have been well acquainted with the house in which they intended to perpetrate this most foul and unnatural murder, and could not be ignorant of the *Black Turnpike*, by which ready access was to be gained to the gallery chamber. It was strange, therefore, when the plot had arrived at that point where the King was to cry out "Treason" from the window, that the Earl of Mar, the Duke of Lennox, and the other most trusty friends of the King, should have *run away from* the readiest access to him, and have gone across the court to the principal staircase, where they were almost certain of being encountered by some of the retainers of the Earl! It was not more strange that this should have taken place, than that Sir John Ramsay, a page, almost a boy, should have been the only person* pitched upon to run up the open access to the room where the King was, and there to kill or strike Alexander. It was also a singular oversight to *steik* the door of the chamber, and prevent Mar and Lennox, the very head and front of the plot, if there had been any, from getting access till all was over. These circumstances, taken in connection with others † which will readily occur to every person who carefully compares the evidence with the annexed plans, must

* The allegation, that he was accompanied by Sir Hugh Herries and Sir Thomas Erskine is disproved by the fact, that these were the persons who, while Sir John Ramsay was thus employed, were questioning the Earl at the gate.

† Such as the singular fact of the nobles having arrived at the gate from the garden (which they had left chiefly at the Earl of Gowrie's instigation) at the very time the King cried out. Had they been a few minutes later—and but for the man they intended to murder, they would have been so—the whole plot would have failed.

free the King from the imputation of having predetermined the murder of the Ruthvens, unless we suppose him to have had a much smaller portion of shrewdness and prudence, and a much greater degree of personal courage, than his biographers have hitherto been willing to allow him.

If such a supposition seems untenable, that which imputes a murderous intention on the part of the Ruthvens is not less so. To the numerous difficulties which attach themselves to this view of the case, and which have been so ably pointed out by others, we would only add the singularly ill-chosen situation of the room for such a purpose, not only near the street, but almost immediately over the gate; and the thoughtlessness of the Earl and Alexander in not fastening the doors on the black turnpike, or not employing some of the servants to guard them.

But while we must free the Ruthvens of every intention to injure the person of the King, unless we suppose them, as some have alleged, to have been indeed *mad*, it will not be so easy to acquit them of an attempt to *detain* him.

The anxiety of the Earl of Gowrie to persuade the company to order their horses, and his assertion that the King was away by the back-gate to the Inch, taken in connection with some other circumstances about to be noticed, amount, if not to a proof, at least to a presumption of the strongest kind, that he knew the King was with Alexander.

He, along with others, saw the King cross the hall in company with Alexander when they went up the staircase, Y. When, therefore, he ran across the court-yard, and went up that staircase—"to ascertain," as he said, "the truth of the report of the King's departure"—*where* could he have meant to have gone? Not to the hall or first floor of the house, through which they had already passed in coming from the garden; they had seen the people there already, and the report was as rife there as in the garden. If he had any purpose in going to that staircase, but that of appearing to Mar and Lennox to make inquiry, while in fact he made none, *it must have been to communicate with his brother in the gallery*. Nor is it a trifling corroboration of the supposition of such being indeed his purpose, that the period at which he crossed the court-yard to ascend the staircase communicating with the gallery, corresponded exactly with the time at which Alexander left the King and Henderson, according to their own account, in the turret, and went into the gallery chamber, or into the gallery itself.

But it is alleged that the evidence of Henderson is contradictory, and therefore *wholly* worthless. It is difficult, however, to believe that a man of respectable character, as Henderson undoubtedly was, would have come voluntarily forward to swear to circumstances not *one* of which he had witnessed. It is by no means so improbable that his own fears, and his anxiety to please the King, would induce him to give a colouring to the scenes in which he was an actor. *To that anxiety*, in fact, may fairly be attributed all the discrepancies not only in his evidence, but in that of the other witnesses. It did not suit the King's purpose that the Ruthvens should have been convicted merely of attempting to gain possession of his person. That fact, in the most aggravated view which could be taken of it, never could have excused the slaughter of the two brothers. Both of them could easily have been secured; and there seems little reason to doubt that they were slain by the King's attendants, not more from excess of loyalty and heat of passion, while they supposed the King's person in danger, than from dislike to them as the leaders of a powerful adverse faction. On that account, it was of great importance for the King to prove that they made an attempt on his life. Thus, in his overweening wisdom, attempting to prove too much, he turned the tide of popular opinion against himself, and led many to the conclusion, that the *plot* (if any such thing ever had existed) had its origin in his own jealousy and cupidity.

There is a circumstance connected with Henderson's evidence which must not be passed over: it goes far to prove that he had indeed been in the turret at the time of the affray.

In later years, the visitors to Gowrie House, previous to its demolition, who were shown one of the *eastern* turrets, as that wherein these transactions took place, and who endeavoured to trace the relative situations of the parties, concluded at once that Henderson's evidence was false, because from none of the windows in the turret shown to them could the Spey Tower be seen, while Henderson affirmed that the first window he opened was that which looked to the Spey Tower. But the discredit which this circumstance was calculated to throw over Henderson's evidence is at once removed when the situation of the *real* turret is attended to. On referring to the Plan No. 3, it will be observed that the window S looked directly to the Spey Tower, and away from the court where the King wished to make himself heard. This led him to say to Henderson, "Fy, man; the wrong window." Upon this, Hen-

derson went toward the window at O, but was stopped by the entrance of Alexander Ruthven.

Fortunately, Henderson gives his evidence as to what took place in the turret after this, so circumstantially as to enable us to ascertain its *local* correctness with considerable precision.

He says he was crossing towards the other window when Alexander came in—that is, he was proceeding from the window at S (Plan No. 4) towards the window O, but was crossed in his path by Alexander. If the King stood opposite to the door, and looking towards it (as was most likely), then, when Alexander entered, and advanced towards the King, the situation of the parties behoved to be nearly that of the letters K R H; K being in the situation of the King, R in that of Alexander Ruthven, advanced up to his Majesty, and H in that of Henderson, stopped in crossing the round apartment. A struggle ensued in that situation, Alexander attempting to bind the King's hands. Henderson went up to them, being on the King's right, and on Alexander's left, hand. The King cast loose his *left hand*, Henderson says. In that case, the garter for binding the King must have been in Alexander's left hand, as he had made use of his right hand in seizing the King's left hand. In that situation the garter was easily pulled from him, as described by Henderson, who stood at his left. The King then "loups free"—that is, makes, of course, either towards the door, or towards the window, which he formerly wished Henderson to open. Alexander turns round, follows him, and seizes him again near that window, while both were followed by Henderson. Here the situation of the parties is so far changed, that Henderson (H 2) is now on the right of Alexander (R 2), and on the left of the King (K 2), the two latter being between the former and the window.

In this situation, Alexander takes hold of the King's "craig" (throat) with his left hand, and puts his right in the King's throat, to prevent his cries. Henderson then stretches his *left hand* over between the parties towards the window. In doing this, he passed it over the King's left shoulder, and thus pushed his Majesty's right shoulder towards the window.

Now, it is a most remarkable fact, that it was only in THAT VERY POSITION, so described, that *the King could have been seen by the party near the gate, without the persons with whom he was struggling being also visible*. It is quite evident, on looking at the Plan, No. 4, that the King must have been in the very situa-

tion described by Henderson at the moment he was observed by Mar and the others. This gives a credibility to Henderson's evidence, as to that part of the transaction at least, which there is no impugning. It was next to impossible that a situation so singular, and tallying so exactly with the observation of those *without*, could have been imagined or described by any but an eye-witness. No suborned witness could have given testimony concerning so many minute circumstances without committing some error. Every motion and step is described in a manner corresponding so exactly with the situation of the room and its windows, and with the relative situations of the persons within and without, as to leave no doubt of the fact of Henderson having been present, however much his own fears, and his wish to please the King, may have led him to misrepresent, in some respects, the nature of the conversation between the King and Ruthven.

We have thus briefly run over those parts of the evidence which appeared capable of confirmation, or of disproof, by the application of a TEST which has hitherto been neglected, or had been out of the reach of the writers on the subject. If that test has been correctly applied in this investigation, there can remain little doubt that a verdict of ACQUITTAL from the charge of PREMEDITATED MURDER must be given to both parties; while the two unfortunate brothers must stand charged with the offence (if it deserves the name) of endeavouring to detach the King from the party with whom he was then associating. At the same time, there is nothing in the evidence to free the King and his partizans from the imputation of having—whether through fear, passion, or animosity, it would be presumptuous to decide—visited that offence with a severity which has left an indelible blot on their name and on the history of their country. If, on the contrary, the test has been erroneously applied, the facts which it supplies, offer, it is hoped, some additional data to those already published, for correcting the errors now committed, and for enabling the subject, in abler hands, to be put in a clearer point of view.

It may be asked—"For what purpose could the Ruthvens attempt to detain the King?" It is the province of the historian to solve the question. We should think, however, that it would not be difficult, without calling in the agency of Queen Elizabeth, supplied by Principal Robertson, to find a satisfactory cause for those young noblemen attempting a SECOND RAID OF RUTHVEN, in the then state of political parties in Scotland, and at a period when it was

necessary, in order to reach the King's ear, to gain possession of his person.

Be all this as it may, certain it is that the King's story—for much of it was held to rest on James's own testimony—obtained but little credence with the public; for Sir Walter Scott says, that many persons of that period, and even some historians of our own day, have thought that it was not a conspiracy of the brothers against the King, but of the King against the brothers. Much may be said both ways; but this we know, that in Perth the popular opinion has always been in favour of the Ruthvens; and, after all, it must be admitted, that there is nothing in the evidence, questionable as some of it is, that goes to prove that the King *might not* have formed some design against the life or liberty of the brothers. A public order was issued to observe a day of solemn thanksgiving for the King's "wonderful deliverance," but which many of the clergy declined to obey, stating, as their reason, the great doubts they entertained of the story. It is recorded of one of them, that on being hard pressed by the King, he said, that "doubtless he must believe it since his Majesty said he had seen it; but that, had he even seen it himself, he would not have believed his own eyes." Spottiswoode states, that "five ministers of Edinburgh, who refused compliance, were commanded to remove from the city within forty-eight hours, and prohibited preaching within the King's dominions, under pain of death. Two of that number, acknowledging their fault, were pardoned and remitted. But Mr. Robert Bruce, taking a course by himself, and saying, '*he would reverence his Majesty's report of that accident, but could not say he was persuaded of the truth of it,*' was banished the King's dominions, and went to France."

Three of the Earl of Gowrie's attendants were afterwards condemned and executed at Perth; and an act of Parliament was passed, forfeiting the estates and honours of Gowrie and his brother, and abolishing the surname of Ruthven for ever.

After the death of the Earl of Gowrie, Alexander Blair of Balthayock was made Provost until Michaelmas.

It is evident that after the fatal Gowrie affair James took every means to propitiate the people, and particularly the authorities of Perth. Cant informs us, that at the meeting for the Michaelmas election, on the 5th October following, a letter from the King, dated at Brechin, 28th September, 1600, was read in Council:—
"Trusty friends, we greet you heartily well, having prouif and ex-

perience of the loyaltie, affection, and guide service of you the present Provost, Bailzies, and Counsale of our burgh of Perth. We are no wise mindit that ye sal be alterit at the time of your election approaching, and theirfor haif thought guid to will and desire you, with sic of your neighbouris as hes vote in election of Magistrats within our said burgh, to continue you, and evry ane of you, in your particular offices within the same, without alteration or change, quharby we may have a full testimony of your guide will, honest dewties, and service severally." Quhilk being read, the forsaid Provost, Counsale, and Decanis of Crafts, all in an vote, but variance, obeyit his Majesty's letter with all hearty guide will, and theirfor continues the present Provost, Bailzies, and Counsale for the year to come; and because of the ill parts of Oliver Peblis, and of Andro Henderson, wha is registrat at the horn, and summoned for treason, the Counsale be moniest votes has elected Andro Arnot and Gawin Dalziell to be in their place for filling up the Counsale.*

On the 4th October, 1603, Sir David Murray was elected Provost. Andrew Henderson, after he had served the Court by his deposition against Mr. Alexander Ruthven, was restored by the interest of Sir David Murray to his seat in Council, and this year elected youngest merchant Bailie. He was Lord Gowrie's Chamberlain at Scone, and continued in that office by Sir David Murray, who got that part of Gowrie's forfeited estate. He was so unpopular, that he was never after elected magistrate. Spottiswoode says, that he had always a downcast countenance after the fright he got in the closet; but others attributed it to an evil conscience, which was directed by Mr. Patrick Galloway.

David Murray, now Lord Scone, was re-elected Provost on 1st October, 1604, and for each of the four years following; but on the 2d October, 1609, a charge from the King was produced in Council, narrating an Act of Parliament, discharging any persons to bear office of Magistrates in burrows, except trading merchands and tradesmen residing in the burrows, under the pain of treason, and putting them to the horn and escheat of goods.

In obedience to the King's charge, James Adamson, merchant,

* It was necessary, to save appearances, that Andrew Henderson should be put out of the Council, as there was use for him at Gowrie's trial. Oliver Peebles was Gowrie's friend. Henry Adamson had been killed by Thomas Peebles the previous Good Friday, and none chosen in his room till Michaelmas next.

was that year elected Provost, and was re-elected the two succeeding years. For other six years after these, David, Lord Scone, again held office as Chief Magistrate. And it may here be proper to notice, that on the 2d of October, the last of these years, viz. 1616, "conform to the act of burrows, the whole crafts, ilk ane, made choice of their Deacons, and this to stand yearly thereafter on Wednesday after the election of the Magistrates, which is yearly on Monday after Michaelmas. This order has been punctually observed ever since."

We next come to the year 1617, which is more particularly noticed afterwards. There is little more in the meantime connected with James the Sixth specially connected with our local history, but we have not yet done with him. He and his immediate descendants, as well as our citizen ancestors, had much to do subsequently in what may be called

The Second Reformation.

The people of Perth have at all times been bold assertors of civil and religious liberty, and readily engaged in all popular movements, political or polemical. It is not the compiler's intention to discuss party politics, as to do that would be ill in keeping with the purpose of his present undertaking; but he trusts he may have said so far without offence, and has only farther to remark, that, after having taken a part so decided in the First Reformation, it is not to be supposed that they could remain idle spectators, mere passive instruments, in the dismal times of the two Charleses.

It was not long after the Gowrie conspiracy (early in 1603), that, on the death of Elizabeth, James acceded to personal possession of his new throne and kingdom—leaving his children, by the Princess Anne of Denmark, whom he married in 1588, in the charge of several noblemen. He was received with great acclamation by his English subjects, and his residence amongst them soon made a considerable change in his character, habits, manners, and purposes. He had considerable difficulty in conciliating and keeping in order the subdued aristocracy of England, and the fiery scions of nobility who followed him from Scotland. Even the common people of both countries were at feud. The shabby appearance, the blunt or vulgar manners, and the beggarly conduct of the lower orders of the Scotch, disgusted their English neighbours; and the Scotch, on the other hand, would not endure the upsetting pride of their English

fellow-subjects. The meaner class of his countrymen gave great annoyance to James, so much so, that the Scottish Privy Council received orders to prevent the emigration of such from their native country into England. The Council accordingly issued a proclamation, holding forth, that "men and women of the baser sort and condition, and without any certain trade, calling, or dependence," in other words, "idle rascals and poor miserable bodies," had repaired in "great numbers" to the English court, raising "an opinion that there were no persons of good rank, comeliness, or credit, in the country" from which they came. There was another great offence to his Majesty on the part of these intruders, and no wonder. Many of them alleged that the object of their visit to court was to recover payment of old debts due by the King himself, which the proclamation naively, and no doubt justly, declared to be, "of all kinds of importunity, the most displeasing to his Majesty." This proclamation was directed to be made at the cross of every market town in Scotland. No person was permitted to travel into England without special warrant of the Privy Council; and for ships to transport any person without such license rendered them liable to confiscation.

After attending to smaller matters of this kind, James's first attention was turned to the effecting of a Treaty of Union betwixt England and Scotland, and he took steps accordingly, but failed. Notwithstanding, he next bent his mind to assimilate or establish a uniformity of ecclesiastical matters or opinions, and at all events to bring the forms and constitution of the Scottish Church as near to the model of that of England as possible. This he might have been led to consider as a matter of minor difficulty, after having so recently as 1588 gratified the wishes of his Scottish subjects to the extent of calling a Parliament, at which all the laws formerly enacted in favour of the Protestant religion since the era of the Reformation were ratified, and very severe statutes passed against the priests and Jesuits; and subsequently framed a bond or covenant, containing a profession of true doctrine, and a solemn renunciation of the errors of Popery—for the maintenance of the Reformed religion, and the defence of the government. This was subscribed by the King; and so much and such unanimous satisfaction had it given, that it was also signed by the nobles, clergy, and persons of all ranks. So much, indeed, was James a favourite with his Scottish subjects, that on his arrival in 1588 with his royal bride, Anne of Denmark, they were received at Leith and Edinburgh with every

demonstration of joy, where also the coronation of the Queen was solemnised with great magnificence, and the crown set on her head by a presbyterian minister named Bruce.

These things are here noticed retrospectively, to show that the King's conduct had been such as might have led him to suppose he was entitled to some consideration from the clergy and the country in his efforts to establish uniformity in ecclesiastical matters, so long as he gave no countenance to the repudiated errors of Popery. It must be observed, however, that he had gone to an extent in this direction which militated against his present purposes ; for soon after the circumstances above noted, he induced his Parliament to repeal all the severe laws passed in 1584 against the Church, and permitted the complete establishment of the Presbyterian form of church government by General Assemblies, provincial Synods, local Presbyteries, and Kirk-Sessions. Still the more zealous Protestants entertained a serious apprehension of Popish principles, and in 1590, when the King hearkened to the petition of the expatriated Popish lords, and granted their request to be allowed to return home, the alarm of the Protestant clergy was great, and considerable commotion was excited ; and it is not overstraining the point too far if this step should be viewed as the prime origin of all the troubles which distracted the country during this and the two following reigns. So violent were the denunciations of the clergy against a King who had done so much for them, that we may give as an instance the fact, that David Black, a minister of St. Andrews, is recorded to have affirmed in the pulpit, that "the King had permitted the Popish lords to return, and thus discovered the treachery of his own heart ; that *all Kings were the Devil's children* ; that Satan had the guidance of the court ; that *Elizabeth was an atheist, and the Queen nothing better.*" Alarming tumults took place in Edinburgh—to such an extent, indeed, that the King became highly incensed, and threatened to remove the seat of the government, the residence of the court, and the high courts of law, from Edinburgh to another quarter of his kingdom. It was with extreme difficulty that James could be appeased, and it required the intervention even of Queen Elizabeth to soften his wrath to a milder temper. As it was, Edinburgh was subjected to heavy penalties, and deprived of many important immunities and privileges. It is certainly not a very great matter of wonder although a man of James's temperament should have been led to desire the imposition of some check on the outrageous conduct of a set of ec-

clesiastics who were thus disposed to insult his authority, and could so easily embroil the country. So far, indeed, did he bring these malecontents to their senses and to subjection, that in 1590 a majority of the clergy voted the convoking of the General Assembly, without the consent of the King, to be illegal. In other respects, also, they conformed to the King's wishes; and so much were they then desirous of a close connection with the State, that they petitioned the Parliament to allow of representatives elected by them to have seats in the legislature—a privilege which the Parliament granted. No sooner was this done than it was warmly debated in the Assembly whether they should avail themselves of the privilege. So ticklish were the times in which James had to wield royal authority! At length the Assembly decided on appointing no fewer than fifty-one members of parliament, to be chosen under certain regulations, and these were to hold their status under special injunctions and restrictions. Amongst these were, that no member should assent to any thing that might affect the interests of the Church, without special instructions; that each of them should be answerable for his conduct to the General Assembly; that he should have no ecclesiastical jurisdiction superior to his brethren; and that he should annually resign his commission to the Assembly, who might or might not restore him, as they should judge proper.

These retrospective remarks on the general state of national affairs bring us to the chronological point at which the famous *Gowrie Conspiracy* took place, and of which so minute an account has been given. Not very long after this period, another event occurred which materially affected the fortunes and condition of the King. That event was the death of Queen Elizabeth of England, in consequence of which, as already observed, the two crowns became united in the right of one sovereign. James departed from Edinburgh on the 5th of April, 1603, after having attended sermon in the Church of St. Giles, and addressing the people assembled in an affectionate speech, with assurances of his continued regard and paternal interest in their welfare and happiness.

James, however, did not keep faith long after this with the Scottish Presbyterian adherents. In pursuance of the purpose already alluded to, which he seems always to have had at heart, and failing to effect a treaty of union between the two countries, he set himself actively to the work of eradicating the Presbyterian form of Church government, and introducing Episcopacy. He declined to meet the clergy

in General Assembly, and added greatly to the revenue and aggrandizement of the bishops. So highly irritated were the leaders of the Presbyterian party, that they convoked an Assembly at Aberdeen without the King's authority, an act which was declared rebellious, and several of the ministers were arrested, tried, and condemned, and six of them were actually expatriated for life.

Afterwards, the King persevered in his design to prosecute the thorough establishment of Prelacy, and convened a Parliament at Perth, in which the Earl of Montrose presided as Commissioner, and in which the bishops were restored to all their honours, their seats in the legislature, and their Episcopal estates. The King also operated on the fears, the facility, and the avarice of the Presbyterian leaders, Episcopacy gradually obtained a footing, and before long the pure Presbyterian constitution of church government was almost utterly subverted; and to cement in a closer bond of union the Scotch with the English Church, James prevailed on several dignitaries of the Scotch Church to accept consecration from the hands of the English bishops. This took place about the year 1610.

After having been absent for fourteen years, James re-visited his Scottish dominions in 1617, having evidently for his main object the settlement of church affairs. He met the Parliament at Edinburgh on the 13th of June, when an act was passed by which the King, archbishops, bishops, and such ministers as the former chose to consult, were invested with the supreme power of the church; after which Episcopal worship was performed in the Chapel-Royal, accompanied by vocal and instrumental music. In the course of his negotiations with the clergy, James encountered very teasing difficulties, and was subjected to various insults, to which he found it advisable to succumb as quietly as he could. Even from the epoch of the Reformation, the Reformed Churches of England and Scotland adopted a different ritual. Although, as has been justly observed, the doctrines which they teach are so nearly alike that little distinction can be traced, save what is of a very subtle and metaphysical character, yet the outward forms and the constitution of church government are totally different, if not antagonistic. At least the hostility of the Scottish clergy and many of their adherents, at the period in question, as well as at various crises since, would lead any casual observer to suppose they must be the latter.

It must be admitted, however, that the Scottish Presbyterians always entertained a more sensitive apprehension of a relapse into

the errors and prejudices of Popery than the English Episcopalians, and they therefore went to the extreme in every thing in a contrary direction. They were very much in this temper when James visited his native dominions in 1617. He had little reason to consider their leaders or their principles as very favourable to monarchy, although it was in some measure through their influence he was placed on the throne. It is said, however, that their conduct, even in this matter, was secretly considered by James as an act of rebellion against his mother's authority. There was, therefore, little love between the King and the Scottish clergy, and neither took much pains to conciliate one another's favour, or to establish a more friendly footing. Even from their pulpits the latter openly denounced his best intentions, as they interpreted them; and even his mother's memory was execrated before his face. It is recorded that he became so much provoked at one of these unscrupulous zealots, that he commanded him either to speak sense or come down from the pulpit; and the reply to this not unreasonable request was—"I tell thee, man, I will neither speak sense nor come down!" The King even condescended to argue with the refractory clergy while sitting in church attending their ministrations.

With the view of bringing church matters more to his mind, he attempted, but in vain, to avail himself of a class or order of men established under the *Book of Discipline*, drawn up by the great Reformer Knox himself, under which that order, styled Superintendents, were vested with a species of ecclesiastical superintendance. In consequence of the opposition to the King's wish to extend or consolidate the power and jurisdiction of those officials, he was led to the expedient of consecrating the bishops aforementioned, and the allotment of unappropriated church property into temporal lordships.

THE FIVE ARTICLES OF PERTH.

Many of the clergy at this time distinguished themselves by their willingness to submit to deprivation of office and consequent poverty, to penalties and to expatriation, rather than compromise their avowed principles. But although the order of bishops was once more introduced into the Scottish Church, James did not find all his projects of innovation to succeed. At the Reformation, the Church of England had retained the observance of certain rites which yet are by many reckoned very innocuous, and as even having not a little to recommend them; but the horror of every thing in any shape or degree approximating to the Popish ritual, induced

the greater portion of Presbyterians to repudiate and reject them. A General Assembly which sat at Perth in 1618, adopted, by special enactment, *five* of the particular rites we have alluded to into the formula of the Scottish Church—which rites were then called, and are still known, as the “Five Articles of Perth.” Some authorities state, that these innovations were carried after great opposition. Sir Walter Scott says they were adopted by a *Parliament* held at Perth in the year mentioned. Be this as it may, they were afterwards ratified by the Parliament which met in 1621. The Five Articles were as follow :—I. That the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper should be received kneeling, and not in a sitting posture, as hitherto. II. That the communion might, in extreme cases, or to sick persons desiring it, be administered in private. III. That baptism also might, when deemed necessary, be privately administered. IV. That children, or young persons, should be confirmed by a bishop—that is, make a personal avowal of the engagements entered into by god-fathers and god-mothers at the time of baptism. V. That the anniversary of the Nativity, or Christmas, the day on which our Saviour was born ; Good Friday, or the Passion, when he suffered death for us ; Easter, or the resurrection ; Pentecost, or the descent of the Holy Spirit—should all be observed as solemn days. Such were the observances resolved on, and of course enjoined. Sir Walter Scott justly remarks, that “in modern times, when the mere ceremonial of divine worship (and Presbyterians must allow this) is supposed to be of little consequence compared with the temper and *spirit* in which we approach the Deity, the Five Articles of Perth seem to involve matters which might be dispensed or complied with, without being considered as essential to salvation ;” yet these were, amongst other things, the theme of much violent controversy and commotion afterwards.

It is remarkable, that even at the time, and notwithstanding the moderate and legitimate character of these regulations, the utmost difficulty was encountered in persuading even the most favourable of the Scottish clergy to the King’s views, to adopt them into their ritual. The horror of Popery was still predominant. The common people, too, zealously seconded the clergy. While the Parliament sat at Perth in debate upon the adoption of the Articles, an unusually violent thunder-storm came on, which was considered as a manifest expression of Heaven’s wrath against those who were thus again embracing the rites and festivals of the hated Church of Rome, and introducing them to the pure Reformed Kirk. Indeed,

we believe the change was generally offensive to the Church and people.

M'Crie, in his *History of the Life of Melville*, gives us an instance of the view that the common people entertained of what they held to be the defection of certain of the clergy, at a period some years antecedent to this, already noticed. "When the Rev. Mr. Cowper," one of the ministers of Perth, "was made Bishop of Galloway, an old woman, who had been one of his parishioners at Perth, and a favourite, could not be persuaded that her minister had deserted the Prebyterian cause, and resolved to satisfy herself. She paid him a visit in the Canongate, where he had his residence, as Dean of the Chapel Royal. The retinue of servants through which she passed staggered the good woman's confidence; and, on being ushered into the room where the bishop sat in state, she exclaimed, 'Oh, Sir! what's this? and hae ye really left the guid cause, and turned prelate?' 'Janet,' said the bishop, 'I have got new light upon these things.' 'So I see, Sir,' replied Janet; 'for whan ye was at Perth, ye had but ae candle, an' now ye've got twa before ye—that's a' your *new light*.'

In his tour through some of the principal towns in Scotland, King James came to Perth on Saturday, the 5th of July, this year. A speech was delivered to him, in name of the town, by John Stewart, merchant, exactly fitted to the King's taste, full of fulsome flattery. Immediately after, several elegant Latin poems were presented to his Majesty by merchants, and other gentlemen of Perth. James made this tour at the request of his Bishops, who had persuaded him that every thing was prepared in Scotland for the reception of Prelacy and the English usages, and that they only wanted his presence to give weight to their decisions. But when he understood, by a protestation of more than fifty ministers, that things were far from being ripe, in a rage he called the Bishops dolts and deceivers. To please him, they presented to the ministers convened the Five Articles already quoted, and which were next year confirmed by the Assembly at Perth. King James visited Dundee also, amongst other places at this time, and afterwards passed some nights at the Castle of Kinnaird, now in ruins, in the "braes" of the Carse of Gowrie, about half-way on his journey back by Perth.

The General Assembly met in the Old, or Saint John's Kirk in Perth, on the 25th of August, 1618.

His Majesty's Commissioners were, Lord Binning, Secretary,

Lord Scone, and Lord Carnegy. Their Assessors, Sir Gideon Murray, Treasurer-Depute ; Sir Andrew Ker of Fernherst, Captain of the Guard ; Sir William Oliphant, King's Advocate ; and Sir William Livingston of Kilsyth. Noblemen, the Earl of Lothian, Lords Ochiltree, Sanquhar, and Boyd. Barons Wauchton, Ludwharn, Glenurchy younger, Cluny-Gordon, Boningtoun Wood, Weems, Balvaird, Balcomy, Balcarras, Balmanno, Bombie, Blackbarrony, and Lagg. Burgesses for Edinburgh, David Aikenhead and George Foulis. For Perth, James Æedie and Constantine Meliss. For Dundee, Mr. Alexander Wedderburn younger, and Robert Clayhills. For Aberdeen, Mr. John Mortimer. For Stirling, Christopher Alexander. For St. Andrews, John Knox and Thomas Lentrone. For the University of St. Andrews, Dr. Bruce. All the Bishops, except Argyle and the Isles. Ministers, Commissioners from Presbyteries, or wanting commission.

A fast was appointed the first day of the Assembly, which was little regarded. Patrick Forbes of Corse, Bishop of Aberdeen, preached in the morning, on Ezra, vii. 23, and asserted that nothing should be done nor determined in the Church by any superior power, but that which is according to the commandment of the Almighty King.

Archbishop Spottiswoode preached in the Little (or West) Kirk, on 1 Cor. xi. 16. He preached for two hours in defence of ceremonies in general, and of the Five Articles in particular. The sermon was printed. A confutation of the Articles was also published.

The Assembly met in the Little Kirk. Mr. Spottiswoode, Archbishop of St. Andrews, placed himself in the Moderator's chair without election, which was objected to. The Archbishop answered, that the Assembly was convened within the bounds of his diocese, and he hoped no man would take his place.

The King's letter was read, full of expostulations and threatenings. His address was to the Right Reverend Fathers in God, Right Trusty Cousins and Councillors, and others our trusty and well-beloved subjects. He says—"Do not think we will be satisfied with refusals, or delays, or mitigations, and we know not what other shifts have been proponed ; for we will content ourselves with nothing but with a simple and direct acceptance of these articles, in the form by us sent unto you."

The Five Articles were afterwards confirmed by Parliament. The King exerting his royal prerogative over the kirk, and his bullying the ministers, raised an universal murmur and dissatisfaction, while

his Court chaplains rained flattery upon him from the pulpit ; yet he gained nothing in the establishment of his prerogative in ecclesiastical matters, but by mere dint of persecution, fines, and imprisonments. Many ministers were summoned before the High Commission Court, and were fined, imprisoned, or banished. Among them was the historian Calderwood, who was treated with great asperity for his obstinate opposition to the articles. James, after personally examining him the year before at St. Andrews, and finding him very firm, had the meanness to order Spottiswoode to tell him, that if he was not content to be suspended spiritually, he should be suspended corporally. His deprivation and banishment gave him leisure to write and publish his elaborate and learned *Altare Damascenum*, which vexed the King not a little.

It has been generally allowed that the Presbyterian clergy, although discarding all unnecessary ceremonial and external pomp in their religious services, and claiming a rather undue portion of influence in State affairs, were distinguished by a rigid practice and enforcement of a pure morality. Their good example produced the best effects on their people, who were thus perhaps too easily led to take part in the more violent movements of the times that followed the era of which we have been treating. Unlike their Popish predecessors, they used the most laudable exertions to disseminate useful knowledge amongst the lower orders of the people as well as the higher classes of society, and no doubt we are greatly indebted to those exertions even to the present day. They made it a rule that every man, high or low, should be able to read the Holy Scriptures for himself. The Catholic clergy had the chief merit of calling into existence the three old Universities of Scotland ; but the Presbyterian preachers of the beginning of the seventeenth century had the still greater credit of obtaining the establishment of our excellent system of parochial education, by the foundation of an endowed school, poor though the endowment might be, in every parish, of the Lowlands at least, of Scotland. By this general diffusion of secular as well as religious knowledge, the country became gradually and greatly civilized, and the character of its inhabitants highly exalted, and consequently respected by neighbouring nations.

Although coinciding with many others in the view that the obnoxious innovations of James, such as the Articles of Perth, did not involve matters of very essential import, yet they were of as little moment, viewed on the other side ; and considering what he

had previously done, it might have been better had that Sovereign yielded more respect to the feelings of the Scottish people, and the generally worthy men who so faithfully ministered to them in divine things. Taking even the very worst view of their conduct which that conduct could warrant, it would certainly be rash and reprehensible to ridicule or condemn the measures of men who proved themselves so ready to endure every privation, and even to welcome death itself in its most appalling form, for the sake of what they sincerely held to be *the truth*, however much they may, in their zeal, have been occasionally mistaken. It was no doubt their interference with the religious faith of an otherwise loyal people which led to most of the misfortunes of the Stewart line, especially in the case of James the Sixth's successors, in following out the infatuated policy which originated with him. What James so unnecessarily urged was new, and if so unessential as we have admitted these innovations to be, it was egregiously foolish in the Monarch to alienate the regards of a nation by any attempt to enforce them.

But James did not survive these transactions, and his return to England, for many years. He died of an ague, at London, on the 27th March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-second after his accession to the English throne—the most fortunate of all his unfortunate race. Although possessing many eminent qualifications, he left a character which was rather the reverse of enviable or worthy of imitation on the whole. Meantime, from his return to England until the day of his death, there occurred little of material consequence in the local history of Perth—save that in 1621 it was exposed to great danger from one of those occasional inundations to which it is liable—an account of which will be given under a special head. On the 6th October, 1617, David, Lord Scone, had again been re-elected Provost, and was continued in office till 1st October, 1621, by which time he had acquired the additional title of Viscount Stormont, and was again chosen Provost. For other six successive years he was continued as such, under the title of Viscount Stormont. On the 6th October, 1628, he was again re-elected, but did not hold office. Indeed, it is rather remarkable that he should have held the office of Chief Magistrate so long; for one of our chronicles, before us while we write, states justly, that “there were laws which prohibited noblemen or gentlemen not resident, nor bearing burden as citizens, being elected into the Magistracy.” Indeed, on reverting to page

249, the reader will observe the precise language of the Act narrated, and Lord Scone's first apparently permanent tenure of office interrupted, under the terms of that Act, by a charge from the King. In 1628, the Viscount Stormont's election had been questioned; and by a decree of the Lords of Secret Council, of the 21st February following, the election was declared illegal, and Alexander Pebbles of Chapelhill was elected in his room.

Previous to the death of James the Sixth, he had lost his eldest son, Prince Henry, said to have been a youth of uncommon promise; and his second son, Charles, was left to succeed him on the throne. The only other issue was a daughter, Elizabeth, who married Frederick, Elector Palatine of Germany. He was an unfortunate prince, and lost in a foolish war his hereditary dominions. But his adverse fortune was redeemed by his descendants, the present popular and beloved Sovereign now in possession of the British throne, in the right of the Princess Elizabeth, being his legitimate successor by direct lineage.

Charles the First was reckoned a Prince of excellent personal qualities; and a high authority informs us, that, considered as a private gentleman, there was not a more honourable, virtuous, and religious man in his dominions. He married Henrietta Maria, the beautiful daughter of Henry the Fourth, King of France. Charles is farther said to have possessed the personal dignity of which his father was totally deficient. He, like him, however, held extravagant notions of the divine right and royal prerogative, and was, in many respects, a monarch altogether unfitted for the times in which he had to live and reign. His government, from various causes, soon became unpopular; and the general discontent was greatly increased by a growing division of opinion on church affairs, even in England; and the still more excited and distracted state of Scotland, in regard to ecclesiastical subjects, contributed to accelerate a crisis resulting in the melancholy fate of the Sovereign. The counsels of Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom Charles countenanced and encouraged, and who, to crush the intractable spirit of the English Puritans, prompted his King to pursue the policy commenced by his father towards the Scottish Church to a still more stringent extent—including fines, imprisonments, and pillories, and persecution for conscience' sake, in England as well as Scotland—exasperated public feeling against a Sovereign who, in other respects, would have been eminently entitled to the love and loyalty of his subjects. He also alienated the affection of the aristocracy

and upper classes of Scotland by the drains he made on their pecuniary means, to support the order of things he was anxious to introduce into the National Church. His exactions or forfeitures in this way greatly reduced the incomes of the titulars or lay impropriators, who had acquired much wealth from their accession to the spoils of the Roman Catholic Church.

Charles visited his native country in the summer of 1633, in order to receive the crown of his kingdom. His reception was hearty and affectionate, but he soon gave offence to the people by his marked partiality to the English forms of public worship. Much in the same way as is common in England in the present day, though not by royal interference, he was punctilious and almost peremptory as to the particular vestments of the clergy. The nobility at first, in their reception of his Majesty, vied with the English in the most profuse hospitality. The coronation was performed by the Archbishop of St. Andrews; but a splendid and religious ceremony was rendered less impressive by the introduction of an altar and unaccustomed rites, which the people received with abhorrence, and were unable to discriminate from the Romish mass. It was observed that Laud displaced the Archbishop of Glasgow with the most indecent violence from the King's side, because the moderate prelate scrupled to officiate in the embroidered habits prescribed for his order.* Very soon after his coronation, Charles set out to visit several other places of note in his Scottish kingdom; amongst others, at least, were Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland, and Perth. So soon as it was made known that Perth was to have this honour, the Magistrates and Council, with all possible diligence and activity, adopted every measure in their power to give their King a suitable reception—an account of which will also be found under the special head, in a subsequent part of this volume. Charles shortly after returned to London. After this, Laud increased the naturally growing discontent by attempting to introduce into the Church service of Scotland a form of Common Prayer and Liturgy exactly conform to that of England. Right or wrong, the Scottish Presbyterian clergy generally fired against this innovation, and the people seconded them zealously. It was maintained that such was illegal without the formal concurrence of both Parliament and the General Assembly, neither of whom were consulted. We have seen it stated, that, previous to this, the

* Laing.

Episcopal religion, with all its forms, had received the sanction of Parliament; but what we now mention is in reference to the actual introduction of the English formula.

The opposition to the introduction of the *Service Book*, although in many instances persevered in with a zeal and in a shape that were strongly characterised by the ludicrous, soon became general throughout the land. Charles was made aware of this by the Privy Council, but he was resolute, and highly incensed at the resistance of his Scottish subjects. The hostility to the obnoxious innovation prevailed chiefly amongst the lower circles at first; but in a short time a large portion of the nobility, a great many of the country gentry, and most of the royal burghs, concurred in the opposition, and agreed to resist all other prelatic intrusions. In different quarters, and at separate boards or committees, there was a general agreement in getting up the National Covenant, which embraced an abjuration, not only of Popish rites, but of all prelatic innovations, and declared for the establishment of Presbytery on its purest basis. This solemn engagement was sworn to and subscribed by thousands and tens of thousands, in the utmost sincerity, we believe. It is understood, that from the arbitrary measures of the King in the matter of their religion, many entertained the idea that their civil liberties were in jeopardy, and this increased greatly the adherents to the Covenant. Meantime, tumult and alarming insurrection had occurred in almost all parts of Scotland where the introduction of the English Liturgy had been attempted.

King Charles, through his Privy Council, at length negotiated; he even made reluctant concessions, and appointed the Marquess of Hamilton to announce them. The Marquess, in the King's name, offered to withdraw the *Service Book* and *Canons*, and even to connive at those who should not comply with the Five Articles of Perth. Notwithstanding, the Presbyterian Covenanters were not yet satisfied, but demanded the abolition of every law regarding church affairs that had been passed since the accession of James the Sixth to the throne of England. Hamilton succeeded in persuading the King to exercise moderation, and, repairing to London, prevailed on him to grant every concession that should not imply the final and perpetual abolition of Episcopacy in Scotland. So far from softening the Covenanters, this only induced them to multiply and press their former demands, and ultimately led to the famous Assembly at Glasgow in 1638, at which the celebrated Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, in Fife, was chosen moderator.

This Assembly met in the end of November, that year, and the Marquess of Hamilton attended as Commissioner for the King. It was attended by no fewer than 260 members or commissioners from different presbyteries, universities, and burghs. Here all the measures embraced in the Covenant were carried into effect. Previous to the meeting, the Marquess and the Privy Council had obtained subscriptions to a covenant against Popery, but in *support of* Episcopacy, which was signed by twenty-eight thousand persons in the course of a few days. All was unavailing, however, with the Assembly; and Hamilton, although giving a formal sanction to the proceedings for some days, seeing that none of the ends he had in view were to be attained, dissolved that refractory body, in the King's name.

The Covenanters continued their sittings, however, and agreed to resort to arms in support of their cause. They surrounded themselves, during their protracted sittings, with an armed body of their adherents, and the Earl of Argyle became their military head. Before separating, the Assembly boldly rescinded the acts of all the assemblies for the previous forty years. Episcopacy, the Articles of Perth, the Canons and Liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful; the existing bishops were denuded of all power, and eight of them were excommunicated; and finally, having finished its business, the Assembly dissolved itself.

Matters had now come to a crisis, and the Covenanters took up a decided position. Their cause became popular, and prospered exceedingly. They were openly aided by many of the first order of the Scottish nobility, amongst whom Argyle, Rothes, Cassillis, Eglinton, Dalhousie, Lindsay, Loudoun, Balcarras, and others, joined the army, and led their battalions, and most of the subordinate officers were gentlemen of high rank and fortune. They at once mustered an army of about twenty-five thousand men, and these were accompanied to the field by numerous clergymen, who sustained their enthusiasm. They encamped on Dunse Law, in the neighbourhood of Dunse, with above forty field-pieces, and the utmost military order was observed. Each captain's tent displayed a new colour, upon which were emblazoned the arms of Scotland, and in golden letters the words, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." Notwithstanding all this formidable army, only a very trivial action took place—the English cavalry in the King's interest having retreated in disorder from a small number of the Scots. This encounter took place the 3d June, 1639.

Before this, the powerful fortresses of the kingdom had surrendered to General Leslie, who commanded the Covenanters, and the courage of King Charles seemed to fail. The Marquess of Montrose, then an adherent of the Covenanters, was sent to subdue the royalists in the north, and succeeded, as well as in forcing the surrender of Aberdeen. It would appear, from the unimportant result of the Dunse Law affair, that neither party was very forward to risk the event of a battle, and, strange to say, both manifested a disposition to negotiate. Commissioners were appointed on both sides, and, after a brief conference, it was agreed that all captures should be restored; that the Covenanters should henceforth render strict obedience to the laws and to the King! and that a Parliament and Assembly should be called to settle all differences. The King would not acknowledge the Assembly of Glasgow to have been a lawful one, nor did he agree to confirm its acts, but granted a declaration, agreeing that all matters concerning the regulation of church government should be left to a new Convocation of the Church. Upon this both parties disbanded their armies.

The Assembly was convened, agreeably to the treaty, on the 12th August, 1639, and confirmed all that their predecessors at Glasgow had done. They renewed the National Covenant; and all their decisions were for a pure and unalloyed Presbyterial system. The Parliament also met on the 20th of the same month, but limited its attention, purposely it seems, to affairs strictly secular, favourable to its own privileges, and restrictive of the King's prerogative. It did not meddle with ecclesiastical matters at all. While thus complacently proceeding with its own measures, however, the Parliament was suddenly prorogued, in the King's name, by the Earl of Traquair, his authorized Commissioner, which exasperated the Scottish leaders exceedingly; and Lord Lindores, with other Commissioners, were sent to London to remonstrate with his Majesty against this violent step.

About the time of these meetings, Charles summoned the leaders of the Covenant to an interview at Berwick. This was attended by very few of that party; but the result was in so far fortunate for the King's cause, as amongst that few was the celebrated Montrose, whom his Majesty easily made his friend—the more easily, indeed, that, although an active leader in the Covenanters' army, he had become disgusted at the preference of Leslie to the post of Commander-in-Chief. Irrespective of the treaty, the King made every preparation for a renewal of the war; and the inter-

ception, by Traquair, of a letter addressed to the French King, subscribed by the Covenanting chiefs, just at the time the above-mentioned Commissioners arrived in London, afforded him sufficient pretext. Loudon, their head, was thrown into the Tower, under a charge of treason; and as the King had collected his army, the Lords of the Covenant obtained a meeting of the Scottish Parliament and re-assembled theirs, which was done with such facility as proved that they were as treacherous, and that the temporary suspension of hostilities had been employed in active preparations for a new rupture. Hostilities were renewed with vigour; Edinburgh Castle was re-taken by the Covenanters; Argyle reduced the Earls of Athole and Airlie, and Munro subdued the Gordons and Ogilvies. The Scottish army penetrated into England, defeating the King's army of six thousand men, at Newburn, on the 20th August, 1640.

As it belongs neither to the general history of Scotland especially, nor to that of Perth in particular, we omit notice of Charles's trials with the Long Parliament at this time, as also of the proceedings of the English Puritans, who were as anxious as the Scottish Presbyterians for the abolition of Episcopacy, with the ultimate view of the abolition of National Church Establishments; but the Covenanters availed themselves so far of their aid, to forward their own purposes. In 1641, Charles gave his daughter Mary in marriage to the Prince of Orange; and in the summer of the same year, he *again* made a visit to Scotland. It was evident he had then a great wish to make friends amongst the Presbyterian party, that he might have their assistance in case of a rupture with the English Parliament, which he had cause to dread. With a view to conciliate the affection of his Scottish subjects, he ratified the Covenant, and conformed himself entirely to the Presbyterian Church; he bribed many of the popular preachers with pensions and preferments, which even the great Henderson could not resist. The Covenanting general, Leslie, was created Earl of Leven; and other nobles had steps in the Peerage conferred on them, but with little advantage. He succeeded, however, in thoroughly securing the attachment and services of James Graham, Earl of Montrose, who had previously, at Ripon, in Yorkshire, procured the subscription of nineteen noblemen to a bond, engaging themselves to unite in support of Charles. The Covenanters having discovered this, imprisoned Montrose in the Castle of Edinburgh, where the King found him on his arrival; but means were found

to communicate to his Majesty many of the purposes of the Covenanting leaders, and their correspondence with the opposite party in the English Parliament. Charles, however, left Scotland tranquil and contented, feelings which he himself affected also; but on his return, he got into a deeper sea of troubles with the Parliament of England, and open war was soon waged against him for a series of years. In 1643, the ruling party in Scotland, animated with the idea of utterly destroying Prelacy even in England, and of introducing a form of Church government on the pure Presbyterian model, agreed to send military aid to the Parliamentary forces. Then came the

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

The proposal for this bond originated with the English Commissioners. It was a new edition of the old Covenant, but styled the Solemn League and Covenant. It provided that the form of Church government adopted in Scotland should be maintained in that country; but as to England it bound no party to any specific condition. The nobles and clergy eagerly subscribed the proposed League, and in Scotland it was sworn to with general acclamation. The army of assistance in England was re-enforced to the amount of twenty thousand men, under Leslie, now Earl of Leven, and the decisive victory of the Parliament forces at Marston Moor must, in a great measure, be attributed to their presence in the field.

On these movements the present writer has been thus minute, that the local reader may the better comprehend others of subsequent occurrence, in which the city and county of Perth were still more directly and immediately concerned. While the Scottish auxiliaries were thus engaged in England, Montrose, now a Marquess, meditated a bold and romantic enterprise at home, which was followed out with such success as threatened to throw Scotland itself into the hands of King Charles and his supporters, to the great alarm of the Convention of Estates there. Montrose obtained his liberation, and, hastening to England, suggested to his royal master a plan of operations, by throwing a body of Irish soldiers into the West Highlands, to co-operate with a force to be collected from the Highland clans, well affected to the King, disinclined to the Presbyterian government, and especially hostile to the Marquess of Argyle.

Montrose made his way to Scotland, and through a portion of it in disguise, at great personal hazard. At length he reached Perthshire, and held himself concealed for some time in the house

of his relative, Mr. Graham of Inchbrakie. His plans were at first destined to disappointment. The Marquess of Huntly, who had taken the field too precipitately, was defeated, and Gordon of Haddo was made prisoner, and executed at the behest of the Convention. Montrose, however, persevered, and was animated by the intelligence that the Irish auxiliaries, despatched from Ulster by the Earl of Antrim, had effected a landing, but were followed and watched by Argyle, at the head of a large body of his clan. The Irish force was commanded by Alaster Macdonald, *alias* M'Leod, an Irish gentleman of Scottish extraction, brave and daring, but of little military skill or experience. He was commonly called Coll Kittoch, or Colkitto, a sobriquet assigned to him from his being left-handed. At Perth, it appears, he was styled Colcattochie. His armament consisted of only about twelve or fifteen hundred men. Montrose despatched orders for him to march his men towards the district of Athole with all speed, and also ordered a muster of the well-affected in that district. With no attendants but Inchbrakie as his guide, and very plainly attired in the ordinary Highland dress, he found only a few Highlanders from Badenoch had yet appeared at the rendezvous; and, altogether, the Irish auxiliaries had formed a very low estimate of the great leader or his followers. Just before Montrose's personal arrival, Macpherson of Cluny's men had a skirmish with several troops of the Covenanters' cavalry, in which the latter had the worst of it. Shortly after, the Athole men rallied to the amount of about eight hundred; and Montrose, intending to march upon Strathearn, immediately made way to cross the Tay. On his route, he discovered a body of about four hundred men in arms, at the Hill of Buchanty, under the command of two friends, Lord Kilpont and Sir John Drummond, who immediately placed themselves under Montrose's orders, for the service of the King.

Meanwhile, Montrose was closely pursued by Argyle, with a large body of the Covenanters; and the Marquess of Tullibardine, Lord Elcho, and others, had collected an army to protect the City of Perth, and even give battle to Montrose, should he advance in that direction. The forces in the field were under the command of Lord Elcho, with whom Montrose and his followers came in contact on the 1st September, 1644, at Tibbermuir, two or three miles due west of this City, where they found the foe ready to meet them, and nearly double in number to the Irish and Highlanders united. They were animated, too, by numerous Presbyterian divines who

accompanied them. They also enjoyed the advantage of cannon and cavalry; whereas Montrose had not a single great gun, and could boast of only three horses in his whole force! He first engaged with the cavalry, and routed them by a charge of his Highlanders, under a heavy fire of musketry from the Irish auxiliaries. This advantage was followed up with irresistible fury; the Covenanters fled in terror and confusion, and a great carnage ensued in the pursuit. Wishart says, that most of the cavalry saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses; but there was a very great slaughter among the foot, the conquerors pursuing for about six or seven miles. The number of slain was computed to be about two thousand, and many more were taken prisoners. The victorious party suffered little or nothing. Never was rout more complete, or victory more easily achieved.

The result of this day's work said but little for the military prowess of the citizens of Perth, who had signalized themselves in many a hard struggle before. It is recorded, that such was the extraordinary hurry of their flight, that many of them reached the town broken-winded, and afterwards died in consequence, without having received any wound or other injury.

The following account of this disastrous, if not disgraceful, affair, is from an old manuscript, written by a citizen of Perth, and embraced in Cant's history of the time:—"In August, 1644, Alexander M'Donald, *alias* Alaster M'Leod, *alias* Colcattochie's son, who came from Ireland with an army against the Marquis of Argyll, landed with his ships in the Isle of Sky. He thereafter went out of his Lordship's way, and never rested all his way through the west isles, in Lochaber, until he came to Badenoch, unknown to the country people, and encamped there on Friday, the 22d of August, at night. Next night he pitched at Ballichroan, where he rested Saturday and Sunday. His army was about three thousand. He laid waste all the country around, and drove the cattle into his camp, and set fire to the houses, and burnt and destroyed the standing corn, and carried away the choice young men, and pressed them into his service. From thence he passed through Glenshee into Athole, and raised all the able-bodied men. He joined Montrose at Blair Castle, whom he found dressed in Highland weed, and in his pocket the King's warrant and commission as Lieutenant-General of his Majesty's forces in Scotland, and a commission to him to be Lieutenant-Colonel. Encouraged by this junction of forces, they raised the country, came by Halymlinc, where all

Strathearn and Monteith, the Grahams and Drummonds, joined them—their commission warranting them to raise the country by fire and sword where they were opposed. Upon Sunday, the 1st day of September, 1644, an army of all this country forces of Perth and out of Fife, both horse and foot, amounting to the number of six thousand, or thereby, and Montrose and Colcattochie's forces, consisting of three or four thousand, or thereby—(this being a terrible day, not to be forgotten)—they fought on the muir above Cultmalindy, called Lamerkin Muir, betwixt twelve and two, afternoon ; or in the space of an half-hour, Montrose's forces, with M'Leod's Irish, being one (joined), they got the victory, and many of our people and of Fife were killed, and the dead bodies were stripped naked and left on the ground, about three or four hundred. Among them, the young Laird of Rires, in Fife ; Patrick Oliphant, younger of Bachilton ; George Haliburton of Keilor, in Angus ; David Grant, captain for the burgh of Perth ; Alexander Ramsay ; John Duff ; and Andrew Anderson ; with many brave men from Fife, the burghs of St. Andrews, Cupar, and Kirkcaldy, and other towns, and sundrie from the landward parishes of the shire of Perth. In which battle were, from the glover calling, Patrick Watson, Thomas Dundee, Henry Paul, Andrew Kinnaird, Alexander Hutton, Alexander Nairn, Patrick Ingles, George Auchinleck, Andrew Mortimer, Andrew Gall, Robert Lamb, John Measone, Andrew Anderson, ensign, and Alexander Drummond, lieutenant, who were all safe. After the battle, our people fled to all quarters ; and those who fled into the town were made prisoners, and forced to march with Montrose. The town was surrounded that night, and surrendered because not able to sustain a siege for want of commanders. Upon Tuesday and Wednesday thereafter, the 3d and 4th of September, they marched over the Tay to Angus, and took all the cannon, magazine, and spoil of the town with them to the north. Thereafter, upon Tuesday, the 10th of September, the Marquis of Argyle came from Stirling to Perth with about a thousand men, who marched through the town all that week in pursuit of Montrose, and went over the river Tay in boats left undestroyed by Montrose. James Stewart of Ardvorlich, on the 6th of September, slew Lord Kilpont at Collace, because he had joined Montrose."

Montrose, of course, had lost no time in investing the City of Perth, which he surrounded the same afternoon ; and the authorities surrendered it the following day, by which the Royalist General got

his troops opportunely supplied with ammunition and clothing, of which they were nearly destitute. The Town was indeed thoroughly sacked and pillaged. All this was tamely submitted to in dread of the horrors of a regular storming, but the government was highly incensed in consequence. Having secured all the horses, money, and every article of value, and as Argyle was approaching with a strong force, Montrose abandoned Perth, and speedily marched into the adjoining county of Angus, where he entertained high hopes of obtaining reinforcements. He was not disappointed, for the Earl of Airlie and two of his sons immediately joined him, with all the force they could command, and from that time steadily adhered to him through all his fortunes, for better for worse. Many others occasionally left him, for private reasons, although sometimes they again joined his ranks, but the Airlie family closely and constantly adhered; indeed, of his Lowland friends, they alone did so. They remained throughout warmly attached to the Royal cause, for which they had previously suffered severely. Four years before, Argyle plundered their estates, both in Perth and Forfar-shires, and burnt their principal mansion in June, 1640, the "bonnie house of Airlie," beautifully situated on the Isla, near Alyth, the memory of which conflagration is still preserved in Scottish song. As this long-popular lyric—popular to the present day—is rather scarce, it may not be improper to insert here a popular set of the verses, the author of which is unknown. Like many other Scottish songs, it tends to give us some idea of the habits and feelings of these distracted and troublous times.

It fell on a day, a bonnie simmer day,
 When the leaves were green and yellow,
 That there fell out a great dispute
 Between Argyle and Airly.

Argyle he has ta'en a lunder o' his men,
 A lunder men and mairly,
 And he's awa' by the back o' Dunkeld
 To plunder the bonnie house o' Airly.

The Lady look'd o'er the hie castle wa';
 And oh! but she sighed sairly,
 When she saw Argyle and a' his men
 Come to plunder the bonny house o' Airly.

"Come down, come down," said the proud Argyle;
 "Come down to me, Lady Airly,
 Or I swear by the sword I haud in my hand,
 I winna leave a stan'in' stane in Airly."

"I'll no come down, ye proud Argyle,
 Until that ye speak mair fairly,
 Tho' ye swear by the sword that ye haud in your hand,
 That ye winna leave a stan'in' stane in Airly.

"Had my ain Lord been at his hame,
 As he's awa' wi' Charlie,
 There's no a Campbell in a' Argyle,
 Dare hae trod in the bonny green o' Airly.

"But since we can hand out na mair,
 My hand I offer fairly;
 Oh! lead me donn to yonder glen,
 That I mayna see the burnin' o' Airly."

He has ta'en her by the trembling hand,
 But he's no ta'en her fairly,
 For he's led her up to a hie hill tap,
 Where she saw the burnin' o' Airly.

Clouds o' smoke and flames sae hie,
 Soon left the walls but barely;
 And she laid her down ou that hill to die,
 When she saw the burnin' o' Airly.

Just about the time the Earl of Airlie and his sons joined the ranks of Montrose, an event occurred in his camp, in this neighbourhood, which shocked and disconcerted him not a little. It has already been alluded to in the citizen's account of the Tibbermuir affair, but imperfectly. Dr. Wishart, in his *Memoirs of Montrose*, relates the circumstances; and on his narrative Sir Walter Scott admits having founded the interesting *Legend of Montrose*. The event alluded to is the violent death of Lord Kilpont, as mentioned in page 270. The birth of James Stewart of Ardvoirlich, by whose hand Lord Kilpont fell, at Collace, near Dunsinane, in this neighbourhood, had been attended with very peculiar circumstances. It is related, that while his mother was pregnant, the house of Ardvoirlich, near the south bank of Loch Earn, was visited by a band of outlaws, called Children of the Mist. They came from the north-west, and are said to have been Macgregors, while some authorities say they belonged to the Macdonalds of Ardnamurchan. Their errand was of a predatory nature, and food was immediately demanded. A ready repast, consisting of bread and cheese, was placed on the table, while the lady went into the kitchen to see to the preparation of a better meal, in the usual process of Highland hospitality. On returning to the hall the poor lady saw upon the table, with its mouth stuffed full of food, the bloody head of Drummond of Drummondernoch, her own brother, who had been previ-

ously met and murdered by these Highland savages in the neighbouring wood. Uttering a piercing shriek, the unhappy lady ran wildly out into the forest, where, after a diligent and anxious search of many weeks, she was ultimately found in a state of deplorable insanity. The infant then in her womb was born shortly after, but it was supposed that his mother's madness had considerably affected him. He grew up, however, but was always reckoned a dangerous character, the more so as he was distinguished for extraordinary muscular strength. Having also joined Montrose, with many others from Upper Strathearn, he was much favoured by Lord Kilpont, and admitted to share his tent and bed. It is said that Ardvorlich had disapproved of his friend having joined Montrose, and proposed deserting, and even murdering their General. Kilpont indignantly rejected these proposals, and either fear or deep offence led him to stab his confiding friend to the heart. He also despatched the sentinel who kept guard on the tent, but escaped and joined Argyle, from whom he received preferment.

The government viewed the affair of Tibbermuir as an instance of gross cowardice, and the surrender of Perth as an act of treachery—and, strange to say, spoke of holding the clergymen of the city responsible! Those gentlemen deemed it necessary to draw up a written defence, which they transmitted to the proper quarter. This singular document was published in the *Scots Magazine* for November, 1817, from the original, found among the Woodrow MSS. in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh. It had been transmitted either to the Parliament or Committee of Estates, as from the Rev. Messrs. John Robertson and George Hallyburton, ministers of Perth. In this case we have another instance that not a few even of the more professedly zealous Covenanters were a rather fast-and-loose sort of characters; for, notwithstanding all the Covenanting fervour exhibited in this curious document, the said Mr. George Hallyburton deserted his party at the Restoration, and was consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld! * The document here alluded to

* In the *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth*, vol. i. there is to be found a long article, entitled, "The History of Scottish Affairs," written by a Mr. James Wilson, a burgher of Dumfries. This authority states, that "the Commission of the General Assembly, which met in November, 1644, deposed Mr. George Hallyburton, minister at Perth, and Mr. George Graham, minister at Auchterarder, for speaking to Montrose at his being in the Town of St. Johnston." Kirkton thus writes of this rather notorious individual:—"Mr. George Hallyburton for Dunkeld, was a man of utterance, but who had made

is so curious, and refers to an incident so remarkable in our local history, that, lengthy as it is, we make no apology for its insertion, believing that it will be read with interest.

REASONS FOR THE SURRENDER OF PERTH.

If Perth be blamed for any thing, it must be either for that they did render at all ; or, 2, Because the terms of rendering were not honest and honourable ; or, 3, Because the carriage of the inhabitants was bad after the entry of the enemy. As for the first, we could not but render upon these grounds : 1. The strength of the town was not in their own walls or inhabitants, but in the army of friends that were in the fields, which being shamefully beat and fully routed, did so exanimate and dishearten the poor inhabitants, that they could not exert the very natural act of moving, let alone of resolute reason. For that miserable flight was, for its suddenness and unexpectedness, as the clap of judgment ; and then, 2, A reason of great amazement. For they shall be confounded that trust in the arm of flesh. The trust of the inhabitants was as the trust of their friends—too, too great, yea, the mean was more looked to than the principal efficient cause, which self-trust God punished justly, both in the one and the other. Secondly, our men were very few, not extending to six score. For we had in the field a company of musketeers (under Captain Grant, who was there killed), which, for the most part, fled, suspecting that the town should become a prey to the enemy's cruelty. Others of the town, confident of the victory, went out to the moor carelessly, and so, in the flight, by running, were made useless. A third part of the town timorously fled at the first report of the enemy's victory. Could the town trust itself to the defence of so few, and these few disheartened men ? Thirdly, Our friends in Fife and Strathearn that came unto us, they were either unwilling or unable to assist us. Their unwillingness consisted in this, that all, when they came in at the ports, either went to the boats or to houses, out of which no entreaty could draw them. The truth of this is proven ; for the provost of the town, with a minister going amongst the streets, with a trumpet, three times, could not, of inhabitants and friends both,

more changes than old infamous Eccebolius, and was never thought sincere in any, he seemed to be so ingenious [ingenuous ?], and never was ; you may guess what savour was in that salt." He is said to have turned out " a cruel persecutor of his former friends." Very likely.

make up so many as to guard three ports, let be five, forbye all the walls and posts of the town. Whereas it is said, or may be said, that the Fife men offered to assist us. It's truth, there were seen twelve or thereabout unarmed men, and some of them drunk, come to the provost in the porch of the kirk offering themselves to serve. But such a few number could not be trusted to, so many having feared the enemy's forces before and fled. 2. They were unable who came in, for first they were all fore-fainted and bursted with running, insomuch that nine or ten died that night in town without any wound. 3. An overwhelming fear did take them, that did absolutely disable them from resistance of such a cruel enemy. Their fear kythed in this, that multitudes, breaking up cellars, did cast themselves down there, expecting the enemy's approach. The provost came into one house amongst many, where there were a number lying panting, and desired them to rise for their own defence. They answered, their hearts were away, they would fight no more although they should be killed. And then, although they had been both willing and stout, yet they were unable to resist, for they had cast away all their arms from them by the way, and we in the town had none to spare. 4. In town we had no ammunition, for Dundee refused them, and that which was got out of Coupar was for the most part had out in carts to the moor. 5. Our enemies, that, before the fight, were naked, weaponless, ammunitionless, and cannonless men, and so unable to have laid siege to the town, by the flight of our friends were clothed, got abundance of arms, and great plenty of ammunition, with 6 pieces of cannon. So our friends disarming us, and arming our enemies, enabled them, and disarmed us. 6. If our friends had come and fled at our ports and forsaken us, we would, with the assistance of honest men about, defended ourselves. The Master of Balmerino and the Laird of Moncrieff can witness the town's resolutions the Friday before the fight, when we were alone, for then we would expected help from Fife, and Angus, and Strathearn in 24 hours, to have raised the siege. But after the fight and flight we were out of all hopes. For, on the north, Athole was an enemy; on the east, Angus, on the report of the defeat, disbanded, or at least a few of them fled to Dundee. For Fife, they were so disbanded that there was little hope of a sudden levy. For my Lord Marquis of Argyle we knew not if he was come from the Highlands or not. And so this proved. For the first friends that we saw was the eleventh day after the dismal fight. If so few faint-hearted men without meat or drink (of which

the town was very scarce) could have stood so long against so many cruel desperate enemies, let the reasonable judge. 7. The hounds of hell were drawn up before our ports newly deeply bathed in blood, routed with hideous cries for more, and in the meantime there abode not one gentleman of Fife to give us counsel, save one who is a useless member among themselves at home, and, consequently, could not be but useless to us. Neither a gentleman of the committee of our own shire, save Balhousie ; so exanimate with fear, and destitute of counsel, we could not stand out.

After the sight and serious consideration of these reasons, and of the miserable consequents of outstanding, being so unable, as, namely, the razing of the city, the loss of all our means, and the cruel massacring of our own persons, we began to think upon a surrender of the city, if in any terms we could have our consciences and our covenants preserved entire. If any ways the enemy would meddle with these, the ministers gave counsel to lose life and all, which was accorded to by all the town-council, as may appear by the town's letter of answer to Montrose his demand.

So to the next point. Being, by strength of reason, and extreme necessity, urged to render, we thought on articles to propone, which, not being satisfied, we all resolved to die before we gave over. In the meantime, a letter came from Montrose, desiring us to join in service to his Majesty. We answered, if, by joining in service, he meant all that civil obedience that did tie our free subjects to be performed, we would join with all good subjects ; but if, by joining, he meant to encroach on our consciences, and to make us break any point of our covenants, we should not join with him nor any, lest by so doing God should be highlier provoked, and moved to bring down a heavier judgment than he had done that day on us. The articles proponed with the answer were these five :—1. That our town and parish should not be urged with anything against their conscience, especially against the two covenants. 2. That the town should not be plundered or rifled, neither the adjacent landward. 3. That in all things we should be used as free subjects, and so that none of our men should be pressed. 4. That no Irishes should get entry or passage through our town. 5. That all our good friends and neighbours in town should have a pass safely to go to their own homes. The honesty of these articles may be proved by the first article, the honourableness of them by the rest. Its honesty, to adhere to our covenant ; and honour (being not able to do otherwise), to keep ourselves and our friends free of skaith, and give our enemy

no full entry. Look what hath been called honest and honourable capitulations in the like cases of rendering abroad, and we in these articles shall not be found far short of them.

As for the third point—the gesture and carriage of the town towards the enemy. If by the town be meant the ministers—they are here, let them be tried. If by the town be meant the magistrates—they did show no countenance, either welcoming them, eating or drinking with them. If by the town be meant the body—welcomes were so far, that we wish to God the voice of such joy be never heard on the streets of Edinburgh. We may boldly say, in the face of any will say the contrary, that consider the number, and our weeping was as great as lamentings of Achor's valley. We will be bold to say, it was the saddest day that ever the town did see, and that enemy the saddest sight; nay, it was to them as the very sight of the executioner upon the scaffold. If by the town be meant particular men—we cannot be answerable for every particular man's carriage. If any can be found, let these be tried and punished for being so unnatural. The hearts of none we know, but the outward carriage of all our town was humble, demisse, sad, sorrowful, very far from the expressions of any joy.

Two things are proponed to be considered:—1. Whether the rendering of the field or the town was most disgraceful and prejudicial to the cause and country. The town was rendered, not being able, for the former reasons, to stand out, upon honest and honourable capitulations.

The field was rendered, having two to one, of which many horse, and good cannon, by a shameful, groundless tergiversation. 2. The town's rendering, being unable to stand out, saved the effusion of much blood; for being unable, and yet stand out, we should have been accessory to our own massacre; but the field's render was the cause of much blood, ten only being killed standing, and all the rest flying, so that being able to stand, and yet fled, they seem to be accessory to much blood they might have saved. 3. The town's rendering was the very immediate necessary effect of the field's rendering; let any man, having considered this, infer the conclusion.

Again, let the events of rendering and not rendering the town be compared, and see which would have been most hurtful to the cause and country. By rendering (not being able to stand) we kept our cause and covenant inviolate. We kept our city—we kept our lives—and our means for maintenance of the cause and country in

time coming. By not standing (being so unable), the country had lost a city, a number of poor souls, men, women, and babes, with all their fortunes and means. Was it not better, then, to have rendered with such honesty, as to have resisted with such certainty of danger?

They who would have had us in Perth offer ourselves a bloody sacrifice for our country, and with more honest terms could save ourselves for our country's service—and, in the meantime, had not the courage for their country to withstand the force of sworn enemies themselves—to say no more, they are too uncharitably cruel against us, and too partial lovers of themselves.

As for that the town held in their friends to be captived, it is true for a little while they were detained; but as soon as we saw it impossible to stand out, we let all our boats pass, and Fife men, with other men, so thronged, that sundry were drowned, both horse and foot. Our boats passed that night till eleven hours at evening. Our port we could not open, neither could they pass. For the cruel dogs were even hard at the Inch, and had a company betwixt that and the bridge waiting the massacre of such as we should let out. It is apparent, if we should let out the Fife men, and they had been killed between our town and the bridge, that they should have said in Fife that we would not harbour them, but chase them out to the slaughter. God judge us according to the charity some of us shew to them.

It would be foreign to our main purpose to trace Montrose minutely throughout his subsequent movements and varied fortunes. He bent his way to the north, and was generally successful in his struggles with Argyle and his Covenanting followers, as at Bridge of Dee, storming of Aberdeen, at Fyvie, &c.; until, by a remarkable celerity of movement up the banks of the Spey to Badenoch, thence to Athole, and once more southward, he again reached the county of Angus.

At the very close of the year 1644, Montrose surprised Argyle by an invasion of his own country, at which he arrived by an unexpected route, and in the most dreadfully inclement weather. Having first devastated the country, he gained a signal victory over the Campbells at Inverlochy. After various movements, the victorious leader resolved to make an unwelcome visit to our neighbouring town of Dundee, and to punish its inhabitants for their steady adherence to the cause of the Covenant. It seemed his purpose

to make them suffer much more severely than those of Perth did the previous year, although the latter appeared as active antagonists to him in the field. He selected his men for the service, and proceeded to storm the place on three points at once, on the 4th April, 1645. The Irish and Highlanders forced an entrance with incredible fury, but just as they were proceeding in quest of liquor and plunder, and when Montrose was about to set fire to the town, Generals Baillie and Urry, with 4,000 choice troops of the Covenanters' army, had approached within a mile of the scene. It must have required peculiar persuasion to withdraw his men from the revelling and work of plunder in which they were hotly engaged; but this he did accomplish, and effected also a retreat in safety to the mountains—his forces having marched about sixty miles in three days and two nights, manœuvring and fighting all the time, without food or refreshment. He had another brilliant but brief campaign in the north, vanquishing his opponents with astonishing intrepidity and valour, at Auldearn, on the 4th May the same year, and at Alford on the 2d July following.

At this time the country suffered also from a wasting visitation of the plague; and so severe was it, in Edinburgh especially, that Perth was again, and for the last time but one, the seat of Parliament or Convention of Estates, that body being driven from Edinburgh by the alarming devastation of the pestilence. While they were concerting measures for a new and powerful additional levy of forces, Montrose descended once more from the mountains in the glory of victory, with an augmented army, and soon after moved to the westward. Some accounts say that he insulted [threatened, we suppose] Perth, where the Covenanters occupied entrenchments; but he made his way through the county of Kinross, on leaving which he skirted the Ochills, in the southern part of Perthshire, and, chiefly at the instigation of the Ogilvies, as a retaliation for the destruction of "the Bonnie House of Airlie," four or five years before, he doomed to the flames one of the most magnificent of the old baronial strongholds in Scotland—magnificent still, even in its extensive ruins. This was the noble Castle, the property of Argyle, occupying the summit of a most picturesque and remarkable eminence in the gorge of a romantic glen in the Ochills, very near the village, and nearer to the new College, of Dollar. Its majestic ruins and most singular situation are highly attractive to tourists at the present day. It is still called Castle Campbell; but formerly it was styled Castle Gloom, or the Castle of Gloom. The situation

corresponds with this. It is accessible only from behind; and the visitor has first to go up the hill, then to come down again, and approach it by a narrow access, betwixt two deep and gloomy ravines, each upwards of three hundred feet deep, and having a rushing mountain torrent on either side, the one known by the name of Grief or Gryffe, and the other Care—both uniting at the foot of the promontory in the rivulet named Dolour, about half-a-mile above Dollar—said to be a corruption, or rather a different orthography, of the word. Sir Walter Scott justly remarks, that “the destruction of many a meaner habitation, by the same unscrupulous and unsparing spirit of vengeance, has long been forgotten; but the majestic remains of Castle Campbell still excite a sigh, in those that view them, over the miseries of civil war.” Airlie Castle and Castle Gloom are about equidistant from Perth, but in totally opposite directions. The main fabric of the latter is massive and strong, but one side of the barbican or outer-court was driven down by a boisterous hurricane of wind, which did much damage in various quarters, only two or three years ago. It is also said that the Stirlingshire cavaliers seconded the resentment of the Airlie family, in stirring up the feudal hatred of Montrose to the resolution of subjecting this magnificent pile to the ravage of conflagration. It is indeed melancholy to contemplate its bare blackened interior, as well as the dilapidated state of the roofless outer walls. The vindictive spirit of the foresaid cavaliers was aroused on this occasion chiefly by the recollection, as Nimmo, in his *History of Stirlingshire*, informs us, that Argyle had formerly ordered the house of Menstrie, at no great distance from this locality, belonging to the Earl of Stirling, to be burnt, as well as the house of Airthrey, near it, the property of Montrose’s relative, Graham of Inchbraikie.

Montrose continued his course westward along the north side of the Forth, menacing the Castle of Stirling in his way, which, however, was strongly garrisoned, and bade him defiance. His object was the dispersion of the western levies, which the lords of the district were then collecting—and it is said the country presented many temptations for plunder—besides, he possessed also a plausible pretext, the people of the western counties being remarkable for their firm attachment to the Covenant, and consequently partizans of his bitterest opponents. He effected a crossing of the Forth, not far from Doune, by a deep and very precarious ford which the river presents a little before its junction with the Teith. He then directed his

course upon Kilsyth; but before he had quite reached it, he received intelligence that an army had moved from Perth in pursuit, crossed the Forth by Stirling Bridge, and was pretty close upon his rear.

This was the eve of a decisive battle, which Baillie, it is said, would have endeavoured to avoid. But he was attended by a committee of the estates—Argyle, Lanark, and others—who accompanied him from Perth, and controlled his motions. The Earl of Lindsay insisted on risking the last regular army the Covenanters possessed in Scotland in the perils of a pitched battle. They therefore advanced against Montrose by break of day, on the fated morning of the 15th August, 1645. This gave great joy to Montrose—whose force consisted of the Irish musketeers under Colkitto, a strongly reinforced body of Highlanders, and a spirited division of Lowland Cavaliers—and battle was what he most earnestly desired. He caused his men strip to the shirt, so that they fought almost naked. After the first onset, in which the Covenanters were worsted, and got into disorder, from which their commander could not get them extricated, Montrose ordered Lord Airlie, with his cavalry, to attack the enemy before they recovered their lines, and then poured in his impetuous mountain torrent of foot, by whom they were dispersed without making anything like a spirited effort to get into line of battle, or to keep their ground. The Covenanters were thoroughly routed, and pursued with indiscriminate slaughter for more than ten miles. Four or five thousand men fell in the field and in the flight; while Montrose lost only six men, or at most seven or eight. Three of these were gentlemen of the name of Ogilvy, who were slain in the assault under their chief, Lord Airlie, and his followers, to whom the victory, says Wishart, was in a great measure to be ascribed. Several of the Covenanting noblemen (thanks to the swiftness of their horses) reached Stirling Castle in safety. Others got on board a vessel in the Forth. Amongst these was Argyle himself, who was now used to such a course, and would not rest till the vessel was carried out to sea. The force of the recruiting Perth Convention was entirely broken.

Edinburgh was surrendered, Glasgow was laid under contribution, and the noblemen and gentlemen who had been in various places imprisoned as royalists were set at liberty. Montrose's army, as usual after a victorious campaign, nearly dispersed themselves—the clansmen to get in their harvest, and the north-country gentlemen in particular, for relaxation from their recent toils. The King's

commission under the Great Seal, appointing him captain-general and lieutenant-governor of Scotland, was presented to Montrose by Sir Robert Spottiswoode ; but by this time his army had almost disappeared, and the King could send him no assistance from England. Such of the border chiefs as felt or professed regard for Charles, made little effort, and Douglas and Annandale supplied only a few troops of horse, upon whom little reliance was to be placed. Instead of receiving expected succours from England, General Leslie was despatched by the Parliament, with five or six thousand men, chiefly cavalry, in first-rate order, to oppose the career of the royalist conqueror. After some countermarching in the south, Leslie surprised his opponent at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk. On the morning of the 13th September, 1645, he attacked Montrose's camp, where only one division of his army lay ; for the cavalry were, along with himself, quartered separately in the town of Selkirk. With these, on being aroused by the firing, he essayed to retrieve the disadvantage, but without success, and was compelled to fly. His army suffered severely in and after the defeat, for the Covenanters massacred all the prisoners taken in cold blood. Amongst others, there were many cavaliers, men of birth and character, who were afterwards put to an ignominious death. One hundred of the Irish auxiliaries were selected as special victims, and shot at the stake !

Montrose retreated into the Highlands, where he assembled another small army, against whom the Convention of Estates despatched General Middleton. Meanwhile the King had surrendered himself to the Scottish auxiliaries in England, and by his orders his valiant general disbanded his forces. On the 3d September, 1646, he embarked on board a vessel bound for Bergen, in Norway, with only a few adherents, who thus fled from Scotland for safety. The Convention of Estates consisted entirely of Covenanters, and Argyle their leader burnt with resentment for the devastation of his country and the destruction of his castles, and his desire of vengeance was prompted by the Presbyterian clergy, who prevented the exercise of mercy which the higher class of prisoners, captured at Philiphaugh, might have actually experienced at the hands of the Convention. Of eight condemned to execution, four were appointed to suffer at St. Andrews. Lord Ogilvy, son of the Earl of Airlie, was one of these, but he escaped from prison in his sister's clothes before the day of doom arrived. The rest were actually executed—one of the Gordon family, and six other cavaliers of the first distinction.

Sir Robert Spottiswoode—who, when the civil wars broke out, held the high office of Secretary and Lord President of the Court of Session, a man of great learning and high talent, who had never even borne arms—was also selected as a victim, merely for having brought Montrose his commission as Captain-General of Scotland, and for having accepted the office of Secretary, which the Parliament had destined for another. When on the scaffold, and addressing the populace in his own vindication, which he did with great ability, the Provost of St. Andrews, who had formerly been a servant of his father's, had the audacity to rebuke him and command his silence, to which he submitted with calmness. In his last private devotions he was also interrupted by the Presbyterian minister in attendance, who desired him to say whether he wished the benefit of *his* prayers and those of the people assembled? Sir Robert said, he earnestly demanded the prayers of the people, but rejected the ghostly offices of the preacher—telling him, that, in his opinion, God had expressed his displeasure against Scotland by sending a lying spirit into the mouth of the prophets—a far greater curse, he said, than those of sword, fire, and pestilence. Sir Robert was the son of Spottiswoode, formerly prelate of St. Andrews.

The troubles in England continued to increase, and at length the famous Oliver Cromwell, an Independent, and a member of the Long Parliament, got the command of the Parliamentary forces. The Presbyterian opponents of the King had a strong desire to establish a uniform system of religion and church government in England and Scotland, and that both countries should of course adopt the Presbyterian forms. The Parliament consisted of many Independents; but notwithstanding, that body, by an act dated 12th June, 1643, called an Assembly of the most learned Divines at Westminster, to settle the government of the Church. Notwithstanding the dismal horrors of those times, it is from them we have to date that admirable formula of our National Church, the *Confession of Faith*, including the *Larger* and *Shorter Catechisms*, the most precious gift ever bestowed on man by any temporal authority. Ninety-eight of the most eminent clergymen, from all parts of England, assisted by Commissioners from the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, assembled at Westminster on the 1st of July, and compiled the religious creed of the general Church, embracing a system of doctrine, a directory for public worship, and an order of church government, of course according to the strictest views of the Presbyterian party. This formulary was

afterwards approved of by the General Assembly on the 27th August, 1647, and ratified by Parliament on the 7th February, 1648. Cromwell, however, obtained supreme command of the army, the influence of the Presbyterians was neutralized, and the creed, so ably and elaborately framed, never became that of the English Establishment.

Meanwhile the troops of King Charles sustained various reverses, and were at length so totally discomfited at Naseby that he lost all hope of making head against his rancorous enemies. As a last resort, he resolved to claim the protection of the Scottish army, and leaving Oxford in disguise, on the 27th of April, 1646, he sought the Scottish camp, and surrendered himself into the hands of the Earl of Leven at Newark, which he was then preparing to besiege. It was at this time Charles sent orders to Montrose to dissolve his forces in the Highlands. After negotiations, the Scottish forces gave up their King to the Commissioners for the English Parliament, on the 28th January, 1647, on condition of receiving security for payment of four hundred thousand pounds, claimed due as arrears of pay, and then retired into their own country. For this base act of greed and treachery foreign nations justly held them in reproach, and the English themselves taunted them in the popular rhyme—

Traitor Scot
Sold his King for a goat.

From this date Charles was detained as a state prisoner until the time of his death, which took place in front of Whitehall by decapitation, on the 30th January, 1649, under the sentence of a High Court of Justice appointed by the Parliament, before whom he was arraigned for treason against the Commonwealth and declared guilty of the crime! He was beheaded in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his unhappy reign. The multitude witnessed the scene with tears and lamentations. The King's serene and religious behaviour, both at his trial and execution, excited the sympathy and sorrow of many who had been his enemies, and the almost universal sense of the iniquity of his sentence was a principal cause of the restoration of his family to the throne.

Soon after this event Cromwell proceeded to Scotland, and came to Edinburgh to conciliate the Covenanters. They had proclaimed young Charles, however, and despatched a deputation of nobles to Breda to invite him home, on condition of embracing Presbyterian-

ism and subscribing the Covenant. But on hearing of his father's fate, he had constituted the Marquess of Montrose Captain-General of Scotland, who, with a small force of about six hundred Germans, joined by a few Scotch emigrant royalists, embarked at Hamburg, and sailed for Orkney, whence, with a few hundred fishermen forced into the service, he made his way to the mainland, and was soon afterwards surprised and defeated by Strachan, an officer under Leslie, on the confines of Ross-shire, in the month of April, 1650. He donned the clothes of an ordinary Highland kern, but was soon taken and treacherously delivered up by Macleod of Assynt. The Covenanters dragged him, in a sort of triumph, from town to town, in the wretched garb in which he was taken; and it is recorded, to the high credit of our neighbours of Dundee, that, generously forgetting his severity towards them only five years before, they were the first to supply their humbled foe with attire suitable to his rank, as also with money and the necessaries of which he was destitute. This noble and gallant soldier was then taken to Edinburgh, before reaching which he had been condemned by the Parliament as a traitor, under an old act of attainder passed in 1644, and, without farther trial, sentenced to an ignominious death, which, after the most inhuman insults, he submitted to with a composure and magnanimity that struck all beholders. His sentence bore, that, after execution, his body should be quartered, his limbs placed over the gates of the principal towns in Scotland, and his head fixed on the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. Nothing daunted, he gloried in the cause for which he was to suffer. On the window of his prison, the night before his execution, he wrote the following lines with a diamond, in reference to the terms of his sentence:—

“ Let them bestow on every airth a limb,
 Then open all my veins, that I may swim
 To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake;
 Then place my parboiled head upon a stake.
 Scatter my ashes—strew them in the air—
 Lord! since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
 I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
 And confident thou'lt raise me with the just.”

He walked from the prison to the Grassmarket on foot. Wishart, his own chaplain and biographer, says—“ About two o'clock in the afternoon, he was brought from the prison to the place of execution, dressed in a scarlet cloak trimmed with gold lace; he walked

along the street with such a grand air, and so much beauty, majesty, and gravity appeared in his countenance, as shocked the whole city at the cruelty that was designed him ; and extorted even from his enemies the unwilling confession, that he was a man of the most lofty and elevated soul, and of the most unshaken constancy and resolution that the age had produced." This brave man suffered on the 21st May, 1650. He died in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and is generally allowed to have been the most celebrated man of his time for military genius—his remarkable intrepidity sometimes bordering on rashness.

When brought before the Parliament to receive sentence, he admitted he had taken the first or National Covenant, and had acted upon it so long as it had been confined to its proper purposes, and had only opposed those who had used it as a pretext for assailing the royal authority. He denied ever having taken the second, or Solemn League and Covenant, and could not therefore be held as bound to respect or abide by it. He had made war by the King's express commission. He had never spilt the blood of a prisoner, even in retaliation of the cold-blooded murder of his officers and friends, but had spared the life of thousands in the shock of battle. And farther, his last enterprise had been carried on at the express command of Charles the Second, whom they had just before proclaimed their Sovereign. Such was his defence and vindication. We have not seen any account as to the dismemberment of his body, or how his remains were disposed of ; but if distributed in terms of his sentence, they must have been again collected, if it be true, as is generally understood in this quarter, that they lie interred in the old ecclesiastical ruin, the burying-place of the noble family of Montrose, at Aberuthven, on the left side of the turnpike road from Perth to Auchterarder, two or three miles on this side of the latter place.

On learning the fate of Montrose, and seeing no other resource, Charles agreed to accept the crown of Scotland on the terms proposed—absolutely to comply with the will of the Scottish Parliament in civil affairs, and with the pleasure of the General Assembly in matters ecclesiastical. Above all, he promised to take upon him the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant, and support it by every means in his power. On these conditions the Commissioners concluded the treaty, and Charles sailed from Holland the 16th June, 1650, and landed on the north coast of Scotland, near the mouth of the Spey. He proceeded southwards *en*

route for Stirling, and was everywhere greeted with the applause of the multitude. Argyle and his friends received him with every external show of deference and respect, although they took good care to give him his own will in nothing. The preachers disgusted him with ill-timed and long-winded sermons—choosing frequently for their themes the sins of his father, the idolatry of his mother, because she was a Catholic, and himself as entertaining the principles of a malignant. We have the authority of Sir Edward Walker, in Arnott's *History of Edinburgh*, that, "not contented with the contumelies they heaped upon their Sovereign, they prepared him for a scene of still greater indignity. Nothing now would satisfy the clergy but that the King should do public penance before the whole land. The General Assembly drew up twelve articles, in which they mustered all the pretended sins of his Majesty and his predecessors for four generations back; and for these they ordained that the King, his household, and the whole land, should do solemn and public penance; an event, however, happened (the battle of Dunbar), which saved him from that disgrace." Even Dr. Cook, in his *History of the Church of Scotland*, tells us that "the gloomy austerity of the preachers, which cast its influence over social enjoyment, and branded his levity with a sternness little calculated to conciliate or to amend, disgusted Charles at those whom he should have laboured to gain, and strengthened that indifference to religion, and that proneness to dissipation, by which his whole life was unhappily distinguished."

The English Parliament had no will that the son of the King whom they had put to death should quietly establish himself in Scotland, and therefore prepared for war. The Scottish Covenanters detested the anti-monarchical and no-church-government principles of the English Independents, and assembled a fine army, full of men most enthusiastic in the cause in which they were about to fight. Fairfax having conscientiously declined the command of the English army (being a Presbyterian), Cromwell obtained the supreme military authority, and invaded Scotland with a force of 16,000 men, besides a fleet to co-operate with him in the Forth. Leslie was entrusted with the command of the Scots, who doubled in number their opponents, and, after various movements, they came in contact at Dunbar. The Presbyterian preachers insisted that Leslie should at once go down against the Philistines at Gilgal, and Cromwell gave orders to begin the charge, telling his officers that "the Lord had delivered them into their hands." The former,

notwithstanding their advantage in point of numbers, were signally routed, with the loss of 3,000 killed, besides 9,000 taken prisoners, whom the English transported to their settlements in America and sold for slaves! This sanguinary conflict took place on the 3d September, 1650.

Edinburgh Castle, Tantallon, and most of the strongholds in the kingdom, were surrendered, and Cromwell had almost all things his own way. The remainder of Leslie's army retreated to Stirling, hoping to be able to defend the passes of the Firth, and the Committee of Estates accompanied them. A Parliament was immediately assembled at Perth, which, in this extremity, was inclined to relax the extreme rigour of its exclusive doctrines, and agreed to receive into the army such of the moderate Presbyterians, and even those of the Royalists and Malignants, as were inclined to confess formally their bygone errors. The more tight-laced Covenanters stigmatised this as "a sinful seeking of help from Egypt." The Parliament now resolved on the coronation of Charles, who still remained at Perth in their hands, who, together with the clergy, held him almost a prisoner. The disaster at Dunbar greatly diminished the power of the latter, and both bodies determined to perform the ceremony of coronation, as a solemn pledge of their resolution to support the constitution and religion of Scotland to the last; but, like the wedding in Sir Walter Scott's beautiful lyric of *Jock o' Hazeldean*, the melancholy solemnity had been nearly prevented by the absence of the principal personage. Charles had seized an opportunity to give the Covenanters at Perth the slip, and made his escape from amongst them. He had miscalculated the power of the Royalists, on whom he depended, and actually fled into Forfarshire. He reached a glen in the hills called Clova, about a dozen miles north of Forfar, near Cortachy Castle, where, instead of an army, as he expected, he found only a few Highlanders, and saw not General Middleton, as he had been also led to expect; and he was, therefore, the more easily persuaded to return with a party who had been despatched in pursuit of him.

The following is a more circumstantial account of this celebrated movement. Charles had arrived at Falkland on the 10th of July, and remained there till the 23d, when he proceeded to Perth, where the Committee of Estates and the leading men of the clergy were assembled. Balfour, in his *Annals*, says—His Majesty stayed at Falkland until Tuesday, the 23d July, from whence he removed to Perth for one night, where he was feasted, with all his train, by the

magistrates of the said burgh, in General David Leslie's house," but he felt himself anything but comfortable under the restraints imposed on him by the Covenanters. These also entertained strong suspicions of the King, and orders were issued, under the hand of Loudon, the Chancellor, enjoining that a number of "the persons about him be removed from court, and ordered to depart out of the kingdom." This was sufficient to excite alarm in Charles's mind for his own safety in such hands; and next day, says Balfour, "as if going on hawking, the King went away from St. Johnstoun on horseback, about half-past one o'clock, afternoon, accompanied only with the following servants:—Henry Symeour, a groom of his bed-chamber; Mr. Roodes, Mr. Andrew Cole, and Mr. Thomas Windam, gentlemen of the stable; and Mr. Cartwright, groom of the privy-chamber; without any change of clothes except what was on his body—a thin riding suit. From Perth he rode softly through the South Inch, and then at full career to the back of Inchyra, where he passed, and in an hour-and-a-half travelled from Perth to Dudhope, by Dundee; from thence, Viscount Dudhope conveyed him to Auchter House that same night; and, not staying there, the Earl of Buchan and Viscount Dudhope conveyed him to Cortuquhay, the dwelling-place of the Earl of Airlie, an excommunicated Papist, where, after a little refreshment, that same night he rode with a guard of some sixty or eighty Highlanders up the glen, to a poor cottage belonging to the Laird of Clova; in all from Perth, he went some forty-two miles before he rested. On Friday night, 4th October, having laid down to rest his wearied body, he was found by Lord Colonel Nairne of Sanford, and Colonel Bynton, an Englishman, sent by Colonel Robert Montgomery (whom Scotsraig, by the way of Fife, had advertised at Forfar of his Majesty's sudden departure to the Malignants from his own people and court), lying in a filthy room, on an old bolster, above a matt of seggs and rushes, overwearied and very fearful." Balfour further states, that the Commissioners who found him in this plight were also charged by the Committee of Estates with a letter for him—"a mild and discreet letter, beseeching his Majesty to return from the evil way he had taken, that might prove destruction to himself, his posterity, and his kingdom, if he did not speedily return." Such is Balfour's statement of the facts we had specified more briefly. Montgomery and the other two Commissioners being backed by two regiments of cavalry, Buchan and Dudhope consented that Charles should return, and conducted him back so far as Castle Huntly, "where ho

stayed all Saturday night, and came to Perth on the afternoon of Sabbath, and heard sermon in his own presence-chamber, the afternoon sermon in the town being ended before he entered it."

This incident, which in history is termed the *Start*, obtained for Charles rather more respectful treatment from his Covenanting friends at Perth, but it had no tendency to increase confidence betwixt the young King and his councillors amongst the Presbyterian party. The coronation ceremony was performed at Scone on the 1st January, 1651, as will be found more particularly detailed below, but with attendant circumstances which were not at all calculated to cement a cordial attachment betwixt the Sovereign and the subjects who engaged in the solemnities. The officiating clergyman on this occasion was Mr. Robert Douglas, Moderator of the General Assembly. Andrew Reid, merchant in Perth, paid about a thousand merks of the coronation expenses, for which he received the King's bond in security for payment. The confirmation of the Covenant was held an essential part of the proceeding, and the coronation was preceded by a national fast and humiliation, held expressly on account of the sins of the royal family! The Marquess of Argyle placed the crown on the head of a son whose father he had been a powerful instrument in depriving of his head as well as his crown. What good faith could be expected between such parties? The chief benefit Charles experienced in the meantime was the enjoyment of a greater measure of liberty.

The estates had appointed a committee to prepare for the coronation; and as a vast influx of the nobility, gentry, and others, was expected to attend on the occasion, as well as to be present at the ensuing meeting of Parliament, an order was issued that "no more than four shillings should be taken for a gentleman's bed a-night, and two shillings for a servant's—the landlord transgressing that rule to pay a fine of one hundred pounds Scots."

Parliament was prorogued from time to time till the 26th November, when the Chancellor Loudon was chosen President, who made a statement of the causes of his Majesty's departure from Perth on the 4th of October, and of his penitence and regret for the same. Wednesday, the 1st January, 1651, was fixed for the coronation of Charles, at Scone—the last coronation which has ever taken place in Scotland. On the morning of that day, the King appeared in the chamber of presence; and after the formality of presentations and introductions, including those of many of the nobles, with the commissioners of barons and burghs, his Majesty

proceeded from the hall of the Palace to the church, accompanied by all the noblemen and gentlemen present. He was dressed in a Prince's robe. The royal insignia were carried before him—the spurs by the Earl of Eglinton; the sword of state by the Earl of Rothes; the sceptre by the Earl of Lindsay and Crawford; and immediately before him the crown, by the unhappy Marquess of Argyle, who suffered death on rather questionable grounds immediately after the Restoration. The great constable walked on the King's right, and the great marshal on his left, under a canopy of crimson velvet, supported by six earls' sons, and his train was borne by four lords. In the church a chair was placed, opposite the pulpit, for the King; and around the area were erected benches for the accommodation of the Members of Parliament, and other auditors on the occasion. The throne was placed in the centre, on a platform twenty-four feet square and six feet high. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, Moderator of the Commission. His text was selected for the purpose, and remarkably apposite—2 Kings, xi, 12-17--“And he brought forth the king's son, and put the crown on him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him; and the people clapped their hands, and said, God save the king. And Jehoiada made a covenant between the Lord and the king and the people, that they should be the Lord's people; between the king also and the people.” After sermon, the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant, were distinctly read; and the minister administered the oath to the King, pledging him before God to the approval and maintenance of the same. The other ceremonies followed, and at each proclamation the King presented himself to the people; and the multitude shouted, God save King Charles the Second. The coronation oath was next administered. The Prince's robe was then taken off by the Lord High Chamberlain, and he was arrayed in his royal robes. He was also invested with the sword of state, spurs, and sceptre, and the crown was placed on his head. The nobility and people were also sworn; and the whole proceedings were closed with an appropriate address to all parties concerned.

Charles assumed the command in person of an army improved to his taste at least, and without much delay transferred the war into England, which he was soon afterwards compelled to quit.

Meanwhile, Cromwell forced a passage over the Forth at Inverkeithing, by means of his fleet, in the face of a body of the enemy,

whom he defeated—and this brings us to another stage of our history, in which Perth and its inhabitants bear a prominent part. In that matter we follow our local historian Cant.

“ On the 6th July, by order of the King, the whole citizens of Perth marched out to the South Inch, where they cheerfully made choice of a hundred men, who were to march to Burntisland to watch the motions of Cromwell’s fleet and army. Their officers were—Andrew Butter, captain; John Davidson, lieutenant; and James Dykes, ensign. This company joined a detachment from the army at Dunfermline, of 3,000 men, who, on the 20th of July, were posted on Inverkeithing Hill, commanded by Major-General Sir John Brown of Fordel, and Major-General Holburne of Menstrie. They were engaged by a superior number of Cromwell’s army, who debarked in the Firth, and routed our army. Holburne escaped; Brown was taken prisoner, and sent to the Castle of Edinburgh. Sixteen hundred foot were killed, and twelve hundred were taken at Inverkeithing and Dunfermline, with fifty-two drums, colours, and bagpipes. The English were commanded by Lambert. The Perth officers marched with the remains of their company to Perth, and Lieutenant Davidson shut the gates of the city. Shortly after, the King, on the head of the royal army, marched from Stirling to England. Cromwell and Lambert advanced with their troops to Perth, and lay one night at Fordel, and drove in their horses among General Brown’s standing corn. Next day Cromwell sat down before Perth with his army, and found the gates shut. John Davidson, a bold and enterprising gentleman, ordered carts to drive up and down the streets, and a drum to beat continually through the town, and at all the ports, to deceive the English generals. The town being summoned to surrender, Cromwell offered honourable terms, which were accepted, and the gates thrown open. The Provost, Andrew Grant of Balhagils (Murrayshall), attended the English officers, and conducted them to John Davidson’s house, where, after an entertainment, Cromwell asked the Provost, how, in his defenceless situation, he proposed to keep him at the gates? The Provost simply answered, that they designed to stand out until they heard that the King was in England. Cromwell, with a sneer, called him a silly body, and below his notice; but said, if he had time he would hang Davidson. Andrew Reid, whom I mentioned before, came in, and was introduced to Cromwell, to whom he presented the bond granted by King Charles to him. Cromwell returned it, and said he had nothing to do with it, as he neither was

Charles's heir nor executor. To whom Reid replied, 'If your Excellency is neither heir nor executor, you are surely a vicious intromittor' (intermeddler). Cromwell, turning to the company, declared that he never had such a bold tale told him. The bond is yet to be seen in the hands of some of Mr. Reid's descendants. Immediately after Cromwell's departure from Mr. Davidson's house the side-wall fell down, and Davidson said he wished it had fallen a quarter of an hour sooner, though he, Samson-like, had perished among the ruins. Davidson had great possessions in the town, was a public notary, and fiscal of court. He translated and illuminated the town's charters; some copies, written by his hand, are extant among the incorporations of trades, with gilded capitals. His progenitors founded the chaplainry of St. Leonard's, and endowed it with a stipend out of their lands. The lineal representatives of that family are called Vicars of St. Leonard's, and reserved their title to the benefice. John Davidson gave a tack of the lands of St. Leonard's to Campbell of Aberuchill, for a charging horse to fight against Cromwell. He afterwards sold them to the Glover Incorporation. Patrick Davidson, afterwards Provost, was his heir and successor. To him succeeded his son Patrick, laird of Woodmilk, whose son Patrick, an officer in the army, died unmarried."

After the battle of Worcester, in which the Royalist forces were completely routed and dispersed, the English forces under General Monk took Stirling Castle; defeated the Earls of Leven and Crawford near Perth; and obliged Governor Lumsden to surrender Dundee, the inhabitants of which he put to the sword, on 1st September, 1651. Dr. Small, in his *Statistical Account*, published in 1793, informs us, that in the carnage at the storming of Dundee the loss of human life cannot be estimated at much less than a sixth part of the whole inhabitants. In this destruction, too, many strangers were involved, those especially who appeared as defenders of the town. The Governor, Lumsden, of the family of Invergally in Fife, is said, on the irruption of the English, to have taken possession of the great steeple, and being soon after obliged to surrender at discretion, he and all with him were massacred in the churchyard. In the same place, also, the two battalions of Lord Duffus' regiment are said to have been slaughtered, and another body suffered the same fate in the square called the Fish Market. No unusual provocation appears to have been given for this severity. On the contrary, Mr. Gumble, General Monk's chaplain and biographer, speaks in high terms of the Governor for his gallant and

brave defence. His head was, notwithstanding, cut off, and fixed upon a spike in one of the abutments of the south-west corner of the steeple; and till a few years ago, when the stone where the spike was inserted fell down, the remains of it were observable. The same indignity seems to have been done to others. It is a local tradition, that the carnage did not cease till the third day, when a child was seen in a lane, called the Thorter Row, sucking its murdered mother!

The last effort in the Royal cause was made by the Earl of Glencairn, aided by Lord Balcarras and General Middleton, but unsuccessfully. They were ultimately defeated by General Morgan at Loch Garry, on 26th July, 1654. All the principal cities and towns in Scotland submitted to the armies of the Commonwealth, and the country came entirely under the government of Cromwell. Notwithstanding the many brave and successful struggles they had made to maintain their independence in former times, the Scots now submitted, with comparatively little resistance, to the yoke of an usurper, unconnected with the nation by birth or any other natural or legitimate tie. It is, however, admitted, that, notwithstanding this state of degradation, the people profited by the presence of their conquerors. The money they circulated in the country, with the prosecution of the useful arts, had a considerable tendency to enrich and civilize the population. The laws, too, under Monk and Cromwell, were more purely and impartially administered than for some time before. Laing remarks, that "during the usurpation of Cromwell the history of Scotland is suspended, and almost entirely silent. Its historians seem to avert their eyes from a period of ignominious yet not intolerable servitude; but the silence ascribed to their vexation and shame may be better explained by the inglorious state to which the nation was reduced. As the origin, and as an active confederate, it maintained a distinguished character during the civil wars; but its importance was lost, and its independence extinguished, when incorporated by a compulsive union with England. As the nation had no share in the naval expeditions and triumphs of Cromwell, its external history ceased with its government."

Cromwell, by the advice of his military council alone, summoned a Parliament of Lords and Commons—consisting of 128 from England, five from Scotland, and six from Ireland. They met the 4th July, 1653, and continued their sittings till the 12th December, 1656.

During the period which elapsed between the dispersion of the Royalist army and the Restoration in 1660, our own city had very little connection with public affairs, and, except for a few rather unimportant municipal questions, its history is almost a blank; there was little or nothing to excite local interest—still less which could be of any moment in this chronicle to readers of the present day. This interregnum may, therefore, be not improperly filled up with some notice of a subject peculiarly characteristic of the manners of the age, including a good many years both before and after the epoch now under consideration.

During the reign of James the Sixth, and, indeed, for a long period after his death, in course of the seventeenth century, the imaginary crime of witchcraft obtained very general belief, and that, too, amongst classes whose intelligence, and opportunities of improving it, ought to have led them to more minute and rational inquiry, to say the least. The King himself wrote a treatise on the subject, and against the crime; and even the Presbyterian clergy gave the prevailing opinion their countenance. It is a strange but well ascertained fact, that many poor crazed creatures, particularly females, accused of this crime, became almost persuaded that they were really guilty, and others had confessions extorted under the influence of torture. The trials of the accused usually took place in the provinces, before commissioners appointed by authority of the Privy Council, and consisted chiefly of country gentlemen and clergy who entertained very vulgar and bigoted notions on the subject. The torture, in various minor forms, to extort confession, was often deputed to very questionable characters, called witch-finders. Indeed, they were frequently gross impostors themselves. Arnot, in his *Criminal Trials*, says, that “these instances afford a sufficient specimen of the mode of prosecution against the multitude of miserable persons who were sacrificed at the altar of the Fatal Sisters—Ignorance, Superstition, and Cruelty.” And “such,” he further states, “was the *ordinary* treatment of a witch. But if the prisoner was endued with uncommon fortitude, other methods were used to extort confession. *The boots, the caspieclaws, and the pilniewinks*, engines for torturing the legs, the arms, and the fingers, were applied to either sex; and that with such violence, that sometimes the blood would have spurted from the limbs; loading with heavy irons, and whipping with cords, till the skin and flesh were torn from the bones, have also been the adopted methods of torment.” The same authority says, “it is impossible to form an

estimate of the numbers of the victims. For not only the Lords of Justiciary, but bailies of regalities, sheriffs of counties, and the endless tribe of commissioners appointed by the Privy Council, and sometimes by Parliament, officiated as the priests who dragged the victims to the altars! There is an instance of the Council, at one sederunt, granting *fourteen separate commissions to take trial of witches.*"

These remarks are made introductory to an account of local trials and executions for witchcraft—which we here wish to insert in order, and as an illustration of the manners of the times now under consideration; for, as already mentioned, these revolting sacrifices were common long after the death of King James:—

TRIAL AND EXECUTION FOR WITCHCRAFT AT PERTH.

In the year 1623, near the close of James the Sixth's reign, three women were tried and executed for witchcraft. Their names were, Margaret Hornsleuch, Isabell Haldane, and Janet Trall. Information being lodged against them in the session, they were summoned before that court, their depositions were respectively taken, and witnesses were called, and examined to establish their guilt. The examination of the witnesses appears to have occupied the court for seven days in the months of May and June, and to have been conducted with great minuteness. Instead of entering into particulars, it may be sufficient to state the following things, deponed by witnesses, and confessed by the accused:—

“With regard to Margaret Hornsleuch—that she came to Alexander Mason's house, and having seen his wife, who was very unwell, she commanded that south running water should be brought from the Tay, the bearer to be dumb both in going and coming, and to hold the mouth of the pig to the north. That she washed her with this water, and afterwards made a bath of great meal. That the diseased immediately recovered, arose, and supped with her. That she cured Marjory Lamb in the Muirton (who was sick by the dint of an ill wind), by washing her with south running water, and rubbing her arms with fresh butter; and that she learned these cures from Oliver Rattray's wife in Pittmudyne. That she had restored milk to the cow of Robert Christie from Ruthven (which had grown yeld), by causing a peck of draff to be carried home to the cow, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. That she had restored milk to the cow of Andrew Louraine in Mireside, by mumbling some words over a firlof of

draff, which he bought by her directions ; that she came home with it, and bid him cut the cow's leg, and mix the blood of it with the draff, which he did, and the cow gave milk. That as Patrick Auchinleck was going at the plough he took a cholick, and she was sent for to cure him ; and that she for that effect commanded him to be washed with south running water, and bathed in black wool and butter.

“ With regard to Isabell Haldane—that she cured Andrew Duncan's bairn, by taking water from the burn at the Turret Port, being dumb, and carrying it to Andrew's house, and on her knees washed the bairn, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. That afterwards being accompanied by Alexander Lockhart, she took the water and the bairn's sark, and cast both into the burn. That being asked if she had any conversation with the fairy folk, she answered, that ten years since, when she was lying in her bed, she was taken forth (whether it was by God or by the Devil she knows not), and was carried to a hillside, when the hill opened and she entered. That she staid there three days, to wit, from Thursday till Sunday at twelve hours ; when a man with a grey beard came to her and brought her forth again. That she made three several cakes, every one of them being made of nine curns of meal, which had been gotten from nine women that were married maidens ; that she made a hole in the crown of every one of them, and put a bairn through every cake three times, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost ; and that there were women present who put the same bairns thrice backward through every cake, using the same words. That she was silent to the well of Ruthven and returned silent, bringing water from thence to wash John Gow's bairn ; that when she came home again, she washed the bairn with the water, and that she had done in like manner to John Powery's bairn.

“ With regard to Janet Trall—that Janet Burry brought her bairn to her, and told her that it started in the night. That she told the mother that the bairn had gotten a dint of evil wind, and she directed her to cause two persons to go down to south running water, and bring as much of it as would wash the bairn ; and that they should be dumb when bringing the water. And that after the bairn was washed, they should carry back again the water with the barn's sark, and cast them into the place where the water had been taken up. She farther directed her to bathe the bairn with black wool and butter. That she got a shot star at the burn side,

and sent it in with black wool, and that after the cure was used the child was healed. That Duncan Tawis and Isabell Haldane came to her at her house in Black Ruthven, and Duncan told her that he thought his bairn was taken away, it being stiff as an aik tree, and unable to move. That having heard this, she promised to come in and see the bairn. That when she came in, she took the bairn upon her knee before the fire, and drew the fingers of its hands and every toe of its feet, mumbling all the while some words that could not be heard, and immediately the bairn was cured.

“ Being asked where she learned her skill, she deponed as follows:—to wit, When I was lying in child-lair, I was drawn forth from my bed to a dub near my house door in Dunning, and was there puddled and troubled. Being asked by whom this was done, she answered by the fairy folks, who appeared some of them red, and some of them gray, and riding upon horses. The principal of them that spake to me was like a bonny white man, riding upon a gray horse. He desired me to speak of God, and to do good to poor folks; and he showed me the means how I might do this, which was by washing, bathing, speaking words, putting sick persons through hasps of yarn, and the like.” The above are excerpts of depositions and confessions, taken by the session, as formally engrossed in the records.

“ George Robertson, post, was sent with the depositions of the witches, to purchase a commission to put them to an inquest. The clerk was ordained to direct a missive to Andrew Conqueror, commissioner to Parliament from the town; and another to Charles Rollock, bailie, who were both at the time in Edinburgh; and another to Mr. John Guthrie, minister there, that they all three might concur for obtaining the commission.

“ The commission having been obtained, directed to the civil magistrates, to try Margaret Hornsclouch, Isabell Haldane, and Janet Trall, accused of witchcraft, they were put to an assize, and being condemned, suffered the ordinary punishment by being strangled at the stake, and afterwards burned, on Friday, July the 18th, 1623.

“ The session thereafter proceeded to censure the persons who had sought cures from them, and caused them to make their public repentance on a Sunday before noon, clothed in black cloth, and standing under the bell strings (ropes).”

There were, as there still are, perforations in the arched roof of what is now the Middle Church, immediately under the tower,

through which the bell ropes were let down for the convenience of the ringers. And it was a frequent practice to make delinquents, as a particular mark of disgrace, stand under these before the congregation.

The place where such tragic scenes as the one now narrated were perpetrated, is said to have been a hollow in the North Inch.

It must not be supposed that this affords proof of a prejudice or superstition peculiar to Perth, or even to Scotland. About the same period, prosecutions, convictions, and punishments of the same nature took place in England; and even on the continent, thousands and hundreds of thousands suffered death, on being declared guilty of the same crime. In the neighbouring town of Dundee, one of the very last immolations at the shrine of the "Fatal Sisters" was perpetrated. The *New Statistical Account of Scotland* states, that "Many of those unhappy individuals who were charged with witchcraft were brought to trial in Forfar, by a special commission, appointed by the Crown, in 1661. The record of these trials was preserved, and contained many curious statements; but it has been recently amissing. The following fact is duly entered in the Council minutes: That John Ford, a witch-pricker (torturer), was sent to prick witches at Forfar, and was admitted as a burghess on the same day with Lord Kinghorn, afterwards Earl of Strathmore. The *bridle* [*a gag* as well as *bridle*], which was placed in the mouths of the witches condemned to be burned, and with which they were fastened to the stake, is preserved in the burgh." The scene of these horrid sacrifices was in a hollow, betwixt the Midland Junction Railway Station and the town, a spot for centuries called the *Playfield*, from the fact of the *Mysteries* and *Moralities* common at a previous period being represented there. The fatal *bridle* is kept in the steeple of the parish church, and exhibited to visitors as a melancholy relic of that dark though not very remote age.

Under the Protectorate, and after Cromwell left Scotland, the command of the troops, and, in a great measure, the government of the country, was devolved upon General Monk. In Cant's History we find the following document, as transmitted to Perth, in common, it is to be supposed, with the other royal burghs of the kingdom:—

Declaration of his Highness's Council in Scotland, for Elections.

"Whereas, by an ordinance of his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the

dominions thereunto belonging, bearing date the 12th April, 1654, Scotland is united unto our commonwealth with England, and therein it appears that the shires and burghs of Scotland, by their deputies convened at Dalkeith, and again at Edinburgh, did, before the then Commissioners of Parliament, accept of the said union, and assent thereto, and did promise to live peaceably under and in obedience to the authority of the Commonwealth of England exercised in Scotland: And whereas, by another ordinance of his Highness, entitled, 'An ordinance of pardon and grace to the people of Scotland,' it is desired that they may be made equal sharers with England in the present settlement of peace, liberty, and property, with all other privileges of a free people: The Council, in pursuance thereof, taking all the premises into their consideration, as also the many prejudices that may arise to the good people, burghesses, and inhabitants of the several cities, burghs, and incorporations within this nation, from the want of the due nomination and election of their respective magistrates, according to their laws and customs; and to the end that the inhabitants of the said burghs, cities, and towns may receive all due encouragement, and have government and justice righteously administered unto them, do declare—That all prohibitions as to the election of Magistrates are taken off, and that all cities, burghs, and towns, incorporate in Scotland, to whom the privilege of choosing their Magistrates belongs, may from henceforth meet and convene for that end, within their respective cities, burghs, and towns, and therefore proceed to the due and lawful nomination and election of their respective Magistrates, wherein the said Council expects due and particular care shall be taken that no person be chosen who is dangerous to the commonwealth, disaffected to the present government, or scandalous in life and conversation; which persons qualified, duly elected and chosen, are and shall be the Magistrates for the ensuing year. And the Council do likewise farther declare, That in case this declaration shall not come so soon to all the burghs, that they may elect their Magistrates by the time limited in their charters respective; that in such case, such burghs not having such timely notice may proceed to the election of their Magistrates that day fortnight. Provided always, that in the oath of their faithful administration of justice, and in all other cases where formerly the name and style of King, or keepers of the liberties of England, has been used in the exercise of the foresaid government of the said cities, burghs, or towns, the name of his Highness, the Lord Protector of the Com-

monwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, be inserted and used.

“24th September, 1665.”

“EMANUEL DOUNING,
“*Clerk of the Council.*”

The government of the Commonwealth was not in all things very agreeable or easy to our citizen forefathers. The city was occupied by the military, and it caused the inhabitants great inconvenience providing quarters, as well as no little cost in the shape of provisions; and it appears from the Town-Council records that a petition was presented to the governor, setting forth the miseries borne by the people in the quartering of the soldiers. A similar representation, on the ground of demolishing houses, and various other buildings, by the army, drew forth a promise from Cromwell that indemnification or redress would be granted.

General Monk intimated, by proclamation, that those who declared their adherence to government by a certain day should be pardoned, and that a fine would be imposed on every parish and presbytery if they failed to report those who did not—as these were held to be remaining in a state of rebellion. The property of such was confiscated. A list of about twenty individuals belonging to Perth was given in by the Town-Council to the governor. Groaning under the infliction of such penalties, the noblemen, gentlemen, and burgesses in the county of Perth, presented the following supplication to Cromwell for relief:—

“To his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of
England, Scotland, and Ireland,

“The humble Petition of the Noblemen, Gentlemen, Burgesses,
undersubscribed, with many thousands in the City of Perth,

“Sheweth—That whereas that we have long laboured in the furnace of said evils, by our unnatural contests and divisions, but have become bettered neither towards God nor our neighbour—and therefore the Lord hath written in bloody characters our guilt and punishment, that he that runneth might read; but whilst our miseries increased so did our curses, the want of love and charity to sympathise with our suffering brethren in their disgrace; and distress hath like a contagious plague overpowered this nation, in which we desire to vindicate God’s glory and justice by a humble confession and sincere abhorring, so we think no offence to manifest to the world as occasion shall offer in our several callings.

“ Shall we then be silent in the day of our brethren’s trial, especially being encouraged by the sense of your Highness’ goodness, and while we enjoy the fruits of peace, and are numbered amongst the people under your Highness’ protection ? But those noblemen and gentlemen fined (in whom we have all relations, both natural and civil) stand debarred by an impossible condition of performance, all the money of this nation being absolutely wasted by the many ways of a consuming war and perishing country.

“ This is the ground of our humble address to your Highness in their behalf, that are now tossed in the storm of affliction, and has their hope deeply wounded by the said sentence of that ordinance.

“ Therefore we humbly pray that your Highness would be graciously pleased to enlarge the favours of free pardon and protection, without fine or composition, for the healing of the soiled, when we humbly conceive them to be persons of as much civility and peaceable disposition as any in the land ; so that we are confident it would be cheerfully attested to, if required, by the several governors or officers in the parishes where they reside ; and undoubtedly will prove the most effectual means friendly to re-engage our affections and theirs in a joyful return of thankfulness and submissive obedience to the Commonwealth under your Highness’ government.”

The above petition is engrossed in the Town-Council records, which tends to prove that it went in favour of citizens under prescription, as well as to the disaffected or the suspected in the rural districts of the country.

Numerous conspiracies were conceived or arranged against Cromwell’s life or government, but these were detected or prevented, and he was, as might be supposed, tormented with the machinations of various parties, who no doubt envied or detested his elevation and power. The subjection to the authority of one man was disliked by the people, and the discontent was universal. He was exposed to danger alike from Cavaliers and Presbyterians, from Republicans, and even the soldiers who carried arms in his own ranks. He found it necessary to call High Courts of Justice, by whose doom both Cavaliers and Presbyterians suffered capital punishment for the plots formed to overthrow the Protector or his government. He carried on a system of espionage, too, and his most mercenary tools were amongst those least suspected, and at the same time the most vehement amongst one another. He was

frequently much put to his shifts, and towards the conclusion of his life it is believed he was reduced almost to the last of them. He became greatly apprehensive of danger, morose and melancholy, and suffered under a constant dread of assassination, to shun the risk of which his mind was always on the rack. His health rapidly declined, and he died at the age of sixty (some authorities say fifty-eight), on the 3d September, 1658. It was accounted a strange coincidence that this event took place on the anniversary of the great victories he had gained both at Dunbar and at Worcester; and the superstitious remarked it very particularly that his death was accompanied with a most frightful and general tempest. Cromwell was a man of respectable parentage, but originally of humble pretensions; he was unsuccessful in business, both as a farmer and brewer; he had taken a passage on board a ship for New England, but was obliged to disembark again by an order of council. His military talents, his firmness, and great courage, raised him to eminence, aided by his anti-monarchical zeal, his pretensions to piety, his acuteness in discovering the characters of mankind, and his dexterity in practising upon their weaknesses.

The sceptre fell to his son Richard, who succeeded him as Protector. The first Parliament he called questioned his title and compelled him to resign. He quietly descended from public life, and lived to a much greater age than his father—having, after a peaceful retirement, died at the age of eighty-six, in the year 1712.

But if the yoke of Cromwell was rather a humiliating subjection to the people of such a kingdom as Scotland, the Restoration, which followed at no great distance of time after his death, introduced an era in the history of Scotland, and to some extent in that of Perth, of fiery trial and suffering, almost unparalleled in this or any other nation. Until that period—a lapse of nearly two years—the government of Britain and Ireland was an unsettled system, if system it could be called, under the influence of contending factions, which disgusted so many that the recall of Charles was felt as exceedingly desirable by almost all classes of the people. The Rump Parliament, as it was called—those whom Cromwell had not expelled, or rather who had returned after the abdication of Richard, his son, to resist those whose aim it seemed to be to establish a purely military government—for some time maintained their sway. General Monk, it is evident, had a latent desire to favour Charles, but this remnant propounded the oath of abjuration to him, on his arrival in London, by which he was to renounce all allegiance to

the House of Stewart, and all attempts to bring Charles back to the throne. This he evaded for the time. Farther than this, the legislative junto encouraged the presentation of a petition by a body of fanatics, ridiculous sectaries—which petition demanded that no one should be admitted to any office of public trust without having taken the oath of abjuration; and farther, that even to propose a motion for the restoration of the King should be held high treason, and punished accordingly. The head or leader of this fanatical body was known by the extraordinary title of “Praise-God Barebone;” and it may give some notion of the outre spirit of the times, and the parties with whom both the Charleses had to deal, to mention a fact stated by the historian Hume, regarding the Parliament summoned by Cromwell in 1653. Most of the Protector’s officers, be it remarked, were, like himself, Independents, and most of them exercised the functions of clergymen, preaching and praying among the soldiers. Fanaticism was at its height during that period, and the author alluded to says, that the Parliament “found themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the fanatics of the house there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in Fleet Street, London, his name *Praise-God Barebone*. This ridiculous name struck the fancy of the people; and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of ‘Barebone’s Parliament.’” “It was usual for the pretended saints at that time to change their name from Henry, Edward, &c. which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly; even the New Testament names, James, Peter, &c. were not held in such regard as those borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, &c. &c. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. These are the names of a Sussex jury enclosed about this period: ‘Accepted, Trevor of Norsham’—‘Make Peace, Heaton of Hare’—‘Stand-fast-on-High, Stringer of Crowhurst’—‘Fight-the-good-fight-of-Faith, White of Emer’—&c. &c. The brother of this Praise-God Barebone had for a name what the people tired of as too long, retaining only the last word, and commonly gave him the appellation of *Damned Barebone*.” Monk prevailed on the Parliament to dissolve itself and call a new one, open to all parties, which seemed to give great and general satisfaction. In the first place, however, he compelled the Rump to admit all the expelled members of their body, who soon formed such a majority that reduced the others to insignificance, ordered the discharge of the

refractory army, and restored tranquillity to the country. Finally, they issued writs for the new Parliament, and dissolved themselves. Such was the end of the celebrated so-called Long Parliament. On the 26th of the following May, 1660, the King landed at Dover, was formally received by General Monk, and entered London on his birth-day, the 29th May, along with his two brothers, James, Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, and was received with the loudest acclamations of welcome. Thus, says Clarendon, "did God put an end to a rebellion that had waged nearly twenty years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of murder, devastation, and parricide, that fire and sword could be instruments of."

This remarkable event was celebrated in Scotland, also, with the same outburst of general joy. Indeed the Scots had never been anti-monarchical, and it must be admitted that for anything like rebellion, the Stewarts themselves were much more to blame than their subjects. From the death of Charles the First the influence of the Church over the people was on the wane, and Cromwell had injured the respectability of the clergy rather than supported their power. Still, the Presbyterian interest was strong, and it was only in the northern counties that the Episcopal influence was paramount. At the Restoration, the Presbyterian clergy despatched the famous James Sharpe, one of their own body, afterwards the unfortunate Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Primate of Scotland, to look after the Church's interests. As Charles had, on his coronation at Scone, deliberately accepted and sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant, it might have been expected that no opposition would be encountered with him; but Sharpe soon found, while in London, there was little use in attempting to have the Presbyterian religion established in Scotland. The more devoted Royalists blamed the Presbyterian Church solely for the late rebellion, and maintained that the infamous affair of giving up Charles the First to the Parliamentary forces was to be ascribed chiefly to Presbyterian counsels. These advisers also reminded the King that his acceptance of the Covenant took place while under moral restraint, little short of personal violence. Indeed they now persuaded him that the time was highly favourable to substitute Episcopacy for Presbytery, and that such another opportunity might never again present itself. Charles also got the notion into his head that Presbytery was not a religion "for a gentleman," and he granted commission to Lord Middleton, his own representative as High Commissioner in the

Scottish Parliament, to alter the National Church Establishment to the Episcopal model. The Earl of Glencairn had been sent down to preside in a Committee of Estates till the Parliament should be called—which Middleton at length opened in his Sovereign's name, on the 1st February, 1661. This Assembly first granted a revenue of £40,000 to Charles for life, and abolished every act which had been passed for a long series of years, having for its object an abridgment of the Royal prerogative. The Solemn League and Covenant was indirectly pronounced to have been treasonable, and statutes were enacted preparatory for the abolition of Presbytery and the restoration of Episcopacy, which were afterwards confirmed. It was at this time that Archbishop Sharpe betrayed the cause of the Covenant, and readily embraced the Prelatic dignity which was then offered him, for which, and his other sins, he some years afterwards forfeited his life, by assassination.

The Episcopalian institutions and Church government were now thoroughly established. At first the people seemed easily brought over ; they were everywhere in a tumult of joy at their relief from the domination of England, the restoration of their own sovereign, and the importance of again having their own Parliament. They were too light-hearted for the time to devote much of their attention to the sudden and sweeping changes in the national religion ; and it has been noticed as a remarkable fact, that the famous Jenny Geddes, of the purity of whose zeal we have but recently heard not a little, as being, about twenty-four years before, the first to move in civil broil, by throwing her stool at the Dean's head, when he attempted to introduce the *Service Book* in the Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh—it has, we say, been noticed as remarkable, and quite illustrative of the spirit of the times, that this notable virago manifested her conversion to loyalty, and her exultation at the position of affairs in 1661, "by contributing the materials of her green-stall, her baskets, shelves, forms, and even her own wicker-chair, to augment a bonfire kindled in honour of his Majesty's coronation, and the proceedings of Parliament," just alluded to. Such is mob enthusiasm, and although much use has been made, for a purpose, of Jenny's first appearance as a public leader, very little notice has been taken of the latter achievement.

Charles, as was feared by those who took time to reflect, now proceeded, by means of this pliant Parliament, to execute summary vengeance on the Covenanters. The great Marquess of Argyle

and the Rev. James Guthrie were amongst the first victims, being both tried, convicted, and beheaded. As we have had not a little to speak of the former, and paid special attention to the exit of his notable and valorous adversary, Montrose, it may not be improper, or out of place, to record somewhat particularly the end of this champion of the Covenant, whose life and actions must have greatly engrossed the attention of our local forefathers.

There was something peculiarly disgraceful in the proceedings against Argyle, to deprive him of the advantage of that amnesty which Charles had proclaimed for all who, during the civil wars, had been held as guilty of any offence against either his own or his father's person. This promise of indemnity and oblivion had been made after the Restoration, and Argyle no doubt depended upon it as in good faith. Having gone to London, he was first arrested there, and imprisoned in the Tower. He was afterwards sent to Scotland for trial, although he had reason to hold himself protected by the general Act of Remission granted by Charles, in 1651, for all alleged offences committed as previous to its date. General Monk, to the disgrace of his memory, supplied some correspondence, implying no overt act, which was eagerly taken hold of by his enemies, and held as evidence on which to found a conviction and sentence. His doom was the block; and after the flourish of trumpets on its delivery, while yet on his knees, he said, "This reminds me that I had the honour to set the crown upon the King's head (alluding, of course, to the coronation at Scone), and now he hastens me to a better crown than his own!" Then, addressing the Commissioner and the Parliament, he added, "You have the indemnity of an earthly king among your hands, and have denied me a share in that; but you cannot hinder me from the indemnity of the King of kings; and shortly you must be before his tribunal. I pray He mete not out such measure to you as you have done to me, when you are called to account for all your actings, and this among the rest." He faced death with a magnanimity and firmness unexpected, for he was generally esteemed a timid individual. While on the scaffold, he told one who stood near him, that he could brave death like a Roman, but preferred submitting to its stroke with the patience of a Christian.* His behaviour throughout coincided with

* The Highlanders called Argyle Gillespie Grumach, or the Grim, from an obliquity in his eyes, causing a very peculiar expression in his countenance. Hence in one set of the ballad we have already quoted, Lady Airlie styles him "gleed Argyle" to his face.

that profession, and so died the man who had cut such a figure in those distracted times. The Marquess' head replaced on the Tolbooth Tower that of his formidable rival, Montrose. Laing states, that "the public hatred which Argyle had incurred while alive was converted into general commiseration at his death. His attainder was generally imputed to the enmity, his precipitate death to the impatience and insatiate desire of Middleton to procure a gift of his titles and estates; and, as happens wherever a statesman suffers, whether from national justice or revenge, his execution served to exalt and relieve his character from the obloquy which would have continued attached to it had he been permitted to survive."

The fury of persecution was now directed against all who dared to adhere to their adopted faith, and Perth of course suffered in common with other places. But although Charles was a bigoted prelatist, the evils which now ensued are to be attributed more to his truculent and self-seeking councillors, the administrators of his government, than to himself. A general act of uniformity was passed, to enforce the observances of Episcopacy; many Presbyterian clergy were consecrated in England to Scottish bishoprics; and the ministers were prohibited from convening in Presbyteries. The Scottish Parliament invited the prelates to take their seats in it. Episcopacy was sanctioned as the national religion, and an oath of supremacy and allegiance imposed upon the obnoxious Presbyterians, which if they refused, many were fined, imprisoned, or banished.

The following is a copy of the Declaration to which the Magistrates and Council, and all others holding places of public trust, were obliged to make oath:—

"We, the Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild, Treasurer, Council, and Deacons of crafts of the burgh of Perth, under subscribing, sincerely affirm and declare, that we judge it unlawful in subjects, upon pretence of reformation, or other pretence whatsoever, to enter into leagues and covenants, or to take up arms against the King, or those commissioned by him; and that all these gatherings, convocations, petitions, protestations, and erecting and keeping council-tables, that were used in the beginning, and for carrying on of the late troubles, were unlawful and seditious; and particularly that those oaths, whereof the one was called the National Covenant, as it was sworn and explained in the year 1638 and thereafter, and the other entituled a Solemn League and Covenant, were and

are in themselves unlawful oaths, and were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same; and that there lieth no obligation upon us, or any of the subjects, from the said oaths, or either of them, to endeavour any change or alteration of the Government either in Church or State, as it is now established by the laws of the kingdom.”

The original subscriptions of the Magistrates and Town-Council to the above declaration, remain in the records of the Town-Council of the year 1662.

These, however, were but the beginnings of sorrows. The act of conformity was followed up by an order of Council, ordaining the ejection of the recusant clergy, and the churches to be shut up till Episcopal incumbents were procured. The removal of all who had not been presented by lay patrons, nor had induction by the prelates, was ordered—and that even by military force, if such should be requisite. This extraordinary mandate was framed at Glasgow, and Lockhart of Lee is said to have been the only member of Council who lifted up his voice against a measure so extravagant. He told them “they would all be mistaken; that the proclamation would only lay the country desolate, and increase the hatred to the bishops, and confusion among the people; and that they would find the young ministers would suffer more than loss of stipend before they would acknowledge bishops.” All the parishioners were prohibited from attending the ministry of nonconformists, as they were called; and, in fact, the ordinance was tantamount to a proscription of all ministers who would not become Episcopalians. The consequence was, that about three hundred and fifty ministers resigned their churches, which were at once declared vacant. Many conformed in the north of Scotland, in the midland counties, and along the eastern coast of the borders. The people, who were warmly attached to the recusant clergy, were in the same degree filled with indignation against the cruelty of the Government.

The Parliament suspended the exaction of fines from the Presbyterians, but continued the act for excluding the recusant clergy from their pulpits. They commanded the Solemn League and Covenant to be burned at the Cross of Edinburgh and in other places, and continued the sentence of exile and imprisonment of many godly ministers who still adhered to the Covenant. The Archbishops Sharpe and Burnet were afterwards admitted members of the Privy Council, and a High Commission Court for ecclesi-

astical affairs was erected. Fines, prosecutions, and violent Episcopal settlements, the dispersion of conventicles in the fields, and secret religious meetings in private houses, by military force, harassed and distressed the people through at least half the kingdom. The oaths, of which we have given a specimen, were particularly distressing to the consciences of many, especially of the lower orders of officials ; and the more that was done to render the Covenant odious and contemptible, the more its interest revived amongst the people generally. The Episcopal commission courts were entrusted with full powers to enforce observation of the Episcopal forms of public worship. Conventicles—that is, secret and forbidden meetings for engaging in social devotions—in barns, private houses, &c. continued to increase ; and large congregations met in moors and on hill-sides, remote from observation, to avoid the violence with which the in-door worshippers were frequently assailed. This is not the place to follow out these matters in detail ; but every attentive reader of the history of his country or church must be familiar with the subject. The devoted but harassed nonconformists were liable to interruption and violence by the military, and it is not to be considered matter of wonder that they came to the resolution of meeting force by force. Their enthusiasm, too, was highly excited, and most of the congregations met armed, except, as was not unfrequently the case, they consisted chiefly of females—many of the males being deterred for fear of the consequences. At length many joined together, and broke out into open insurrection—and actions took place at Dalry and at the Pentland Hills, at the latter of which the Presbyterians lost forty men killed, and a hundred and thirty taken prisoners. Of the latter, ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors. Many others were plundered of their property, and imprisoned or banished, after being put to the torture in various ways too shocking to contemplate. Those who were brought to the scaffold were to be seen at the place of execution contending which should be the first victim, while he who obtained the preference actually uttered shouts of joy. But the fate of Hew Mackail, an eloquent and zealous preacher, excited the deepest and most lasting interest. He was first put to the torture before the Privy Council, and before he recovered from its effects was tried and condemned. At the place of execution, his youthful appearance, and modest yet exulting intrepidity, melted the spectators into tears. He expired in a transport of joy, exclaiming, “ Farewell, sun, moon, and stars ; fare-

well, world and time; farewell, weak and frail body! Welcome eternity; welcome angels and saints; welcome Saviour of the world; and welcome God, the Judge of all!" After this, those who superintended these executions caused trumpets to be sounded, and drums beaten, to drown the last words of these resolute men! Kirkton informs us, that "at Ayr the executioner fled from the town, because he would not murder the innocent; so the condemned had almost escaped if the Provost had not invented this expedient, that one of the eight who were to suffer should have his life spared if he would execute the rest, which one of them agreed to do; but when the execution day came, lest he should have fainted, the Provost caused to fill him almost drunk with brandy."

To put an end to these diabolical proceedings, Charles wrote a letter to the Privy Council, commanding them to desist from persecution. This letter was brought by Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, but for some time wickedly kept up by him and his colleague. These contentions and severities blasted the national prosperity; all mechanical and agricultural industry was interrupted; vagrant idleness and lawless disorder universally prevailed; and religion itself seemed on the eve of being extinguished. In this dreadful state of things, a loud cry was justly raised against the Primate and his associates; upon which Lauderdale persuaded the King to remove him altogether from the administration, and to employ in his room the gentle and moderate Leighton.

After the dismissal of Sharpe and Rothes, in 1666, the Earl of Tweeddale, Sir Robert Murray, and Leighton, Bishop of Dunblane, assisted Lauderdale in the administration. Measures of the most conciliating kind were adopted; argument and persuasion were alone employed; and the Covenanters were only required to subscribe an engagement disclaiming all intentions of rebellion. Those officers, also, who had permitted their soldiers to commit the greatest enormities, were dismissed from their command. Men of worth and talents were likewise employed in the Episcopal church, while those whose conduct disgraced it were obliged to retire. Notwithstanding these concessions, the Presbyterians would not advance one step towards reconciliation with Episcopacy, and considered them only as proofs of the conscious guilt and oppression of their enemies. Leighton therefore yielded yet farther, by granting them an avowed indulgence under easy conditions, and restoring a number of Presbyterian ministers to vacant parishes, so that, under his mild aus-

pices, conventicles became frequent, and were numerously attended. Burnet was removed from the archbishopric of Glasgow, and the learned and pious Leighton promoted in his stead.

Lauderdale's civil and religious principles now appeared, and the Presbyterians discovered him to be a fit tool of tyranny, without piety and without virtue. Although indulgence was still held out to such of them as would accept of it on certain terms, yet those who adhered to the Covenant, entertained recusant ministers, and met in conventicles, were again unsparingly persecuted by the Privy Council. Lauderdale maintained a complete ascendancy over Charles, and continued to rule with revenge and fury.

Resolved on suppressing conventicles, he now endeavoured to compel the landholders in the western counties to give bonds, engaging themselves, under heavy penalties, to prevent the assembling of field-preachers upon their estates. Upon their refusal to grant such security, six thousand Highland soldiers were dispersed at free quarters over these counties, the most populous and most industrious in Scotland. Thus a numerous military force, unaccustomed to discipline, averse to the restraints of law, and trained up in rapine and violence, were let loose upon the defenceless inhabitants, whom they were taught to regard as enemies to their prince and their religion. Nothing escaped their rapacious hands; and the people, by menaces, by violence, and sometimes by torture, were obliged to discover their concealed wealth. Neither age, nor sex, nor innocence, afforded protection from these savages; and even the gentlemen were required to deliver up their horses and arms. These orders they refused to obey; upon which Lauderdale, in a frenzy, made bare his arms to the elbow, and swore by Jehovah that they should all be forced to enter into the proposed bonds. After this declaration, he renewed the most severe measures against the Presbyterians. Charles, however, issued orders for discontinuing the bonds, and other violent proceedings; but, while he retracted these oppressive measures, he was prevailed on to avow and praise them in a letter to the Privy Council.

About this time Archbishop Sharpe became the victim of a violent death in the following manner: On the 3d of May, 1679, Balfour of Burley, Hackston of Rathillet, and several other Presbyterians, had waylaid one of his officers, whose name was Carmichael, on the road near St. Andrews, with the intention of severely chastising him. While looking out for their prey, they were surprised at seeing the Archbishop's coach pass by with a

very few attendants; on which they immediately attacked him, dragged him from his carriage, tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interposed with cries and tears, and, piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the spot, and immediately dispersed. This atrocious deed served the Government as a pretext for a more violent persecution of the Presbyterians, on whom they threw the guilt of Sharpe's assassination. The Magistrates of Perth had considered themselves called on to show respect to the memory and remains of the Primate; for it stands in the Town's records, of 26th May, 1679, that "the Council ordains the Treasurer to pay the expenses of the Magistrates in attending the funeral of Archbishop Sharpe at St. Andrews."

The people, roused to fury by the cruelties exercised against them, took up arms, and defeated Graham of Claverhouse at Drumclog, with the loss of thirty of his men. After this victory, thousands joined their standard, and they immediately marched in a body to Hamilton. On hearing of this movement, the King's troops fled from Glasgow, of which the Presbyterians took possession, and dispossessed the established (Episcopalian) clergy. Orders were immediately issued to embody the militia, of whom the King's natural son, the Duke of Monmouth, assumed the command, and directly marched to meet the insurgents.

On the 22d June an engagement between the parties took place at Bothwell Bridge, which the Presbyterians bravely defended for a considerable time; but at length their ammunition failing, they were forced to retreat. The King's troops immediately took possession of the bridge, and, passing over it, surrounded the infantry, whom they compelled to lay down their arms, after the loss of 400 killed, and 1,200 taken prisoners. Notwithstanding Monmouth's desire to prevent the effusion of blood, many were slaughtered without mercy; fines, imprisonment, and banishment cruelly harassed all ranks; and, to complete the horrid scene, the soldiers were again let loose over the western counties. The prisoners were afterwards conducted to Edinburgh, where they were confined for some months in the jails and in the Greyfriars' church-yard. A pardon was offered to them, but on conditions to which they could not submit. In consequence of this refusal, 300 were shipped for Barbadoes, who perished in the voyage; Kidd and King, two of their ministers, were executed; five were sent for execution on Magus Moor (the place where Sharpe had been murdered); but Monmouth's return to London procured not only a mitigation of

their punishment, but also a new indulgence in the exercise of their religion.

James, Duke of York, afterwards James the Seventh, succeeded Lauderdale in the management of Scottish affairs. Soon after coming into office, he prevailed with the Parliament to enact a test, in which the King's supremacy was maintained, the covenant renounced, the doctrine of passive obedience assented to, and all obligations disclaimed of endeavouring any alteration in civil or religious establishments. This test, all persons possessed of offices civil, military, or ecclesiastical, were bound to take.

Argyle, however, considering the oath contradictory to itself in several of its clauses, refused to comply, unless he were allowed to explain the sense in which he understood it. In consequence of this explanation he was accused of treason, tried, and condemned by a jury of fifteen noblemen, to suffer forfeiture and death. The sentence excited universal indignation and horror among the people. Argyle, however, escaped from the castle and fled to London, where he concealed himself for some time, till he found a ship for Holland, in which he embarked. His estate was immediately confiscated, and his arms reversed and torn in pieces. This summer, 1682, Lauderdale died, execrated by his enemies and unlamented by those who had once been his friends. Shortly after, Cameron and Cargill, two celebrated Presbyterian preachers, publicly excommunicated the King for his tyranny and breach of the covenant, and renounced allegiance to him. Cameron was afterwards killed by the King's troops, in an action at Aird's Moss; and Donald Cargill, a native of Rattray parish, in this neighbourhood, was taken and hanged, together with many of his followers. The *Statistical Account* furnishes the following notice of this martyr to his religious zeal:—He was born about the year 1610; his father was proprietor of an estate called Hatton, in the parish of Rattray, and was the eldest son of the family. He was educated first at Aberdeen, and then at the University of St. Andrews; and after obtaining a license to preach, was called to the ministry of the Barony church in Glasgow. This situation, and his own zeal for religion, connected him with the covenanted clergy of that period, and involved him in all their troubles. After undergoing many hardships, and experiencing many escapes, he was apprehended in 1680, carried to Edinburgh along with some others, tried and condemned by the Justiciary Court for high treason, and the following sentence pronounced—“That he should be hanged at the Cross of Edinburgh,

and his head placed on the Netherbow." His sentence was immediately executed; and such was the confidence and composure of the sufferer at the last, that when about to ascend the ladder, he said, "The Lord knows that I go on this ladder with less fear and perturbation of mind than I ever entered the pulpit to preach!"

It has already been stated, that of the great oppressions of this period, Perth and its neighbourhood endured a certain share. The Magistrates manifested a ready zeal in the suppression of conventicles, and punishing those who connived at them. A bond was framed by those in the Government, which many gentlemen of landed property, and in some quarters all, were called on to subscribe, binding themselves for all on their estates, that none should attend conventicles, nor harbour or hold communication with proscribed persons. The minutes of Town-Council show that Mr. James Mercer, tutor to the Laird of Megginch, was prohibited from leaving Perth. Mr. John Drummond, younger of Megginch, with various persons holding the status of merchants in Perth, were made prisoners, and taken to Edinburgh. The Laird of Megginch was fined £500 sterling because his lady had been present at a conventicle, and the son was detained a prisoner till the fine should be paid. Mr. George Hay, Laird of Balhousie, was fined to the amount of 27,000 merks for hearing a Presbyterian minister. The memory of private individuals has been subjected to odium because of these enormities; but it must be taken into account, that if they were in office or authority, or brought under obligations by such bonds as those alluded to, they themselves may have been subjected to much higher penalties had they not comported themselves to the approbation of those at the head of affairs. Of this class may probably be reckoned the Lady Methven of that day, who in person exerted herself to disturb or disperse a conventicle, held about the Muir or Moss of Methven, the property of Mr. Patrick Smythe, her husband, who was at the time in London; and at which many of the district, as well as numbers from Perth, were in attendance. Armed with a drawn sword and a cocked carabine, it is said, she herself led on a large body of men also in arms. The congregation, on witnessing the approach of this company, despatched a still stronger party to meet them, and demand the reason of such an interruption. This lady, whose name was Keith, being of the house of Marischal, had been at least of a high spirit, if not of Amazonian stature; and protested that it should be a bloody day if they persisted, and did not instantly leave her husband's

estate ; and although the Covenanters intimated their determination to preach whether she would or not, her determination overawed them, and to avoid the effusion of blood they deemed it advisable to retreat. She wrote her husband, giving an account of this rencontre ; and that to defend herself from the threatened vengeance of these “vaguing gypsies,” as she styled them, she was providing arms, and even some artillery, to repel them. In this letter she farther showed her boldness ; for she said, “If the fanatics chance to kill me, comfort yourself it shall not be for nought. I was once wounded for our gracious King ; and now, in the strength of heaven, I will hazard my person with the men I command, before these rebels rest where you have power.” Lady Methven appears to have been a staunch Royalist ; but considering the stringent terms and construction of the bond already noticed, which landholders were compelled to subscribe, obliging themselves under the same penalties as were incurred by real delinquents, that neither they nor their families, nor their vassals, tenants, or other persons residing on their property, should either attend conventicles or relieve intercommuned persons !*—we need not wonder at Lady Methven’s determination to prevent a conventicle being held by her own dependants, and on her husband’s property. The following facts are given on Cant’s authority :—

29th March, 1680.—The Provost and Dean of Guild are desired to use their interest with the Marquess of Tullibardine to put a stop to the proceedings of his deputy, who had fined several of the inhabitants for attending conventicles ; and if no stay can be procured, the Council empowers them to go immediately to Edinburgh, and suspend the Sheriff-deputy’s decret. On the 10th May, the Provost and Dean of Guild reported that they had waited on the Marquess of Tullibardine, who condescended to cause his deputy delay the execution of the letters of horning against the inhabitants, who were fined on account of the conventicles, until the

* Persons outlawed by legal sentence for no crime but exercising their religious duties according to conscience—in which case the nearest relatives were prohibited from aiding or assisting one another. Thus the intercommuned were driven altogether from human society or civil intercourse, to wander in the wilderness, in remote glens, or on the mountain sides—in danger, necessity, and absolute want ! This was towards the close of the seventh decade of the sixteenth century, and just before Sharpe had orders to withdraw from the administration.

14th of next June; and in the meantime that the town should choose an advocate, and he another, for considering anent the fines imposed. On 16th January, 1682, Mr. John Wylie, one of the doctors of the Grammar School, refusing to take the test before the Presbytery, the Moderator complained to the Provost. Mr. Wylie was cited before the Council, who declared that he had not freedom to take the oath and test, and demitted his office. And in 1683, Mr. John Sibbald, tacksman of the Common Muir, being convicted by the Sheriff-deputy of keeping conventicles, was ordered by the Magistrates to be prosecuted. Ramsay, the Sheriff-deputy, left an unsavoury remembrance of himself among the old inhabitants of Perth, for his cruelty in distressing those whose consciences would not allow them to conform and attend the Kirk. This gentleman is said to have outlived himself, until he was universally despised in Perth. He lived beyond the twenty-seventh year of the next century." The same authority, in a note on the municipal elections for the year 1684, proceeds :—

“This and the preceding year are marked with violent prosecutions against the more honest people of the Presbyterian persuasion, who were called Recusants, and had not freedom to attend worship, nor join in the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. They withdrew and met together privately. These assemblies were called Conventicles. We must seek for the more immediate origin of these troubles a few years back, in that capital act concerning religion and the test which passed in the Parliament of 1680.

“By this test it was proposed, for all that should be capable of any office in Church or State, or of electing or being elected members of Parliament, that they should adhere firmly to the Protestant religion; to which the Court party added, the condemning of all resistance of any sort, or under any pretence, the renouncing the Covenant, and an obligation to defend all the King’s rights and prerogatives, and that they should never meet to treat of any matter, civil or ecclesiastical, but by the King’s permission, and never endeavour any alteration in the government in Church or State; and they were to swear all this according to the literal sense of the words. Towards the end of this act there was an exception for the King’s lawful brothers and sons.

“The most uninformed reader may easily see, that this Act, like Nebuchadnezzar’s statute, was composed of metal and clay. By the oath which the subjects were to take, the Protestant religion was said to be contained in the *Confession of Faith*, recorded in

the first Parliament of James the Sixth. That the framers of that *Confession* thought resistance to wicked Princes to be a religious duty cannot be denied or questioned, so that it is incompatible with the succeeding part of the act. It met with great opposition. The friends of liberty easily perceived, that the Duke of York had admitted the loose mention that was made of the Protestant religion (which might be easily explained away) as a vehicle for the passive obedience clauses, which were clear, firm, and permanent. Lord Belhaven moved for a provision to be made against a Popish or fanatic successor to the Crown; but the words had scarcely escaped him when he was voted to prison under a charge of high treason against the late Act of Succession; nor was he set at liberty till he had acknowledged his fault, and asked pardon upon his knees.

“The Earl of Argyle fatally though modestly distinguished himself in this debate. ‘It was one happiness,’ he said, ‘that king and people were of one religion by law, and he hoped the Parliament would do nothing to loose what was fast, nor open a gap for the royal family to differ in religion.’ All his opposition was in vain; the act passed by a majority of seven voices. Sir James Dalrymple, president of the session, a secret friend to the Whigs, voted against this act, though he had so great a hand in drawing it up, that the Duke of York upbraided him for loading it with the clause about the *Confession of Faith*, in order to make the whole miscarry.

“His Royal Highness now thought that it was high time to ruin the Earl of Argyle. He began first by reviving some old claims upon his estate, and by attempting to deprive him of his hereditary offices. Argyle applied to the Earl of Murray, who had succeeded Lauderdale as Secretary of State for Scotland, for leave to wait upon the King; but this was refused, and both he and Dalrymple were turned out of their seats in the Court of Session. The test was offered him; and as several persons of great rank, the Earl of Queensberry particularly, had refused to take it without explanation, and even some of the clergy had remonstrated against it, he asked time to deliberate. He obtained leave till the next council-day, and in the meanwhile he had some hints of the fate that was awaiting him; but being called upon, he took it in the Duke of York’s presence, with a declaratory explanation, for which, he alleged, he had his Royal Highness’ permission, signified to him by the Bishop of Edinburgh. The whole of this transaction is one of

the most shameful to be met with in history. The Earl's explanation was as follows:—'I have considered the test, and am willing to give obedience so far as I can. I am confident the Parliament never intended to impose contrary oaths; and therefore I think no man can explain it but for himself, and reconcile it as it is genuine, and agrees in its own sense. And I take it in so far as it is consistent with itself and the Protestant religion. And I declare, I mean not to bind up myself in my station, and in a lawful way to reach and endeavour any alteration I think to the advantage of Church or State, and repugnant to the Protestant religion and my loyalty, and this I understand as a part of my oath.' The court party ran under such difficulties that they knew not how to behave, for the Duke at first was so well pleased with the explanation, that, after the affair was over, he desired the Earl to take his seat at the Council Board. But some whispers ensuing about his explanation, he again went to Court, and in conversation with the Duke he justified all that he had done.

"It is impossible to describe the state of parties in Scotland at this time; even the Duke of York declared that no honest man could take the test! The learned and sensible part of the clergy boldly remonstrated against it, and drew up their reasons with a spirit and learning that does honour to their memory. The chief nobility of both sexes refused it, and it was ridiculed by men of sense, till at last it was given up by all parties as being indefensible. It was resolved by the Duke of York and his junto to sacrifice the Earl of Argyle to their ambition and avarice. It required, however, great effrontery to bring him to a trial, especially as the Duke had more than once signified in public that he was satisfied with the Earl's declaration. At last he was called upon to take the test as a Commissioner of the Treasury, and was required to read it aloud, which he did, and also signed the paper. After this he was ordered to surrender himself prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh. He complied with the requisition, and in a few days had notice of his trial before the Earl of Queensberry (who had himself taken the test with a reserve) and the Lords of Justiciary.

"The Earl was brought to his trial, and Sir George Lockhart was assigned for his counsel, who acquitted himself with amazing ability. He was seconded by Dalrymple and Stewart, two other eminent lawyers. The pleadings on both sides are extant; and those for the crown, though drawn up by George Mackenzie, when compared with those of their antagonists, ought to cover all the

advocates for so infamous a proceeding with confusion. The Crown lawyers produced before the jury the Earl's own explanation of the test, upon which he was capitally convicted of high treason and leasing-making. The Earl escaped out of prison, fled into Holland, and made preparations there for an expedition into Scotland, where he arrived ; but being poorly supported, he was taken prisoner and executed at Edinburgh the 30th of June, 1685.

“ About twenty of the chief nobility and gentry, with the Duke of Hamilton at their head, refused to take the test, by which all their hereditary offices came to the Crown, as did the livings of the clergymen who had the smallest sense of religion or of their duties. No Scotch Bishops refused this detestable oath ; for they seem to have devoted themselves to the Duke of York's will, and to have been the great instruments of his severities.

“ The Duke and the Council sent up to Court a list of all the vacant jurisdictions and hereditary offices which had fallen by recusancies into his Majesty's hands, with the names of the noblemen and others whom they recommended to fill them, who were all of them approved of.

“ While the Duke of York was behaving thus despotically in Scotland, a number of malcontents, the relics of the old Covenanters and Calvinists, assembled at Lanark, where they published a declaration against the test, and other proceedings of Government. The Magistrates of Lanark were fined six thousand merks for not opposing the insurgents ; and about the same time the Lords of the Privy Council and the Magistrates of Edinburgh were amusing themselves in burning once more, with great formality, the Solemn League and Covenant, and other papers.

“ All this while prosecutions were going on against the Nonconformists. Some of the chiefs among them were put to death, which only served to increase the party. During the last years of the reign of King Charles, and that of James, Scotland was nothing but a scene of oppression, cruelty, and torture. Three officers of the army—Claverhouse, Meldrum, and Major White—had arbitrary powers vested in them for harassing the poor people, which they are said to have executed with unremitting barbarity. The Presbyterian preachers were, upon various prettexts, either deprived, imprisoned, or banished. The gentlemen of their persuasion were either in confinement for alleged crimes, or till their fines were discharged. Thus the common people, being left without direction, formed themselves into societies, especially in the west, and published declara-

tions which were deemed treasonable. Numbers of prisoners on this account were brought before the council of Edinburgh, where some were tortured and others executed, while in revenge the insurgents put two of the King's life-guard men to death. Oppression will sometimes make a wise man mad. This gave rise to the following proceeding in Council, which is extracted from its registers:—

' It being put to the vote in Council, whether or not any person who owns, or does not disown, the late traitorous declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, should be immediately killed before two witnesses, and the person or persons who are to have instructions from the Council for that effect? carried in the affirmative,—the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council do hereby ordain any person who owns, or will not disown, the late treasonable declaration upon oath, whether they have arms or not, to be immediately put to death; this being always done in the presence of two witnesses, and the person or persons having commission from the Council for that effect.'

" A form of abjuration which suspected persons were to pronounce, in order to save themselves from this massacre, was drawn up and approved of by the Council, and Lieutenant-General Drummond was appointed to be the executioner. Numbers were shot in cold blood in the fields, or executed on gibbets, in consequence of those warrants. Graham of Claverhouse was one of the principal agents in those murders, who, among other inhumanities, is said to have shot four poor unarmed countrymen in one day, and to have hanged two. There is reason, however, to believe, that many of those barbarities were committed without that officer's knowledge; and sometimes the Whigs had the spirit to rise in parties, and rescue their fellow-victims from the soldiers who were leading them to execution.

" The triumphs of the Government were not confined to religion, or alleged treason. After Melfort was made Secretary of State, the sheriffs of counties were, by act of Privy Council, ordered to administer the test to all voters at county elections, and to choose other members in the room of those who were under citations for treason. The pretended penalties which hung over the heads of burghs put their elections for burgesses entirely into the hands of the court, and then the ensuing Parliament consisted of the Duke of York's creatures.

" At this period the Magistracy of Perth was formed by the Privy Council, and every suspected person was disqualified. Seve-

rals were cited before the Kirk-Session for attending conventicles, and put in the hands of the civil magistrate to be punished for recusancy. For the information of several people in and about Perth, descended from those Nonconformists, of whom they have no reason to be ashamed, the following names, taken from the Kirk-Session Register, of date 16th October, 1684, are here inserted :—

- “ Margaret Lundie, relict of Alexander Leslie.
 Mr. Andrew Playfair.
 James Brown, maltman.
 Isabel Young, spouse to Skipper Fergusson.
 Agnes Duncan, spouse to James Dewar.
 Euphame Souter, spouse to Alexander Cruickshank.
 Janet Barclay, spouse to John Strachan.
 Janet Johnston, spouse to the deceased Thomas Craigdallie.*
 Cecil Paton, spouse to John Cree, younger, glover.
 Margaret Bower, relict of Mr. John Miniemas, minister at Abernyte.
 Isabel Mitchel, relict of the deceased John Anderson, glover.
 Margaret Playfair, relict of Mr. George Halyburton, minister at Aberdalgry.†
 Katharine Young, spouse to Charles Wilson.
 Janet Boig, spouse to Andrew Davidson.
 Margaret Jackson.
 Magdalene Craw, spouse to Patrick Coupar.
 Laurence Johnston, in Balhousie, and his spouse.
 James Robertson, in Balhousie, and his spouse.
 Janet Young, spouse to John Dow, glover.
 Margaret and Christian Young, daughters to Patrick Young, tailor.

All these people were harassed with fines, and imprisonment until

* Thomas Craigdallie and Alexander Cruickshank were both Magistrates. Craigdallie had considerable property in the town. Mr. William Tullideph, afterwards Principal in the College of St. Andrews, and grandfather of the present Principal, lodged two years, and preached privately, in the house which belonged to Baillie Craigdallie, on the north side of the Highgate, where the Congregational Church had their first meeting-house, A.D. 1733. The representative of this family, James Craigdallie, was Master of the Hospital in 1774.

† This lady was mother to the celebrated Mr. Thomas Halyburton, Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, who wrote a well-known treatise *On the Insufficiency of Natural Religion*.

they were paid. The poorer sort were either neglected or threatened with corporal punishments. The seed of the old Reformers still continued to grow in Perth, and persecution for conscience' sake never hurted their cause.'

Besides the above cases as recorded by Cant, we have yet another most iniquitous and flagrant act of cruelty to notice, perpetrated in the case of Isobel Alison, a young woman belonging to Perth; at least she was apprehended in Perth, and, like many others, carried prisoner to Edinburgh. It is stated in the *Cloud of Witnesses*, that to the question, What was her occupation? she gave no answer; and we are without information as to her rank or parentage. When brought before the Privy Council, the usual questions, upon the answer to which the doom of so many depended, whether she owned the King's authority? adhered to the Sanquhar declaration? whether the killing of Archbishop Sharpe was murder? and the insurrection at Bothwell Bridge rebellion? she is said to have borne herself with great spirit, and exhibited unshaken courage—confessed she had heard Cargill preach, and held conversation with Balfour of Burley and other of the Covenanters' leaders. When afterwards taken for trial before the Court of Justiciary, she was convicted on her own confession, to which she boldly adhered. She was executed on the 26th January, 1681, along with another young woman, Marion Harvey, convicted under a similar charge. The volume called the *Cloud of Witnesses* gives the following account of Isobel Alison's conduct at the place of execution:—

“Being come to the scaffold, after singing the 84th Psalm, and reading the 16th chapter of Mark, she cried over the scaffold, and said, ‘Rejoice in the Lord, ye righteous; and again I say, rejoice.’ Then she desired to pray at that place, and the Major came and would not let her, but took her away to the ladder foot, and then she prayed. When she went up the ladder she cried out, ‘O be zealous, sirs, be zealous, be zealous! O love the Lord, all ye, his servants; O love him, sirs, for in his favour there is life.’ And she said, ‘O ye his enemies, what will ye do, whether will ye fly in that day? For now there is a dreadful day coming on all the enemies of Jesus Christ. Come out from among them, all ye that are the Lord's own people.’ Then she said, ‘Farewell all created comforts; farewell sweet Bible, in which I delighted most, and which has been sweet to me since I came to prison; farewell Christian acquaintances. Now, into thy hands I commit my spirit,

Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.' Whereupon the hangman threw her over."

It might not be difficult to give the general details of the movements which marked this most painfully interesting period, but here it would be rather out of place ; and it has been deemed preferable to present the particulars, as recorded by a local historian of the time, explanatory of the part taken in those transactions by the people of Perth, and the manner in which they were affected by them. In this there may be a lack of minuteness, and the writer had not been very particular as to the chronological order of events ; but that, as limited to this subject, is not of material consequence, and no doubt most of those whose eyes these pages may meet are already informed in the general : if not, let those who are not, lose no time in consulting some of the many authorities they may easily have access to, and if once set about, no man can fail in feeling a deep and lively interest in the subject. Were the present writer to advise, he would say unhesitatingly, Peruse the second and third volumes of Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, being the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of that great author's prose works. Some are ready to allege that Sir Walter entertained a prejudice against the Covenanters, and have ridiculously cited his romance of *Old Mortality* in proof of this. But let those who may be operated upon by such an argument read what he gives upon the character and responsibility of a living historian, and they will be thoroughly undeceived. Speaking of the proceedings of the Government in 1680, under the Duke of York, brother of Charles, and afterwards James the Second himself, Sir Walter says—"All usual forms of law, all the bulwarks by which the subjects of a country are protected against the violence of armed power, were at once broken down, and officers and soldiers received commissions not only to apprehend, but to interrogate and punish, any persons whom they might suspect of fanatical principles ; and, if they thought proper, they might put them to death upon the spot. All that was necessary to condemnation was, that the individuals seized upon should scruple to renounce the Covenant—or should hesitate to admit that the death of Sharpe was an act of murder—or should refuse to pray for the King—or decline to answer any other ensnaring or captious questions concerning their religious principles."

Such were the persecution and privation to which our forefathers of only about three generations back were subjected, and that for

merely adhering to a covenanted form of religion, to which the Sovereign as well as the people was solemnly bound. In some of the previous details, the chronicle of a local author has been quoted, although somewhat lacking in point of chronological nicety, because he lived when these transactions were even fresh in the memory of some of those he knew, and this connects both him and us the more closely with them. Besides the various modes of persecution already stated, numbers were consigned to the dungeons of the Bass, a high insulated rock in the entrance to the Frith of Forth, and many were immured in the dark, dank, and still more dismal vaults of Dunnottar Castle, a huge old fortress, impregnable before the use of artillery, situated on the east coast betwixt Montrose and Aberdeen, on a high, barren, perpendicular rock, separated from the main land by a dreadful chasm on the one side, and exposed to the lashing surge of the German Ocean on the other. To such visitors as have the temerity to approach this horrid place, perforations are yet shown in the walls of the dripping interior, in which apertures the fingers of the sufferers were occasionally wedged, when their jailors thought proper to inflict that species of torture.

This "reign of terror" lasted, with some variation, but little relaxation of severity, from the Restoration to the Revolution—a period of about twenty-eight years. The Sovereigns were deeply to blame, but a still deeper degree of criminality must be ascribed to evil councillors, whose cupidity, rapacity, and cruelty, had no bounds. But the more atrocious and intolerable persecutions were practised while the Earl of Lauderdale held office as chief minister for Scotland. He had originally been remarkable in his zeal for the Covenant, but he gradually became the most hardened foe of its adherents, and he pushed prosecutions and penalties to such an extreme, that the impression became general that he wished to drive the people of Scotland into open rebellion, that he might profit by the confiscations. The penalties of nonconformity were actually farmed out in certain districts, or assigned to his followers, coadjutors, or dependents. While Athole held office as Justice-General, he exacted nineteen hundred pounds, for his own behoof, in a single week! We are not informed of *many* instances beyond those already quoted, of persons in Perth or about it being subjected to pains and penalties; but this very fact might reasonably be ascribed to the commiseration and forbearance of the Magistrates, who were under obligations not less stringent to suppress

conventicles and report delinquents; and their exertions for a mitigation of penalties imposed, or at least to obtain a delay of their enforcement, about this very time, have already been stated. In addition to instances already given of local sufferers, we find that Messrs. Alexander Christie and Thomas Keltie, merchants in Perth, were each fined five hundred merks Scots, and Mr. Patrick Hay, the Laird of Leys, one thousand.

The assassination of Archbishop Sharpe, also before noticed, alarmed and irritated the Government to such a degree that greater extremities of violence were pursued; while Hackston of Rathillet, Balfour of Burley, and other enthusiasts, co-operating with the celebrated Donald Cargill, one of the most noted of the conventicle preachers, made a more determined stand for the Covenant. Graham of Claverhouse, afterwards Lord Dundee, had for some time acted on the part of the Government and against the non-conformists. The insurgents were victorious at Drumclog, which was a step preparatory to the great action at Bothwell Bridge, where they were utterly discomfited, with about 400 men killed, and 1,200 made prisoners, notwithstanding the lenient disposition of the Duke of Monmouth, the King's natural son, who commanded the Royalist forces. In this action a company of foot, supplied by the City of Perth, fought under his banner.

York's administration impressed the minds of the Scots with the deepest odium both against his person and government. It was not, however, of long duration; and on his return to London by sea, the vessel in which he sailed, having struck upon a sand-bank, was lost. The Duke escaped in the barge; and whilst Hyde his brother-in-law, and many other persons of rank and quality, were drowned, it was observed that he was very careful to save his dogs and priests! He was succeeded by Gordon, Earl of Aberdeen, who was made Chancellor, and the Duke of Queensberry, who was appointed Treasurer—men whose abilities the nation despised, and whose moral character it had reason to detest. During their administration, about two hundred persons were outlawed on pretence of conversing or holding intercourse with rebels; and the Presbyterians were ensnared by having embarrassing questions put to them, such as—"Will you renounce the Covenant? Do you esteem the rising at Bothwell to be rebellion? Was the killing of the Archbishop of St. Andrews murder?" And when they, in a state of alarm, refused to answer, capital punishments were inflicted on them. Even women, as already instanced, were brought to the

gibbet for this pretended crime. Fines were more rigorously exacted ; a new inquisition was established ; and hardly one, however innocent, could escape its conviction and its penalties.

The progress of time neither overcame the resolution of the sufferers, nor softened in the least the rage of their persecutors. All hereditary jurisdictions were forfeited by those who refused to subscribe the Test-Act ; and many noble families were thus reduced to poverty and ruin. In consequence of these rigorous measures, the people were driven to carry on intrigues with the opponents of the court in London, and with the friends of the Prince of Orange in Holland. The suspicion of these intrigues called forth anew the rage of the Government and its ministers. The poor peasantry, who were attached to the Covenant, suffered unutterable hardships, by banishment, torture, exposure to perish by famine, and various other miseries, sufficient to make humanity shrink from the recollection of them. Graham of Claverhouse was the chief agent employed in the south-western counties—a rigid officer, who abstained from no cruelty that he thought calculated either to punish or prevent Presbyterianism ; while the Established Clergy, instead of being the benefactors of their parishioners, acted, in too many instances, in full accordance with the intolerant spirit of the Government. About this time the Earl of Perth, by means of his religious apostacy, attained power in the Scottish administration, and carried the cruelty of a persecuting spirit to a greater height than ever. Under suspicion of treasonable practices, which were not proved, Baillie of Jerviswood was executed, and Carstairs a minister, Hume and several others, respectable for their rank and virtues, underwent extreme severity of torture. With every change of administration, or new turn of affairs, these enormities, if slackened for a little, were again renewed, and that so frequently, that to record them as they occurred, looks like detailing the same story several times over.

Charles the Second died of apoplexy on the 6th February, 1685, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, but with little relief to the oppressed people of Scotland. He was succeeded by James, Duke of York, his brother, under the style and title of James the Second of England, and Seventh of Scotland. The coronation of James did not take place at Scone, but was solemnized at Westminster. He was an uncompromising Papist himself, but several of his family adhered to the Protestant faith—viz. Mary, afterwards Queen of William the Third, and Anne, who succeeded William and Mary to the throne

of the three kingdoms. During the brief reign of their father, however, the persecution of the Protestants continued without abatement, and in the former oppressive measures there was no relaxation. The previous laws for apprehending, examining, and putting to death openly in the fields, were inexorably put in force against all suspected of nonconformity; and so far was this carried out, that even those declining to give evidence against parties accused of treason were held guilty of a crime amounting to treason itself. The life and property of every one seemed to be exposed to the machinations of the corrupt ministry of a cruel and arbitrary Sovereign. Death and confiscation were the award of every constructive delinquency which could be screwed up to the category of crime implying such penalties. It was almost impossible for the most cautious to avoid coming in contact with some of the many who were held as traitors, and that was sufficient to involve them in the same fate.

After the accession, a Parliament met at Edinburgh, where Queensberry presided as Commissioner. This assembly appeared willing to make an entire surrender of their liberties. They voted that the King was vested with a solid and absolute authority, of which none could participate but in dependence on him, and by commission from him; they engaged that every individual in the nation, between sixteen and sixty, should be in readiness for his Majesty's service, where and as oft as he should require them; and they annexed the whole excise, both of inland and foreign commodities, for ever to the crown. Argyle arrived in his own country from Holland in 1685, and, with great difficulty, collected and armed a body of two thousand five hundred men; upon which twenty-two thousand militia were called out to join the regular forces, so that Argyle was soon surrounded with insuperable difficulties. His arms and ammunition were seized, and his provisions cut off; the Marquess of Athole pressed him on one side, and Lord Charles Murray on another; the Duke of Gordon hung upon his rear, whilst the Earl of Dumbarton met him in front. His followers daily deserted him, so that his little army, wandering about from place to place, was at last dispersed. Argyle himself was taken prisoner in disguise near Renfrew, put in irons, and carried to the cross of Edinburgh, where he suffered death with a fortitude and serenity which confounded his enemies.

In the Western Highland counties, which had supported Argyle, Lord Breadalbane and the Marquess of Athole exerted themselves

as the ministers of vengeance, and exercised great severity upon the inhabitants. The houses of the peasantry upon Argyle's estate were burnt; the woods, the mills, and the gardens destroyed; the fishing-boats and nets of the starving inhabitants torn in pieces; and the jails filled with prisoners, who, if not hurried to instant execution, were left to linger out life in circumstances of want and misery. In the meantime, the King was desirous to acquire glory, by restoring the British dominions to the empire of Rome. The Earls of Perth and Melfort gained his favour by their apostacy. The former, to prove his sincerity, persuaded his dying wife to embrace Popery, and gained over Sibbald, a celebrated physician and naturalist. After this, the penal laws against the Papists were superseded by the Privy Council; Perth opened a chapel for the private celebration of mass at Holyrood House; and the Bishops chose to abandon the cause of their religion rather than offend the King.

In this critical juncture, the Presbyterians conducted themselves with the utmost boldness, thereby exposing their cause to the vengeance of Government, who executed an amiable young man of the name of Renwick, one of their preachers, with some others. In consequence of these enormities, strong opposition was formed against the ministry. The nation discovered a spirit indignantly abhorrent of Popery, against which Presbyterians and Episcopalians joined with one voice; and a close correspondence was carried on with the Prince of Orange by all the principal nobility. Yet James, blind to his true interest, pursued the most violent measures, and rushed headlong on his own destruction.

At last the long-wished-for period arrived when both nations were to be delivered. On the 5th of November, 1688, William, Prince of Orange, landed an army of above fourteen thousand men at Torbay; where the nobles, the gentry, and the people, hastened from all quarters to join the standard of the invader, after which he marched forward to London. On learning the approach of the Prince, James, alarmed by renewed proofs of a general disaffection, precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping to France, and sent off beforehand the Queen and infant Prince. He was seized and brought back to London; whence, after remaining there a few days, despised and neglected, he retired to Rochester, and, privately embarking in a frigate which waited for him, escaped to France, where he was received by Louis with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard.

After James' flight, William took possession of the royal palace ; and the Lords and Commons assembling, passed a bill, by which they settled the crown upon the Prince and Princess of Orange. In Scotland, the people in general rose in arms ; the civil authority of the old government entirely ceased ; the students of the University of Glasgow publicly burnt the effigies of the Pope and of the two Archbishops. The students, apprentices, and more zealous citizens of Edinburgh, aided at last by the presence of the Magistrates and Town-Guard, drove away a company of soldiers who protected the Palace of Holyrood House, rifled the chapel, and burnt the images and books. The Earl of Perth attempted to make his escape out of the kingdom, but was discovered, seized, and cast into prison. In the southern and western parts of the country, the inhabitants seized the persons of the Episcopal clergy, carried them in mock procession about their parishes, tore their gowns, and drove them from their homes and churches. A few persons still adhered to James, such as the Duke of Gordon, a Papist, who commanded Edinburgh Castle, the Bishops of the Episcopal Church, and Graham of Claverhouse.

In the affairs of Scotland, the Prince of Orange conducted himself with the greatest prudence and moderation. He summoned a Convention-Parliament to meet at Edinburgh on 22d of March, 1689. When this assembly met, the members declared, by a bold and decisive vote, that James had forfeited all title to the crown ; made a tender of the royal dignity to William and Mary, as the next heirs ; and appointed Sir James Montgomery and Sir John Dalrymple to repair to London, and invest their Majesties with the government. They also restored the forfeited honours and estates of Argyle, and many others who had suffered by the late persecutions. Presbytery was re-established with all its claims, Episcopacy tolerated for a time, and Popery abhorrently proscribed. The Parliamentary rights of the Scottish nation were also recognised and confirmed, the despotism of the Privy Council restrained, and the revolution fully completed. Thus, also, was consummated that great settlement of religious affairs, the struggle to obtain which we in the outset designated the Second Reformation.

There was little more from this period in which Perth or Perthshire was historically connected, until we come to the last victorious but fatal struggle—to himself at least—of that remarkable but notorious character, Graham of Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee. After the proceedings just noticed he escaped to the Highlands,

and mustered an army of several thousand men under the banner of King James.

Previous to that event, however, Dundee carried on various manœuvres, which it would be apart from our purpose to state in detail—only that in course of these he surprised the City of Perth by an expert movement, seized the public treasure that he found in the hands of the receiver of revenue here, and dispersed two troops of cavalry which had been newly raised by King William's government, captured their horses and accoutrements, and took the commanding officers prisoners, the Lairds of Pollock and of Blair. It does not appear that he distressed the inhabitants particularly in any way; and in regard to his seizure of the taxes, he declared he would not plunder any private party, but held that there was nothing wrong in appropriating the King's (James's) money to the King's service.

General Mackay had been appointed commander of the government forces in Scotland, and at this time, the spring of 1689, Dundee got notice that this officer was on his march against him with a strong body of regular troops. Mackay made his first movement in this quarter by an advance upon Dudhope Castle, in the vicinity of Dundee, with the purpose of surprising his adversary in that his own residence for the time. He gave Mackay the slip, however, and marched into the Highlands at the head of 150 horse. There he obtained considerable reinforcements by the adherence of several of the Jacobite clans. It was after being thus reinforced that he made that rapid movement upon Perth just mentioned.

Dundee's force, however, was still much inferior to that of his antagonist, and a second time he retreated to the north, to recruit his yet small army. He also expected a large reinforcement from Ireland, to the extent of three thousand troops, and he was also waiting, with some impatience it may be supposed, the result of a conspiracy which he expected to explode in a dragoon regiment under Mackay's command, which he himself had formerly been at the head of. Mackay, however, discovered the plot, seized the ringleaders, and disarmed those of inferior rank who had entered into their machinations.

This instance of unfaithfulness among troops under their own pay, determined the Privy Council to make some severe example, so as to deter others from such practices; and a Captain Crichton, one of those most deeply implicated in the conspiracy, was selected to be hanged in the first instance. But his patron, Dundee, for-

warded a message to the Lords of Council, threatening, that should they touch a hair of his head, he would cut his Perth prisoners, Pollock and Blair, joint from joint, and send them to Edinburgh, packed up in hampers. This decided declaration had the desired effect, and saved Crichton, who had gained his commander's favour formerly by his activity in crushing the oppressed Covenanters.

After both armies had marched and countermarched, and had occasionally come in contact by a sort of irregular warfare, Claverhouse began to feel himself in circumstances to hazard a pitched battle, which before the recent augmentation of his forces he had studiously avoided. This was soon brought about in consequence of the investment of Blair Castle, recently the residence of our gracious Queen. The Marquess of Athole having now abandoned the Jacobite cause, sent his son into Athole to raise the Stewarts, Robertsons, Fergussons, and other small clans of the district. These parties were not the patriarchal subjects of Athole, but they were accustomed to follow him in war out of respect to the "great man," and the power he had the opportunity to exercise over them for good or for evil. One of them, a Stewart, disappointed him sadly. This gentleman had been placed in the possession of Blair Castle, and took it into his head to show different colours. He even refused to surrender the Castle to Lord Murray, the Marquess's own son, and declared that he held it for King James. This dispute led directly to the affair of Killiecrankie. Mackay advanced into Athole without delay, at the head of three thousand foot and two troops of horse, with the determination of laying siege to Blair, and even of fighting Claverhouse, should need be. The clans Lord Murray had succeeded in mustering amounted to about eight hundred men. The spirit of loyalty, however, had taken strong hold of their hearts, and they demurred to taking the field against what they called "the King's" forces. They told Lord Murray, that if he was to join Dundee they would follow him to the death, but threatened immediate desertion if his object was to take the side of William of Orange; and on his daring to threaten them, they marched to the Garry, filled their bonnets with water, and even drank the health of King James with acclamation.

By this time Mackay had reached Dunkeld, not only with the purpose of reducing Blair, but to punish the refractory Athole men, who had dared to desert their chief in such an emergency. Mean-time General Cannon had joined Dundee with the long-expected

Irish reinforcement, but that amounted only to three hundred instead of three thousand men—and in a very forlorn destitute state they were. Notwithstanding this disappointment, Dundee thought Blair Castle too good a prize to lose, and advanced upon it with a body of about two thousand Highlanders for its protection, and occupied the upper end of the celebrated defile betwixt Dunkeld and Blair, well known as the Pass of Killiecrankie. Here the road, the great Highland turnpike, is now carried along the east side of the deep gorge, at some hundred feet from the bottom, with a still greater extent above it to the top of the mountain. The position of this thoroughfare would be terrific, but that in these days the sides of the pass are richly planted, with an exuberance of varied foliage in the travelling season. Near the upper end, and but a short way south of the little plain which forms the memorable battle-field, her Majesty Queen Victoria encountered imminent danger, in the autumn of 1844, in consequence of the restiveness of one of her carriage horses, on her return drive from viewing Faskally and the Falls of Tummell. The acclivity and declivity on either side of the road are not very many degrees from the perpendicular, and the chasm, at the bottom of which the furious mountain stream, the Garry, rages amongst cataracts and waterfalls, is bounded by a still more rugged and precipitous bank of great height on the western side. At the time of the battle, the path was more rough and inaccessible than it is now, and it ran close by the bed of the river. As already mentioned, the small space of table land at the top completely commands the approach through the awful chasm, and the landscape view from it is one of the grandest in nature. The locality is such that one would be ready to conclude that two thousand regularly trained troops might repel the advance of all the forces in Europe. Viscount Dundee rather unaccountably allowed Mackay, with an army superior to his own, to march quite through the pass unmolested, and contented himself with preparing to join issue with him at the northern extremity. Blair Castle is distinctly seen from this point, between three and four miles in a westerly direction, and the field is quite in view of the castle. The only reason supposed for the Jacobite general giving Mackay this advantage is, that he might encounter him in a fair field previous to the latter receiving a strong body of English horse who were hourly expected.

It was on the 17th day of June, 1689, that Mackay with his troops entered the pass, which they were astonished to find unoc-

cupied. It is also said that his men, partly English, partly Dutch, and even not a few Scotchmen of the low country, were struck with awe, amounting to absolute fear, "at finding themselves introduced by such a magnificent, and, at the sametime, formidable avenue, to the presence of their enemies, the inhabitants of these tremendous mountains, into whose recesses they were penetrating." The idea that, if worsted at the top, their only retreat would be through such a narrow and dangerous defile, added greatly to their terror and alarm. It was past mid-day ere the royalist forces extricated themselves from the narrow and perilous pass by which they had approached. Mackay immediately drew them up in one line of three deep, and posted them along the southern verge of the scene of action. The elevated ridge on which the mansion-house of Urrard stands, covered with dwarf trees and underwood, bounded the north side of the field, and at the outset formed the position of Dundee's army.

The armies shouted as they came in sight of each other, but even the manner in which this war-note was uttered, gave indication that the spirit of Mackay's soldiers had been already depressed by the fearful nature of their position. It was late in the afternoon, about an hour before sunset, that Dundee, after giving his antagonist intimation that he was just preparing for the assault, gave his Highlanders the signal to charge. As in many of their encounters, the mountaineers stripped themselves to their shirts, and advanced with a dreadful yell, drowning the sound of their war-pipes. They immediately fired off their fuses, which must have done considerable execution, and throwing them down, drew their swords, and pushed on at their utmost speed. The thin line opposed to them soon gave way, and suffered dreadful havoc at the hands of their Highland assailants. The effect of their claymores was overwhelming, and both flanks of Mackay's army were either extinguished in the field, or driven headlong over the precipices into the river. Only two English regiments kept their ground, and that chiefly because the space between the attacking columns was so wide that they had no adversaries opposed to them. Dundee possessed himself of Mackay's artillery by a desperate manœuvre, and leading his own small body of cavalry against two troops of horse, they fled without striking a blow. It was just after this, and while holding up his right arm directing the charge of the clan M'Donald against the two English corps already mentioned, that he received a musket ball under his arm-pit, soon fell mortally

wounded, and died before next morning. It is currently reported and believed that the fatal bullet was shot from a window of Urrard House, directly in front of which a rude stone obelisk stands in the middle of the corn field to mark the spot of his fall. Some other accounts give it that he received his death-wound in the garden, to the eastward of the house, while giving his war-horse water at the garden pond. Other surmises have gained credit with some, that a servant of his own shot him in the tumult of battle with a silver button from his livery coat.

The victory of the Highlanders was complete. All the cannon, baggage, and stores of their opponents, fell into their hands. The two regiments before mentioned suffered so much in their attempted retreat back through the pass, from the hands of the Athole men, who pressed close in their rear, that they were almost annihilated. Two thousand of Mackay's army were killed or taken, and he escaped himself with much difficulty. His line had at first discharged three successive volleys on the Highlanders, who left eight hundred men dead on the field. Mackay was not aware till afterwards that his great opponent was slain, although he suspected it.

General Cannon succeeded Dundee in the command, but neither understood his men nor the country, and Mackay speedily collected troops sufficient to coop him up in the mountains until the Highlanders were quite wearied out. The regiment of Cameronians, newly raised by the Earl of Angus, had been despatched to reinforce Mackay, and Cannon showed some determined activity against them. They had only reached Dunkeld, and out-manœuvring Mackay by a rapid march he at once surrounded the place with upwards of two thousand men, while this new corps counted little more than one-half that number. So desperate was their position held to be, that the few cavalry along with them rather basely left them to their fate. The churchyard and the old cathedral, as well as Dunkeld House and its adjacent enclosures, were occupied by the Cameronians, and thus ensconced they repeatedly beat off the Highlanders, notwithstanding their superiority in force, which gradually diminished, and, as was their custom, they ultimately dispersed and returned to their homes. In this action the Cameronians lost many men, and especially their Lieutenant-Colonel, Cleland, who fell much lamented.

The successes of the Jacobites may be said to have terminated with the death of Dundee. Mackay surprised and routed a de-

tachment at Perth about the same time the Cameronians repulsed the superior body at Dunkeld. This may be termed the last of those struggles as connected with the history of Perth—although we shall yet have to speak of it as head-quarters in a future warfare under different circumstances.

But notwithstanding the happy turn in national affairs brought about by the Revolution, it was a very long time till the House of Brunswick held undisturbed and peaceable possession of the triple Crown. Ireland gave William much trouble, and the change of dynasty, as might be supposed, gave a new phase to the politics of the period. The movements and intrigues of parties ran in rather a different course; the Jacobite feeling still maintained a strong hold of the public mind in Scotland, especially in the northern portion of that kingdom, and among the Highland clans; and the expatriated race had not a few adherents even in England. The national jealousies also ran high, and the history of the time furnishes an interesting study to the inquiring mind; and the present writer strongly recommends it to all who may peruse these pages, particularly the young. It was nearly a quarter of a century from the era of the Revolution ere the various incidents of the period specially affected the City of Perth, being more of a national than local character; and it may therefore be proper to pass over, and leave the reader to a wider field of inquiry, till we come down to the remarkable and rather ill-arranged rising under the Earl of Mar in 1715. For the sake of connection, however, a very brief notice of the leading events which preceded this rebellion may still be acceptable.

After the affair of Killiecrankie, and the repulse of the Highlanders at Dunkeld, James made a desperate effort to reanimate the war in the Highlands during the following winter of 1689-90. General Buchan commanded the little army, not amounting to 2,000 men. These were routed at Cromdale, on the Spey, by Sir Thomas Livingstone's cavalry, and the men of Clan Grant, who had openly espoused King William's interest. This skirmish took place the 1st May, 1690. The struggle which James maintained in Ireland also resulted in disappointment and ruin. The Highland chiefs lost heart, and for the while remained quiet. The Earl of Breadalbane was entrusted with some fifteen or twenty thousand pounds to buy them over and reduce them to allegiance. This he is said to have done in a very partial manner, and it has ever since been maintained that he kept "the lion's share" to him-

self.* Out of these transactions arose, in 1691, that most bloody, cruel, and disgraceful affair, the Massacre of Glencoe, which attached an indelible stain to the Government of the time, and with the particulars of which we shall assume all who have paid the least attention to their country's history must be familiarly acquainted.

Apart from the peculiar bias of the Jacobites, there were other circumstances which hindered the growth of attachment to the person and government of King William. The atrocious transaction just mentioned told much against the new Sovereign's popularity, and yet remains a dark blot on his memory, although there were other parties more to blame in that sad affair; and Bishop Burnet says, that "in all other instances it had appeared that his own inclinations were gentle and mild, rather to an excess." Then, great and general disaffection was created in Scotland, and among Scotchmen, in consequence of the result of that singular and most unfortunate enterprise, notoriously remembered as the Darien Expedition; and altogether William failed in rendering Scotland a possession of any value. It appears, from the Town-Council records, that a great interest and deep stake were taken in the ruinous speculation here alluded to by the authorities and the people of Perth. By the Magistrates, the Incorporated Trades, and private individuals, not less than two thousand pounds sterling were invested in this extraordinary commercial bubble!

William survived for upwards of six years his beloved consort, Mary; and in 1701, in consequence of a sudden fall from his horse, which produced a fracture of the collar-bone, upon which fever supervened, he expired in the fifty-second year of his age, after a reign of thirteen years. He died much lamented, and his memory is held in the highest respect by the English, as that of a great liberator, civil and religious; while in Ireland it has been almost canonized in the hearts of the Protestants, to whom he rendered the most signal services.

Near the close of William's reign, in 1697, Perth had almost

* Complaints of this were made by the Government, and it is said the Secretary of State demanded a regular account of the manner in which the money had been disposed of. We are not aware that the document exists, but tradition has handed down the terms of the shrewd Highland nobleman's answer, in these words:—"My dear Lord, the money you mention was given to purchase the peace of the Highlands. The money is spent—the Highlands are quiet—and this is the only way of accounting among friends."

obtained the honour of being a University. Arrangements were at that time nearly completed for the translation of the Colleges of St. Andrews to this city—and this chiefly at the instance of that ancient seat of learning itself. On the 16th of August in the year aforementioned, the University met, and made choice of John, Earl of Tullibardine, as Chancellor, an office which had been vacant for several years. The said Earl was at that time principal Secretary of State for Scotland, and had conferred many favours on the University.

On the 24th August, the same year, the Minutes of the University contain an Act, commissioning Mr. Alexander Munro, Provost of the Old College, to go to Edinburgh and wait upon the Earl of Tullibardine, “to consult further anent the affairs of the Universities, and particularly anent the proposall for transporting this Universitie to the Town of Perth, and to consult lawyers and others thereanent.”

In the *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society*, we find “*True copies of the Letters sent by the King’s Advocate and Solicitor and Commissar Dalrymple, to the Earl of Tullibardine, touching the removing of the University of St. Andrews to another place, September, 1697.* The first (from Sir PATRICK HUME) is dated

Edinburgh, 3d September, 1697.

MY LORD—This day I met the Lord Advocate, concerning the affair of the University of St. Andrews, and we considered the foundations of the several Colleges, and all the papers relating thereto, and we are both of opinion that there is nothing in the foundations nor in law to hinder, but that if the King think fit the University may be translated from St. Andrews and settled in another place, where it may be convenient for the Public interest of the Nation; and that the King may do it by a Charter under the Great Seal: but the thing being new and a matter of great weight, we apprehend (your Lordships) the Secretaries would not like the burden of advising the King to it solely upon yourselves, nor may be would the King be so fain to do it before that he have some opinion, from this, that in Law it might be done. And in order thereto, that which we have advised is, that there shall be reasons drawn for clearing that in law the University may be translated to another place, and that it is most fit and convenient, and for the interest of the Nation, that it should be settled in Perth. The reasons of conveniencie and advantage to the Nation, which occur

to us at present, are, that St. Andrews is a remote point of land lying at an outside, and all things for the conveniencie of living are dearer there than at oither places, and upon these and other considerations of that nature, the University is of late years exceedingly decayed; whereas the Towne of Perth is very near the centre of the Kingdom, and all necessars for the conveniencie of living are as cheap there as any place of the Nation, and being in an In-Country, People has far greater conveniencie sending their Children there to be bred than to a remote place, such as St. Andrews is; as also Perth being near to the Highlands, where the Gentlemen and others of the Highlands may have a greater corveniencie to send their Children, it may tend much to the civilizing of the Highland Countrey that this University be settled in that place; and besides it is most convenient that Universities in any Nation should be seated at an equall distance one from another, and as Edinburgh is at an equall distance from Glasgow, so the University that is at St. Andrews should be at an equall distance from Edinburgh; and certainly one of the reasons why that University is so much decayed is because it is too near Edinburgh, but being settled at Perth it would be at an equall distance from Edinburgh, and Aberdeen would be at an equall distance from Perth. And this is only but a short hint for your Lordship's information at present; but they shall be more fully sent to your Lordship afterwards, and they may be given in with a petition to the King, upon which his Majestie may write a Letter to the Counsell, that they may take the advice of the Officers of State, and such Lawiers, and others, as the King shall name in the Letter, both how far in Law the Colledge may be translated to anyother place, and if it be not convenient and for the interest of the Nation it should be settled in Perth. And if those whose opinion the King desires shall give it in the affirmative, then the King may give a Charter, under the Great Seal, for the doing of it accordingly, which thereafter may be confirmed by Part. The Lord Advocat is to write to the Lord Secretary Ogilby to the same purpose, that he may go along in this thing, and I was desired by Provost MONRO to give your Lordship this account.—I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most faithful and obliged humble servant,

(*Sic Sub.*)

PATRICK HOME.

Directed—For the Right Hon.

THE EARL OF TULLIBARDINE, Principal Secretary of State
for the KINGDOM OF SCOTLAND, at Lond.

There is also a Letter to the same from Sir James Stuart, the King's Advocat, who says—" We could not observe that the City of St. Andrews had any interest in this matter, to make their consent at all needful, but for anything seen, or that we could learn, we were all inclined to think that the King, being now come in the place of the Bishop, and being, since the Reformation from Popery, *Patronus Universalis* of this Church, might remove the University, upon due application, made to him by the Faculty and Members thereof, when he pleased."

Next we have the Letter of Commissary Dalrymple, also to the Earl of Tullibardine—dated from Northberrick, 8th Sept. 1697—in reference to the same matter, and quite agreeing with the others, only suggesting a little more formality in the proceedings.

These letters all appear to have been transmitted by Alexander Monro, Provost of the College, who offers every aid he could give in accomplishing the object in view.

Then follows a long paper pointing out instances of such translations in England and on the Continent of Europe—and next a series of reasons for the change now proposed. These are as follows :—

As for the Translation of the University of Prague to Leipsic, I cannot remember particularly where I read, but it is so recent and well known every where, that nobody can doubt of it.

As to the reason of a Translation from this, there is first the interest of the Nation (which will concur to the flourishing of the University), Perth being the centre of the Kingdom, of easy access, and this in a corner not accessible without crossing the seas, except from the west, from whence few come.

2o. It would contribute much to the civilizing of the Highlands, Perth being near to them.

3o. The Victuals are dearer here than any where else, viz. fleshs, drinks of all sorts.

4o. This place is ill provided of all commodities and trades, wh. obliges us to send to Edin^r and provide ourselves with shoes, clothes, hatts, &c. ; and what are here are double rate.

5o. This place is ill provided of fresh water, the most part being served with a stripe, where the foul clothes, herring, fish, &c. are washed, so that it is most pairt neasty and unwholesome.

6o. This place is a most thin and piercing air, even to an excess, seeing that Nitre grows upon the walls of chambers where fires are used, if there be a light to the North, for the most part of the

whole year, as in Mr. Ramsey, &c.; and this is the reason why old men coming to this place are instantly cutt off.

7o. As also why infectious diseases have been observed to beginn and rage most here, as in the Visitation in 1640, when Dr. Bruce died; and last year a most malignant flux, whereof dyed upwards of two hundreth persons in a few weeks, which much prejudiced the University.

8vo. This place being now only a village, where most part farmers dwell, the whole streets are filled with Dunghills, which are exceedingly noisome and ready to infect the air, especially at this season when the herring gutts are exposed in them, or rather in all corners of the Tounne by themselves, and the season of the year apt to breed infection, which partly may be said to have been the occasion of last year's dysenterie, which from its beginning here raged through most part of the Kingdon.

9mo. It may be considered whether the dissension betwixt the Universitie and the Citie at present be a reason, seeing it may be impossible for us to keep Gentlemen and Noblemen's Children from incurring great hazards, considering the dispositions of youth to be revenged; so that if the Magistrates should offer to meddle, they would endeavour to resist them and tumultuate and expose themselves to the rabble of the place, or else be in hazard of burning the tounne, which this last year they had certainly done in the case of Mair. Henderson, had not by a particular providence the design been known by one of the Mrs. ane hour before it was to be put in execution.

10o. The disposition of this people (there being few of worth eminent above the rest) is much sett upon tumultuating, as did appear in the year 90, when they chased the Students into the Colledges, and broght their cannons to the very gates to throw down the Colledge, and in ane of their tradesmen drawing a whinger to Dr. Skeen, within the Colledge, threatning to murder him, the same year, as also Ja. Smith's threatning to drag him to prison.

11mo. The aversion and hatred they have to Learning and Learned men, which appears not only in the former instances, but in that since our foundation *there was never ane farthing doted to the University by any burgess* of St. Andrews. 2o. That in our knowledge there was not any capable to win his bread by Learning (except our present Bibleothecar) who was born in St. Andrs. 3o. Their entering colledge Vassals by their touns, and so robbing the several Colledges. 4to. The unjust and base methods they have

taken to break the New Mylne belonging to the University, and innumerable instances of their encroaching upon us by imposing at their own pleasure annuities, taxes, &c. upon our Vassals, their present design of robbing the New Colledge, which they are not ashamed to publish. *The contrar of all these may reasonably be expected in Perth.*

These are communicated by Mr. John Craigie, one of the Commissioners appointed by the University to treat of and arrange the desired change. It would appear, from his statements, that whatever Perth might have profited from the translation, the University would, undoubtedly, have benefited by a removal from such a locality.

The document from which we have quoted, was one written from St. Andrews, 4th September, 1697, and addressed to "The Reverend Mr. Alex. Monro, Provost of the old Colledge in the University of St. Andrew, to be found at George Donnet's, at the back of the Court of Guard in Edinburgh." Along with the information he writes a letter, from which the following is a quotation:—
 "REV. SIR—You have here an answer to ane pt. of your Letter as far as I could inform you, and if it be either lame or too tedious or confused, you may impute it to the shortness of time. You may dispose of this yt I have sent as you please, only I hope you will not shew such a confused heap to strangers. I am sure I am wearied. As for secrecy, it is not so much as whispered here—only I suspect some Agent or Advocate man has this day given some information, for I hear Ja. Sm. is post to the E. You will hear from the whole Masters on Monday."

There is then a letter from the Earl of Tullibardine, transmitted by his Secretary, James Murray. Its date is

Kensington, Oct. 2, 1697.

SIR—I received yours of the ij September, together with the Letters you write of, from the Advocate, Solicitor, and Mr. Hew Dalrymple. I am glade they are so clear as to the point of Law. I have returned an answer to their Letters, and my opinion as to the method is, that after you have settled with the Town of Perth, there be a petition to the King, signed by the Masters of the University, and that it be sent by one of their number, to be presented to the King. * * * As to my assistance you need not doubt of it, and it may have more effect this way, than if it should come

altogether from myself. I have written to one of my friends to speak to the Magistrates of Perth to make them easy to you.—
I am S^r Your humble Servant,
TULLIBARDINE.

The next document is the copy of a letter from AL. MONRO to “the Laird of Dollerie,” in which he states—“We have met with the Provost and Dean of Guild of Perth, but communed only in the generall; their promises and offers were kind and ingadging, but neither they nor we were ready nor instructed to conclude anything. It is easy at first to resolve on and propose a matter, but to bring it to a happy issue requires good counsell and deliberation.” This is dated from St. Andrews, 26th October, the same year. And there is another of the 29th to the Earl of Tullibardine, much of the same tenor, but speaks farther of the difficulty in “doing it during the sitting of the Colledge.”

There is then a minute of the University, dated at St. Andrews, January 12th, 1698, regarding the prosecution of this affair. In this document, it is stated, that

“The which day the University met and appointed Mr. Robert Ramsay, Regent of Philosophy in the Old Colledge, to repair to Perth to-morrow, and in the name of the University, to give account to the Provost and oyer Magistrates of that City yt the University have considered the proposalls that were made by their Provost and Dean of Guild, to Mr. Alex. Monro, late Provost of the Old Colledge, &c. * * And the University think it improper for them to undertake the manadgement of the buildings, and that it is their opinion, the properest way for advancing the designe is, that the Toun of Perth send with their first conveniency to St Andrews, some person well skilled in Architecture, to view the fabricks of the several Colledges, and make a model of new buildings at Perth sufficient to accommodate the University, and that he exhibit this model to the University, that they may be pleased with it; and when this is done, that he calculate what summe of money it will take to carry on and compleat fabricks at Perth, agreeable to that model, and in what time it may be done; that when this is done, he return to Perth and make report to them, and yt yrafter the Toun of Perth transmit this report to the University, with yr opinion anent it, and signifie to the University if the Magistrates and Town Counsel of Perth will oblige themselves to enter into contract with the undertaker of the work, to pay him

the charges of the buildings, conform to the foresaid model, and to engage with the University to have them compleated in the time condescended on, and consent to the privileges of the University. Extracted forth of the Records of the University, by

JO. LOWELOUNE, *Cls. Sen. Acad.*”

It is amusing to see with what caution both parties proceeded in this matter. We have next a letter from Provost James Crie to the University, in which he says—“As for sending one from this place to take a view of the fabrick of the University, we do not think it needful, until an Act of Transportation be past by his Majestie in favours of the Toun of Perth ; which being granted, there shall be nothing incumbent upon us to do, but shall be readily and heartily done. In the meantime we expect ye will be active in writing to court, and let us have your returns. * * * This being all at present needful from Sir, Your most humble servant,
Sic Subscribitur,

JAMES CRIE.”

Some farther correspondence of a similar character takes place between the three parties, viz. the University, the Magistrates of Perth, and the Earl of Tullibardine ; and there is also an extract minute of the Town-Council of Perth, dated 29th February, 1698, stating, that

“The Council having heard read ane letter from the Earle of Tullibardine, chief secretary of State, direct to the Provost of Perth, daitted at Kensington, the 15th Feb. inst. signifying that he wondered at the University of St Andrews and the Toun of Perth having not yet come to ane settlement, anent the removing of the University to that place ; which being considered by them, together with ane letter from the Masters of the said University, dated St Andrews 12th January last ; in compliance with the desire of the whilk letters, they appoint Bailie Davidson, Bailie Ramsay, and the Convener, to meet with the Masters of the University at Newburgh, upon Tuesday next to come, and to commune with them anent the Transporting of the said Universities, and to promise, in name of the Toun, for their encouragment, the Touns Close and Houses, and Yards belonging thereto, and either to make ane sufficient Colledge, or to give them twenty thousand merks for doing thereof ; and also to procure as much ground to them as should contain the other two Colledges, and to report to this house ; and in the meantime, appoint the Provost to write to the Earle of

Tullibardine, and give him hearty thanks for his kindness to this place, and also to write to the Masters of the University anent the said tryst.

(Signed) JAMES CRIE, I.P.C."

Then follow the "Articles of Communing" between the parties at Newburgh, dated 1st March, 1698. The University Commissioners declared they had no Commission to propone any new Overture, but to know what the Toun of Perth's thoughts were anent the proposals formerly made at Huntingtower and Glendukie, and particularlie condescended on in a Letter from the Masters of the Universitie to the Provost of Perth, the 12th January last, and also to hear what they had farther to propose concerning that matter.

1mo. To which the Commissioners for the Brough of Perth answers, that they have Commissione from their constituents to assure the Mrs of the Universitie that they shall make them heartily welcome, and that for their encouragement they shall make that great Lodging, whereof they are heritable Keepers, situat at the Speygate Port, to be for the Universities service, with the yards and pertinents yrof, and likewise they shall have the soume of 20,000 Merks in readiness for defraying the Expense of the rest of the Buildings for the said Universitie, qlk together with the Lodging may be estimat to be worth 80,000 Merks. Yet they are sensible that this will be found insufficient for the building of of three severall Colledges for accommodating the said Universitie as they are at present, att St. Andrews.—Therefore, and for the better expeding of the said work, they desire to be informed by the Mrs of the Universitie how many Chambers and roumes will be needful for accommodating ilk ane of the three Colledges, that being informed of this, they may take advice what soume it will require over and above what they propose, that they may address the King's Matie for obtaining some publick gift for expeding so good and so publick a Work.

2do. That the Offer made by the Commissioners from the Universitie before of the Vacant rents of the New Colledge may be forthcoming according to the communing at Huntingtower, or,

3tio. That in case the said Transportations shall take effect, and the Universitie be accommodat at Perth as above said, that caise the wholl buildings, yeards, and others, now belonging to the said Universitie in St. Andrews, shall be given to the Toun of Perth, to compensate their expens in accommodating them as said is.

4to. The saids Commissioners desires, and entreats the Mrs of the Universitie they will be pleased to satisfy themselves with as easie accommodatiōne as to the number of roomes as they can for the first, in hopes that they may be better.

This communing was reported at a meeting of the University on the 4th May following; and Mr. Thomas Tailzier was appointed to state an apology that they could not write an answer till their members who are abroad return. Along with the apology we have the "Scroll of a Letter," as from the Universitie to the Provost, in the following terms:—

MY LORD—We have heard the report made by those we sent to commune with you, and have considered the act of your Toun Council, by both which we think ourselves exceedingly bound to you. We wish the roomes you propose for accommodating a Divinity Colledge had been somewhat more numerous, and that you had mentioned Schools and a Dineing-Hal. The proposal you make for accommodatiōne of ane Philosophy Colledge is very good, if the roomes be conveniently disposed as to entries and Closets, and there be four convenient private Schools, a common School, and a Dineing-Hal, with other appartments necessary. But as to the proposal you make for a third Colledge, you know the three Colleges here have distinct foundations, and it is not possible to have the University translated, unless all the three were provided of sufficient accommodatiōne at the same time; nor can we think it proper for us to Petition the Public for a fund for providing accommodatiōne for any of the Colleges, since the probability of succeeding in the designe of translation depends on your offering sufficient accommodatiōne for the several Colleges, whatever way you may procure it. We cannot but owne you goe a very great length in the Offers you make without troubling the Publick; and though you should find it difficult to go a greater length, a greatful sense of what you have already offered shall ever be entertained by, &c.

In "Minutes of University," of date March 17th, 1698, it thus stands:—The University having considered the proposals of the Toun of Perth, as in the Minute March 4, in order to a return to them, do hereby appoint Masters John Arnot, Alex. Scrimseor, and the Clerk Assistant, to take a view of the fabricks of the Old Colledge. Masters Tho. Tailzier, John Loudoun, and Alex. Scrimseor, assistant, to view the fabricks of St. Leonard's Colledge, and Mr. John Craigie, Alexr. Scrimseor, and Jo. Sim, to view the New Colledge, and report to the University at their next meeting.

On the 21st of the same month it appears that the above mentioned inspectors reported, when the same persons were further appointed to view the two Philosophy Colleges, and to bring in exact dimensions of them. Masters Jo. Craigie and Alex. Scrimseour are also appointed to draw up a letter to the Toun of Perth in answer to theirs, and Mr. Jo. Louden to the Earl of Tullibardine — both drafts to be exhibited at next University Meeting.

The following is from a copy of the said Scroll of Letter to the Provost of Perth:—

“As insinuate in your proposeals, the twenty thousand merks with your Lodging (tho we own it a very kindly offer), yet in our opinion will not be sufficient to accommodate our three Colleges, ane account of the fabrick of which we have sent, tho’ very rude, and by which we apprehend you can make but an imperfect conjecture of what our accommodation here is, which you might better do if you should be pleased to send any skilled in Architecture to view them; who could also inform you how easy it might be to give us more accommodatiōne at less expense, and less in bulk, which certainly will be needful if our Colleges flourish more at Perth, as we hope they will: And as for our fabricks and yards here we shall be satisfied that you get a right to them after we are provided of sufficient accommodation as you and we can agree when we come to enter in contract with you. This by appointment of the University is signed by

Mrs Arnot,	Per.....
Col. Vilant,	Glend...
Ja. Preston,	Newbr.
Prov. Old Coll. ...	Pror.
Alex. Scrimseour,	Delay,
Jo. Lowdown, ...	Prov.
Tho. Tail.	Ass.

(The marking of the Votes, though on the same paper, is connected with another Minute.)

At the Univerity meeting on 28th March, this and the Letter to the Earl of Tullibardine were read, approved of, and ordered to be sent respectively, that to the Earl by Post, and signed by the Rector.

The Magistrates and Council then addressed a letter,

For Mr. John Andersone, Rector of the Universitie of Saint Andrews.

PERTH, first of Appryle, 1698.

The letter sets out in a very complimentary strain, and the following is an extract from the body of it:—

“Not that we think that what we have offered will be sufficient for so great a work, for we desired that ye might please to condescend what number of rouses ye would be pleased with to have in readiness at the first, that after we understood your mind in that, we might then think upon some other courses to be taken for your satisfaction. The Lists ye have sent of your vast fabric and rouses at Sanct Andrews, makes us no wiser in that affair than we were, neither can we think that our sending ane to view your buildings will answer the designe, for neither are ye desiring, nor would it be convenient to make these our Pattern. But since we hope we have ground to think that ye are equally desireous with us to encourage so great a work, we may be the more confident to plead, ye may please to condescend to such Overtours there anent as may make the mater more easie, and for the greater dispatch in this we have always thought a meeting together upon it the best expedient. Therefore if ye will please to commissionat some of your Number and appoint the time and place of Meeting, we shall, (if the Lord will,) attend you. But if it were your pleasour to come heir to Perth it would doe much better, and the tyme to be tuesday nixt, and then ye shall sie our readiness to do every thing we are able, and with your assistance to condescend on such overtours as we hope may bring the matter to a close. If this last motion anent your coming to Perth do not please, we shall be content to meet you when, and where you please, whilk upon due and timeous advertisement sent in ane Letter shall be observed. This in the meantime in name, and at command of the Magistrates, and Town Counsell, of Perth, is signed by, Sir, your most humble Servant,

JAMES CRIE.

UNIVERSITY MINUTES.

1698, Apr. 11, ****.—The University doe appoint the Provost of the Old Colledge, Mrs Jo. Arrot, and James Preston, to repair to Perth against to-morrow's night, and there to hear what proposals the Magistrates of Perth have to make, and to bring them in writing. * * * * *

For instructions to these Commissionate to go to Perth, the Unniversitie appoints you to represent to ye Toun of Perth, yt ye number

of roomes condescended on in the lists of the fabricks already sent, is the least that can accommodate the Universitie at the first, and if the Universitie shall flourish more at Perth than here, yr will be a necessity of more roomes. Withal the Universitie do not limit you to the same form of buildings as they have here, but desire the Toun of Perth to condescend on what model they think fit, as may be most convenient for the Universitie, and least expensive for yourselves, and send the samine to be considered by the Universitie; that lykewayes the Toun of Perth be desired to satisfie the Universitie, as to the fund they either have already, or do propose, for carrying on the designe; not that the Universitie designe to meddle with the fund, but yt they may be satisfied with the probability of succeeding with the design; as also to enquire in what time they can have the several fabricks ready, and if, upon all things, they are willing to enter into contract.

Answers be ye Magistrates and Counsell of Perth to the Masters of the University of St. Andrews, their proposals anent their Transplanting thereof.

PERTH, thirteen day of Aprile, Jaivic, nyntie-eight years.

Whilk day the Magistrates and Toune Councill of Perth having had under their consideration the instructions given by the University of Saint Andrews to Provost Ramsay, Mr. Arrot, and Mr. Preston, anent the transporting of the said University from Saint Andrews to Perth; for the promoting of the which designe, the saids Magistratts and Councill are willing to enter in contract with the said University, to furnish them the accommodation following, viz. For a Divinity Colledge, twenty convenient fashionable rooms, with Kitchen, Cellars, Lardners, Brewhouse, Gardens, double-dyked, with other apertments necessary.

For a Philosophy College, sixtie convenient rooms for Students, some whereof for noblemen's sons, some for gentlemen's sons, and the rest for men's sons of ordinary quality, with convenient Schools, Kitchens, Cellars, Lardners, Brewhouses, and other Office Houses necessar, with ane double-dyked Garden, Volarly, Summer House, and Houses of Office, and ane convenient Church for the whole University.

And as for the other Philosophy Colledge, the Magistrates and Councill are willing to give ane convenient spott of ground, with ane garden, in such an place of the toun as the Masters of the University and they shall find most convenient, and to concur with the

said Masters of the University to address the King, Parliament, and Country, and to use all methods imaginable for procuring ane fond to build that Colledge. For prosecuting of which designe, the kindness of the nobility and gentry of Perthshire is not to be doubted. Extracted by warrand of the saids Magistrates and Councell of Perth by me,

RO. GRAHAME, *Cls.*

MINUTES OF UNIVERSITY.

St. Andrews, Apr. 26, 1698, the qch day the University met : The answer of the Toun of Perth was again considered ; as to the first proposal anent accommodation for the Divinity Colledge, the University doe not determine in it, because of the absence of the Principal of the New Colledge, but they are of opinion thát 20 convenient roomes, wt. oyer appertmants necessary, may be sufficient, if they have convenient closets and entries, but they desire Schools and a Dineing Hall.

As to the second proposal, anent a Philosophy Colledge, the University think the accommodation proposed sufficient, providing the sixty roomes be conveniently disposed as to muses and entries, and yr be four convenient private Schools, with a common School and Dineing Hall, and they are really well pleased with one convenient Church for the whole University.

As to the third proposal, the University can move nothing in the affair, till there be a fund provided for building a Colledge, for they cannot consent to the removing of two Colledges without the third.

The University referre the consideration of ane answer yet to their next meeting.

May 17, 1698.—This day the University met. The Clerk produced the draught of a letter to the Town of Perth, as appointed by the minutes of May 2d. Masters Tailzier and Scrimseor are again desired to consider it, and Mr Scrimseor is appointed to draw a draught of anoyther letter on the same affair, to the Earle of Tullibardine, and to consult with Mr Tailzier and the Clerk tomorrow, at two o'clock, and exhibite it next meeting.

* * * * *

1698, May 20, ****.—The Letters to the Earle of Tullibardine and the Toun of Perth were again seen and approven, and ordered to be written over in mundo by those quo drew the draughts, and signed by the Rector, and sent away. * *

Thus, it would appear, terminated this important correspondence, so full of promise, yet of no issue—for no translation took place, nor were any of the proposed buildings ever erected; and no trace of farther negotiation seems likely to be found. It is certainly remarkable that a treaty held of such consequence, and carried on so amicably by all parties, should have led only to such a “lame and impotent conclusion.” From the former admissions of all concerned, or taking an interest in it, the University was the losing party by its failure; although the change would have added much to the importance of Perth.

King William was succeeded by Queen Anne, the sister of his own consort, and only surviving daughter of James the Second. It was during the reign of Queen Anne that the union of Scotland with England, which William had attempted, was fully effected; and notwithstanding the incalculably important and beneficial results of this grand treaty, it was so unpalatable in Scotland that it well nigh gave rise to another revolution. On the 1st day of May, 1707, the Sovereign of the kingdoms of Scotland and England was proclaimed the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. On the 22d of the previous month, little more than a week before, the Parliament of Scotland adjourned for ever; and Seafield the Chancellor, with a levity held as amounting to brutality, declared, “There was an end of an auld sang.” Other circumstances added to this, tended to prolong the discontent, and at the sametime to keep the road more clear than it would have been for the claims of the old royal family. Indeed, there was a disposition among all parties to restore the Stewart line.

Queen Anne continued to sway the sceptre till towards the close of the year 1714; and may be said to have fallen a victim to the mutual animosities of her Ministers and favourites, which broke out with bitter hostility even in the royal presence. An extremely bitter quarrel, with severe mutual recriminations, passed in presence of her Majesty betwixt her Lord Treasurer and Lord Bolingbroke, the latter aided by the celebrated Lady Masham; and the former was dismissed from office. The poor Queen suffered so much from the state of agitation into which this threw her, that she declared she could not survive it. Such was a correct vaticination. The obnoxious debate took place on the 27th July; on the 28th she was seized with the malady of which she died; on the 30th her life was despaired of; and on the 1st of August she expired, at the age of fifty, having reigned only twelve years. She was the last of

the Stewart race, by lineal descent, that sat on the throne of Britain. She was a pattern of every queenly, conjugal, and social virtue.

George the First, the Elector of Hanover, was almost immediately proclaimed King, without opposition either in Ireland or Scotland, and he took peaceable possession of his kingdom. From the fact of Louis the Fourteenth of France having recently recognised, by an article in the Treaty of Utrecht, the succession of the House of Hanover to the British Crown, the position of the new King gave greater prospects of undisturbed inheritance of the throne than otherwise could have been entertained. The Parliament also offered the sum of £100,000 as a price set on the head of the Pretender. George sailed from Holland on the 17th September, and arrived at Greenwich on the evening of the following day.

The administration appointed by George acted very imprudently for his interests in the very outset. Being jealous of the Tory leaders, they persuaded him to adopt measures of great severity against them ; which treatment reduced them to such extremity, that they threw themselves into the arms of the Pretender. In particular, the Earl of Mar, who had held an important position in the councils of Queen Anne, made overtures of friendship and allegiance to the new monarch, and to manifest his zeal in the royal cause, he obtained the signature of the most influential chiefs of the clans to a letter addressed to himself, as having an estate and deep interest in the Highlands, conjuring him to offer his assurance to the government of their loyalty to King George. This letter was signed by M'Lean of M'Lean ; Macdonnell of Glengarry ; Mackenzie of Frazerdale ; Cameron of Lochiel ; M'Leod of Contulick ; Macdonald of Keppoch ; Grant of Glenmoriston ; Macintosh of Macintosh ; Chisholm of Comar ; Macpherson of Cluny ; and Sir Donald Macdonald. At the sametime, a loyal address of the clans to the same effect, drawn up by Lord Grange, was placed in the hands of the Earl, to be delivered to the King at his landing. Lord Mar attended at Greenwich accordingly, and must have felt very much mortified when informed that the King would not receive the address of the clans, alleging it had been concocted at the court of the Pretender ; but, on the contrary, was commanded to deliver up his seals of office, as the King had no further occasion for his services ! Thus repulsed, it forms no matter of wonder that Mar was filled with resentment, and he was not slack in making it apparent. Early in August of the following year, the Earl embarked

at Gravesend in a coal-sloop, maintaining a strict incognito, and landed at Elie, on the south-east coast of Fife. After sojourning there for a short time, making adherents amongst the Fife Lairds, Mar next proceeded to his own estates, on the northern confines of this county, and took up his residence with Farquharson of Invercauld, from whom he received an assurance that he would not take up arms with his clan till the Chevalier de St. George, the son of James the Seventh, had actually landed.

Mar felt disappointed in consequence of Invercauld's apparent lukewarmness (although he afterwards joined the insurgents), and under the pretext of a grand hunting-match, convoked the Highland chiefs in the Jacobite interest, with their vassals, which was numerously attended by these, as well as by many Lowland guests, who all appeared in the Highland garb on that grand occasion. This great "gathering" took place on the 26th August, but little taste for the *hunting* appeared amongst them. Mar addressed them in his own peculiar strain of eloquence; urged that the Elector of Hanover was an usurper, and that the only means of escaping his tyranny was to rise boldly in defence of their lives and property, and to place on the throne the lawful heir, James the Third, whose standard he had determined to set up, and in whose cause he had resolved to hazard life and fortune. He pretended also to have the Chevalier's commission as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of his forces in Scotland, but it was not less than a month after this that he procured such an authority.

The assembly came to no settled resolution at this muster, except that in the meantime they should return home, and raise whatever forces they could previous to a second meeting, which was fixed for the 3d September, at Aboyne.

This History being chiefly intended to chronicle matters with which Perth was particularly connected, we omit notice of the simultaneous movements in England and the southern parts of Scotland in the commencement of this notable insurrection, as also the preparations and measures of the Government to suppress it; and hasten to meet the Jacobite forces at the "Fair City." It was the 6th of September till the noblemen, clan chieftains, and their followers, mustered at Aboyne. Mar immediately after displayed the royal standard at Castletown of Braemar, and proclaimed the Chevalier de St. George King of Scotland, by the title of James the Eighth, and of England, Ireland, &c. by that of James the Third. The other leaders sped themselves off to make similar

proclamations in the different towns where they had influence. This was done at Aberdeen by the Earl Marischal; at Dunkeld by the Marquess of Tullibardine, against the wishes of his father, the Duke of Athole; at Gordon Castle by the Marquess of Huntly; at Brechin, &c. by the Earl of Panmure, whose power was paramount in Forfarshire, and who had acceded to the cause of James since the famous hunting at Braemar. The Earl of Southesk made the proclamation at Montrose; Graham of Duntroon, of the Claverhouse family, at Dundee; and the Brigadier MacIntosh, Laird of Borlem, at Inverness.

The possession of the City of Perth was now considered a point of great importance—forming, as it did, the communication between the Highlands and Lowlands, and being the natural capital of the extensive and fertile districts surrounding it. The citizens were divided in their political sentiments; but the Magistrates, who headed one party, declared for King George, took up arms, and applied to the Duke of Athole for support. His Grace contributed a contingent of three or four hundred Athole Highlanders, and the Earl of Rothes was advancing from Fife with four hundred militia for the same purpose. This led the Honourable Colonel John Hay, brother of the Earl of Kinnoull, to muster some fifty or a hundred horse from the gentlemen of Stirling, Perthshire, and Fife, who bent their march towards the town. The Tory burghers assumed courage as these enemies appeared; and the Highland garrison, aware that though the Duke of Athole still remained friendly to the Government, his eldest son had joined the ranks under Mar, followed their own inclinations, and put themselves under Colonel Hay's command to disarm the Whig citizens whom they had been sent to assist. Thus Perth, on the 18th September, 1715, fell into the hands of the Jacobite insurgents, by which they obtained command of the low country betwixt that and the east coast. Being but slightly fortified, a sudden attack by a detachment from Stirling, which was strongly garrisoned, and about which the regular camp of the Government forces was pitched, might have easily recovered it from the slender phalanx who adhered to Colonel Hay. General Wheetham, who commanded these, lacked activity; and although the Duke of Argyle—whose grandfather and great-grandfather had both suffered death for their antagonism to the Stewart dynasty—had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Government forces in Scotland, and came to Stirling just about that time, the opportunity of so easily regaining Perth was lost; for

the town had been very speedily reinforced, and secured to the Jacobite interest, by about two hundred infantry raised by the Earl of Strathmore to join the Earl of Mar, and a strong body of Fifeshire cavalry under the Master of Sinclair, who approached to give their aid in the same interest.

During these operations, Mar was only proceeding to the Lowlands by short marches; and after pausing for some time at Kirkmichael, in this county, he moved over to Moulin, in the vale of Athole, where he also rested, and then advanced slowly towards Perth, in order to give his friends full time to muster. Strathmore was only eighteen years of age, but brave, generous, and enthusiastic; and the Master of Sinclair had very reluctantly taken up the cause, deeming it desperate, and having little or no confidence in the Earl of Mar, who had assumed, rather than been appointed, to the supreme authority. This gentleman left memoirs which cast much light upon this ill-fated enterprise, of which he evidently must have despaired long before it came to its final failure. The forces of Mar, from the eastern and north-eastern parts of Scotland, amounting to four or five thousand, now assembled at Perth; but they were deficient in money, arms, ammunition, regulation, discipline, and, above all, a competent general, or a settled purpose in the campaign. The army lay at Perth, manifesting little disposition to activity, and the number of their adherents was diminished by their own imprudence. Rae informs us, that in some places, in their drunken frolics, the Highland Jacobites took the opportunity to proclaim the Pretender in the night time; and the Lords Justices ordered some of their chiefs to be confined—the Duke of Gordon to the Castle of Edinburgh, the Marquess of Huntly to his house at Braken, and the Lord Drummond to Drummond Castle.

A windfall came opportunely in the way of the Jacobites at this juncture. The Earl of Sutherland, faithful to George the First, proceeded to Dunrobin to muster his vassals in the royal cause. A vessel was loaded at Leith with arms of various kinds for their equipment. A contrary wind obliged the master to drop anchor in the bay of Burntisland, and he took the opportunity to visit his wife and family on shore. The Master of Sinclair, having got information of this circumstance, left Perth on the evening of the 2d October, with three or fourscore troopers, took a circuitous route to reach the sea-port, boarded the vessel, and seized about three hundred stand of arms. On their return they were to be protected by a detachment of 500 Highlanders, who had been despatched from

Perth to meet them half-way ; but Sinclair encountered greater difficulty in bringing them back than in seizing his booty. This, indeed, seems to have been the only spirited exploit that marked the transactions of this dull and tardy campaign.

Some time after this reinforcements began to pour fast into Perth. The Marquess of Huntly joined the army there with foot and horse to the amount of nearly four thousand, and the day before the Earl Marischal had brought in his armament of about fourscore horse. Brigadier MacIntosh also arrived with the men of the garrison from Inverness. The western clans came forward very tardily, and Mar continued to linger at Perth, long after he had a force quite sufficient to assail and defeat or dislodge the Duke of Argyle ; and it is generally admitted, that if he judged the troops at Perth too few to attack him, there remained various expedients by which he might have encountered him to great advantage. He meditated a descent upon Lothian, to support and encourage the southern Jacobites ; and the Farquharsons, MacIntoshes, and men under the Lords Strathmore, Nairne, and Charles Murray, moved secretly from Perth to Pittenweem, Elie, and Crail, for embarkation on that expedition.

Leaving out of view the movements consequent upon this measure, we return to the focus of the insurrection. The second day after Brigadier MacIntosh's departure, a general review of the troops at Perth took place, and the Earl Marischal's brother, James, galloped along the line, blowing the bellows of insurrection, which now stood much in need of excitation ; but Mar changed the visions they were led to entertain, by stating, in a council of war, that Brigadier MacIntosh was besieged in Leith Citadel by the Duke of Argyle ; and suggested a diversion in favour of the former, by making a feint towards Stirling, with the view of withdrawing the Duke. This proposal was agreed to, and Mar marched with a large body of foot to Auchterarder, and sent two squadrons of horse on to Dunblane. This movement had the intended effect, and recalled Argyle to his camp. On the other hand, his presence so near his antagonist, induced Mar to retreat to his former quarters at Perth. Soon after, Lord Seaforth marched from the north, with the men of various northern clans, and joined Mar, adding to his army about 4,000 troops. Glengarry and Clanronald, with other western chiefs, who had been menacing Inverary, descended Strathfillan, and took up a position, with a like number, at Drummond Castle, within a day's march of Mar's head quarters.

The Earl of Breadalbane played a strange part in these transactions. He had received a citation to appear at Edinburgh as a suspected person, but evaded that by procuring the attestation of a physician and a clergyman, that his age and infirmity incapacitated him for the journey.* These, however, did not prevent his attending to the Earl of Mar's summons the very day succeeding the date of the letter. It is supposed that Mar took him upon what he knew to be his own terms, and secured him by considerable sums of money. He appeared in the town of Perth next day, where the peculiarity of his garb and manners attracted general attention. Mackay, in his *Memoir*, says—"He is of a fair complexion, and has the gravity of a Spaniard, is cunning as a fox, wise as a serpent, and slippery as an eel." All the aid, however, that Mar derived from his visit at this time, was an advice to establish a printing press, and issue gazettes with all speed. The hint was taken—a press was procured from Aberdeen, the first known in Perth, which was placed under the management of a Robert Freebairn, one of the late Queen Anne's printers.

Still, however, the Chevalier had not made his appearance in this country, although implored to do so in addresses subscribed by all the men of quality about Perth. By the beginning of November, Mar had received all the reinforcements he could expect, which indeed were necessary, for he had sustained very great loss by desertion during the long time he lay so inactive at Perth. Mar, it appears, desired to have the advantage of information from the celebrated freebooter, Rob Roy Macgregor—for in a letter, dated 4th November, he complains of that notorious outlaw having failed in coming to Perth, when he very much wished to have an interview with him. Matters were now nearly approaching to a crisis.

* The following is a copy of that remarkable document:—"We, Mr. John Murray, doctor of medicine in Perth, and Mr. Alexander Comrie, minister at Kenmore, do, upon soul and conscience, testify and declare, that John, Earl of Breadalbane, an old infirm man of fourscore years of age, is much troubled with coughs, rheums, defluations, and other maladies and infirmities, which usually attend old age; that he is much subject to the gravel and stitches, and that at this present, and for some time bygone, he complains of pains in his back, &c.; and the stitches in his side have been so violent, that, notwithstanding of his great age, there was a necessity for bleeding him, which has not yet removed them; and he is so ill that he cannot travel from this to Edinburgh, without apparent danger of his health and life." Signed as above, at Taymouth, 19th September, 1715. On the day following, Breadalbane arrived at Logierait.

To prevent Mar effecting a contemplated descent upon the Forth, in the western district of this county, Argyle marched a body of nearly 4,000 men from Stirling to Dunblane on Saturday morning, the 12th day of November. Mar had broken up his quarters at Perth on the 10th, and advanced to Auchterarder. The infantry were quartered in that now famous town, and the cavalry were accommodated in its vicinage. During the night, the whole clan Fraser, amounting to 400 men, deserted, as also 200 of the Earl of Huntly's Highland followers.

The main body now proceeded towards the scene of action—the Master of Sinclair, in command of the Fifeshire squadron, with two others of Huntly's cavalry, forming the division in advance. The western clans, chiefly MacDonalds, followed in order, under their respective chiefs. Next, there were Breadalbane's men, and four regiments of clans from the northern Highlands—MacLeans, Camerons, Stewarts, and followers of Huntly, from Strathdon and Glenlivet. The entire Highland vanguard was under the command of General Gordon. Mar, assisted by General Hamilton, commanded the next division in person; and it was arranged that the rearguard should march only as far as Ardoch, while the vanguard should push on as far as Dunblane, where they had taken up their quarters on their former march from Perth. While on the movement, they received notice that the Duke of Argyle, when the messenger left, was in the act of marching through Dunblane; and an express was sent back to Mar, who was six or seven miles in the rear, while General Gordon selected the ground on which to post his men. The river Allan lay in front, which Gordon did not think it advisable to pass. They accordingly took up quarters for the night at some farm-houses on this side the river, where they also found accommodation for their horses. Very soon after, Lord Southesk and the Angusshire cavalry came up—Mar following a little behind, with the main body of his force; and all bivouacked at the same place about nine o'clock at night. A reconnoitring party, previously sent out by the Master of Sinclair, came in with news of the enemy's approach. The whole of Mar's army slept on their arms, wrapped in their plaids, during a cold night previous to the battle. On the other hand, Rae informs us that the Duke of Argyle gave orders that no tent should be pitched that night, either by officers or soldiers; but the officers, without distinction, were ordered to their several posts, and the soldiers to lay close on their arms all night, under certification of the severest

pains in case they did otherwise. And thus they lay, in an extreme cold night, without either tent or cover; nor could they much complain, while their General sat in a sheep-cot, upon straw, at the foot of the hill, on the right of the army. About twelve at night, his Grace being informed by his spies where the enemy lay, and what was their posture, sent orders to the commanding-officer of the artillery, to distribute as much ammunition to the forces, as, with the twenty-four they had before, would make up thirty rounds to each man—and which was done, accordingly, before two in the morning.

The insurgents were again on the move by daybreak on Sunday, the 13th November, and drew up in two lines on the plain above the place where they had spent the night, on the memorable field of the Sheriffmuir. Soon after, they perceived a strong squadron of cavalry on an eminence to the south of their position. This was Argyle with some of his general officers, who had taken this post in advance to reconnoitre Mar's position. The Earl called a council of his nobles, chiefs of clans, and general officers, and roused them by a most animating address. Mar's forces advanced in four columns in a state of excited feeling, and the Duke of Argyle approached in two lines, flanked by dragoons. A height intervened betwixt the antagonist bodies, and both met, as if almost unexpectedly, on the ridge, being at some points within pistol shot before they were aware of each other's presence. In forming line of battle so hastily, some confusion arose on either side. The clans rushed on the foe, firing their fuses, which they then dropt, and with a wild yell mingled among the bayonets sword in hand. This terrible onset was made on the left of the regular troops, who met it with a galling fire, which did much execution. The Highlanders, however, again fell on with fury, and forced their line in every direction, dispersing them with great slaughter. In fact, the extreme left of Argyle's army was thoroughly routed. In the meantime, Argyle, with his right wing, consisting of six squadrons of horse and five battalions of foot, attacked the left wing of the rebels, and, notwithstanding their gallant defence, dislodged them from their position, and pressed them back to the river Allan, where they had quartered the preceding night. Ten times, during their flight, did they attempt to rally, but were as often borne down by the superior weight of the English cavalry. It was in one of these charges that the youthful Earl of Strathmore was slain, while attempting to rally his Angusshire regiment. He fell under

the hands of a private dragoon, after he had obtained quarter. At the same time the Earl of Panmure was wounded and made prisoner, but was rescued by his brother, Mr. Henry Maule, from the hands of the royalists. Thus at the same moment the left of each army was broken and in flight, while the right of each was victorious. But while Argyle's right improved their advantage, the Highlanders merely marched across the muir, and at the Stony Hill of Kippendavie stood in groups, resting on their drawn swords. By this time their opponents had almost reached as far as Stirling Bridge; and it is remarkable, that had the victors turned upon the rear of Argyle's men, when they were pursuing the vanquished left of their own line, they might easily have turned the fate of the day; for, as it was, Argyle had hard work to keep them in retreat. It is alleged, also, that Rob Roy, in particular, who was in some respects Argyle's dependent, as well as some others, manifested a reluctance to fight. It would appear that Rob, and those others alluded to, rather operated as a drag upon the rest. A strong party of MacGregors and MacPhersons were under the freebooter's immediate command, and he declined to charge when ordered to lead them on. The story went, that a bold Highlander of the Clan Vourigh, a drover, doffed his plaid, drew his sword, and called on the MacPhersons to follow. Rob Roy called out—"Hold, Sandie; were the question about a flock of sheep, you might know something; but here it is for me to decide." "Were the question about a drove of Angus stots," retorted MacPherson, "the question with you, Rob, would not be who should be last, but who should be first." In the confusion of an undecided field of battle, Rob improved the opportunity to his own private interest, for he plundered the baggage of the dead on both sides. Argyle pursued the vanquished wing of the insurgents for three miles, and secured their waggons, part of their artillery, and a great number of colours and standards. In this battle both sides claimed the victory. The royal army had the greatest number of prisoners, but suffered a much greater loss of killed than the rebels. The royalists had to lament the death of Lord Forfar, while the rebels wept the fall of the Earl of Strathmore and the brave MacDonnel of Clanronald. Argyle afterwards retreated to Stirling, and came in contact with the Highland victors of the right wing drawn up on the hill of Kippendavie, but neither party renewed the fight. Mar drew back upon Auchterarder, and thence returned to Perth, and, in effect, may be said to have abandoned the enterprise.

Upon the whole, the event of the battle was unfavourable to the insurgents engaged in it, and consequently to the Jacobite cause.* Besides the loss on the field, great numbers of the Highlanders re-

* Although a strange subject for the lyric poet, the conflicts of the period, such as those of Killiecrankie, Cromdale, &c. before, and of Prestonpans, Falkirk, and even Culloden, afterwards, were generally celebrated in song (all humorous, except the last, on which we never saw a lively effusion), and some of our best old Scottish airs, particularly Highland dance tunes, go by their names. The Sheriffmuir affray had also the benefit of poetry for description and commemoration. The following, which is not without merit, is a scrap from one written about this time:—

There's some say that they wan,
Some say that they wan,
Some say that name wan at a', man;
But o' ae thing I'm sure,
That at Sheriffmuir,
A battle there was, which I saw, man:
And we ran, and they ran,
And they ran, and we ran,
And we ran, and they ran awa', man.

So there such a race was,
As ne'er in that place was,
And as little chase was at a', man:
Frae ither they ran
Without tuck o' drum,
They did not make use o' a paw, man.
And we ran, &c.

For Huntly and Sinclair,
They both play'd the tinclair,
Wi' consciences black as a crow, man:
Some Angus and Fife men
They ran for their life, man,
And ne'er a Lot's wife there at a', man.
And we ran, &c.

Rob Roy he stood watch
On a hill for to catch
The booty, for aught that I saw, man;
For he ne'er advanced,
From the place he was stanced,
Till nae mair was to do there at a', man.
And we ran, &c.

One would scarcely reckon this a theme that would have struck Robert Burns' fancy, but he gives such an animated and truly Scottish description, that we cannot resist inserting it:—

Battle of Sheriffmuir.

"O cam ye here the fight to shun,
Or herd the sheep wi' me, man?
Or were ye at the Sherra-muir,
And did the battle see, man?"
"I saw the battle, sair an' tough,
And reekin'-red ran mony a sheugh;
My heart, for fear, gae sough for sough,
To hear the thuds, and see the cluds
O' clans frae woods, in tartan duds,
Wha glaum'd at kingdoms three, man.

The red-coat lads, wi' black cockades,
To meet them were na slaw, man;
They rush'd and push'd, and blude out-
And mony a bouk did fa', man: [gush'd,
The great Argyle led on his files,
I wat they glanced twenty miles;
They hough'd the clans like nine-pin kyles,
They hack'd and hash'd, while broad swords
clash'd.
And thro' they hash'd, and hew'd, and
Till fey men dee'd awa, man. [smash'd,

But had ye seen the philabegs,
And skyrin tartan trews, man,
When in the teeth they dar'd our Whigs,
And Covenant true-blues, man:
In lines extended long and large,
When bayonets opposed the targe,
And thousands hasten'd to the charge,
Wi' Highland wrath they frae the sheath
Drew blades o' death, till, out o' breath,
They fled like frightened doos, man."

"O, how diel, Tam, can that be true?
The chase gaed frae the north, man:
Myself I saw the clans pursue
The horsemen back to Forth, man;
And at Dunblane, in my ain sight,
They took the brig wi' a' their might.
And straught to Stirling wing'd their flight;
But, cursed lot! the gates were shut,
And mony a huntit puir red-coat,
For fear amaisd did swarf, man."

"My sister Kate came up the gate
Wi' crowdie unto me, man;
She swore she saw some rebels run
By Perth unto Dundee, man:
Their left-hand general had nae skill,
The Angus lads had nae guid will
That day their neebours' blude to spill;
For fear, by foes, that they should lose
Their cogues o' brose—all crying woes;
And so it goes you see, man.

They've lost some gallant gentlemen
Among the Highland clans, man;
I fear my Lord Panmure is slain,
Or fall'n in Whiggish hands, man:
Now, wad ye sing this double fight,
Some fell for wrang, and some for right;
But mony bade the world guid-night;
Then ye may tell, how pell and knell,
By red claymores, and musket's knell,
Wi' dying yell, the Tories fell,
And Whigs to hell did flee, man."

tired, as usual after an action, without leave, and did not hold it to be desertion. In the morning the insurgent force amounted to between eight and ten thousand, of which number about four thousand were missing in the evening. Miserably ill provided as they were, Mar had no alternative but to lead his army back to their old quarters at Perth, at which they arrived next morning. There they continued some time in despondency and dissension, which the disastrous news from Preston and England, at the very same period, was not calculated to mitigate or allay. Cant says—"The clans, seeing so little advantage from this pretended victory, began to turn discontented; many returned home, and some became mutinous, and were divided among themselves, while the royal army increased every day by reinforcements sent from England." Mar was gradually deserted, first by one adherent of rank or consequence, and then another, until his camp at Perth became very thin. It was only the way in which he was committed to the Chevalier, and the daily expectation of his arrival, which induced Mar himself to stand out. Most of the chiefs assembled at Perth were completely wearied out before that important personage made his appearance. At length he embarked at Dunkirk on board a small privateering craft, and landed at Peterhead on the 22d December, 1715, about six weeks after the battle of Sheriffmuir. He was accompanied by a very small train of gentlemen; and of other two vessels with the equipage, one suffered shipwreck. So soon as his arrival was known at Perth, the Earl of Mar and the Earl Marischal, with about thirty gentlemen of quality, left that station and proceeded northwards to kiss hands with the Chevalier, and bid him welcome to Scotland. They found him at Fetteresso, in Kincardineshire, suffering under an attack of ague. It was here he received tidings of the result of the battle of Sheriffmuir, together with the dismal intelligence of the resolution to abandon Perth, and the ruin of his fortunes in England as well as Scotland. Notwithstanding, he was proclaimed in the towns through which he passed in a sort of state—at Brechin, Dundee, &c.—on his way to Perth, which he entered with the show or assumed bearing of majesty. Rae informs us, that from Fetteresso he proceeded to Brechin, on Monday, the 2d January, 1716; stayed there till Wednesday, when he came to Kinnaird; went to Glammiss on Thursday; and on Friday, about eleven in the morning, he made his public entry into Dundee, with a retinue of about 300 men on horseback, having the Earl of Mar on his right, and the Earl Marischal on his left. His friends desiring it, he

continued about an hour on horseback in the market-place, the people kissing his hand all the while ; he then went and dined at Stewart of Grandtully's residence, where he lodged that night. On Saturday he went from Dundee to Castle Lion (Castle Lyon, now Castle Huntly), a seat of the Earl of Strathmore, where he dined, and after to Sir David Threipland's, where he lodged. On Sunday he arrived at Scone, about two miles from Perth. On Monday, the 9th, he made his public entry into Perth, where he viewed some of the soldiers quartered in town, and returned the same night to Scone. Notwithstanding his disappointment, and the blasting of all his hopes in England, besides finding himself without credit or authority, he gave out that he intended to be crowned, and entered upon the exercise of several acts of government. The Master of Sinclair has left the following melancholy account of the posture of affairs at Perth on his arrival, and the state of feeling in which he appeared :—

“ After he had some leisure to look about him, and began to inquire into the state of the army, he desired to see some of the troops, which, when he had done, it was easy to perceive by his countenance that he was under a very great disappointment, and that he thought he was betrayed, which we heard more of in a few days. He inquired after our men, and desired to see the little kings with their armies—so he was pleased to call the clans. We appeared, and he saw our exercise and manner of fighting, and the goodness of our arms, all which he appeared exceedingly pleased with, and was very inquisitive to know how many such as we were in arms for him ; but when he was told how few, he gave tokens again of a disagreeable surprise. The gentlemen who came with him more openly explained themselves on this head ; they told the Earl of Mar plainly that they were all betrayed ; that they were made believe that the whole kingdom was in arms on their side ; that they were masters of the greater part of it for the Chevalier ; that they wanted no men, only money, arms, and officers ; that the troops of England were embarrassed at home, and that Argyle was in no case to stir from his strong situation at Stirling ; and in a word, that the country was entirely their own ; whereas in truth they were in no manner of posture ; that the Lord Sutherland insulted them but with 1,500 men, and had taken the most important Pass of Inverness in their rear, and that all things were in the utmost confusion—all which was true enough. Nor had the Earl of Mar any force against their reproaches, but the disappointment of

their friends in England, which, he said, had ruined all their designs.”

The same authority also further depicts his personal appearance, and behaviour while here—

“His person was tall and thin, seeming to incline to be lean rather than to fill as he grows in years. His countenance was pale, but perhaps looked more so than usual, by reason he had three fits of ague, which took him two days after his coming on shore. Yet he seems to be sanguine in his constitution, and there is something of a vivacity in his eye that perhaps would have been more visible if he had not been under dejected circumstances, and surrounded with discouragement, which it must be acknowledged were sufficient to alter the complexion even of his soul as well as of his body. His speech was grave, and not very clearly expressive of his thoughts, nor over much to the purpose; but his words were few, and his behaviour and temper seemed always composed. What he was in his diversions we knew not—here was no room for such things. It was no time for mirth. Neither can I say I ever saw him smile. Those who speak so positively of his being like King James VII, must excuse me for saying, that it seems to say, they either never saw this person, or never saw King James VII, and yet I must not conceal, that when we saw the man whom they called our king, we found ourselves not at all animated by his presence; and if he was disappointed in us, we were tenfold more so in him. We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigour to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak? His countenance looked extremely heavy. He cared not to come abroad amongst us soldiers, or see us handle our arms or do our exercise. Some said, the circumstances he found us in dejected him. I am sure the figure he made dejected us; and had he sent us but five thousand men of good troops, and never himself come among us, we had done other things than we have now done. At the approach of that crisis, when he was to defend his pretensions, and either lose his life or gain a crown, I think, as his affairs were situated, no man can say that his appearing grave and composed was a token of his want of thought, but rather of a significant anxiety grounded upon the prospect of his inevitable ruin, which he could not be so void of sense as not to see plainly before him, at least when he came to see how inconsistent his measures were, how unsteady the resolution of his guides, and how impossible it was to make them agree with one another.”

The Chevalier proceeded to name a Privy Council, but his address to them was evidently from a spirit broken with disappointment. Notwithstanding, he issued six proclamations, as those of James the Eighth of Scotland and Third of England. The first appointed a general thanksgiving for his safe arrival in the British kingdoms; a second commanded prayers to be offered up for him in all the churches; a third enjoined the currency of foreign coins; a fourth directed the summoning together of the Scottish Convention of Estates; a fifth commanded all the fencible men to join his standard; and a sixth appointed the 23d January for the ceremony of his coronation. At the sametime, an edict of a very different and alarming character was given out. This was no less than for the destruction, by fire, of the town of Auchterarder, and of the various villages, with the houses, corn, and forage, in that district, and between Stirling and Perth, so that they might afford no quarters or provision for the Duke of Argyle's army, should it advance in this direction. Not only was this extreme injunction carried into effect; but the inhabitants—old men and women, children and invalids—were drawn from their houses in the very height of one of the hardest winters ever experienced in these regions, cold as they are. Argyle advanced from Stirling on the 24th January, in a hard frost and under a heavy fall of snow; and it was consequently the 30th of that month till he crossed the Earn and suspended his march at Tullibardine, eight miles from Perth, the place of his destination.

It was on the 28th January that the alarm was given in Perth of the Duke being on his march, and that danger was at their doors. The retreat of the Chevalier, with his diminished army, commenced on the 30th, and they crossed the Tay on the ice. The town was very shortly after taken possession of by a body of Argyle's dragoons; but so severe was the weather, that he could not post forward a power of sufficient strength to give any material annoyance to the rebels in their retreat. The Chevalier, his friends and forces, proceeded with all speed to Montrose, at which port, along with the Earl of Mar, he stealthily made his escape on the 4th February, on board a boat which carried them out to a small vessel ready for their reception. And thus ended an enterprise very unadvisedly undertaken, and which, notwithstanding the formidable aspect it presented at one period, involved many Scottish families in difficulty, ruin, and disgrace. The troops still under arms, before being well aware that they were thus abandoned,

marched on to Aberdeen, where they were dismissed by General Gordon and the Earl Marischal, and each shifted for himself as he best could. After such a result, it is strange to think that a still more formidable movement should have been got up in favour of the same individual, nearly thirty years afterwards.

THE SECESSION.

Although rather of an ecclesiastical than a civil nature, we have, in course of the previous history, taken notice of so many things mixed up with the secular, also partaking much in common with affairs of the Church, that we cannot omit the matter of the first great Secession, especially as it forms a prominent passage in the old work assumed as the basis of the present volume.

“ In October, 1732, the Synod of Perth and Stirling met at Perth. Mr. Ebenezer Erskine, minister at Portmoak, preached before them on Psal. cxviii. 22, which was published. The application of this sermon gave great offence to a certain class of ministers in the Synod, whom he compared with the Jewish builders in the days of Jesus Christ, for which he was libelled by the Synod, and prosecuted before the General Assembly, 1733. They rebuked him at their bar, the rebuke importing that he had departed from the Word of God and approved standards of the Church. To this sentence he would not submit, but protested that he should be at liberty still to preach the same truths of God, and to testify against the same, or like defections of the Church, upon all proper occasions. Messrs. William Wilson at Perth, Alexander Moncrieff at Abernethy, and James Fisher at Kinclaven, ministers, adhered to this protest, and then they all withdrew. The Assembly passed an act, ordering the protesters to appear before the Commission in August, and to show their sorrow for their conduct ; and if they refused to retract their protest, the Commission was appointed to suspend them. The protesters appeared in August, and adhered to their protest. They were suspended. In November they appeared before the Commission, who, finding they disregarded the sentence of suspension, declared them no longer ministers of this Church, and their churches to be vacant from the date of the sentence. When this was intimated to them, they read a paper, wherein they made a secession from the Church ; and protested, that, notwithstanding this sentence, their pastoral relations to their several parishes should still be firm and valid. The Assembly, 1734, seemed to disapprove of the measures taken in some former Assem-

blies and Commissions, for they repealed the act 1732, passed an act in favour of ministerial freedom, and sent Commissioners to address the King and Parliament for a repeal of the Patronage Act. They turned a young gentleman out of his church that had been ordained by the preceding Commission contrary to the inclinations of the body of the Christian people, and empowered the Synod of Perth and Stirling, under certain limitations, to restore the Seceders to their ministry. Some time thereafter that Synod accordingly took off the sentence, pronounced by the Commission in 1773, against the Seceders; but they refused to come into the Church, which they said had unjustly thrown them out. They associated themselves into a Presbytery, and published their *Act, Declaration, and Testimony*, for the doctrine, worship, &c. of the Church of Scotland; in which they review the conduct of the Church for a long series of years past, condemn her decisions, and represent her as corrupted. They were strengthened by the accession of Messrs. Ralph Erskine at Dunfermline, Thomas Mair at Orwell, Thomas Nairn at Abbotshall, and James Thomson at Burntisland.

“The Assembly met in May, 1739, and, in opposition to the Moderate part of the Assembly, the cause of the Seceders was tabled. After long debates, a narrow majority carried the question of sisting them at their bar and proceeding upon the libel, on which they were called, and the whole of them appeared. After an exhortation from the Moderator, they were told, that though they were come there to answer a libel, the Assembly was now ready, upon their submission, to receive them with open arms. But Mr. Mair, Moderator of the Associate Presbytery, read a paper, entitled, *Act of the Associate Presbytery*, finding and declaring, ‘That the present judicatories of this National Church are not lawful, nor right constitute Courts of Christ; and declining all authority, power, and jurisdiction that the said judicatories may claim to themselves over the said Presbytery, or any of the members thereof, or over any that are under their inspection; and particularly declining the authority of a General Assembly now met at Edinburgh the 10th day of May, 1739.’ After long reasoning, the Assembly divided on this question, ‘Proceed to a final sentence, or not?’ and it carried ‘Not,’ by a very few voices. The house agreed to an overture, which passed into an Act, by which they find the libel proved against them, and find and declare, ‘That the said defenders, for the offences so found relevant and proved, do justly merit the highest censures of the Church, and particularly that of deposi-

tion, but forbear the same yet another year, in order to give them a farther time to return to their duty, and to render them still more inexcusable if they should persist in their unwarrantable separation.' The Assembly, 1740, after long debate upon the Seceders' cause, agreed to put the question, 'Depose,' or 'Not?' It carried by a great majority, 'Depose.' Therefore the Assembly deposed the above eight ministers, and declared their kirks vacant. The Assembly thought that this sentence would weaken the Secession; but time has proved the contrary: they have not only spread their wings over Britain and Ireland, but have penetrated into North America. They afterwards divided among themselves on a question concerning a religious clause in some burgess' oaths, which many thought bound them up to the religion established by law; and they are known by the name of Burghers and Antiburghers. Each of them have very stately and large commodious kirks in Perth; and it is computed, that, betwixt the two, there are above 3,000 hearers; but the Antiburgher kirk stands mostly by hearers from the country.

"Perth is much increased in inhabitants within these last forty years. The Established Church is so crowded, that, besides the two kirks, they have been obliged to open a third, and they are believed to be yet too throng. There is also a qualified Chapel in the town for worship after the English form, where a considerable congregation assembles. There are but few Nonjurors in the town, who worship in private, and live peaceably. The people of the Congregational persuasion have a small commodious place for worship. They have been settled here since 1733. Their principles, though strictly loyal, debar them from ever being reckoned among religious parties, as they want nothing from the Government but protection of the liberty of conscience, while they continue loyal and faithful subjects to the supreme and subordinate powers."

REBELLION OF 1745.

The next, and almost the only event of real history in which Perth is peculiarly prominent, is the romantic and not less ruinous adventure of Prince Charles Edward, in the year 1745. After being, in a manner, ejected from every state in which he attempted to settle, after his short and unsuccessful enterprise in 1715, the Chevalier de St. George retired to Italy. At this time he was about thirty years of age, and married the Princess Clementina Sobieski, daughter of Prince James Sobieski of Poland, and grand-

daughter of King John Sobieski of that country. She was reckoned one of the greatest fortunes in Europe, and the high pretensions of the Chevalier James were in a great measure the means of securing for him her own consent and that of her relatives to the match—the circumstances attending which were at once curious and romantic. The marriage took place in May, 1719, and by this union Prince Charles Edward was born, on the last day of the year 1720; and on the 6th March, five years after, his only brother, Henry Benedict, the last male heir, in the direct line, of the Stewart dynasty. He, subsequently to the wreck of their fortunes, entered the Church of Rome, and rose to the ecclesiastical dignity of Cardinal. He lived to a very old age, and died in 1808. It may be proper here to mention, that George the First died in 1727, and was succeeded by his son, George the Second, who entrusted the administration of affairs in Scotland to Argyle and his friends. The former closed his mortal career in a fit of paralytic lethargy, while sojourning between Delden and Osaburg, in Germany. He died in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign.

Various circumstances occurred to revive the discontents of the Jacobites, and to alienate the minds of the Scots generally from the House of Hanover. The King of France and his Ministers, thinking that by favouring Charles's descent upon Scotland they would compel George the Second to withdraw his forces from the Continent, promised to afford him every requisite supply for his bold undertaking. The readers of history will be aware of the discouragements which Prince Charles, in consideration of his father's misfortunes, had to dissuade him from his rash expedition; but he was of a bold and ardent spirit, which prompted him on; and in the beginning of July, 1745, he set sail from Gravelines, in France, with a very few friends, and shortly after moored in a creek of the island of South Uist, belonging to Macdonald of Clanronald. After still further discouragements from friends, who could see nothing but ruin in the enterprise themselves, and represented it as rash to the very verge of insanity, he got over to the mainland, landed at Moidart on the 25th July, and soon after raised his standard at Glenfinnan, on the 19th August, where the commission of regency from the old Chevalier in favour of his son was also read. Here Charles soon found himself at the head of twelve hundred men, and in some skirmishings with detachments of royal troops the clans were victorious. This at once animated both the Prince and his friends, and those who at first hesitated mustered their followers in

good earnest. Hearing of these transactions, Sir John Cope, the Government general, evaded the insurgents, and cautiously advanced upon Inverness. Indeed, neither party seemed desirous of coming into collision, for Charles and the clans needed time to assemble and consolidate their forces.

The Pretender had early resolved to rendezvous at Perth, and after learning that Cope had given them the slip, he made a rapid movement through the north-western mountain passes—leaving Aberchallader on the morning of the 26th August, and pushing on for Blair Castle, which he reached before night on the 30th. At Blair he remained two days, where he was joined by Lord Nairne, and several of the Jacobite gentlemen of the county—most of whom, however, had fled on hearing of the approach of the insurgents. Lord Nairne and Lochiel, with 400 men, were sent forward to Dunkeld, there to proclaim the Pretender, and on the 2d September Charles reached the house of Nairne,* about half-way betwixt this city and Dunkeld. He entered Perth on the 4th, after it had been taken possession of the previous evening by a party of Camerons. Many of them recollecting the privations to which they were subjected in 1715, the denizens of the “Fair City” had contemplated the approach of the rebel army with no small degree of alarm and anxiety. The following is the account given by Cant:

“September 3: A detachment of the Camerons, from the Highland army, entered Perth towards night; the next day the young Pretender, with several gentlemen of distinction on horseback, arrived, who repaired to the Cross and published their manifesto, declaration, and warrant from the Pretender, to his son, Prince Charles, as Regent in his absence; the main body rendezvoused in the afternoon, having set up a standard, with the motto, ‘*Tandem triumphans.*’ The Magistrates and Town-Clerk, with some other gentlemen, retired to Edinburgh; a detachment was sent to Dundee, where they seized the ship of William Graham of Perth, newly arrived from London, and brought her to Perth, suspecting gunpowder on board. The main body, with the young Pretender, remained at Perth until the 11th, when they marched westward, and carried with them, prisoners, Patrick Crie (late Provost), David Sandeman younger, and some others, whom they dismissed at Tul-libardine. They marched to Edinburgh, and from thence to Pres-

* A fine old mansion in Strathord, long since utterly demolished. It is said that the handsome clock tower, surmounting the pediment of King James the Sixth's Hospital, served the same purpose in that ancient baronial residence.

ton, and defeated Sir John Cope with the King's troops on the 21st, where the gallant Colonel Gardiner was slain, with some other brave officers. The prisoner-officers were, upon their parole, sent to several towns. The officers in Loudon's regiment were sent to Perth.—30th October: The King's birth-day. The Highlanders having all left the town and gone forth with the army, a small party being left to keep guard under Mr. Oliphant of Gask, who was made Deputy-Governor by the young Chevalier, a number of maltmen, tradesmen, &c. about mid-day possessed themselves of the Church and steeple, and rang the bells. Mr. Oliphant sent to desire those who rung the bells to desist, but they refused to comply and continued ringing at intervals until midnight, two hours after the ordinary time. Mr. Oliphant, with his small guard and three or four gentlemen, posted themselves in the Council-House, in order to secure about 1,400 small arms, ammunition, &c. belonging to the Highland army, that were lodged there and in the Tolbooth adjoining. At night, seven north country gentlemen, with their servants in the same interest, came to town, and immediately joined their friends in the Council-House; the mob made bonfires on the street, and ordered the windows to be illuminated, and broke the few that were not illuminated. About nine o'clock at night, a party from the Council-House marched up the street to disperse them—fired upon and wounded three of them, upon which they rushed in upon the party, and disarmed and wounded some of them. After this they placed guards at all the gates of the town, took possession of the main guard, and rung the fire-bell, by which they drew together about 200 people. Before they rang the fire-bell a second time, they sent a message in writing, signed by initials, to Mr. Oliphant, requiring him to withdraw instantly, and yield up the arms, ammunition, &c. to them. This was refused, and there-upon hostilities began about two o'clock in the morning, and continued about three hours. They fired at the Council-House from close heads, and from behind stairs, and from windows, so that they in the Council-House could not look out but with the utmost hazard. About five o'clock they dismissed. An Irish captain in the French service was killed in the Council-House, and three or four wounded. Of the mob (who had none to conduct them) four were wounded, of whom George Gorrie, a weaver and packer of cloth, died in two or three days, much lamented—he was a sensible and useful man in the town. Next day about 60 of Lord Nairne's men were brought into the town, and soon after about 130 Highlanders."

After detailing the movements of Charles in Scotland, and his singular progress throughout England so far as Derby, little more than 100 miles from the British metropolis, his retreat, his victory at Falkirk, &c. and abandonment of the siege of Stirling, Cant goes on to state—"Lord George Murray, the best general and statesman among them, and Lord John Drummond, came to Perth, where they had a magazine of powder and some field-pieces, which they ordered to be spiked up, and the cannon-ball to be thrown into the river. The whole citizens were greatly alarmed by a report that they designed to blow up the magazine lodged in a cellar below the tolbooth, which was full of prisoners taken from the Hazard, sloop, at Montrose, and from the royal army. John Anderson, merchant, by his prudence and interest with Lord George Murray, who had feelings of humanity and a regard for the town, prevented the execution of the barbarous design, which was, perhaps falsely, attributed to Lord John Drummond. Mr. Anderson bought the powder, and Lord George Murray went himself and set the prison doors open, gave the common men money, and advised them to keep out of the way of any of their small parties marching through Perth. The Duke (of Cumberland) followed the rebels, came to Perth with the army, rested a few days, and marched through Aberdeen to Culloden Muir, where he engaged the rebel army on April 16, and put an end to the rebellion by a total defeat of their army. It is not to be doubted that the exasperated soldiery, without the orders or knowledge of his Royal Highness, stained their laurels by inhumanity, and that many innocent persons suffered the most cruel hardship with the guilty. The operations by fire and sword were not always warranted by necessity, and were complained of even by the best friends of the Government. The late Mr. James Smyth, a celebrated physician and surgeon of Perth, whose character and memory will be long remembered with pleasure in this town and country, was active in doing many good offices to the inhabitants, saving them from prison and fines, by his influence and interest with the governors and commanding officers of the rebels."

The Chevalier was a prince of remarkable personal attractions— young, fair, and handsome—of polished manners, a cultivated mind, and fascinating address. Altogether, he was one singularly qualified to make an impression on all with whom he came in contact, and to secure their attachment. Add to all this the prestige of his rank and the romance of his adventure, and it is no matter of wonder that he should have been a special favourite with the fair

sex, to whom not a little of his early successes and his ultimate escape must be ascribed. When he came to Perth, on the evening of the 3d September, he appeared in a splendid dress of the Stewart tartan, trimmed with gold, which, with his noble mien, graceful deportment, and ready courtesy, no doubt rendered him "the admired of all admirers." He was accompanied by Viscount Strathallan and his son, the Honourable W. Murray, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, Oliphant of Gask and his son, Mercer of Aldie, John Roy Stewart, and other adherents, who immediately went to the Cross, proclaimed the Chevalier de St. George, and published his warrant in favour of the son as Regent, amidst the acclaim of thousands assembled. The Prince took up his quarters in a house then the residence of Viscount Stormont, demolished about twenty years ago, to make way for the Perth Union Bank Office (now the National), near the bottom of High Street, north side, betwixt the City Offices and the entrance to the "King's Arms," then the principal inn. During his brief sojourn in Perth, which only extended to a period of eight days, the Jacobite ladies of the city and neighbourhood got up a grand ball in honour of his arrival, which he politely attended. He was gallant and courteous; but not wishing to allow the frivolities of fashion or amusement to interfere with the weightier matters of his position, to which he paid minute attention, he left the assembly after having danced only one measure, on the plea of necessity, in order to visit his sentry-posts, which caused deep disappointment, if not offence, to the "fair and gay" assemblage.*

On Sunday, the 8th September, the Prince attended the Protestant service for the first time in his life. The text chosen by

* As an instance of the young Chevalier's gallantry, and the attachment of the ladies to his person and government, the following anecdote is given on the authority of the late Rev. Dr. Murray, minister of Kilmadock, the parish in which Doune and the Fords of Frew are situated:—"When the Prince had reached Doune, he was hospitably entertained by the family of Newton. The young ladies, sisters of the classic Colonel Edmonstone, performed the office of servants, as we say in Scotland, '*wi' heart and guidwill.*' Their relatives, Edmonstones of Cambuswallace, were present on this interesting occasion; and when Charles, about to depart, had graciously held out his hand, and the rest of the ladies respectfully kissed it, Miss Robina Edmonstone of Cambuswallace—anxious, as it would seem, to have a more special mark of what she accounted royal favour—solicited that she might have the honour to '*prece his Royal Highness's mou.*' Deeming it a reasonable request, the gallant adventurer took her kindly in his arms, and kissed her from ear to ear—to the envy, no doubt, and mortification, of those coyer friends who contented themselves with a more moderate share of princely grace."

the preacher was from Isaiah xiv. 1, 2—"For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land: and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place: and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids: and they shall take them captives, whose captives they were: and they shall rule over their oppressors." The clergyman—not a Presbyterian, of course—had no doubt considered the text as very apposite, and had therefore "improved" it still farther to suit the occasion.

In addition to the parties already mentioned, Charles was joined at Perth by the Duke of Perth, with two hundred men; the Robertsons of Strowan, &c.; and the Stewarts of Athole—besides many other of the Duke of Athole's tenantry. The chief accession of strength, however, was in the single person of Lord George Murray, the Duke of Athole's younger brother, who made a remarkable figure throughout the Chevalier's singular campaign. Indeed he, more than any one else, gave spirit to the enterprise. Lord George was a man of noble bearing and great military skill. He had been *out* in 1715, and been long in exile for that reason. He afterwards obtained a pardon. Immediately on his arrival at Perth, Charles appointed him Lieutenant-General; and the Duke of Perth was honoured with a similar distinction of military rank.* The latter was rather a mistaken arrangement, for a sort of jealousy took place betwixt these distinguished rivals, which operated unfavourably in the future stages of the rebellion.

It is said, that by the time Charles arrived at Perth he was completely drained of the means termed the "sinews of war." On entering the town, he showed one of his friends his lank purse, which contained only a single guinea, the only one of four hundred which he had brought with him from France. In the march from Glenfinnan to Perth, he gave the chiefs what money they required

* This accomplished individual was the eldest son of James, Lord Drummond, and grandson of James, fourth Earl of Perth, who, following James the Second to France, was by him created Duke of Perth. He was educated in France, but returned to Scotland and resided on his estate here until the arrival of the young Pretender, after the destruction of whose hopes at Culloden he escaped to the coast, and again embarked for France; but, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, he died on his passage, in the thirty-third year of his age, on the 11th May, 1746.

to subsist their men. But while here, he proceeded to levy the cess and public revenue in name of his father; and of those attached to his cause who were either too cold or too timid to join his standard, most of them voluntarily sent sums of money—thereby aiding the cause without exposing themselves to personal danger during the insurrectionary movements or afterwards. Parties were sent to Dundee, Arbroath, Aberdeen, and other towns as far north as Inverness, to raise the needful. In all places they visited for this purpose, they also proclaimed King James the Eighth. The contribution exacted from the City of Perth was £500. Mr. Home says, that, during the abode of Charles at Perth, besides the public money thus levied, several persons, who afterwards joined him at Edinburgh, came to Perth to visit Charles, and furnished him with some money, which made his purse hold out till the rebel army took possession of the Scottish capital. After their arrival there, the Highlanders had regular pay.

“After our arrival at Perth,” says the journalist, “the army was reviewed; and Clanronald, with 150 men, were sent to second Keppoch’s enterprise at Dundee, who, previously sent forward, had by wrong information been told by some gentlemen from that town that he could not effectuate anything there without a greater force. We set out from Perth about midnight, and marched so quick that we reached Dundee by daybreak. Being masters of the town, we seized two vessels with arms and ammunition, which we sent farther up the river Tay towards Perth; we likewise took up some public money here, liberated some prisoners, and proclaimed the P. R—g—t.”* It has been shrewdly remarked, that the two vessels must have been poorly laden if ever they did reach Perth, as the insurgents continued only half-armed till after the battle of Preston. It may reasonably be concluded that Cant’s statement is the correct one, and that the ship of “William Graham of Perth” was the only one sent up to Perth, “suspecting gunpowder on board.”

All the time that Charles Edward could allot to supply his military chest, make arrangements for the campaign, and to brigade his forces, was only from the 4th to the 11th September—a single week. But with these men there was little occasion for refined manœuvres; and Lord George Murray, who knew them well, judiciously advised the Prince to leave them to those which were naturally

* Lockhart *Papers*, vol. ii. p. 486.

their own, and which were best suited to their irregular tactics. They always marched three abreast in column, and could wheel up with prompt regularity to form line. They carried their arms with an ease habitual by custom, and could handle them readily and dexterously; they could fire with a steady and precise aim; and in the charge they trusted chiefly to the claymore and target. The first rank of every clan, being generally gentlemen, were all completely equipped with these, their national arms. Fire-arms, after the first volley, were usually thrown away, on coming to close quarters.* There was therefore little time employed in drill, and the Inches of Perth displayed nothing of the kind—only something in the way of parade for modelling the men.

Eager to reach Edinburgh ere Sir John Cope could bring his forces by sea from the north for its defence, Charles resolved to push forward without delay, and proceeded on his adventurous march on the 11th September. He reached Dunblane the same evening with the vanguard of his army, consisting of detachments which composed the best men of every clan—it being found a matter of some difficulty to remove the others “from the good quarters and provisions” of Perth, so much superior to what they could expect on their march.

Charles marched from Dunblane to Doune, a distance of four miles, now accessible from Perth in two hours, and reached it the very morning of the day after leaving the Fair City. On the morning of the second day, the 13th September, he crossed the Forth, and rested at Leckie House, on the confines of Stirlingshire. The Fords of Frew, which the Earl of Mar, with a much more numerous army, in vain attempted to cross in 1715, were considered a small obstacle by this more adventurous leader. But Charles passed the river towards the close of a singularly dry season, whereas Mar’s futile attempt was made just after the late autumnal rains. Thus we have Charles and his Highland host fairly out of Perthshire.

As this is not a history of *the forty-five*, of which so many are easily accessible to the public, it is not our purpose to follow the

* The reason assigned by the Highlanders for throwing their muskets on the ground is not without its force. They say they embarrass them in their operations, even when slung behind them; and, on gaining a battle, they can pick them up again along with the arms of their enemies; but if they should be beaten, they have no occasion for muskets.

Pretender through his chequered fortunes, nor even to narrate the final and fatal forfeiture of all his hopes on the bloody field of Culloden, a little more than six months after the auspicious commencement of his career. There is now little more left for the present writer than to take a very cursory glance at the transactions, in any way connected with Perth only, on the return of the rebel army to the north after their retreat from England and the battle of Falkirk.

As a retrospective episode, it is right to notice, that while the Prince was at Edinburgh, Cluny Macpherson—who had been made prisoner in his own house by the insurgents, and carried to Perth as a captive—was released while there, on coming under the same engagement as those clans already in arms. He returned to Badenoch and raised 300 Macphersons to join the standard of the Chevalier. After a strange course of finessing on the part of old Lord Lovat, Cluny's father-in-law, who seemed to have no good heart in the cause for either party, he induced his son, the Master of Lovat, to join the cause with 700 or 800 of his best armed followers. Charles having ere this marched into England, young Fraser halted at Perth, and added his corps to the other reinforcements there. It was while the Chevalier was at Carlisle that he received intelligence of the demonstrations in favour of the House of Hanover at Perth and Dundee, on the birth-day of George the Second, notwithstanding the force in his interest which lay here, and he left Carlisle and resumed his march southwards before any of that force joined him. Besides young Lovat and the Frasers already mentioned, this consisted of the MacIntoshes under MacGillivray of Drumnaglas; the Farquharsons, the Earl of Cromarty, with several detachments of MacDonalds of various tribes, and 150 of the Stewarts of Appin. These altogether, with a large body of MacGregors lying at Doune, amounted to between 3,000 and 4,000 men. Colonel MacLauchlin was despatched to order their immediate march into England to join their countrymen, which they never did. Lord John Drummond had previously arrived at Montrose with supplies and a body of auxiliaries from France, part of which was also sent to Perth, where Lord Strathallan had now the chief command. Lord Lewis Gordon, after some operations in the north, also marched his men, in the end of December, and joined the general rendezvous at Perth. The auxiliaries who came over with Lord John Drummond consisted of his own regiment in the French service, called the Royal Scots, the

piequets of six Irish regiments, and about two squadrons of Fitz-James's light horse ; all of which came to Perth with Lord Lewis Gordon, to whose aid a part of them had been originally sent. Altogether the number now in Perth amounted to upwards of 4,000 men—about one-half of which were first-rate Highlanders. Such was the composition of the Jacobite corps at Perth when Colonel MacLauchlin, as already mentioned, arrived to order their advance into England. This order the Highlanders were unanimously disposed to obey ; but Lord Strathallan, supported by the Lowland and French officers, demurred. All, however, after some irritation betwixt these parties, ultimately joined the Prince at Stirling, whose army, by that acquisition, then amounted to about 9,000 men. Had these all taken part in the remarkable irruption—we cannot call it campaign—the result of that futile expedition might have been very different.

This powerful reinforcement arrived from Perth at Stirling, to which the Pretender had laid siege, in good time to share in the triumph at Falkirk on the 17th January, old style, which the boastful Bobadilism and drawing-room gallantry of General Hawley rendered an easy achievement. While he, attracted by the fascinations of the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband was in the Prince's army, loitered several days enjoying the good things and attractive society of Callander House, in that neighbourhood, his army was surprised by the rebel forces, and on Falkirk moor he sustained a defeat more disgraceful, perhaps, than that of his predecessor, Sir John Cope. The issue of the battle was a strange one. As at Sheriffmuir, both armies were in flight at the same time ; but Hawley's dragoons (three regiments), and most of his infantry, except those of his extreme right, were completely routed.* It was one of the most dismal days of wind and rain ever seen ; there was much confusion ; three regiments of Royalists kept fighting, and obtained a decided advantage over the Prince's left, and many of the Highlanders fled under the impression that the day was actually lost.† About 20 officers and 400 or 500 privates of Hawley's

* The Jacobite ballad says—

Gae dight your face, and turn the chace,
For fierce the wind does blaw, Hawley ;
And Highland Geordie's at your tail,
Wi' Drummond, Perth, and a', Hawley.
Had ye but staid wi' lady's maid,
An hour, or may be twa, Hawley,

Your baser bouk and bastard snout,
Ye might hae sav'd them a', Hawley.
Up and rin awa', Hawley,
Up and scour awa', Hawley ;
The Highland dirk is at your doup,
And that's the Highland law, Hawley.

† The same versifier pictures this dubiety in good style :—

army were slain, and several made prisoners. The rebel loss was quite inconsiderable.

After this action, the Chevalier resolved to press the siege of Stirling Castle, but the chiefs of clans decided otherwise, and the army consequently retired, in worse order than might have been expected. Except from temporary desertion, however, the retreat was conducted with very little loss. The march lay by Dunblane to Crieff, which the entire insurgent force reached on the 3d February; and a council of war was held at Ferntower, near that place—since then the seat of the late renowned General Sir David Baird. There the army of Charles separated. One division, chiefly Highlanders of the western clans, marched north direct by the Highland road; while the other, mostly consisting of the Lowland regiments and cavalry, under Lord George Murray, proceeded by Perth and the towns of the east coast—Montrose, Aberdeen, &c.—to Inverness. A limited number of the Highlanders, belonging to that part of the country, went by way of Braemar. Lord George and his division arrived at Perth on the evening of the day the army broke up at Ferntower. They started again the next day; but before their departure they spiked all the cannon here, thirteen in number, and threw them into the Tay, with other fourteen swivel guns, which had formerly been taken from the Hazard, sloop-of-war, at Montrose. A great quantity of balls were also thrown into the river. The guns were taken out next day by the advanced guard of the Royalist troops. The Duke of Cumberland arrived in Perth on the 6th February, and halted to rest and refresh his men several days.

Meanwhile, a subsidiary treaty having been concluded with the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, a force of about 5,000 Hessian soldiers had arrived in the Forth, and landed at Leith. The Duke of Cumberland therefore made a hasty visit to Edinburgh, and there held a council with the Prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, on the 15th February. Next day he returned to Perth, and put his army in marching order for the north. He sent three regiments of infantry to Dundee, and proceeded with the main body by Strathmore, Forfar, and Brechin, to Aberdeen. The Hessian troops, with their

Says brave Lochiel, "Pray, have we won,
I see no troops, I hear no gun?"
Says Drummond, "Faith, the battle's won,
I know not how nor why, man.
But my good lads, this thing I crave,
Have we defeat these heroes brave?"
Says Murray, "I believe we have,
If not, we're here to try, man."

But tried they up, or tried they down,
There was nae foe in Falkirk toun,
Nor yet in a' the country roun',
To break a sword at a', man.
They were sae bauld at break o' day,
When tow'rd the west they took their way;
But the Highland men came down the brae,
And made the dogs to blaw, man.

Prince, arrived at Perth after the Duke's departure. Their mustachios, blue uniform, and general appearance, attracted much attention, and caused more surprise, in this quarter, while their quiet order and civil behaviour gained the favour and respect of the people.* The country between Perth and Aberdeen, including Blair-Athole, and several posts farther north, were occupied by Argyle Campbells and regular troops. These posts were very numerous. The most important were gentlemen's houses, such as Kynachin, Blairfettie, Lude, Faskally, &c. which were of a castellated form, and capable of defence. Lord George Murray planned and executed a series of attacks to deliver Athole from this military domination. He undertook this enterprise in the middle of March, with a detachment of 700 men, one half of them being natives of the district. The other half were Macphersons, under Cluny, their chief. The purpose was, to cut off all the military posts in Athole, in which either the regular troops or the Campbells had taken up quarters.

We are informed by Home, the author of *Douglas*, who had just then effected his escape from Doune Castle, where he had been imprisoned as a Royalist, taken at the battle of Falkirk, that the House of Kynachin was occupied by a party of the 21st Regiment; their sentinel was surprised and killed, and the whole party made prisoners. At Blairfettie, the sentinel was surprised, and the enemy was in the house before the Argyle men knew they were attacked. At Faskally, a party of the Campbells were also surprised and taken. At Blair, those who attacked the public-house met with such resistance that all the officers escaped, and got to the Castle of Blair. At Bunrannoch, there was a "late wake" that night, and the Argyleshire men were engaged as guests in that barbarous and now obsolete festivity. Their sentinel was surprised; the party entered the house without a shot being fired, and made them all prisoners. Lord George Murray's force had been divided into as many small parties as there were posts to be carried; and each party was given to understand that they were expected

* Chambers says, that "the Hessians were the first to introduce the use of *black rappes* into Scotland, in opposition to the original native brown, which still bears its name." The Hessians remained at Perth several years after the rebellion, and became almost naturalised among our citizen-forefathers. Their encampment was on the North Inch. The parallel hollows running along near its west side, by the old line of road proceeding from the Castle Gable Port, through the Inch, to Dunkeld, and filled up within the last ten years, marked its site.

to execute the duty assigned them before daybreak, and then all to muster at the Bridge of Bruar, about two miles west of Blair Castle. Lord George, with Cluny, and a few elderly friends, with about twenty-five men, proceeded to the rendezvous. About dawn, a man came from the village of Blair to intimate that Sir Andrew Agnew, who commanded at the Castle, had got most of his garrison of five hundred men under arms, and was on his way to Bruar. This was too large a force for Cluny and Lord George Murray to think of encountering, and a proposal was made for retiring amongst the neighbouring mountains. Lord George rejected such a proposal, for a very good reason—namely, that the separate parties, as they came in, would be liable to surprise, and perhaps capture, by the enemy. Lord George disposed of his followers behind a turf dyke, unfurled the colours of both regiments, displayed by a false show an extended front, and, as the sun rose, got each man to brandish his sword as if they had been all officers at the heads of companies. The bagpipers blew a loud pibroch, and Sir Andrew hastily marched back to the Castle.

In course of the morning the several detachments came in, after having all succeeded in their operations, bringing in upwards of three hundred prisoners. The clansmen had lost only one or two men in all, and not more than five or six of the King's troops were killed. Elated by this success, Lord George resolved on attempting the reduction of the Castle itself, notwithstanding its known strength, and the numbers by which it was garrisoned. He accordingly invested this strong fortalice. Two light field-pieces, his only artillery, proved but a small battering train for walls seven feet in thickness; the rocky site rendered mining next to impossible; but Lord George thought the garrison might be reduced by famine. With this view, he formed a close blockade on the Castle of his brother, which was ultimately raised after its inmates had been reduced to the very extremity of famine. Its relief was chiefly owing to the advance of the Earl of Crawford and a strong detachment of the Hessians from Perth. George, afterwards General, Melville, in his *Genuine Narrative of the Blockade of Blair*, in defence of which he bore arms, gives the following anecdote connected with these proceedings:—

“Lord George played off a jocular experiment upon the well-known choleric temper of Sir Andrew Agnew. He sent down a summons, written on a very shabby piece of paper, requiring the Baronet forthwith to surrender the Castle, garrison, stores, &c.

No Highlander could be prevailed upon to carry that summons ; but the errand was undertaken by a handsome Highland girl, the maid of M'Glashan's inn at Blair, the rendezvous of Sir Andrew's officers. She conceived herself on so good a footing with some of the young officers, that she need not be afraid of being shot—taking care, however, as she approached the Castle, to wave the paper containing the summons over her head, in token of her embassy. She delivered the message with much correctness, and strongly advised a compliance, as the Highlanders were a thousand strong, and would batter the Castle about their ears. The young officers relished the joke, desired Molly to return and tell those gentlemen they would soon be driven away, when the garrison would become visitors at M'Glashan's as before ; but she insisted that the summons be delivered to the Governor ; and a timid lieutenant, with a constitution impaired by drinking, was prevailed upon to carry it. No sooner, however, did the peerless Knight hear something of it read, than he furiously drove the lieutenant from his presence to return the paper, vociferating after him a volley of epithets against Lord George Murray, and threatening to shoot through the head any other messenger he should send ; which Molly overhearing, was glad to retreat in safety with her summons to her employer, who, with Lord Nairne, Cluny, and some other chiefs, were waiting in the churchyard of Blair to receive her, and appeared highly delighted with her report."

The same authority furnishes the following narrative, with which we close our history :—

"Before coming to the resolution either of a surrender or the desperate attempt of a sally, Sir Andrew resolved, if possible, to send information of his circumstances to the Earl of Crawford, then at Dunkeld with the Hessians ; and Wilson, the Duke of Athole's gardener, undertook the perilous journey. The great door being unbarricaded and opened without noise, he slipped out unperceived by the besiegers, and proceeded slowly on horseback to the bottom of the avenue leading to the high road. When discovered and fired at, the soldiers in the Castle directed their muskets to the places whence the firing proceeded, and it ceased, which the Governor hoped was indicative that Wilson had escaped ; but next day, to their sore grief, they perceived a Highlander mounted on the horse he had rode ; then they feared he was either a prisoner or killed. In this state of matters, they were looking forward with no very pleasant sensations, when, to their agreeable surprise,

Molly of Blair Inn brought them the joyful intelligence that the Highlanders had gone off to Dalnacardoch. The Governor, however, dreading a stratagem, would not permit them to relax, till, on the 2d of April, an officer arrived from the Earl of Crawford, with intelligence that his Lordship was on the road with some cavalry, and might be expected in an hour—and so it happened. The garrison being drawn out, the Earl was received by Sir Andrew at the head of it, with this compliment—"My Lord, I am very glad to see you; but, by all that's good, you have been very dilatory. We can give you nothing to eat!" To which his Lordship answered laughingly, with his usual good humour—"I assure you, Sir Andrew, I made all the haste I possibly could; and I hope that you and the officers will do me the honour to partake with me of the fare I am about to give you." The invitation was most welcome to the almost starved officers, and they adjourned to the summer-house in the garden, where a plentiful dinner was provided, and excellent wines. They were then informed that their friend Wilson had performed his mission, but his horse, startled by the firing, had thrown him; and while he made his escape on foot, the Highlanders made a prize of the animal. There was another cause of delay. Lord Crawford had in vain attempted to bring up the Hessians to their relief; for so great was their terror of being attacked in the Pass of Killiecrankie by the bands of the wild mountaineers, that they absolutely refused to march beyond it."

It is said that the Prince was led to entertain the ungrateful opinion that Lord George might have taken the Castle of Blair had he been so disposed. The "final act of this great domestic tragedy," the battle of Culloden, took place the same month, and with that Perth ceased to make any peculiar figure in the national annals, nor has its local history been of special interest.

Having, throughout the progress of this history, noted the accession and demise of the successive sovereigns of our land, it is here necessary to state, that George the Second swayed the sceptre when the second insurrection in favour of the Pretender took place. This monarch reigned upwards of thirty-two years, and died suddenly, on the 25th October, 1760, at the age of seventy-six. During his reign the country made rapid progress in learning and the sciences, in all the liberal arts, in commerce and agriculture, and consequently in civilization and refinement. George the Third, *par excellence* and emphatically *the good King George*, grandson

of the former, then succeeded, in the twenty-third year of his age. After subscribing the oath relative to the security of the Church of Scotland, he was proclaimed in the usual manner. He issued one proclamation, requiring all persons in authority to proceed in the execution of their offices; and another for the encouragement of piety and virtue, as well as for preventing and punishing vice, profaneness, and immorality. The following year he married Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, a virtuous and amiable princess, and the ceremony of coronation was at the same time performed. Such were the grandfather and grandmother of our present beloved and virtuous sovereign, Queen Victoria. Her father, the Duke of Kent, died on the 23d January, 1820, and George the Third expired at Windsor the following week, on the 29th of the same month. This good prince reigned over the British empire for a longer period than any of his predecessors (having died in the eighty-second year of his age, and the sixtieth of his eventful reign), but had been incapacitated from the exercise of the royal functions for a series of years previous to his dissolution, although he continued to enjoy good health till within a short time from that event. He witnessed more vicissitudes in the political world than most men, and greater than ever occurred in the world's history during a similar lapse of time, and his subjects attained to a higher pitch of national glory than in any former period of our history. His personal character was one of the most upright and independent that ever adorned a throne, either in respect to his public or private conduct. The Queen, who had also at all times supported the dignity of her high station, by maintaining a similar propriety in all the relations of life, had died rather more than a year before, on the 17th November, 1819, being the seventy-fifth year of her age. George the Fourth, who had for many years acted as regent, succeeded his father, and enjoyed a brilliant reign till June, 1830, when he died. Except in the very commencement of his reign, on account of the unfortunate position of his domestic relations, he was a deservedly popular and highly respected monarch. William, Duke Clarence, succeeded as William the Fourth, and also secured the affections of his subjects. He died after having reigned about seven years. Along with his amiable consort, Queen Adelaide, who still survives, he maintained an exemplary court. On the 20th June, 1837, commenced the auspicious reign of his successor, the Royal Victoria—whom may God long preserve! Her Majesty is daughter of the deceased Edward, Duke of Kent, whose death is recorded above, and of Victoria, his Duchess,

who still lives, daughter of Francis, Duke of Saxe-Cobourg, and sister of Leopold the First, King of the Belgians.

Having thus traced the succession to the present day, from about the period of the Norman Conquest of England at least—if not so satisfactorily from a more remote period—we should consider it a defect were we not to follow out the fortunes of that unfortunate race, whose transactions were, for two centuries, so intimately connected with our locality, and which have given so much interest to the modern stage of the foregoing history. The very origin of the Stuart or Stewart line was English, being descended from the great Anglo-Norman family of Fitz-Alan. A branch of this family settled in Scotland, became hereditary holders of the dignity of Seneschal or Steward of the King's household, and the title was converted into a surname. Walter, the sixth High Steward, married Marjory, daughter of Robert Bruce; and on the extinction of the male line of Bruce, Robert Stewart, their only son, ascended the Scottish throne in 1371 under the title of Robert the Second. It was his grandson, James the First, who was murdered at Perth in 1437. It is needless to recapitulate farther; and we have only now to state, that he (the Chevalier de St. George) who styled himself James the Third of England, died in exile, after his ineffectual attempt to regain the throne of his ancestors. His son, Prince Charles Edward, died childless in 1788; and his only brother, Henry Benedict, Cardinal of York, died so recently as the early part of the present century. In 1745, when the last effort was made for the restoration of his family, he assumed the command of troops assembled at Dunkirk to aid the operations of his brother Charles here; but the news of the battle of Culloden prevented the embarkation of this armament, and Prince Henry returned to Rome, where he took holy orders, and in 1747 Pope Benedict XIV. raised him to the purple. He was subsequently made Chancellor of the Basilica of St. Peter, and Bishop of Frascati. On the death of his brother in 1788, he assumed the barren title to which the family had aspired, and caused a medal to be struck, with the inscription, "*Henricus Nonus, Anglice Rex,*" and on the obverse, "*Gratia Dei, non Voluntate Hominum.*" When the French, under Bonaparte, conquered Italy, he was obliged to flee to Venice, and was indebted for his support to a pension from the British Court. He ultimately died without issue in 1807, and with him the house of Stewart became totally extinct!

From the time of the Rebellion of 1745 to the present day,

Perth has not made a figure sufficiently prominent to warrant any appropriation of the events of that important period as peculiar to its annals—if we may except the gracious visits of the present Royal Family to the city and county, which will be specially attended to in a subsequent portion of this volume.

In accordance with the character of its people, already noticed, Perth took a very active part in the “bloodless revolution” of 1831-2, and many of them in the unfortunate ecclesiastical strifes of 1837-43: but these movements are too recent for the subject of impartial history. In the one we should run much risk of the imputation of party spirit; and in the other a still greater hazard of plunging into the vortex of polemical controversy—either of which would be out of place, and both of which it is our wish to avoid. Indeed, in matters likely to involve any such charges, the compiler of these pages has been chary of expressing his own opinions on controverted points, although on these they are conscientiously decided, and, he trusts, rational.

Should any bias, however, *seem* to appear, he is desirous there may be no mistake. Little as has been said, there is, perhaps, as Sir Walter Scott suspects in his own case, “enough to disoblige both parties.” However, as he also remarks, “having neither to fear the repentance-stool of the Kirk, nor the *boots* of an Episcopalian Privy Council,” he presumes to hold his own opinions, and would advise his fellow-citizens to thank Heaven we have fallen upon happier times—although there are still *some* living and moving amongst us, who of late years have rather seemed to *court* persecution, and would, perhaps, have no objection to *inflict* it. The author just quoted says—“Although we consider the experiment of setting up Episcopacy as a fair one at the time when it was made, yet now that the experience of a century and a-half has shown (what might have been doubted in 1660) that the Presbyterian form of church policy is, in every respect, reconcileable to good order, liberty of conscience, and a limited monarchy, we are disposed to rejoice that the experiment, however promising, did not succeed.”*

What *had been* is unknown—what *is* appears.

* “If,” says Sir Walter, “during their brief domination, the tyranny of the Covenanting rulers was more open and avowed; if their clergy maintained spies in the houses of the nobles; and, forgetting their own peaceful profession, embroiled and deepened by their exhortations the horrors of war; if, in their prosperity, they sowed the wind and reaped the whirlwind—and in their adversity, were humbled without being humble—it must be acknowledged that

It is fortunate, that in the late troubles of the Church, neither the Sovereign nor the Government had any hand, nor, we believe, do they incur blame. Those holding themselves to be the suffering party, suffer only under the judicial administration of standing law, as interpreted and applied by a Supreme Tribunal, amongst whose members they themselves were ably represented.


In conclusion, we would remark, it has been justly asked—What Scotsman can review the history of his native country without adoring that vigilant and generous Providence by which she has gradually risen from barbarism, ignorance, and anarchy, to civilization, science, and order? And it has been as judiciously propounded—Ought not her numerous and often surprising deliverances from civil oppressions and ecclesiastical tyranny, and that wonderful combination of circumstances, by which both her temporal and spiritual privileges have been acquired, enlarged, and maintained, to make a deep impression on every heart? The Scottish youth ought, undoubtedly, to make themselves familiarly acquainted with those important events, in order to form a just estimate of the advantages they enjoy; and by an assiduous improvement of their invaluable opportunities in early life, prepare themselves, through the Divine blessing, for acting a part conducive to their own individual happiness, and to the honour and prosperity of their native country!

The horrid assassination of James the First gave great alarm to the Government of the period, and was held as proof that Perth, from its vicinity to the Highlands, could no longer be considered as a secure residence for the Sovereign. For the same reason, the Estates of the Kingdom were seldom assembled here in subsequent times. Of these, however, not previously noticed, it may be pro-

the Presbyterians had circumstances of delusion and temptation, as well as of provocation, which the Episcopalians could not allege for the perpetration of similar cruelties and violences after the Restoration. They (the Presbyterians) were almost inevitably engaged in war, and they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly placed at the head of a martial faction. But the Episcopalians used the same rigours in the time of a profound peace, and when there was little chance of resistance, saving that which they themselves might provoke by aggression and severity. . . . Not even the *doctrine* of religion, far less its *forms* or exterior policy, can be justly or wholesomely forced on a nation by breach of laws and invasion of liberties."

per to mention, that a General Council was held at Perth in March, 1441, in which an order was issued for the support of the altar of St. Ninian in the Church of the Carmelites or White Friars of Perth. A Parliament convened in the town 14th June, 1445. Another General Council was held at Perth on the 4th May, 1450, in which was ratified the charter of foundation of the Carthusian Monastery, or House of the Valley of Virtue. On the 7th of February, 1456-7, a Parliament was held in Perth; one on the 6th of November, 1458; and another on the 9th October, 1459. In the reign of James the Third, neither Parliament nor General Council convened in Perth; and in 1482, as before stated, Edinburgh was constituted the metropolis. The same remark respecting this desertion of the Fair City by the Three Estates, applies to the reign of James the Fourth. Six months after the accession of James the Fifth, a General Council was held at Perth on the 26th November, 1513, which was very fully attended, especially by the nobility and dignified clergy, with a few commoners and commissioners from burghs. The object of this Convention was to consider the proposal of James Ogilvy, Ambassador to France, and the Sieur Anthony D'Arcy, *alias* De la Batie, a French Knight, to renew the old alliances with France, more especially in reference to the protection of the youthful James the Fifth. This was the only meeting during that Prince's reign, and none of his Parliaments were held at Perth. Although Queen Mary repeatedly visited Perth, she is little identified with its history, nor have we any record of public proceedings on these occasions. Still, however, the city of Perth has occasionally been honoured and gratified by visits of Royalty, and to these we purpose to devote the first place in the next following portion of the present volume—under the head ROYAL VISITS.

Royal Visits to Perth.

 OTWITHSTANDING the desertion of Perth as a seat of royalty, and the cause assigned, the people of Scotland generally have been at all times remarkable for their loyalty. Indeed, with them the feeling is consolidated into a principle, which almost amounts to a passion. Oppression sometimes might have made them lift up their heel against some of her royal predecessors; but where is the primitive or legitimate Scot who would not spend the last drop of his life-blood to secure the safety and promote the honour of the present amiable and beloved occupant of the British throne!

It is nearly two centuries and a half since Scotland was denuded of that consequence which the permanent residence of royalty stamps upon a country; and about double that time has elapsed since the special seat of that residence was chiefly in the Fair City. But although, with the expatriation of the last of the Stewarts, even Scotland itself ceased to enjoy the presence of a sovereign within its borders, Perth and Perthshire have been specially favoured by occasional visits of ceremony, of compliment, or of pleasure, and particularly by those of the presently existing benignant and truly illustrious Royal Family. Soon after the first sojourn amongst us of the amiable Victoria and her Prince Consort, a gentleman at a public festival in Glasgow observed, in reference to their Scottish visit, that it was defectively styled a visit to Scotland, inasmuch as it was more peculiarly *a visit to PERTHSHIRE*. Their second residence in the "land of the mountain and flood" was in the very bosom of our romantic county; and their entrance into the city, on the former occasion, and their progress through it to the interesting ancient locality of Scone, was perhaps the most splendid ovation which has anywhere honoured the advent of the Royal Pair. But of these in their order.

FIRST STATE VISIT OF JAMES THE SIXTH.

The first visit of compliment or ceremony which we have to record is that of King James the Sixth, in the spring of 1601, the year after the mysterious so-called Gowrie Conspiracy. James had

been rather unpopular here, after that extraordinary transaction ; but he evinced a strong desire in many ways to be on an amicable footing with the citizens, and to manifest his good will towards them.

On the 15th of August, 1601, he made a formal visit to Perth, and great efforts were made to give his Majesty a becoming reception. *Mercer's Chronicle* supplies the following brief account of it : "The King's Majesty came to Perth, and was made burges at the market cross. There were eight puncheons of wine set there, and all drunk out. He received the banquet from the town, and subscribed the Guild-Book with his own hand—'JACOBUS REX. *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.*'"* A meeting of General

* It was no doubt a following out of this policy of conciliation which led to a greater extent and farther confirmation of favours towards Perth, in the Parliament assembled there, the *last* regularly held in Perth, a few years afterwards, on the 1st July, 1606, when, amongst other things, it was enacted, that "in consideration of the antiquity of the Burgh of Perth, decay of their bridge, and good service done by them and their predecessors to his Majesty and his predecessors"—(the act goes on to confirm all the privileges possessed by the town, especially those given under the Great Seal, "of the date of Holyrood-House, the 13th November, 1600;" and also gifts to the town the parsonage-house, and the right of patronage to the vicarage of Perth.) This being the last Parliament held here (the "Red Parliament of Perth," as it was called), it appears also to have been specially prepared for, and at no small expense to the community. An entry stands in the Town-Council Books, of date 20th June, 1606, appointing Friday next for a *weapon-shawing*, and to see what preparations may be had anent the Parliament. On the 28th of June, it also appears that orders had been given to pay for the proclaiming of Parliament and precept of exchequer accounts, and to furnish "green claiths" to the Parliament. Also, order prohibiting the selling of salmon during the meeting of Parliament, and nomination of persons to be guides of the multitude. Also, to provide a tun of wine—one half to be given to his Majesty's Commissioner, the Earl of Montrose, and the other to the Earl of Dunbar.

Although not exactly bearing upon our main subject, it may not be improper here to give our readers of the present day some idea of the pageantry observed on state occasions of that period. The following is a copy of the regulations, as in a document still extant:—

THE RIDING OF THE PARLIAMENT OF SCOTLAND—1606.

"PERTH, July, 1606.—That the whole estates shall attend the Commissioner's grace at his lodging, and convoy him therefrom in the following order:—

"First, the commissioners of boroughs to march foremost, two and two in rank on horseback, with foot mantles.

"Next, the abbots and friars, two and two in rank.

"Thirdly, after them shall ride the temporal barons, or lords of parliament, two and two in rank; and that every last created shall march together foremost, all in their robes.

"Fourthly, the bishops and archbishops, two and two in rank, according to their place and dignity.

Council, and the Estates, was held on the 11th September following, in which acts were passed “anent the cunzie of gold and silver,” and “anent claith making.”

SECOND STATE VISIT OF JAMES THE SIXTH.

James the Sixth changed his residence from Edinburgh to London, after his accession to the throne of England in 1603. In the year 1617 he resolved to revisit his ancient realm of Scotland, from an instinct, the King himself quaintly said, the same as that which induces the salmon, after visiting the sea, to return to the river in which they have been bred. It is clear, however, that James had ulterior views, and that one great object was the assimilation of the national forms of religion to the ritual of England. He seems to have been anxious to make this visit one of imposing effect. He was received in Edinburgh with very great pomp and circumstance,

“And immediately after, the earls, ranked as said is, and the latest of creating to ride foremost.

“And then the honours immediately before the Commissioner, and after his grace the marquess.

“And the trumpeters, macers, persevants (pursuivants), and heralds, with the king-at-arms, keep their own places and ranks, according to their bygone custom.

“And that none of the estates repair to the parliament house until the Commissioner’s grace be ready; and that they attend and wait upon him, and convey him in their ranks and order as written, as they will be answerable upon their obedience; and ordains publication to be made hereof, by open proclamation at the cross of Perth, wherefore none may plead ignorance of the same.

“Notwithstanding of the act, neither commissioners of burghs nor barons rode for want of furniture, by reason of the untimeous warning; but it is true, that one only parliament in Edinburgh the commissioners rode without footcloths, sicklike notwithstanding. The macers ride on every side of the honours, the heralds and persevants before the same, with the trumpeters before them, according to their degrees.

“All officers of state, as chancellor, treasurer, secretary, are in the parliament house before the estates come.

“The constable and marshall attend, to guard the parliament house.

“The honours are borne by the first degree, viz. the crown next the Commissioner’s Grace, the sceptre next, and the sword foremost.

“The captain of the guard directly behind his grace, leaving place always to the marquess and other noblemen attending his grace that are out of ranks. The master of the horses rides behind his grace, something aside; and after his grace is entered the parliament house, and set in the chair upon the throne, every nobleman takes his place round about, according to his place and rank.”

Such was the ceremonial of the “riding” or procession of this, *the last*, parliament assembled at Perth. The regulations are under orders of the Lords of Secret Council, dated as above.

and with a disgusting degree of flattery and adulation. He made a tour of the principal counties of Scotland ; and that there might be nothing wanting that could give *eclat* to his progress, special instructions were forwarded to the authorities of the chief towns, prescribing the nature of the demonstrations that were desired. Perth being, of course, one of his stations, the Privy Council forwarded to the magistrates a programme of preparations proper for the great occasion.

The circumstances which characterized this event are peculiar, and as they are not generally known we may briefly narrate a few of them. The annunciation produced no ordinary excitement. The chief concern of the functionaries was how to provide for his Majesty's suitable reception and entertainment. But his Majesty appears to have taken care that his dignity and comfort should be duly consulted. From the Secret Council there came a missive to "provide fed beef anent his Majesty's coming to the toun." To defray the expense, an order was issued by the Town-Council to stent the inhabitants for 2,000 merks, and again for an additional 1,000. While preparations were proceeding, there came from Edinburgh two missives from the Secret Council, which, from what we know of the King's self-estimation, were probably dictated, if not written, by himself. These missives were as follows :—

After our verie hartlie commendationis, the Kingis Majestie being desyrous, that in the speciall burrowis of this kingdome quihilk his Majestie intendis, God willing, to visite the tyme of his being heir, such shewiss of ornament, cumliness, and civilitie may be sene, as may gif unto his Majestie contentment, and may make the strangeris that ar to accompany his Majesty persave and see that the countrie is not so barine of formalitie, ordour, and civilitie, as the ignorantlie apprehend. His Majestie has thairfoir commandit, that at his first entre in the said burrowis at the port thairof, the chief and principal inhabitants in the toun, in thair most comlie, civill, and formal ordour, sall attend his Majestie, and that ane speche sal be maid unto his Majestie be some person (nocht being of the ministeris of the toun) in name of the haill toun, congratulating his Majestie's coming to the toun, and making his Majestie hartlie welcome, and that this speche be deliverit in sensible, ticht, and gude language, as alswa that at the principal portis of the toun quhairat his Majesty is to enter, his Majestie's armes be engraven and sett up both within and without, and that they be overgilt in the best fassoun. And seeing his Majestie intendis, God willing, to visit that toune, we have thought mete to acquent zou with his Majestie's will and plesour in thir poyntis, to the effect that accordinglie zou may provide zourselvis in time to gif to his Majestie satisfacione thairintil, and

recommending the samin to your diligence, cair, and performance as special poyntis, heirtlie concerning his Majestie's contentment and the credit of your toun, we commit you to God. Frome Edinburgh the xiiii. day of April, 1617. Sic sub. your verie goode friendis,

AL. CANCELLOR BINNING.

S. M. OLYPHANT.

Written on the back—

“To our Richt traist freinds, the Provost and Bailles of Perth.”

And not holding this sufficient, a second communication arrived a few days afterwards, renewing the former order, thus:—

After our verie hartlie commendationis, haveing wrettin unto you of lait anent the decoring of the partis of your towne with his Majestie's armes, both within and without, and anent a speche to his Majestie at his firste entrie, we haif thocht mete of new to put you in remembrance thair of, and to adverteis you that his Majestie's armes most contene the armes of baith kingdomes, according to the impressioun and prent and impressioun of the great sealle, putting the Scottis armes in the first quarter, and the ditaie of the armes most be drawn in fair letteres of gold. And anent the speche that is to be maid to his Majestie, you sall inform him whome you are to trust with that matter, that first in name of the toun he mak his Majestie welcome, and then, in sensible and good language, he sal sett forth his Majestie's awin praise, by innumerable comfortis and blessings, quhilk this countrey has haid boith in kirk and policie under his Majestie's moist happie government, and lait go far as modestie may permitt, he sall speik to the praise of the toun both anent the antiquitie thair of, the services done by the samin to the crowne and estait, the willingness of the present inhabitants be their best endeavours to serve his Majestie in all and everie, by and in thair possibilitie, without ony private respect or consideratioun, and the constant and firme resolutioun of the toun to continue in all dewtifull obedience to his Majestie and his royal progenie and successouris in all tyme coming. This being the substance of the speche, you sall caus it to be deliverit in the best forme that may be, and remitting the same to your awin graive consideratioun as a poynte heighthelie importing the credit of your toun, we commit you to God. From Edinburgh, xvii. day of April, 1617. Sic sub. your verie good friendis,

AL. CANCELLOR BINNING.

GEO. HAY.

S. MURRAY.

BALFOUR of Burley.

Written on the back—

“To our Right traist freindis, the Provost and Baillies of Perth.”

Upon the receipt of these missives, an order was issued by the Town-Council to convene daily till the King's coming. On the

4th May they received a missive from the Chanellor and President to provide a propin to his Majesty at his entry into the city, and to meet him with black gowns. They appointed fifty persons to meet him, and ordered the propin to be 1,000 merks, and the silver keys of the city overgilt. The King's arms were painted over the Highgate port. The arms were also cut in stone, and placed on the west side of the bridge nearest the Tolbooth. The Bridge of Earn being the Town's chartered property, and as the King must pass it on his approach, the following appointment was issued:—"Appointis Henry Bannewis to tak cair upon the bigging of the calsayeis of the Brig of Erne, and brig thereof, and to take triel with the cosches of his Majesty, that they discretlie be careit langlandeis the brig, bot hurt to the samen, and to the cosches, and the coun-cill to consider his panes, and the said brig to be ledget with timmer and new daillit."

The town-officers were ordered to be furnished with clothes of red Fleming. The skimmers were ordered to "provide for the sword dance,* the baxters for the Egyptian dance, and the school-master and the bairns gud dance to his Majesty." The wappenshaw was one of the manly and athletic exercises in which the youth were accustomed to engage on the North Inch. They went under the name of weapon-shawings. The magistrates put them under acquisition on the occasion, and required them to practise for a week before the arrival of the King.

In accordance with the instructions given in the missive, a speech was delivered before his Majesty. The person selected to do it was James Stewart, a merchant-burgess. It is preserved, replete with servile adulation. There is in the town's record an "act granting to the children of James Stewart, who made and declaimed the oration to his Majesty on his entry into the town, in which his Majesty took *great pleasure*, the sum of 300 merks, and the same to the survivor of them, and Cathne Peebles, their mother."

In reference to this visit of James, our old local chronicler, Cant, says, that "James made this tour at the request of his bishops, who had persuaded him that everything was prepared in Scotland for the reception of prelacy and the English usages, and that they only wanted his presence to give weight to their decisions." The wily monarch found matters rather different, when, as Cant continues, "he understood, by a protestation of more than fifty ministers, that

* The Council gave the skimmers £40 for their dance.

things were far from being ripe; and, in a rage, he called the bishops dolts and deceivers. To please him," he farther proceeds, "they presented to the ministers convened the *Five Articles*," the fate of which has already been recorded. The authority quoted also informs us, that the prescribed *speech* "was delivered to him in name of the town by James Stewart, merchant, exactly fitted to the king's taste, full of fulsome flattery. As it neither does honour to the king nor to the town, I shall not defile these pages with it."

Cant is quite right, the more especially as much of the unction of this remarkable address may have lain in the elocution or mode of delivery, of which the historian can of course give no idea. "Immediately after," says our historian, "several elegant Latin poems were presented to his Majesty by merchants and other gentlemen of Perth, a specimen of which I shall give the reader, which, indeed, *does honour to the town*." Unwilling, as he feels, to withhold this testimony to the erudition and classical attainments of our ancestors of that period, the present compiler also presents them in this volume, as follows:—

Ad Regem, Pons Perthensis.

Maxime Rex, nostri solatia maxima luctus,
O toties Casus commiserate meos.
Maximus ille ego sum Pons, et modo Maxi-
mus Amnis
Se pronum in gremio volvit agitque meo.
Ipse per undenos jacui minus utilis annos
Nunc lacer in mediis semirefectus aquis
Solutus eras, animo qui me miseratus amico,
Contuleras Census regia Dona tui,
Sive ego Pontifices, qui nominis omnia nostri
Præfigunt titulis officiosa suis:
Sive ego Quæstores animo miserabilis ægro
Oracum, surdis me cecinisse queror.
Eloquar, an sileam, nostri penuria Census

Me pro marmoreis ad tabulata vocat.
Urbs mea præ reliquis commiserata ruinis,
Exhaustit loculos, heu mea fata, suos
Si qua superestant nostri medicamina
morbi
Solutus Apollinea fer medicamen ope
Me tibi, me patriæ, simul et mihi redde,
meisque
Ut merear titulis justa trophæa meis.
Subsidii expectantissimus
Pons Perthanus.

HENRICUS ANDERSONUS,
Mercator, Perthensis.

Regi, Perthum introcunt, Carmen.

Ite procul curæ insomnes, procul ite dolores
Curarumque pater dure facesse labor.
Jam decus et seculi renovatrix gloria nostri
Ad Perthi rediit flumina læta sui
Psallite qui colitis propter vaga flumina
Perthi
Plaudite qua liquidis Taus inundat aquis.
Exurgant diæ Charites, pulchræque Napææ
Floribus insternat candida Flora viam.
Eia agite, O Juvenes, lætas celebrate cho-
ræas,
Iete pede alterno, terra sonora tremat;
Eia agite et celebrate diem pæana canentes,
Ut vox lætitiæ testis ad astra volet.
Castalides recinant lætæ nova carmina
Musæ.
Et præat dulces Calliopeia modos.
Testentur læto proceres sua gaudia plausu,
Nec cesset plebes concelebrare diem.
Accelerate Senes, pueri, innuptæque puellæ,
Lætitia festum concelebrate diem,
Exultate omnes: hæc lux ad gaudia nata est:
Inter felices hæc numeranda dies,
Qua patriæ pacisque pater, fulcrumque
piorum,

Et tutela sacræ religionis adest.
Ad oculum attollas modulantem carmine
vocem.
Quisquis Scottigenæ nobile pectus habet,
Namque ad te; mirum! jam nunc accedit
ab austro
Fronde triumphali Pax redimita comas.
I Bellona furens, teque hinc discordia præ-
ceps
Proripe, et infestis Ira superba minis,
Turcica vos petite, et Abaddonis arva cru-
enti,
Nulla ubi religio est, nulla ubi sancta fides.
Felici oblectet se tota Britannia pace:
Vera ubi religio est, una ubi sancta fides.
Qualis Geryones inter concordia fratres,
Talis in æternum regna Britannia liget.
Chara Caledoniæ soror Anglia juncta ma-
nato,
Nec vos discordes sentiat ulla dies.
Rex pater utrisque est, et pulchra Britan-
nia mater,
Una fides necit, necat et unus amor.
Nectat et æternis Cœli concordia flammis
Aequæva, et nulla pax violanda die.

Sic Orat Alexander Adamson, Mercator, Perthensis.

Proles magna tonantis, alma Phœbe
Musarum decus, eminensque splendor;
Expectate diu, venis decorus,
Clarum multiplici caput corona:
Exoptate diu, venis pilotus
Palma curriculo vehens decoro.
Te unum poscimus, alma Phœbe, munus;
Phœbe delitiæ, decusque, amorque,
Phœbe pars animæ, vigorque nostræ
Te unum poscimus, alma Phœbe, si sors
Mortalis superis ut senescant,
Seram, ut magnanimum tenens Leonem,
Sera in secula transigas Sœcletam.
Ver longum ut tribuas et expetitur
Ver brumæ, ah nimis, ah nimis, nimisque
Longæ et intolerabili, cœquum.
Verum quo celerem jam ages curulem?
Mutatam, O faciem poli solisque!
Moxne curriculum rotis citatis
Velox in rigidam seres Capellam?
Ah brevi nimis, ah nimis, nimisque,
Nobis sic hiemem dabis ferocem:

Ah longum nimis, ah nimis, nimisque
Nobis sic hiemem dabis rigentem:
Sic ne cuncta ruent, quod O vetant Dii,
Antiquum in Chaos? ante destinatum
Tempus lætitiæ fluentne nostræ?
Certe cuncta ruent, fluentque; cum Rex
Motum in Zodiaco sequutus, astrum
Calentem, borea petes relicto.
Ergo curriculum tene ad Leonem,
Siste curriculum diu ad Leonem,
Donec siderii calore vultus
Messis ingeniorum amœna late
Flavescat, tibi sonte dedicata
Et Mentēs satientur Hippocrene.
Nostra tum ignibus, O Apollo, sacris
Corda accensa tuis, tuas canendi
Laudes egregias, tuas colendi
Virtutes celebres amore raptā,
Tollent perpetuis tuas Camœnis
Laudes, perpetuo tuæque nostris,
Laudes materies erunt Camœnis.
HENRICUS ADAMSONUS, Perthensis.

Eliſia urbis Perthanae.

Salve noster amor, regum optatissima salve:
Quanta redux nobis gaudia, quanta creas?
Phœbus ab eoo radiorum ardente corona
Illustra terras, exalileraque viros,
Sic reditus Lux alma tui, Rex optime, Vul-
tus,
Dat Jubare œthereo nocte diequi frui.
O mea spes, mea laus, mea gloria, sola vo-
luptas!
O decus Aonii, materiesque Chori!
Rex Jacobe, veni, multis defuncte periclis:
Nectaris ambrosio flumine tincte, veni.
Non ferrum, non flamma ferox, non dira
venena
Non Satanae potuit fraus nocuisse tibi.
Ænea turris Erat tibi, Rex, fabricator
Olympi:
Hostica terga dedit dilanianda lupis.
Cyrus ut auspidio supremi Numinis audax
Reddidit Isacidum libera colla Jugo;
Alta Semirameo fabricata bitumene stravit
Mœnia, regificas depopulatus Opes:
Sic tu divina redimitis tempora lauro
Servitio emittes pignora chara Deo:
Servitio Turca, et Babylonis carcere solves:
Ut Domini laudes nocte dieque canant.
Tarpeioque Jovi lethalia vulnere figes,
Qui bonus arma Jovæ, qui Gedeonis habes
Ex quo palladium, Trojanæ gloria gentis.
Itaptum era, a summa culmine Troia ruit
Sic ubi te cortina Dei, non ludicra Phœbi,
Princeps, Saxonidum jussit adire plagas.
Heu tria lustra dolor lachrymis consumpsit
obortis,
Visaque funeres parca tulisse faces.
Interea gemibunda, manus ad sidera ten-
dens,
Cogebat querulos semper inire modos.
Me mea deseruit spes, anchora tuta salutis
Et premit adversa sors maledida rota,
Heu invisa mihi radiantia lumina Phœbi!
Nec sine Rege placent inclyta regna Jovis.
Olim ego florebam Regum clarissima sedes;
At nunc in cineres gloria strata jacet.
Dives agri! quam dives opum! quam splen-
dida Gemmis!
Inque dies Tyrio murice picta fui.
Undique finitimi nostrum coluere tribunal,
Fascibus assueti subdere colla meis.
Diva sui, einxitque meos parnassia crines
Gloria, et indulsit Delius ipse Lyræ.
Enthea commisit mihi casta sacraia Pallas,
Crediderat numeros Calliopeia suos.

Ast ubi terga dedit pars pectoris optima
nostri,
Laus fugit, et numeri Calliopeia tui.
Nocte graves gemitus spargit Titania nos-
tros
Liventesque genas Phœbus ab axe videt.
Tot premor adversis, tollet quot in æquora
fluctus
Scylla, procellosis dum ruit Euris equis.
Donec eram felix, Regum et radiosa viderem
Lumina, et amplexum fata dedere mihi;
O quam bellipotens, Ostroque iusignis et
auro
Et Jove supremo conjuge digna sui.
Stravimus horrendis Cimbrorum corpora
telis
Stravimus aliorum colla superba Ducum.
O quam sæpe Taum spumantem sanguine
vidi!
Sanguine Danorum, gloria tanta mea est!
Quanta fuit Virtus, et quanta potentia, no-
runt
Cimber, Saxo potens, Hectoridumque gym-
Us
Ut medio nitet axe dies; placidissima Lym-
phis,
Pulchra situ, Regum gaudia, amorque fui.
At malesana meos mutat Rhannusia Vul-
tus,
Nescio quo fato, seid furibunda premit.
Post tria lustra meis accedit purpura sæs-
tis,
Jam posito luctu carmina læta cano.
Jam fronti vittatus honos. Jam vertice lau-
rus:
Pandite Pierides nunc heliconæ Deæ.
Aurea quam fulget roseis Aurora quadrigis
Clarius australi venit ab orbe Jubar,
Maxime Rex, Phœbus Phœbeaque turba,
sorores,
Te reticente silent, pleetra movente canunt.
Nix mihi, Tindaridis facies despecta, Deaque
Cypridis: at formæ tu decus omne mete:
Non ego divitiis Cresi, non persica Regna
Opto, sed amplexus, cypride digne, tuos.
Malo Cœmæo meme objecisse Leoni,
Quam mihi te, mea spes invida fata negent.
At Divum Interpres tibi missus ab Æthere
summo
Precipit australes mox remeare plagas.
I Decus, I nostrum: fœlicibus utere semper
Auspiciis, mundi gloria, cura Deum.
Et vos O Superi, Regem stipante corona
Cingite, terrigenum sternite colla Ducum.

Sternite purpurea splendentes veste Tyrannos!
 Sternite tartarei numina dira lacus.
 Dii tua cœlesti perfundent tempora Olivo
 Gorgoneisque malis impia corda præment.
 Nullus erit, qui te furiali percitus Æstro
 Deturbet solio, Rex generose tuo
 Palladis sine Marte reges virtutibus orbem:
 Nam tibi Pax summo culmine missa poli est.
 Tu quibus hyrcanæ moverunt ubera Tigres.
 Mansuetos facies numine, magne, tuo.
 Fœdere conjungens sub utroque jacentia
 Phœbo,
 Quod neque Mars, neque Mors solvere dira
 potest.

Tu religare soles variantem Protea vultus,
 Tuque Lupos ovibus conciliare soles.
 Fac, Rex alma precor, vultu fortuna sereno
 Spectet, uti præsens luminis aura tui.
 Tuque Lyræ genialis eris per secula carmen,
 Spes, columen, Laudis fons et origo meæ.
 Donec anhelantes e cardine promet eoo
 Phœbus equos, Regum gloria semper eris
 Qua terram oceanus resluis complectitur
 undis
 Carmine Meonio te super Astra feram
 Dum Taus ipse fluet, vel dum Thameseidis
 undæ
 Semper Amoris eris fervida flammis mei.
 ADAMUS ANDERSONUS, Perthensis.

Following up these poems, Cant quaintly remarks—"When we consider the mighty king to whom these poems were addressed, we can excuse the indelicate and fulsome flattery, which was very acceptable to our classical Monarch."

VISIT OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

In the year 1633, King Charles the First came down to Scotland with a splendid retinue, to receive the crown of this kingdom, and he thought that a coronation was an indispensable ceremony. He was at this time entirely in the hands of Laud, and was glad of so plausible a pretext for visiting Scotland in person, that he might carry that zealot's scheme into execution. The Scottish nobility had for some time warded off this visit with abundance of address; but Charles was now resolved to render it as splendid as possible—at all events, to carry Laud with him, to serve him as the director of his conscience.

The triumphal entry of the King into Edinburgh on Saturday, the 15th of June, was the most splendid of any that was ever seen in Scotland, and was attended by an incredible multitude from all quarters of the country.

The King was crowned at Holyrood House on the 18th of June; and to honour his coronation, parliament, and the land of his birth, his Majesty created one Marquess, ten Earls, two Viscounts, and six Lords, which were these:—William, Earl of Angus, created Marquess of Douglas. George Hay, Viscount Dupplin, Chancellor of Scotland, created Earl of Kinnoull; William Crichton, Viscount Ayr, Lord Sanquhar, created Earl of Dumfries; William Douglas, Viscount Drumlanrig, created Earl of Queensberry; William Alexander, Viscount Canada, Lord Alexander of Menstrie, principal Secretary to his Majesty for Scotland, created Earl of Stirling; John Bruce, Lord Kinloss, created Earl of Elgin; David, Lord Carnegie, created Earl of Southesk; John Stewart, Lord Traquair, created Earl of Traquair; Sir Robert Ker, created

Earl of Ancrum; John, Lord Wemyss, created Earl of Wemyss, and Lord Elcho; and William, Lord Ramsay, created Earl of Dalhousie. The two Viscounts were—Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, created Viscount Kenmure, Lord Gordon of Lochinvar; and Sir Robert Douglas of Spot, created Viscount Belhaven, Lord Douglas of Spot. The six Lords were—Patrick Oliphant, created Lord Oliphant; Sir James Livingstone, created Lord Almont; Sir James Johnstone, created Lord Johnstone; Sir Alexander Forbes, created Lord Pitsligo; Sir David Lindsay, created Lord Balcarras; and Sir John Fraser of Muhillon, created Lord Fraser.*

On the 24th of June the King went in great state to his chapel-royal; and after making a solemn offertory at the altar, he performed the ridiculous ceremony of touching a hundred persons for the King's Evil—putting about every one of their necks, says Balfour, a piece of gold coined for the purpose, hung at a white silk ribbon. Upon the rise of the parliament, four days after, Charles visited Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline (the place of his birth), Falkland, and at last Perth.

The Magistrates and Council of the Fair City, on hearing of the august visit of the King, set about making every fitting preparation for his Majesty's reception. The Council records afford us some idea of the nature and extent of the arrangements considered suitable for such a grand occasion. They ordered the Bridge of Earn to be repaired, and certain improvements to be made upon the Southgate Port. Forty fed oxen were also ordered for the use of the King on his coming to Perth. There was, besides, an injunction that the best houses should be kept for Englishmen in the royal retinue, and the malt barns to be fitted up for stables. They prohibited women wearing plaids during his Majesty's stay, and beggars were discharged from making their appearance. They appointed a number of officers, assigned them their duties, and provided them with new clothes. They caused a speech to be prepared to be spoken before the King by two lads, equipped in suitable habiliments, for which service they were each to receive an hundred merks. The Dean of Guild was nominated to proceed to Edinburgh, to consult with the Chancellor as to the King's entry into the Town, and arrangements were made for a body of "well clad persons" to go out with the Magistrates to meet the royal cavalcade. There was also an act for cleansing the causeway, and

* Balfour's MS. *Annals*, apud Guthrie, A.D. 1633.

others respecting the wearing of weapons. Permission is likewise given to the Provost to wear his hand rapier, and the Bailies are enjoined to bear white staves. Many amusements were ordered for the occasion, and especially the "Sword Dance," to be executed by members of the Glover Incorporation. The enacting as to this last-mentioned feat stands in the Council Books of date 27th May, 1633, and it is thereby enjoined that it should be performed before his Majesty, opposite to the Chancellor's (Earl of Kinnoull's) yard-head, in a raft upon the water.

Like James his father, Charles or his Council sent orders before him as to the mode of his reception at Perth. The following curious document connected with this occasion was kindly sent to the present writer, from a distance, by a gentleman who has yet the original in his possession, and had never been published. It was found among the papers of the Earl of Errol, and forwarded to us just before the first visit of Queen Victoria to this city:—

LETTER FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL TO WILLIAM,
NINTH EARL OF ERROL.

XVIII MAY, MDCXXXIII.

After our very heartlie commendatiounis to your good lordschip. Whereas the Kingis Maiestie intends God willing to ryde fra Falkland to Perth vpon the aucht day of July nixtocome, It is thairfoir vere necessar for the honour and credite of the countrie that his Maiestie be well attended and accompanied in that little progresse. And for this effect these ar to requiest and desire your good lordschip, That accompanied with your friends weil horsed and in good equippage and appareil you prepare your selffes to meit his Maiestie vpon some part of the hie way within twa myle of the bridge of Erne on the south side thereof, And to attend his Maiesties convoy therefra towards Perth, and that no rascalls commouns nor others be suffered to be in your lordschips companie bot gentlemen weil horsed and in good equippage. Not hindering always the commouns to stand vpon the gait side and to get a sight of his Maiestie. And recommending this to your lordschips care as a point of service highlie concerning his Maiesties contentment and credite of the country, we commit your lordschip to God. Frome Halyruidhous the xvijj day of May, 1633.

Your lordschips verie assured good friends,

GEO. CANCELLARIUS.
WIGTOUNE.
TRAQUAIRE.
S^r THOMAS HOPE.
JAMES BAILLIE.

To our verie honourable good lord the Erle of Erroll.

The entry of Charles into Perth is recorded in the register kept by the Glover calling, as follows:—

“ His Majesty, King Charles, of his gracious favour and love, denzeit (condescended) himself to vizeit his own City and Burgh of Perth, the eighth day of July, quhair, at the entrie of our South Inch Port, he was receivet honourable be the Provost, Bailzies, and Aldermen, and be delivery of an speache mounting to his praize and thanksgiving for his Majestie’s coming to vizeit this our City, wha stayit upon horse-backe, and heard the sameyn patientlie, and therefra convoyeit be our young men in guard, with partizans, clad in red and whyte, to his ludging at the end of the South Gate (Gowrie’s palace), belonging now heritable to George, Earl of Kinnoull, Heigh Chancellor of Scotland, &c. The morrow thairefter came to our church, and in his royal seat heard ane reverand sermone, immediately thairefter came to his ludgeing, and went downe to the gardine thairof, his Majestie’s chair being set upon the wall next the watir of Tay, quhair uppone was ane fleeting staige of tymber, cled about with birks, upon the quhilke, for his Majestie’s welcome and entrie, thretteine of our brethren, of this our calling of Glovers, with green cappis, silver strings, red ribbons, quhyte shoes, and bells about their leggis, shewing raperis in thair handis, and all uther abulzement, dauncit our sword-daunce, with mony deficile knottis, fyve being under, and fyve above upone thair shoulderis, three of theme dauncing through thair feet and about them, drinking wine and breking glasses. Quhilk (God be praisit) wes actit and done without hurt or skaith till any. Quhilk drew us till greit chairges and expensis, amounting to the sowme of 350 merks, yet not to be rememberit, because gracioslie acceptit be our Sovereine, and both estatis, to our honour and great commendation.”

Thereafter, the following Poem (which is called a comedy, acted by David Black and George Powrie, two tailors, on the water of Tay) was pronounced before the King:—

David Black, in name of Tay,

SAYS—

<p>What means this roaring and these touck- ing drums? What shouts of joy, from whence this cla- mour comes? Thus proudly bold to interrupt our rest, Amidst our deeps, our quiet to molest; While as our greatness in retiredness plays, And shrinks us up in halcyonian stays; Hence take occasion in disdain to trample Our liquid belly, and our arms so ample,</p>	<p>That running reaches from Breadalbanic, To pay our triton tribute to the sea, With silver streams that lovingly enclose him, By kind embrace in azure Neptune’s bo- som. Thus uncontroull’d who dare our course reclaim? Till they’re disgurg’d we lose our force and name.</p>
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Can Caledonia's forests furnish beams,
 Or Grampians stones, to overvault our
 streams?
 Whom they have seen for many thousand
 age,
 Pass by their banks with unresisted rage;
 While crown'd with icy alabaster towers,
 Of storm that from their suowy tops down
 pours,
 While in a verdant mantle mildly tracing,
 Alongst Napæa's tents and them embracing;
 Whilst rushing to the ocean like a king,
 With noise that makes the rocky mountains
 ring,
 To whom the ocean, when we meet, gives
 place,
 And under sandy Drumlay hides his face.
 Who is it then dares vilify our might?
 And thus our power and our glory slight?
 Come, swift-foot Almond, call our vassal
 rills,
 Our rivers, brooks that kiss the Grampian
 hills,
 Command them all to pay us what they owe,
 And back our forces with dissolved snow;
 O'erflow their banks, and, with impetuous
 course,
 Lead with them captive every neighbouring
 source;
 In passing haste let them no lingering stay,
 T'impede their dues to rough stone-rolling
 Tay,
 Who wrong resents, and, with an ireful
 grudge,
 Avows these plains to cover with deluge.
 Let Gary gliding on his gravelly ground,
 Whose rolling streams the flowery meadows
 mound;
 Land-louping Lyon from his flockful glen,
 With restless speed, come to augment our
 train;
 And trout-full Tummel, with his tumbling
 torrent,
 Come to us marching with a course-full
 current;

And break-bridge Bran, with slow return-
 ing billows,
 Come meet our powers at Caledonian Wil-
 lows;
 Impetuous Isla, do him also cite,
 With all his branches he our grandeur
 meet;
 Charge Kerbat kyth from the Angussian
 fields,
 Alongst great Glamis where he his homage
 yields,
 To rashy Dean, whose body's bound with
 arches,
 Where he dissolves while towards us he
 marches,
 Bid ireful Ericht, with his dreadful
 dins,
 Leave gainful sport about his lofty
 linns;
 Address him hither with his murmuring
 voice,
 To 'wake the valleys with a streaming
 noise,
 What mean the Perthians, in their pride of
 mind,
 To mock our weakness, brawling in this
 kind?
 And think they not, how that our force
 before
 O'erturn'd their bridge, their bulwark, and
 their shore?
 Their watercourse, their Warehouse, com-
 mon wall,
 And threat their town, their turrets, with
 a fall?
 Their mother Bertha felt our power and
 rage,
 For worth and strength the glory of her
 age;
 Where the imperial Tybur's children stood
 Afraid, and pitch'd their tents besouth my
 flood;
 The Danish blood by us was born away,
 When they were vanquish'd by the valiant
 Hay.

George Potorie Answers for Perth.

Yes, yes; it is the Perthian youths in-
 deed
 Tread on thy belly now, but fear or
 dread,
 O'erjoy'd because they have King Charles
 the great
 Within their walls, to view their ruin'd
 state.

With power and love can by himself alone,
 Cause bind thy belly with a bridge of stone,
 And shall thy now divided lands unite
 To serve his subjects with a paved street,
 Which to the country shall great comfort
 bring,
 And make us all pray for great Charles our
 King.

Tay—David Black.

O do I wake, or is it but a dream?
 How do I tremble at King Charles'
 name!
 Then humbly here I prostrate at his feet,
 For now I see the prophecy complete.
 In elder times it long since was foretold,
 That he my streams should by a bridge in-
 fold,
 And well I knew that none durst bar my
 flood,

Nor was there any but King Charles the
 good.
 As heaven ordains, none can the fates es-
 chew;
 Then, royal sir, I render here to you
 My low subjection ready at command,
 And joy I'm chained by that great royal
 hand,
 And ever vow, while I am named Tay,
 Not to expatiate nor o'erflow my brae.

Perth—George Potorie.

Come dive, my lads, the bottom of his
 deep—
 From henceforth he his boundaries shall
 keep;

Quite spoil the treasure of his scaly
 shore,
 Empty his streams and throw them quite
 ashore.

THE FIRST VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA.

At a time when it was anticipated by nobody, in the month of August, 1842, the Scottish nation was suddenly startled into a state of loyal and joyous excitement by the elevating intelligence, that the youthful and amiable Victoria, the beloved monarch of these realms, with her Royal Consort, Prince Albert, was about to visit her ancient kingdom of Scotland. The news circulated rapidly, and seemed to gladden every heart. Here, in Perth, it was a most animating time, a season of the most pleasureable excitement—the more especially as it was early intimated that the Royal sojourn was to be chiefly amongst us. It was, properly speaking, almost peculiarly a visit to *Perthshire*, and the Fair City could not fail of being honoured by the personal presence of the Sovereign; the idea of which excited an enthusiasm of the most animated and devoted kind, a tumultuous paroxysm of joy. The news was too startling, too vague, to be at once seriously credited, but the thrilling suspense was brief. The note of preparation sounded through the length and breadth of the land was unmistakeable, and all set themselves to hail the great event. The nation was most agreeably awakened from shore to shore, and all were on the tiptoe of expectation. In no quarter was the indescribable feeling more enthusiastic than in Perth, and almost every other emotion gave way to it, while the bustle of preparation engrossed every mind and every disposable moment of time. It is impossible to look back to that most animated period without feeling a thrill of its interest. We had heard of Sovereigns and of Courts, and been led in idea to invest them with a halo, dreamy and unsubstantial. Our ancient country had long ceased to give a local habitation, or even a name, to the reality of Majesty, and the consideration that she who was about to visit us, and holding that dignity, was a female, fair and youthful, as also *a mother*, gave additional zest to the idea.

This occasion, on the whole, far exceeded in interest that of any previous Royal movement in Scotland, not excepting even the visit of George the Fourth in 1822. We now as briefly as possible proceed to state the progress of the Court previous to its reaching Perth.

Windsor Castle, Monday, 29th August.

Her Majesty and Prince Albert breakfasted at half-past four this morning, it having been arranged that the Court should depart for the Slough railway station at five; and arrived there *in less*

than fifteen minutes from the time of leaving the Castle. Proceeding by railway to Paddington, and thence by the high road, they arrived at Woolwich about seven o'clock. The embarkation took place with great eclat and ceremony, and the Royal George, with her precious freight, under charge of Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, moved slowly but gracefully down the Thames, accompanied by the flotilla of Government steamers, consisting of the Lightning, the Black Eagle, the Rhadamanthus, the Shearwater, and the Fearless. The Trinity, steam-yacht, and the Trident, brought up the rear.

Great was the disappointment to hundreds of thousands at Edinburgh that the Royal squadron did not make its appearance in the Frith of Forth on Wednesday, the 31st, as was most anxiously anticipated. It was the evening of that day till it came to an anchorage below Inchkeith, where it had brought up for the night.

At daybreak on Thursday, the 1st September, the squadron weighed anchor, and stood in for Granton Pier. By a strange piece of mismanagement, a red flag, arranged to be raised on the Calton Hill as the signal of its approach, had not been provided, and the preconcerted discharge of cannon from the Castle was fired too late for all to be got properly in readiness. Her Majesty landed at five minutes before nine o'clock, being handed ashore by Prince Albert. The Royal party, with their attendants, here took to their carriages, and proceeded by Brandon Street, where they entered the capital; but, as fate would have it, neither Provost, nor Baillies, nor Councillors, nor keys, were forthcoming that morning. The progress through the city was a scene of most admired disorder. The Queen's Body-Guard (the Royal Archers), amidst much confusion, met the Royal *cortège* only at Howard Place, and in a trice the illustrious visitors were on their way out of the city towards Dalkeith Palace. There was much foolish amazement, which was succeeded by murmurs both loud and deep, and none could explain the cause of the disappointment. The Magistracy and Council followed to demand an audience of Ministers, and present an awkward apology.

This is not the place to give the details of this ludicrous affair; but it operated most fortunately for Perth, as we shall have occasion to show. Her Majesty and Prince Albert were graciously pleased to alter their arrangements, in order to pay a formal visit to the city on the Saturday. The Reception, which had been fixed for that day in Dalkeith Palace, was postponed to the Monday fol-

lowing, and her Majesty's departure for the North until Tuesday, a day later than that originally fixed.

The visit to the capital and the levee took place accordingly, communicating a degree and species of delight to all ranks which had never in Scotland been felt before. Meanwhile, all was excitement and bustle in Perth, in the work of preparation. The *entrè* of her Majesty was fully expected on Monday, the 5th of September; but intimation was given, about three days before, that, for the reasons above stated, her Majesty's purpose had been postponed to Tuesday, the 6th. This of course would cause little disappointment, and it happened most opportunely for our locality in more ways than one. As it was, the preparations were finished barely in time, and, indeed, many things would have been rather imperfect had Monday been the day. Besides, although the weather was generally fine, as usual at that pleasant season of the year, the clouds lowered about noon, while anxious thousands were proceeding into town from all quarters, and just about the time of day when the most interesting proceedings would have come on, the rain fell, first in a heavy drizzle, but gradually increasing to a pelting shower, which continued for several hours. We also pause in the narrative of the royal progress, to notice more particularly the nature of the preparations in the Fair City itself.

The very first notice of her Majesty's purpose to visit the ancient kingdom of Scotland appeared in the London daily papers of the 13th August, 1842; and it was not otherwise intimated in this, the principal arena of the royal movements, until the publication of the earliest local journal, on the following Wednesday, the 17th, when the city and county were aroused and gratified by the following welcome intelligence:—

“Certain we are that every one will hail with a joyous loyalty the gratifying intelligence we have the pleasure to communicate—that HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY, VICTORIA, is about to visit this her ancient kingdom of Scotland, and that she is not to limit her sojourn to the capital. It is positively and definitively settled that her Majesty, accompanied by Prince Albert, and several of the great Officers of State, shall proceed by sea to Edinburgh about the beginning of next month; and we have various grounds for asserting the fact, apart from what has appeared in the public papers, that the Royal and Illustrious party will also visit ‘*the Fair City*’—the principal, if not the only, scene of their sojourn being in our immediate neighbourhood, and the county in which we are located.”

The same journal farther stated at the same time—"It is now ascertained that the Queen will arrive in Perth on Monday, the 5th September. Her Majesty and the Royal suite will, on that day, partake of a *dejeuner* at Dupplin Castle. They are then to proceed, by this city, to Scone, where they will dine and pass the night under the roof of her Majesty's own ancient Palace, of which the Earl of Mansfield is hereditary keeper."

Such was the intimation which gladdened the hearts of all her Majesty's liege subjects in this quarter—the tidings spread like wildfire—and anon all were actively engaged in the work of preparation. It is what may be remembered as a mark of special honour, that, even before the authorities in Edinburgh had any official intimation of the royal movements, *or even of the visit at all*, our Lord Provost was in possession of an intimation from Sir Robert Peel, that our beloved Queen had graciously condescended to accept of the ceremonial and reception intended for her Majesty here. This we must ascribe in some measure to the historical associations which are identified with our interesting locality—the ancient capital of Scotland—in respect that it was long the residence of her Majesty's royal progenitors, and the seat of the Legislature during so many Parliaments in the olden time. And while there is therefore reason to hold it as "no mean city," we can reckon up a list of no mean citizens. A monarch at one time thought it nothing derogatory to his royalty to fill our civic chair; and among our living freemen burgesses we include the then King of the French, the still reigning Emperor of Russia, and, if we mistake not, her Majesty's royal relative the King of Belgium.

One of the first preparatory arrangements, on the part of the civic authorities, was an order to provide the means for a suitable presentation of a similar mark of respect and honour for his Royal Highness Prince Albert; and with this view they resolved on the construction of a box of ebony, or black oak, from a piece of wood which had lain under the bed of the Tay for several centuries. In this it was agreed to present the parchment conferring the right of citizenship, and it was garnished with ornaments in solid gold, designed and executed by the first artists in Edinburgh,—all this with the intention of presenting it at the same time the keys of the city should be tendered to her Majesty.

That the Royal *entrèe* might take place with all possible *eclat*, orders were also issued for the erection of a grand Triumphal Arch at the entrance to the town, east end of Marshall Place, and facing

the South Inch ; and it was here that the ceremonial of presentation of the keys was appointed to take place. This was truly a magnificent structure, and did great credit to the taste and artistic skill of Mr. W. M. Mackenzie, the City-Architect and Superintendent of Public Works. Its construction occupied thirty artizans constantly up to the eve of the Royal arrival. The Royal Standard floated on its summit, from the morning of the day of her Majesty's arrival, and during the whole time of her sojourn within the county. Directions were also given for the erection of the unique hydraulic machine, the invention of the now deceased Professor Anderson, newly and appropriately ornamented for the occasion, and to be placed at the point of intersection between George Street and Watergate by the High Street, which the Royal *cortège* would undoubtedly pass.

Besides all this, five hundred cards of invitation were issued to all the official gentlemen of the city, including most of the respectable citizens, as well as the neighbouring county gentlemen, to a grand banquet in the County-Hall, immediately after the Royal procession passed through the city. All the necessary arrangements were likewise made for a splendid ball on the following evening, and which in due time came off with great splendour. One thousand of the most vigorous and athletic operatives enrolled themselves voluntarily for the preservation of order along the line of procession, and all were provided with white staves, as insignia of their delegated authority. Experienced pyrotechnists were engaged, too, for a brilliant display of fireworks on the North Inch, Burgh Muir, and other conspicuous places within sight of the Palace, as well as for the amusement of the inhabitants and strangers about the city.

Being, no doubt, like their predecessors in the time of Charles the First, desirous of the attendance of a body "of well-clad persons to go out with them to meet the Sovereign," the Magistrates took an early opportunity to correspond with the Society of High Constables in regard to the proceedings of the great occasion. A meeting of the Council of Office-bearers was called on receipt of a letter from the City-Clerks, on matters relative to the auspicious and exciting event which there was thus the happy prospect of taking place at an early day.

This communication having been read, the Council most readily and cordially agreed to second, by every means in their power, the views of the Magistrates on this august occasion ; and after a brief consultation the Clerk was directed to frame a letter, for the Mode-

rator's signature, to be forwarded to the Magistrates forthwith, as a reply to their note, in the following terms:—

PERTH, 20th August, 1842.

GENTLEMEN—In consequence of your letter to me of this morning, the Council of High Constables have deemed it proper to call the body together this evening. It is proposed, that, if our services are required *in the procession*, or if we shall have the honour to *move*, as attendants, either on your honours or on the Royal *cortège*, the members should appear in a particular uniform—many of them having already signified their readiness to provide it at their own expense. The proposal will be submitted to the general meeting this evening at nine o'clock; and it would be very desirable to have something to state distinctly regarding this point. Understanding that you are to meet previously, I should feel obliged by your taking this matter into consideration, and intimating to me your views on the subject, that we may be able to decide as to the adoption and preparation of the uniform without delay.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your most obedient Servant,

(Signed) JOHN MACFARLANE,

To the Lord Provost and Magistrates of Perth.

Moderator H. C.

At the same meeting it was resolved to call a muster of the whole members at eight o'clock, evening, of the same day, to lay before them the Magistrates' communication, together with the answer which might be returned to the above; and to consider the proposal of the Council as to the adoption of a particular uniform, to grace the occasion of the Royal Visit.

The Council likewise resolved to recommend to the Society that the uniform, if agreed to, should be in the following style—viz. Dress-coats of forest green, with green silk-velvet collars, the skirts to be lined with straw-coloured serge or sarcenet, gilt buttons bearing a royal crown, and that of these, besides the usual number and arrangement, three should appear on each of the cuffs and pocket flaps; vests of cassimere, corresponding in colour with the skirt linings, and black satin stocks for the neck; black cloth trousers of a handsome shape—those of the Council or Office-bearers being ornamented with gold lace along the side seams: the whole to wear an appropriate silver badge, with favours on the left breast, and white kid gloves for the hands. And further, each to be armed with a gilded truncheon or baton, with the royal shield, scroll, and motto, towards the one end, and the city arms near the other.

The Society met in the evening accordingly, when the following

letter, which had in the meantime been received by the Moderator, was laid before them :—

PERTH, 20th August, 1842.

SIR—Your letter of this date has just been submitted to a meeting of the Magistrates, who desire me to say, that they will be most happy to receive the services of the High Constables, either as a Body-Guard to her Majesty the Queen when passing through Perth, or to themselves, in case the Queen should be sufficiently protected by the military. At present, of course, it is impossible to be more particular; but you may rely that the Magistrates will do everything in their power to give effect to the wishes so handsomely expressed by you on the part of the High Constables. And they desire me to convey to you, and the members of the Society, their grateful thanks for the promptitude with which you have come forward to assist in the ceremonial of the Queen's reception, and particularly for the liberality with which you have offered to supply yourselves with appropriate costume for the occasion.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your very obedient Servant,

(Signed) ARCH. REID, *City-Clerk*.

P.S.—I shall, of course, be most happy to communicate to you from time to time whatever arrangements shall be concluded for the reception of her Majesty.

John Macfarlane, Esq. Moderator H. C. Perth.

These communications being made to the meeting, a general feeling of approbation and delight was evinced by the Society, and all seemed animated with a desire to do what in them lay to give effect and do honour to the occasion. The proposed uniform in the style suggested was cordially agreed to, and committees were appointed to carry out the various details.

The Magistrates continued to meet almost hourly from this time until the morning of the auspicious Sixth, sedulously attending to all the preparations. Court dresses of the finest black cloth (that of the Lord Provost of massy silk velvet) were provided for all the Magistrates, the City-Clerks, and the Chamberlain, which, with very handsome cocked hats, their gold chains and swords of office, altogether set them off with fine effect. Beautiful flags were prepared for the steeples and other prominent places, and a Royal Standard for the top of the Triumphal Arch, by which the august *cortège* were to enter the city. All the streets crossing the route were barricaded so as to prevent any casual pressure, and many balconies were erected at certain stations.

So much in the way of preparation by the public authorities; but besides these were many erections by private parties, under inspection of the city-architect, and the decorations of the buildings

along the line of procession were too numerous to specify. It was arranged that the City Incorporations and affiliated societies should occupy certain places; and Mr. William Chalmers, land-surveyor, was appointed marshal for the occasion, to arrange the order and see that all kept their proper stations. The Peace-Officers, with their batons, lined, on either side, the approach through the South Inch avenue to the Triumphal Arch, on the left of which the Grand Stand, used at the races, had been erected, and was densely filled, chiefly by the ladies of the county. Immediately in front of this, and between it and the carriage-way, was placed a low platform, covered with crimson cloth, for the Magistrates and Town-Council. Directly opposite, and on the right of the grand barrier, was a similar erection for the Clergy of the Presbytery of Perth, and on which, long before the approach of the Queen, they had taken their station in gowns and bands. Dr. W. A. Thomson, of the Middle Church, headed this reverend body, and, in addition to the uniform clerical attire of his brethren, wore a cocked hat, as having been formerly Moderator of the General Assembly.

Such is a brief detail of the preparations; and it is now time to return, and note, in a few words, the route of the Royal visitors from Dalkeith Palace to the Fair City.

Her Majesty, her Royal Consort, and suite, left the ducal palace about nine o'clock of the morning of the 6th of September. They had a pleasant progress, including a fine passage at Queensferry, which they reached about eleven o'clock. This is not the place to give an account of that progress; but it may be mentioned, that in course of it her Majesty witnessed not a few scenes associated with interesting historical events. On nearing Kinross, and skirting the western shore of Lochleven, she had to pass, at little more than half-a-mile's distance, the lonely island which contains the grey dilapidated towers of the ancient Castle, famous as the prison-house of her beauteous but unfortunate ancestor, Mary Stewart. A standard had been hoisted on the battlements, and it is said that a shade of mournfulness dwelt for a moment on her Majesty's expressive countenance, as she appeared to be contemplating the fate of her with whose unhappy and eventful life it is so intimately associated. Her Majesty's attention was also particularly directed to the spot on the Loch side, called "Mary's Knowe," on which Mary landed on the night of her escape, 2d May, 1568, with the brave and chivalrous George Douglas.

Her Majesty at length entered Perthshire at Damhead, a little before three o'clock of that lovely afternoon, and immediately proceeded through Glenfarg, a ravine intersecting the Ochils, of more than three miles in length, and presenting all the romantic characteristics of the interesting county she had come to visit. Emerging from this enchanting defile exactly at three, the *cortège* anon reached Bridge of Earn, where, under the active superintendence of Dr. Edward, and at the expense of Sir Thomas Moncreiffe, Bart. the village had been decorated in the most elegant and picturesque style. On the top of Moredun, behind Moncreiffe House, a range of signal guns were placed, to announce to those at Dupplin and at Perth, the *debouchement* of the Royal *cortège* from Glenfarg. These continued firing while it passed along the base of the hill, and turned off at Craigend to

DUPLIN CASTLE.

The Royal party reached this splendid and hospitable mansion of the nobleman who holds the double distinction of Lord-Lyon-King-at-Arms, and Lord-Lieutenant of the County, exactly at half-past three o'clock, when her Majesty was conducted first to the Baronial Hall, a spacious apartment elegantly furnished, and containing the portraits of most of the noble ancestors of its present noble occupant. The Royal Standard, sent down for the occasion by the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, floated over the turrets of the Castle. Here also were placed the colours of the Royal Perthshire Militia, of whom the Earl of Kinnoull is himself the Colonel. Previously, a number of the carriages of the neighbouring country gentlemen drew up in an alley about 200 yards west of the grand entrance to the Castle; and at half-past one a guard of honour, consisting of a company of the Ninety-Second Highlanders, under the command of Captain Stewart, arrived, and took up their position on the lawn in front. About two o'clock the fashionable parties who had arrived in their several carriages walked down also near to the main entrance. The noble Earl was indefatigable in his attentions to all who had been invited, or who had access to the Park; and those who were thus happily privileged enjoyed the hospitality of the Castle, previous to her Majesty's arrival, in the most liberal manner.

The Queen and Prince Albert, on alighting, were received with all due respect by the noble Earl and Countess. The Royal pair were ushered through the Baronial Hall to the Library, where his

Lordship's guests were presented. The deputation from the Noblemen, Justices of the Peace, and Commissioners of Supply, presented the loyal addresses voted by their constituents, to which the Queen and her Royal Consort respectively replied. Her Majesty spoke as follows :—

I am very sensible of your expression of attachment and devotion to my person, and I assure you it is with great pleasure that I have visited this portion of my dominions.

Prince Albert acknowledged the address presented to him. His Royal Highness spoke in the following terms :—

Pray, accept of my sincere thanks for this expression of your cordial congratulations upon the first visit of the Queen and myself to the great County of Perth.

I shall always remember, with much satisfaction, the kind reception I have met with.

The City Deputation, consisting of all the Magistrates—viz. Charles Graham Sidey, Esq. Lord Provost; David Clunie, Robert Keay, John M'Euen Gray, and William Greig, Esqs. Bailies; James M'Leish, Esq. Dean of Guild; and William Halley, Esq. Treasurer—were then presented, and the Lord Provost had the honour of kissing hands. The deputation, altogether, were very graciously received. Mr. Mackenzie, the senior City-Clerk, read the following loyal address of the Magistrates and Council, in name of the citizens :—

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

May it please your Majesty,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and devoted subjects, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of the City and Royal Burgh of Perth, beg leave, with the most profound respect, and the deepest sentiments of attachment to your sacred person and government, to approach your Majesty's presence, in order to tender our joyful congratulations on the arrival of your Majesty in your ancient kingdom of Scotland.

Deeply sensible of the high honour conferred on this portion of your empire by your Majesty's gracious visit, and warmed by the strongest feelings of national gratitude and loyal affection, we gladly embrace the opportunity afforded us, of renewing our assurances of devoted loyalty and attachment to a Sovereign who has shown so sacred a regard for the liberties, and so anxious a desire to promote the welfare, of her subjects.

Our hearts exult with unfeigned joy, when we see, in our beloved Queen, the illustrious descendant of a long line of Scottish Monarchs; and we most fervently pray that it may please Divine Providence long to preserve and prosper your Majesty and your illustrious Consort, and that with every domestic blessing you may continue to reign in the hearts and affections, and preside over the destinies, of a free, happy, and loyal people.

Her Majesty, with remarkable dignity, sweetness, and grace, acknowledged that expression of loyalty and attachment thus :—

I thank you for this loyal and affectionate address.

It is with much satisfaction that I approach your ancient capital. You may be assured that I shall always feel warmly interested in the prosperity of my good City of Perth.*

Mr. Reid, Mr. Mackenzie's colleague, then advanced, and read the address to Prince Albert, as follows :—

TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS FIELD-MARSHAL PRINCE ALBERT,
DUKE OF SAXE-GOTHA, &c. &c. &c.

May it please your Royal Highness,

We, her Majesty's most dutiful and most loyal subjects, the Lord Provost, and Magistrates, and Town-Council of the City and Royal Burgh of Perth, offer our cordial congratulations on the arrival of her Majesty and your Royal Highness in her Majesty's hereditary kingdom of Scotland.

In time past the ancient City which we represent has been frequently honoured by the visits, and occasionally by the residence, of her Majesty's Royal and Illustrious Progenitors. But never have its gates been thrown open with more universal joy on the part of its inhabitants than they will be this day, to welcome the presence of a youthful and patriotic Queen, who sits enthroned in the hearts and affections of her subjects, and to greet the arrival of a Prince whose high character and manifold virtues have justly endeared him to all ranks and classes of the British people.

That our gracious Sovereign may long be spared to sway the sceptre she so gracefully wields—that her reign may be happy and eminently prosperous—and that her Majesty and your Royal Highness may, for many years, enjoy together every comfort and blessing that the world can bestow—is the humble but sincere and fervent prayer of the citizens of Perth, who will long look back to this auspicious day with the liveliest, the most pleasing, and the most joyful recollections.

The Magistrates then retired, and the Royal party, with their attendants, were ushered into the dining-hall to a most sumptuous repast. The following were the distinguished individuals who had the honour to sit at the table :—

Her Majesty ; His Royal Highness Prince Albert ; Duchess of Norfolk ; Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch ; Hon. Miss Paget ; Lord Aberdeen ; Lord Liverpool ; Sir Robert Peel ; Lord Morton ; General

* The County and City of Perth enjoyed on this occasion a very high and unexampled distinction in being graciously honoured to present the Addresses to her Majesty in person, and to receive a reply directly from the Sovereign—a privilege that previously belonged exclusively to the Corporations of London and Dublin, and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Wemyss; Colonel Bouverie; Hon. Mr. Anson; Sir James Clark; Earl of Mansfield; Countess of Mansfield; Lord and Lady and Miss Willoughby; Lord and Lady Kinnaird; Lord and Lady Ruthven; Lord Strathallan; Mr. H. H. Drummond, M.P.; Sir Charles Rowley; Lord and Lady Kinnoull, and Lady Louisa Hay; Sir George Murray, G.C.B.; Mr. Smythe of Methven; and Mr. Sheriff Whigham.

The plate which adorned the table spread for Royalty was of a description not only "rich," but "rare." The salvers and candlesticks were those presented by the King of Prussia to the late Duke of York. Other portions of it were those used by one of the Noble Earl's ancestors when Ambassador at the Court of Lisbon in 1755; the dessert service, also of pure gold, was purchased by the present Peer when in France, about two years before; and a most superb centre-piece, of the most exquisite design and delicate workmanship, towered above all the rest. The banquet was truly worthy of a Queen.

PROSPECTS AND FARTHER PREPARATIONS.

As soon as the sun broke through the eastern sky on this memorable day, the whole city was in motion. We were first aroused by the clatter of the hoofs of the Carabineers' horses, moving onwards to their appointed stations. Sallying out to the streets, we found them paraded by many anxious groups—the faces mostly unknown to us. It appeared, indeed, as if the town had been taken possession of by an invading host. It was altogether an animated scene, and every quarter of an hour added to the numbers.

The most feverish anxiety was felt on account of the weather. Appearances had been most unfavourable. On Monday the air was thick and heavy. About noon the moisture began to fall in a drizzle, which, as the afternoon advanced, increased to a soaking rain. This abated about nine o'clock, after which the streets were crowded exceedingly. Still the atmosphere was damp and uncomfortable, and gave no hopes for a fine morning. About dawn,

The sky was overcast, the morning lower'd,
And heavily in clouds came on the day.

Nor were appearances much more flattering after sunrise. The eastern clouds had assumed that lurid, ashy red hue which is generally held to betoken rain; and it was as if a wet blanket had been thrown over the early stragglers, and those who were engaged in the decorations of the various erections throughout the town. By seven o'clock, however, the wind veered from direct south to the west; the denser clouds dispelled, and the sky became beautifully

mottled in various places. At eight, the clouds began to rake, the sun came out gloriously, the Royal Standard was hoisted on the Triumphal Arch, and the hundreds of other banners flaunted gaily in the breeze. The public hopes were elevated accordingly, expectation was on tiptoe, and as the day advanced the excitement increased. Thousands of strangers were moving about from street to street, viewing the preparations going on, and which had been already made, for her Majesty's reception.

The Triumphal Arch at Marshall Place, already alluded to, was now fully finished, and formed one grand point of attraction. It was a noble structure, alike chaste, elegant, and graceful in its proportions—the different members beautifully harmonising with one another. The general features of the plan were Doric, but in the details there was no rigid adherence to any particular order of architecture. The height was about 40 feet: the principal arch about 26, surmounted by an entablature of 14, and above the whole, six vases on either front, with a flag-staff 25 feet high, bearing the Royal Standard. The width of the carriage-way was about 16 feet, and on either side there was a smaller arch for foot passengers, 6½ feet wide by 15 high. The main pillars were 7 feet square, and the upper part of each pilaster presented a pannel emblazoned with the city arms. On the triangular compartments, betwixt these and the architrave of the large arch, were fanciful representations of Fame in the act of blowing her trumpet. On the architrave itself the letters, composing the word "VICTORIA," were disposed in fine relievo. Next, above this, there was a massy frieze, the under part of the entablature, surmounted by a massy ornamental cornice. The upper parapet was divided into pannelled pilasters, with intervening wreaths; and on the top of the pilasters, terminating the whole, were the ornamental vases and flag-staff already mentioned. The folding doors were painted in imitation of oak, and adorned with ornamental spikes along the tops.

The next erection specially claiming notice was the splendid Gateway, with side wickets, erected by Mr. Wallace, her Majesty's coach-builder, extending over the whole width of Athole Street, through which the Royal *cortège* had to pass on the following day, *en route* for Dunkeld. The principal arch had a very graceful bend, and the smaller ones flanking it were of the same order. The pillars, painted granite, belonged to the Ionic. The frieze supported an immense transparency, representing the City Arms, with the letters "V. A." large, prominent, and beautifully orna-

mented, and the words "Prince Albert" on a scroll above. Over the side arches were smaller transparencies: that on the right exhibiting the City Arms, with "Welcome Victoria" on scrolls above and below; and that on the left representing the Prince of Wales' feather and motto, with "Welcome Prince Albert" disposed similarly to the other. This grand erection attracted universal attention, and when lighted up with gas in the evening had a most brilliant and striking effect. On the top of the columns were placed busts of the immortal Scott and Byron, under which, on the pedestal blocks, were stars in gold, of the Brunswick order, and one to correspond upon the key-stone. The span of the centre arch was 24 feet 9 inches, the side arches being 13 feet 10 inches wide, by 14 feet in height. This stupendous structure was surmounted by a flag-staff 40 feet high, on the extremity of which floated proudly in the breeze a flag quartered with the Union Jack, and in the centre the national arms of Scotland, at a height of 80 feet from the base.

The carriages, prepared also by Mr. Wallace, for the Magistrates, were gorgeously emblazoned with the arms of the City; and the scarlet hammercloths, with massy gold eagles on their ample folds, gave them a most courtly and regal appearance.

The inhabitants of Bridgend, aided chiefly by the liberality of Mr. Turnbull of Bellwood, were for a week engaged in the erection of an arch on the Bridge, of a unique structure, which was the admiration of all beholders, and seemed to be particularly remarked by the Queen herself.

The numerous galleries erected in Princes Street assumed a rich appearance during the morning. Their fronts were emblazoned with devices, and their pillars tastefully garnished with flowering shrubs and evergreens. In every part of the town through which the procession was to pass, every opening or recess which could be turned to account was occupied by a temporary balcony, and the whole presented a heart-stirring scene of bustle and animation.

On Monday forenoon, positive information having been received as to the route by which the Queen would go to, and return from, Dupplin Castle, and enter the City, a proclamation was immediately issued by the Magistrates, informing the public on the subject, and as to the order to be observed in receiving her Majesty, and escorting her through the Town. It ran thus:—

On her Majesty's arrival within sight of the Barrier, the City Gate will be thrown open, and the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town-

Council will proceed onwards, preceded by the Town-Officers, and lined by the High Constables. The Officers will fall back on the arrival of the Royal carriage, so as to allow the Lord Provost and Magistrates to have access thereto. The Keys will be carried towards the carriage, on a crimson cushion, by the City Chamberlain, who, upon giving the Keys to the Lord Provost, will retire until the ceremony of presenting them has been completed, immediately after which he will again take charge of them from the Lord Provost.

This ceremony being completed, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council, will resume their carriages, and conduct her Majesty through the Town. The High Constables will line the carriages of the Magistrates and Council, but all the other bodies of every description will keep their places strictly, and prevent any rushing or crowding after the Royal carriages.

The Royal *cortège* will pass along Princes Street, St. John Street, George Street, and the Bridge. The Bridge must be kept strictly clear from end to end. Upon arriving at Bridgend, the civic carriages will open up and allow the Royal party to pass on to Scone. The whole public bodies, and others who are to line the streets, will take care to keep their respective stations, and remain stationary both before the arrival of the Royal carriages, while they are passing, and for some time after they are past. And the Magistrates trust that every loyal and dutiful subject will exert himself in preserving order and decorum, and giving our young and patriotic Queen a welcome and happy reception, and such as becomes our ancient and Fair City.

ARRIVAL AT PERTH.

After remaining under the hospitable roof of the Lord-Lieutenant for nearly two hours, the progress to Perth was resumed; and, returning by the same line to Craighend, the august procession made its appearance at the *Cloven Craigs* exactly at six o'clock. Its departure from Dupplin had been announced by signal, when immediately the city bells were set a-ringing; and premonition of its approach was given by the firing of guns from Moredun, which were responded to by others stationed on Bellwood Terrace, and by the bells of the churches, whose clangour mingled with the roar of "red artillery." The excitement of the assembled multitude was now at its highest pitch, and the thousands who thronged the numerous galleries and lined the streets, awaited with thrilling interest the pageant which, in a few minutes, was to gratify their senses. The cavalcade advanced along the South Inch avenue at a round pace; but, on reaching the point where the magnificent Triumphal Arch at the extremity of Princes Street came fully into view, the horses were gradually drawn up, and the Royal carriage came slowly on

to the front of the barrier. Here the shouts of the multitude rent the air, and their joyous acclamations were loudly reiterated and prolonged. Immediately outside the gates, on the east side of the approach, the Magistrates and Town-Council—the former in their court dresses—welcomed the Royal visitors. The civic body occupied a slightly elevated platform, covered with crimson cloth, extending the whole length of the grand stand, and stretching outwards to nearly the centre of the roadway. On this the Lord Provost and Magistrates walked out to present their greetings and tender their homage to the Sovereign. They were cordially received with that dignity and ease for which her Majesty is so particularly distinguished. Kneeling on a stool, about a foot in height, and covered with crimson velvet, the Lord Provost, having had the Keys of the City handed him by the City Chamberlain, respectfully presented them on a crimson velvet cushion to the Queen, whom he at the sametime addressed in the following terms:—

May it please your Majesty,

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Town-Council of the City of Perth, most respectfully congratulate your Majesty upon your safe arrival at the Ancient Capital of your Majesty's Hereditary Kingdom of Scotland, and bid you welcome to the favourite City of your Majesty's illustrious ancestor, King James the Sixth, who conferred upon it many valuable privileges.

Permit me, most Gracious Sovereign, in the name of, and as representing, this Community, to place at your disposal the Keys of this your City of Perth, and with them to offer the renewed assurance of an unalterable fidelity and attachment to your Majesty's most sacred person and government, and of our warmest aspirations for your Majesty's health, happiness, and comfort.

To this the Queen most graciously replied—

My Lord Provost,

I have great pleasure in returning to you these Keys. I am quite satisfied that they cannot possibly be in better hands.

At the sametime was presented to his Royal Highness Prince Albert, the Freedom of our City, in these words:—

May it please your Royal Highness,

In the name of the Town-Council and Community of Perth, I have much pleasure in requesting your Royal Highness's gracious acceptance of the Freedom of the City—the highest compliment we have it in our power to bestow; and which, assuredly, was never more worthily conferred than upon a Prince who enjoys, in so remarkable a degree, the respect, affection, and esteem of the British public.

The Prince rose in the carriage and said—

Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Perth,

I return you my warmest thanks for the cordial welcome you have given us to the ancient City of Perth. I accept with pleasure this address, and I take this opportunity of returning my best acknowledgments for the honour which the City of Perth has conferred upon me by electing me to its freedom.

After another humble obeisance the Magistrates retired, and instantly proceeded to their carriages* within the gates. The Royal chariot having passed the barrier, the joyous acclamations were renewed and redoubled, and a splendid *coup d'œil* met the eyes of the Monarch. Along the whole line of Princes Street extensive galleries were filled, partly by respectable strangers, but chiefly by the fairest maids of the Fair City, and its "sonsy" matrons; and many a lily hand waved the cambric handkerchief, in gay response to the deafening shouts of the rougher sex.

HIGH CONSTABLES.

The High Constables had assembled about noon, on the parade adjoining the Council-House, in their new uniform and equipments; and when the Magistrates took their departure—to meet the Queen at Dupplin, and present the City Address—they marched, four deep, to the Triumphal Arch, at the extremity of Princes Street, and took up their appointed station immediately within the barrier, on either side, and kept that post for several hours, until the return of the civic deputation about five o'clock, when the files opened out, and the Magistrates took their places on foot between them, facing the folding gates, which were then thrown open, and there awaited the approach of the Royal *cortège*. Immediately on her Majesty's carriage drawing up in front of the Triumphal Arch, the Magistrates advanced—the members of the High Constables defiling to the right and left, and skirting the Royal chariot on either side—while the imposing ceremony of the presentation of the City Keys to the Queen, and the Freedom of the Corporation to Prince Albert, was going on, amid the acclamations of the multitudes who thronged the numerous balconies

* This splendid ceremony took place on the site of Cromwell's fortification, or citadel—the precise spot inclining only a few yards from the centre, towards the north-west corner.

and platforms, arrayed in their gayest attire. The scene is described by a graphic delineator of the ceremonial as having in it "much of the grand and sublime."

The High Constables advanced in double files on either side—the two front divisions flanking the Magisterial carriages, the two rear companies guarding that of her Majesty and Prince Albert—the small military escort giving way to the civic columns, and falling back close upon the rear; and thus, although not specially so arranged, the members of this Society actually had the honour of acting as body-guard to the Queen and her Royal Consort through the streets of our fair and ancient City. The Royal Victoria of Great Britain, the Sovereign of the mightiest and most extensive empire on earth, thus passed through the ancient VICTORIA, amid the acclamations of at least 100,000 of her faithful subjects, with only half-a-dozen Carabineers (three in front and three behind) and two officers as a military escort, being the only military force in or near the city—an instance of Royal confidence and popular loyalty alike honourable to the Queen and her people. As the High Constables had this high honour, it may be nothing more than justice to them here to record the muster-roll on that august occasion.

The active force of the body in the spirit-stirring work of this auspicious day consisted of exactly sixty-eight members, besides John Macfarlane, Esq. Moderator and Commander. Besides these, there were several other members officially engaged at the head of other societies and incorporations, or as members of the Magistracy or Town-Council:—

FIRST DIVISION—*under Captain CROLL.*

Robert Ancell, gunmaker.
James Annan, plasterer.
William Brisbane, corkcutter.
James Brough, joiner.
David Cameron, perfumer.
William Cameron, builder.
Robert Cairnie, bellhanger.
Peter Comrie, painter.
George Croll, reedmaker (Captain).
John Dall, superintendent of Perth mills.

David Dandie, druggist.
David Dron, printer.
Stewart Duncan, haberdasher.
William Cairnie, hatter.
William Cuthbert, coachbuilder.
James Dewar, woollen-draper.
John Dewar, spirit-merchant.
James Douglas, brassfounder.
James Chalmers, woollen-draper.

SECOND DIVISION—*under Captain HEWAT.*

Peter Robert Drummond, bookseller.
James Duff, cabinetmaker.
Buchanan Dunsmore, woollen-draper.
Thomas Edward, auctioneer.
William Murray Farney, shoemaker.
Walter Foyer, hatter.
David Gibson, plasterer.
Kirkwood Hewat, tallow-chandler (Capt.)
William Imrie, leather-merchant.

Peter Imrie, cabinetmaker.
John Wilson Jameson, banker.
Thomas Lennox, grocer.
James Fairbairn, engraver.
James Gardiner, watchmaker.
John Gray, grocer.
Alexander Fleming, tailor.
James Beatson Isdale, draper.
Andrew Heiton, architect.

THIRD DIVISION—*under Captain MURIE.*

Alexander Miller, wine-merchant.
 David Miller, merchant.
 James Mitchell, grocer.
 Thomas Menzies, innkeeper.
 James Morris, collector of harbour dues.
 David Murie, general agent (Captain).
 J. Macfarlane, ironfounder (Moderator).
 James Macfarlane, watchmaker.
 John M'Glashan, tool-cutter.

John M'Nab, watchmaker.
 Richard M'Lean, bootmaker.
 Charles Paton, bookseller.
 David Peacock, music teacher (Clerk and Treasurer).
 Wm. Pearson, silk-mercer and draper.
 Joseph Ranson, glass and china merchant.
 James Ritchie, do. do.

FOURTH DIVISION—*under Captain SHEDDEN.*

Thomas Richardson, bookseller.
 Donald Robertson, Star Hotel.
 Robert Hay Robertson, grocer, &c.
 James Robson, music teacher.
 David Ross, merchant (Ex-Moderator).
 Andrew Roy, grocer.
 Alexander Scott, writer (Secretary).
 Charles Scott, cabinetmaker.

Andrew Sharp, baker.
 Charles Shedden, watchmaker.
 John Storer, merchant.
 Peter Tait, shoemaker.
 Alexander Tulloch, tailor and clothier.
 William Tulloch, saddler.
 Alexander Watson, shoemaker.

And these were the only parties, besides the Municipal authorities, who had the distinguished honour to take part and move in this memorable pageant.

The august cavalcade, thus escorted, moved along in accordance with the programme. The Bridge was barricaded at both ends, and it was arranged, that, besides the Magistrates and Council, the High Constables should alone proceed to the other side, while the Royal visitors were thus crossing the river—in order that her Majesty and his Royal Highness might enjoy, undisturbed, from that open and elevated position, the charming prospect which displayed itself on every hand, gilded by the roseate glow of the now declining sun, on one of the loveliest of autumnal evenings. Oftener than once did the Royal pair desire the postilions to draw up, while they seemed rapt in the contemplation of our magnificent river, and the sylvan beauty of the scenery on its banks.

At Bridgend of Kinnoull, similar demonstrations of welcome and of joy saluted the ears of the Royal party, and the whole line of road to the Palace of Scone was crowded with spectators, who continued the shout of enthusiasm until the cavalcade had entered the Park. Here, again, the scene was one of remarkable animation. An immense number of the tenantry of the county had, on the kind invitation of the noble Earl of Mansfield, assembled on horseback; and, we may safely say, that the flower of Scotland's yeomanry graced the scene.

The retinue of the Royal pair were nearly the same as those, unconnected with this county, who composed the dinner party at Dupplin. Sir Robert Peel was enthusiastically cheered throughout the City route.

The Royal *entrè* thus took place with courtly ceremony, amid

the acclamations of countless thousands, among whom there evidently prevailed but one unalloyed feeling of loyalty and delight. Her Majesty, as already stated, had the keys of the Fair City presented in due form—and it was perhaps not unfitting, although the consequence of strange and unaccountable *contretemps* in another quarter, that this should be the first City in the Royal Victoria's Scottish dominions thus honoured with such a ceremonial on approaching it, seeing that it was thus providentially, we may say, at the gates of the ancient VICTORIA that it took place—for historians tell us, that when the Roman legions who so much admired our delightful locality, first planted a military station where the City of Perth stands, they, by something like a prophetic coincidence, gave it the distinctive title, VICTORIA !

THE BANQUET.

About seven o'clock, nearly 500 denizens of the city, with a number of respectable gentlemen from the county, sat down to a sumptuous banquet in the City-Hall. The Lord Provost presided with great taste ; and in the judicious remarks with which he introduced the leading toasts, gave expression to the sentiments and feelings of the company, which were evinced by the enthusiastic manner in which they were responded to. Our loyalty prompts us at all times to give due demonstration of respect to the toast of the Sovereign and the Royal Family ; but, it may be readily believed, that never on any former occasion was this toast drank with such heartfelt fervour. The National Anthem was sung with, we may almost say, a fervent feeling of devotion—the solo parts led with remarkable energy by the celebrated vocalist, Mr. Wilson, accompanied by Mr. Land, Director of the Chorus in Drury-Lane Theatre, and Mr. Peacock of this city. The instrumental department was conducted by Mr. R. B. Stewart, leader of the Musard Concerts, Edinburgh—the orchestra consisting of the principal members of that band.

The delicacies were provided by Mr. Gloag, wine-merchant, Athole Street—Law-Librarian and Keeper of the County Buildings—and altogether the fruits, confections, &c. were such as to do him general credit in the selection, and no cost seemed to have been spared to render the entertainment worthy of the occasion.

SCONE PALACE.

This ancient palace, so celebrated in Scottish annals, situated

on the east bank of the Tay, about two miles, by the road, from Perth, is thus described in that recent and useful work, Anderson's *Guide*:—"The building is an oblong hollow square of three storeys; the under and upper ones are low, flanked on either side and end by square and octagonal towers. It commands a beautiful and fertile view across the Tay, and up Glen Almond, standing on a level space of shaven turf, and being screened on two sides by a wall of foliage; on the others, rather formally lined by a gravel walk, bordered by a low battlemented wall, succeeded by a parterre of flowers and a green slope, which are again enclosed by another battlemented wall. The gallery is 150 feet long. The drawing-room, which is also a fine apartment, is hung with figured Lyons silk, and the seats are covered with the Beauvais tapestry, with well executed figures. Cabinets of tortoise-shell, ebony, buhl, and Japan work, abound, some of which were gifted by James the Sixth." But amongst the most precious relics in Scone are a bed and screen wrought by Queen Mary, to while away the tedious hours of imprisonment in Lochleven Castle. The stone on which the early Scottish kings sat at their inauguration was removed to London by Edward the First, and is now in the Confessor's Chapel in Westminster.

Originally there was an Abbey here, of which the Earl of Gowrie was Commendator at the time of the Gowrie conspiracy, in 1600. The lands having been forfeited, through this transaction, to the Crown, James the Sixth erected the Abbey into a temporal lordship, and conferred the possessions on Sir David Murray of Gospetrie, his cup-bearer, to whose intervention the Monarch ascribed his life on that occasion. Sir David, who was one of the Scottish courtiers who accompanied James to England, was created Lord Scone in 1605, and Viscount Stormont in 1621. The present Earl, who is great-grand-nephew of the Lord Chief-Justice, is the ninth Viscount Stormont, and fourth Earl of Mansfield. The Earl of Gowrie had begun to erect a residence near the Abbey, to which farther additions were from time to time made by the Stormont family. The present palace is built on the same site, but bears little or no resemblance to the old building. The only part that has been in any degree retained is the gallery, but which has been a little circumscribed in length.

The general furnishings of the rooms set apart for her Majesty and Prince Albert, were of oak, in the Gothic style. The sofas, chairs, and dressing-glasses were of gold, and the ornamental parts

of the furnishings were of buhl and walnut. The Royal state bed has Gothic oak pillars, groined roof, and arched cornices of the finest carved Gothic work. The curtains were of white silk, richly trimmed with gold lace and crimson silk velvet. The toilet table has a splendid cover of gold net work and crimson velvet, with gold fringe. The toilet plate was all of gold, with an elegant glass. The foot-cloth was of the same rich material with the table-cover. Antique time-pieces, richly ornamented, were in each room, and the mirrors in the principal bed-room and side-rooms were exceedingly elegant, in gold and oak frames.

As the afternoon advanced, the carriages of the noble guests who had been invited to meet her Majesty passed successively along; and when Lord Mansfield himself was seen, on his return from Dupplin, all became aware that the Queen was not far from Perth. The signals of her Majesty's approach, and soon after the shouts that welcomed her in the city, were also distinctly heard. Soon afterwards the Royal *cortège* entered the park, and passed through amidst loud and loyal shouts. Conducted by the Honourable Captain Murray, on horseback, the carriages drove rapidly up to the grand entrance, where her Majesty was received by the Earl, the Countess-Dowager of Mansfield, and the Ladies Murray. The whole scene at this time was most impressive; the quiet magnificence of all the arrangements was in admirable keeping with the fine situation and great extent of the palace, its elegant and most spacious apartments, and the historical recollections with which Scone is associated. Every heart beat warmly with loyal affection when the Royal flag was seen streaming in massive folds from the tower; the Queen's Anthem, admirably played by the band of the Sixth Dragoons, stationed near the entrance, and the Royal salute of twenty-one guns, announced that the public events of this interesting day had closed.

Her Majesty entered the dining-room at eight o'clock. The company at dinner included the Queen, Prince Albert, Earl of Mansfield, Countess-Dowager of Mansfield, the Ladies Murray, Honourable Captain Murray, Earl of Aberdeen, Earl of Liverpool, Duke of Buccleuch, Duchess of Buccleuch, Sir Robert Peel, Duchess of Norfolk, Earl of Kinnoull, Countess of Kinnoull, Lord Kinnaird, Lady Kinnaird, Lady Glenlyon, &c. and those in the Royal suite. The entertainments were truly of a princely character. The tables were studded with the choicest viands, and every delicacy which nature or art could furnish graced the hospitable

board. The splendid suite of public rooms were thrown open and brilliantly lighted up. The dessert was of the most *recherche* description. His Lordship spared no pains or expense to make the entertainments generally worthy of his Royal and illustrious guests. The well-known author of *The Italian Confectionary*, Monsieur Jarrin, was engaged to execute and superintend the whole. The beauty of the fruit, so tastefully laid out, was admirable, and the great variety of the biscuits generally bore the device of the Crown and Thistle, with the word *Scone* in ancient Scotch. The comote bonbons had mottos appropriate to the occasion. Every dish was adorned with the arms of the noble family of Mansfield. In the flank opposite her Majesty were cupids bedecked with Scottish drapery, kneeling in the attitude of prayer, with exquisite expression of devotion. Attached to each was a shield bearing the inscription, "*Je prie Dieu pour la Reine.*" At the four corners of the table were various fanciful figures, as Jeans d'Arc, Mandarins, Dancers, &c. Nothing was forgotten in the decorations, not even the butterfly or the bee, as partaking of the dessert before the Queen. The whole was superbly splendid—quite in the style of the banquets of *Louis Quatorze*. The fine band of the Carabineers played in the vestibule during the feast. The Royal guests retired about eleven o'clock.

Wednesday, September 7.

About half-past eight, A.M. the Queen and Prince Albert walked around the terraces and in the garden, quite unattended, enjoying some of the rich views of the Tay and surrounding scenery. Before her Majesty and his Royal Highness left Scone, on the journey to Dunkeld, the Magistrates of Perth sent a deputation (Bailies Robert Keay and John M'Euen Gray) to the palace to solicit the honour of her Majesty's signature to the Guildry Book of Perth, in imitation of the precedents of James the Sixth and Charles the Second, the latter Monarch having been crowned at Scone 1st January, 1651, being the last occasion on which that august ceremony was performed on this consecrated ground, although the unfortunate James, as well as Prince Charles, both visited Scone—the former during the rebellion of 1715, and the latter during that of 1745. The seat in which Charles the Second is supposed to have sat during part of the ceremony, is still preserved in the parish church, as the seat of the Scone family, and is formed of richly carved oak. Sir Robert Peel examined the ancient Guldry records with much interest, especially the following signatures:—

1601. *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.* JAMES R.

Nemo me impune lacesset. CHARLES R.

July 24, 1650.

Sir Robert Peel having carried the book to the Queen, her Majesty and the Prince recorded their names as follows:—

Dieu et mon Droit. VICTORIA R.

Scone Palace, September 7, 1842.

Treu und Fest. ALBERT.

Scone Palace, September 7, 1842.

Sir Robert Peel treated the deputation with great civility. In reference to the arrangements for her Majesty's entrance into Perth, he said—"The arrangements *were most admirable, and the scene was beautiful. I never saw any thing so striking in all my life.* I wrote off last night to Sir James Graham,* telling him of your admirable arrangements, and how well order was observed. I was quite delighted with the reception of her Majesty; and these sentiments, I assure you, are participated in by her Majesty and Prince Albert."

Although it was well known that her Majesty would not leave Scone Palace till eleven o'clock, forenoon, yet so anxious were her loyal subjects of the Fair City and neighbourhood to have a farewell glimpse of their beloved Sovereign, that the whole of the way from Scone to Bridgend, and from the Bridge down Charlotte Street, along Athole Place and Crescent, up Athole Street, and for a great distance along the Dunkeld Road—in fact, as far as the eye could reach—was literally crowded with happy thousands, nearly two hours before the intended time of departure. Her Majesty started from Scone about half-past eleven, and had passed the Barracks, and was gliding on her way to Dunkeld, by a quarter to twelve. Lord Mansfield rode close beside the Royal carriage from his own residence to Dunkeld. Along the whole of the animated line the cheering was hearty and loud, and was graciously acknowledged by her Majesty and Prince Albert, the latter of whom bowed respectfully to the exulting crowd, as the Royal *cortege* gaily passed along.

The road from Perth to Dunkeld exhibited a very animated and picturesque appearance. Triumphal arches were reared at every little distance—that at the end of Stanley road, where almost the entire population of that large and beautiful manufacturing village, were congregated on a braeside immediately beyond the arch,

* At that time Secretary of State for the Home Department.

dressed in their gayest attire, and ranged in rows amongst the furze and broom—a sight truly delightful. Numerous houses along the road were decked with flowers and evergreens; flags were hoisted on the tops of houses, suspended from windows, and planted on the tops of the adjoining hills.

DUNKELD.

The Athole clans, in full uniform, led by their respective chiefs, and commanded by Lord Glenlyon, made a very imposing and martial appearance. The Hon. Captain Murray, his Lordship's brother, led the Grenadier company, sixty strong—the men composing which were six feet, and upwards, in height—clad in Athole tartan, with white belts, and having the word *Athole* inscribed on their knapsacks, and carrying battle-axes. Captains Drummond and M'Duff followed with a hundred men similarly dressed, armed with swords and targets. The Duke of Leeds (Viscount Dunblane) followed with his clan, clothed in Dunblane tartan. Next came M'Inroy of Lude's men, who wore the Athole tartan, with black jackets and belts. The Kindrogan, Dirnanean, Faskally, Balnakeilly, Middlehaugh, Urrard, and Tullymet clans followed, in their respective tartans, led by their chiefs and officers. After the clans came the tenantry, in the Highland costume. Together, they formed a body upwards of eight hundred strong, and their general appearance commanded the admiration of all present. The commissary stores, with the Dragoon Guards, closed the procession. The royal standard of Scotland was hoisted on the tower of the Lodge leading to the Athole grounds, and on the great tower of the Cathedral. The royal tent stood on the lawn, to the east of the Cathedral; and on the north was a large marquee, 100 feet in length by $33\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth, twenty-two military bell-tents, and four larger tents for the officers. The royal tent was 64 feet by 20 feet, supported by sheers; at the north end was a mirror, 10 feet by 6; the angles of it were decorated with orange trees. The retiring rooms were lined with scarlet and white, and the boarded floor covered with crimson.

About one o'clock in the afternoon, the Cathedral bells announced that the Queen was in sight. The Grenadier Highlanders, under the command of Captain Drummond, then marched out and escorted her Majesty to the Athole grounds. When crossing the Dunkeld Bridge, the scenery seemed greatly to please her Majesty and Prince Albert. This view is one of the finest in the High-

lands, combining the rugged grandeur of the Alpine scenery with a luxuriance of foliage. On reaching the park, her Majesty was received by Lord and Lady Glenlyon, and a royal salute was fired from Stanley Hill. Her Majesty then rose in the carriage, and bowed most graciously to all around. After alighting at the tent, the Royal Pair walked along the line of the clans. The Masonic and Friendly Societies came in for their share of royal attention, the Queen being much pleased with their appearance. Her Majesty first walked up in front of the clans, and then returned between the ranks.

At two o'clock, a princely *dejeuner* was served in the royal tent to a company of thirty-four persons. The Athole servants in waiting all wore the kilt. Lord Glenlyon sat on the right of the Queen, and Lady Glenlyon on the left of Prince Albert. Among the party in the tent were—the Duchess of Norfolk and the Duke of Leeds; the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch; Earl of Aberdeen; Earls and Countesses Mansfield and Kinnoull; Lord and Lady Kinnaird; Lord Strathallan; Dowager Lady Glenlyon; Henry Home Drummond, Esq. M.P. and Lady; Lady Moncrieffe; Sir Robert Peel; Sir James Clarke; the Hon. Captain James Murray; Hon. Miss Murray; Sir John and Lady Mackenzie; Sir Charles Rowley; Lords Dupplin and Stormont, &c. The dessert, elegant as it was abundant, consisted of queen pine-apples, grapes, peaches, &c. currants *en chemise*, and ices in infinite variety. The pine-apples were served up on a splendid *assiette monte*, surrounded with grapes, and embellished with silken banners, with the National and Athole Arms. The service was of massive silver. Athole brose was served to the Queen out of Neil Gow's glass, preserved by the Athole family. It is of an ancient form, has the initials N. G. cut on the side, and holds nearly a quart. The wines and liqueurs were most choice, with iced Seltzer waters, of which her Majesty generally partakes. After luncheon, her Majesty expressed a wish to see the Sword Dance (Ghillie Callum), the Hullachan, and a Highland Reel, which was instantly complied with in the right Scottish style, by both clansmen and chiefs. The chiefs and officers of the clans were introduced to her Majesty, and kissed hands in the royal tent.

At three o'clock, her Majesty entered the royal carriage and took her departure for Taymouth, under a royal salute from Stanley Hill. A guard of sixty Highlanders, armed with Lochaber axes, and preceded by eight pipers, accompanied the Queen a short

way on the route. Her Majesty, before departing, expressed herself highly gratified with her reception. It is impossible to describe the *tout ensemble* in the park, it was so magnificently striking.

Her Majesty approached Taymouth by the southern side of the Tay, passing the snug village of Inver in the commencement of her route. This is the birthplace of Neil Gow, a name that has long been a household word in Scotland. It was he whose genius and fancy may be almost said to have given a new tone to Scottish music, such was the fire and animation he breathed into the national airs—and also into his own characteristic and inimitable compositions, of which he has left a great number to cheer and animate his countrymen. An accomplished writer of the day, from whom we quote, takes notice that “he was the contemporary and the kindred spirit of Burns; but while the effusions of the latter remain on imperishable record, alas! there are now few left who have listened to the wonderful strains of Gow, or who can still conjure up the vivid lines of that lively and expressive countenance, as it kindled under the inspiring theme. If it were pardonable to indulge the vain and foolish idea, we could fancy the emotions of her Majesty, and of all susceptible hearts, had Neil Gow been in Taymouth Halls to have lent his accompaniment to our own inimitable Wilson, as he greeted the royal ear with the touching ballad, *Wae’s me for Prince Charlie!*”

TAYMOUTH CASTLE.

This magnificent *chateau*, the princely seat of the Marquess of Breadalbane, combines all the elements of the picturesque—the grandeur of mountain scenery, the beauty of the woodland, and the freshness of the stream. The Castle is a very large quadrangular building of four storeys, with wings, and a central tower 150 feet in height. It is situated near the foot of Drummond Hill, which is covered with luxuriant foliage, the Tay winding beautifully behind the Castle, and between it and the base of the hill. In front there is an extensive lawn, which, after presenting a fine level for a considerable space, is seen to ascend the opposite side of the valley, until it joins the forest which runs to the top of the mountain. Towards the west stretches Loch Tay, beyond which the eye loses itself amid Alpine scenery—Ben Lawers and Ben More towering in the back ground in all their rugged grandeur. In short, the situation of Taymouth Castle, as well as the scenery along the road from Dunkeld by the banks of the beautiful Tay, possesses charms

to the lover of the picturesque which even the Western Highlands of Scotland can scarcely surpass. Here are to be found all the princely grandeur and luxurious appliances of the most celebrated seats in England; but with these are conjoined those wild and romantic surrounding features, before which all the vain efforts of skill to create and adorn would only resolve into presumption and mockery. These particulars are stated for readers at a distance; to most of those in this quarter they are already familiar facts.

It was generally known that the Royal party would not reach Taymouth Castle until five o'clock in the afternoon; but such was the enthusiasm of the Highlanders, and so little did they think of a long watch when it was to be rewarded by the sight of their Sovereign and her beloved consort, that the whole district for many miles around was astir at an early hour in the morning. The scene in the vicinity of the Castle was an animated picture of life and bustle, Highlanders in their native attire being seen in every direction, in addition to the regular companies who had been equipped and drilled for the occasion, waiting in readiness for the Royal approach. The company of the gallant Ninety-Second also appeared; and at a little past one o'clock a troop of the Sixth Carabineers arrived, under the command of Major Hay. The strains of the bagpipes were now heard in the distance; and soon after the Clan Menzies emerged from the wood in their gay red tartan, headed by their venerable Chieftain, Sir Neil Menzies, Bart. mounted on a beautiful white pony. The son of Sir Neil, along with Mr. Menzies of Chesthill, and several gentlemen of the clan, were in the number; the family of the Chieftain, and numerous ladies, also appeared in the tartan of the race, and attracted general admiration. For about an hour and a half the whole of the Highlanders and troops remained in the order arranged for the Royal reception, which was as follows:—On either side of the grand entrance to the Castle, and forming a semicircle, there was stationed a single file of Highlanders, armed with bucklers; these were joined on the right, looking from the hall door, by the company of the Ninety-Second Highlanders, who were succeeded by the deer-beaters, armed with rifles, and attired in a Highland costume of shepherd tartan; the line immediately in front of the Castle was formed by the Royal Breadalbane Highlanders,* who reached to

* The following were the Officers of the Royal Breadalbane Highlanders:—
Colonel—The Marquess of Breadalbane, K.T.

the eastern avenue, through which the *cortège* was to pass. On the other side of the avenue the dragoons were drawn up, who, thus united with the body of bucklermen on the east side of the entrance, formed a complete cordon, with the exception of the breadth of the avenue by which the Royal party were to approach. This avenue was lined by the Menzies Highlanders. There was an open space in the lawn immediately opposite to the grand entrance, which was lined by the Breadalbane boatmen, bearing flags, and habited in white trousers, with jackets of the clan tartan, and north-westerners of the same material, encircled with a gold band. The band of the Sixty-Sixth * was stationed on the lawn immediately behind the array of Highlanders, while the pipers were arranged in front. In addition, a splendid body of Highlanders, armed with Lochaber axes and halberts, lined the grand entrance. These were under the command of Sir Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, Bart. whose gigantic but finely-proportioned figure, distinguished as it was amidst the throng, afforded no inapt image of the men who figured in the days of Wallace and Bruce. On the balcony in front of the Castle four picked Highlanders were stationed at intervals, bearing the Breadalbane standards; and in the centre, immediately over the grand entrance, Captain Macdougall, of the Royal Navy, wearing on his breast the celebrated Brooch of Lorne, awaited to uplift the Royal Standard, which at this time hung over

Lieutenant-Colonel—William John Lamb Campbell, Esq. of Glenfalloch.

CAPTAINS.

Grenadier Company—Captain Charles William Campbell of Boreland.

Light Company—George Andrew Campbell, Esq. of Edinample.

First Centre Company—William Bowie Stewart Campbell, Esq. of Clochfoldich.

Second Centre Company—John Renton Campbell, Esq. of Lamberton.

Third Centre Company—Francis Garden Campbell, Esq. of Glenlyon.

First Lieutenant do.—Captain William Campbell of Auch, late Thirty-Eighth Foot.

First Adjutant—Major Campbell of Melfort.

Second Adjutant—Captain David Campbell, late Ninety-First Foot.

Principal Standard-Bearer—John Alexander Gavin Campbell, Esq. yr. of Glenfalloch.

Lochaber-Axe Men—Commanded by Sir Alexander Campbell of Barcaldine, Bart.

Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp to the Colonel—Captain de Satrustequi, Knight of St. Ferdinand.

* The band of the Sixty-Sixth played the requiem or funeral anthem at the obsequies of Napoleon Bonaparte—that corps forming part of the garrison of St. Helena.

the entrance. Numbers were admitted to take their places close to the cordon, while a space of several yards was kept open in the rear, and which was closed up by the Breadalbane nautical party, with numerous banners; behind these banners there was another array of spectators. From an early hour, two of the Admiralty bargemen, in the Royal uniform, with the prominent symbol of their order on the right arm, were observed on the turrets of the western quadrangle, where the Breadalbane flag was floating, their duty being to substitute the Royal Standard as soon as her Majesty approached.

All was thus in imposing array for a considerable time before the arrival of the Queen and the Prince, the noble Marquess, along with the Right Honourable Fox Maule, and other Chieftains, being seen moving amidst the assemblage, and giving the necessary directions. The noble Marquess, who looked every inch a Chief, wore the Highland garb, in which he appeared to great advantage. The jacket was of rich silk velvet, and the other parts of his dress were also composed of the finest silk, while his arms and appointments were of the costliest description, the *tout ensemble* being chaste—"rich, not gaudy." Mr. Maule, deep-chested and strongly made, was magnificently attired in the Campbell tartan. There, too, was Glenfalloch, portly and vigorous, and his countenance beaming with *bonhomie*. His son, a handsome young man, acted as the bearer of the Breadalbane standard. Mr. Bowie Campbell, of Clochfoldich, also attracted general notice by his elegant and manly bearing; as did the youthful heir of the great house of Argyll.

At half-past six o'clock, the signal was given that her Majesty had entered the grounds, and two minutes afterwards the cheering was heard towards the east. The helmets of the Dragoons were at the same time seen glancing through the trees, and in a few seconds more the Royal carriage was observed slowly advancing down the eminence. On reaching the gate of the barrier formed by the invisible fence, and where a large crowd was assembled, a loud and far-resounding cheer hailed her Majesty and Prince Albert. The Royal *cortège* advanced, and was immediately in front of the Castle, when the cheering became deafening—the Highlanders and the military giving their respective salutes, the band striking up the National Anthem, the pipers sounding their long and shrill salute, the boatmen waving their colours, and the general spectators vying in their enthusiastic expressions of loyal attachment. The

Duke of Buccleuch, the Duke of Roxburgh, the Earl of Kinnoull, the Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Belhaven, and several other noble lords and ladies, were on the balcony, participating in the general enthusiasm.

The whole spectacle was most imposing, and her Majesty and Prince Albert, as they graciously returned the cheering salutations, appeared to be not less impressed with its grandeur than the multitudes assembled to do homage to their exalted visitors. On arriving at the entrance, the Marquess of Breadalbane came forward, when her Majesty cordially took his hand, and alighted from the carriage, followed by Prince Albert. Her Majesty was received by the Marchioness of Breadalbane, whom she graciously saluted; and perceiving the Duchess of Sutherland and Lady Elizabeth Gower, who were at the entrance, her Majesty advanced and successively embraced them, exclaiming, "How grand this is!" After waiting for some time at the portico, surveying the impressive scene, the royal pair entered the halls of Taymouth Castle; the Marquess conducting her Majesty up the staircase, while Prince Albert gave his arm to the Marchioness.

Two carriages followed in the Royal suite, containing the Duchess of Buccleuch, the Duchess of Norfolk, the Earl and Countess of Aberdeen, the Earl of Liverpool, the Earl of Morton, Sir Robert Peel, the Hon. Miss Paget, General Wemyss, Mr. G. Anson, Colonel Bouverie, Sir James Clark, &c. &c.

In a few minutes after, her Majesty, followed by Prince Albert, came forth on the balcony, and was received with renewed greetings. The distinguished parties just above mentioned, and various others, were ranged on either side of the royal pair. After viewing the splendid scene for a few minutes with evident satisfaction, they withdrew. Royal salutes from the Fort, the Star Battery, and the Western or Kenmore Battery, succeeded. The crowd then dispersed for a short time, and the Royal party sat down to dinner at eight o'clock. On entering the dining-room the *coup d'œil* was magnificent. The service on the table consisted of gold and silver plate, most of it gold. In the centre of the table stood an immense candelabra, of very curious and elaborate workmanship. At intervals, along the table and throughout the room, were placed numerous gold sconces, and a splendid chandelier depended from the centre. The bouffets, and the beautifully and boldly carved sideboard, were literally groaning under a profusion of gold and silver plate, while underneath the sideboard was an immense wine-cooler,

girded and enriched with the arms of Breadalbane in massive silver. The walls of the apartment were hung with fine paintings by several of the old masters.

At dinner her Majesty sat at the centre of the table. The Marquess of Breadalbane was seated next to the Queen on the right, Prince Albert on her Majesty's left, and the Marchioness on the left of his Royal Highness. The following had the honour of dining with the Royal party on this occasion:—The Marquess and Marchioness of Breadalbane; the Duchess of Norfolk; the Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch; the Duke and Duchess of Roxburgh; the Duchess of Sutherland and Lady Elizabeth Gower; the Marquess and Marchioness of Abercorn; the Marquess of Lorne (now Duke of Argyll); the Earl and Countess of Kinnoull and Lady Louisa Hay (now Lady Moncrieffe); the Earl of Morton; the Earl of Aberdeen; the Earl of Liverpool; the Earl of Lauderdale; Lord and Lady Belhaven; the Honourable Mr. and Mrs. Fox Maule; the Honourable Miss Paget; Sir Robert Peel; Sir Anthony Maitland; Sir James Clarke; General Wemyss; Mr. G. Anson; and Colonel Bouverie. Some of the wine used now, and during "the three days," was upwards of fifty years old.

THE GRAND FETE.

This magnificent affair took place the same evening. To say it was on a scale of extraordinary splendour, would convey no idea of the reality; without exaggeration, the appearance of Taymouth Castle and its demesnes was altogether quite unknown, and hitherto unequalled in this country. Soon after her Majesty's arrival, the gem-like lamps were seen in all directions, representing various and appropriate devices; but when night fell, the *coup d'œil* was really beyond all power of description. The invisible fence in front of the Castle was elegantly festooned with lamps, presenting a vast and brilliant chain of light. On the bank, on the west side, were the words, "Welcome, Victoria and Albert," in variegated lamps, placed on the ground, and coming into beautiful relief in consequence of the slope. The fine large elm trees on the lawn were lighted up in all directions; and in front of the Castle, on the brow of the hill, a large crown was placed, with the letters V. and A. on either side. A little farther eastward, and at a still greater elevation, was the Fort, which, perhaps, was the most striking object of the whole. It was illuminated with thousands of lamps, and represented a Turkish pavilion, the crescent being on each wing,

while a representation of the *Or* and *Sable* Gironny, constituting the Breadalbane brattach, crowned the centre. The long line of hills stretching out in front of the Castle to the east and west, and those around, displayed a succession of bonfires, producing an unexpected scene of grandeur and sublimity. On looking from the front of the Castle, the mind involuntarily recurred to some of those fairy scenes described in eastern tale, and which delighted the imagination in childhood, but which none ever dreamed to see realised—the illumined Fort, and numerous fanciful devices on the sides and summits of the wooded hills, appearing to the eye more like some bright aerial visions than aught terrestrial!

At a little before ten o'clock, a royal salute was given from the Fort. This battery consisted of two 18-pounders and several twelves. The display of fireworks then commenced. The pyrotechnist had got orders to spare no cost, and he ably fulfilled his task. Among the most prominent devices was one which, after various fanciful evolutions, at length subsided into a star, with the letters V. and A.; another, and still more brilliant device, was a large triumphal arch, which suddenly evolved from a blaze of light, and crowned by "Long live the Queen," in large characters. This was followed by a battery of rockets and a splendid green light. The Fort, or pagoda, was also suddenly enveloped in a bright red light, which illuminated the foliage around, and had a magnificent effect: on the red light disappearing, a green succeeded, which was scarcely less dazzling. The display lasted nearly an hour.

Immediately afterwards an array of torches was seen, borne by Highlanders, who surrounded three large platforms in front of the Royal apartments. This was to exhibit the Highland dancing in all its animated and characteristic variety. The "Rill Thullachan" was struck up by the pipers, and immediately the Queen appeared upon the balcony, and sat viewing the national dances with evident curiosity and delight. The Prince, who wore the Order of the Thistle, stood on the right of her Majesty, and Sir Robert Peel on the left. Beautiful portable lamps studded the extremities of the platform and shed additional light and beauty on the scene. After several dances by the men and officers of the Highland corps, the Honourable Fox Maule, Mr. Menzies of Chesthill, and two other gentlemen, all in the Highland garb, took their places on the platform, and executed a Highland reel with great spirit and agility. Her Majesty and the Prince retired at a quarter past eleven o'clock, saluted by most enthusiastic cheers. His Royal Highness returned

for a short time to enjoy the dancing, which was kept up for some time longer. His Royal Highness then retired amid renewed acclamations. Thus concluded the unparalleled *fete*, of which the thousands who witnessed it were utterly at a loss for words to express their ardent admiration. The grounds were now closed, but a large party availed themselves of the general invitation of the Marquess to a banquet, served up in the breakfast apartment, the company assembling in the hunting parlour.

Next morning, owing to the unpropitious and drizzly state of the weather, her Majesty postponed an intended boating excursion; but on its clearing a little about eleven o'clock, the Queen set out on a private walk through the grounds, accompanied by the Marchioness. In course of their perambulations her Majesty visited the beautiful Dairy, famed not more for its admirable and unique arrangements, than for the exquisite view of Loch Tay obtained from it. The Prince had set out on a hunting expedition at eight o'clock, accompanied by his most noble host. The deer-beaters spread out to form the *tinchel*, or circle, and in a short time three fine animals fell under the sportsman-like shot of the Prince. His Royal Highness also brought down a black cock, several grey hens, moorfowl, partridges, and hares. The deer-beaters, closing the second circle, the Prince in a few minutes killed nine roe. The Jager of the Prince and the Marquess's gamekeeper loaded the pieces.

In descending the hills to the Castle, his Royal Highness killed two roe and two capercaillie—the first shot, or allowed to be, by any sportsman since their introduction into the Taymouth plantations. The Royal party returned from this celebrated *battue* about two o'clock. In the afternoon, the Queen, accompanied by the Marchioness of Breadalbane, the Duchess of Norfolk, and Prince Albert, with two other carriages occupied by Lords and Ladies of the suite, drove through the grounds to Kenmore village, and from "the bridge over the new-born stream" surveyed for several minutes the magnificent scene to the westward, where Loch Tay forms the glassy plain between the opposite wooded hills. They then proceeded along an avenue by the side of the lake, and returned to the castle by the north approach. The dinner-party this day consisted of almost the same individuals as on the evening of the arrival, with the addition of Sir George Murray, Sir Niel and Lady Menzies, Mr. George Baillie, Mr. Charles Baillie, Major Atherley of the Ninety-Second Regiment, and Sir John Pringle of Stitchell, Bart.

In the course of the evening, Mr. Wilson, the celebrated vocalist,

at her Majesty's request, sung several of our most admired national airs, including "Lochaber no more!" "The Lass o' Gowrie," "The Flowers of the Forest," "Waes me for Prince Charlie!" "Pibroch o' Donnail Dhu!" "Cam' ye by Athole?" "Auld Robin Gray," &c. &c.—with all of which her Majesty was pleased to express herself highly gratified.

Friday, September 9.

Early on the forenoon of this day, her Majesty set out on a walk through the grounds, accompanied by the Duchess of Norfolk, and attended by a single footman, and returned about half-past eleven. Meantime the Prince was on a grouse-shooting excursion with the Marquess and Mr. George Baillie at Drummond Hill. Although there was a drizzling rain, in the space of three hours his Royal Highness killed nine brace of grouse, six Alpine hares, and one snipe.

It was arranged that the Highland dances should again be exhibited this afternoon, but the rain commenced, and the assemblage sought cover. The dancing went on, however, for about an hour, the Royal party surveying the animating scene from the window. A long carriage-drive round Drummond Hill closed the out-door movements of the day. At the dinner-party, most of the persons already named as guests had again the honour of being present, together with Lord and Lady Kinnaird, Lord and Lady Duncan, Lord and Lady Ruthven, Sir John and Lady Elizabeth Pringle and the Misses Pringle, and Mr. and Mrs. William Russell.

THE GRAND BALL.

On this evening the grounds presented a partial repetition of the illumination of Wednesday night. The lamps pendant from the trees sparkled like the golden fruit of Aladdin's garden, dazzling the company with their intense brilliancy. Shortly after ten o'clock the Ball commenced in the Gothic Hall, its silken banners quivering as if with delight. A flood of light shed its radiance over one of the most beautiful and exhilarating scenes, combining all that was great, noble, and illustrious in our county—ladies fair and gallant knights, with all the accessories of beautiful architecture and soul-stirring music—leaving nothing for the imagination to desire to complete the gorgeous spectacle.

Her Majesty was attired in a light-coloured satin dress, a velvet scarf of the Royal Stewart tartan across the shoulder, and a tiara of brilliants, the *tout ensemble* simple and chastely elegant. The

Queen opened the ball with the Marquess of Breadalbane, Prince Albert dancing with the Duchess of Buccleuch. Her Majesty seemed to enjoy the scene in the highest degree, and was peculiarly delighted with the Highland reels, and especially the "Rill Thullachan," danced with remarkable energy and animation by the Marquess of Abercorn, the Honourable Fox Maule, Cluny Macpherson, and Davidson of Tulloch. Her Majesty retired about twenty minutes past twelve, accompanied by Prince Albert, moving down the hall, smiling and bowing in graceful acknowledgments, her face radiant with pleasure and delight. The late Mr. James Dewar, of Edinburgh, conducted the music in most masterly style. The number of this distinguished company amounted to about two hundred.*

Saturday, September 10.

This morning was destined for her Majesty's departure from Taymouth, by water; but before proceeding to the place of embarkation, the Queen and the Prince both planted an oak and a fir tree in the flower garden. At a little before eleven o'clock, a royal salute announced that the Royal party had left the Castle on their way to the barge.

EMBARKATION ON LOCH TAY.

All was now in readiness for the reception of her Majesty, and a lovely scene it was. The weather was charming; the lake was serene and pellucid; and the calm majesty of nature around may truly be said to have been sublime. The cheering now announced the close approach of the Queen, and the Royal carriage came through the Kenmore gate to the place of embarkation behind the dairy.

* The following were those present belonging to our own county families:—The Earl of Mansfield, Dowager Countess of Mansfield, and Ladies Murray; Lord and Lady Glenlyon, Dowager Lady Gleulyon, and Hon. Miss Murray; Honourable John Stuart; Honourable Mr. and Mrs. Drummond of Strathallan; Sir Neil and Lady Menzies, and Miss Menzies; Mr. Menzies, and Mr. F. Menzies; Sir John and Lady Richardson; Sir John and Lady Mackenzie, and Miss Mackenzie; Lady Campbell and Miss Campbell, of Garth; Sir Thomas Moncrieffe, Lady Moncrieffe, and Miss Moncrieffe; Sir Adam and Miss Drummond, of Megginch; Mr. Home Drummond, M.P.; Mr. and Mrs. Garden Campbell; Mr. and Mrs. Campbell, of Glenfalloch; Mr. and Mrs. Nairne, and Miss Nairne, of Dunsinane; Mr. and Miss Stewart, of Ardvoirlich; Mrs. Campbell of Edinample; Mr. Campbell, yr. of Glenfalloch; Mr. Campbell, Edinample; Mr. Menzies of Chesthill; Mr. and Mrs. Colquhoun of Clathick; Mr. Grant of Kilgraston, and Lady Lucy Grant; Major and Mrs. Moray Stirling; Colonel Murray Belshes; Mr. and Mrs. Smythe of Methven; &c. &c.

The different batteries delivered another salute, while the military band on the water struck up the National Anthem—and, as a writer of the day justly says, “Oft as we have listened to that sublime air, and in association with the presence of different Sovereigns, the same never seemed to sound so beautifully as now, when the Queen of England and her illustrious consort were seen gliding in this splendid barge towards the bridge, and the next moment issuing into the waters of Loch Tay, the view opening on every side like some enchanting fairy scene. There was a placid grandeur in the spectacle far exceeding, to our poor comprehension, all the most elaborate combinations of pageantry, and vividly recalling to the fancy Shakspeare’s exquisite description of Egypt’s Queen.” Three other splendid barges followed, occupied by highly distinguished parties—the “Loch Tay” next behind the Royal Barge, then the Admiralty Barge, and lastly, “The Galley of Lorne.” On viewing the little squadron about an hour afterwards, from one of the adjacent heights, it appeared so diminished in the distance, amid the rugged grandeur of the shores on either side, that it was difficult to persuade ourselves that this tiny fleet bore the Queen of England and her fortunes.

After proceeding to Auchmore, a beautiful retreat of the noble Marquess, a distance of sixteen miles, which, with dexterous rowing, it required three hours to accomplish, the august party partook of luncheon, then bade a fond adieu to their noble host and hostess, and proceeded *en route* for Drummond Castle, by Glendochart for a few miles to Lix, then striking down through Glen Ogle to Lochearnhead, amidst a succession of the wildest scenery in the Highlands, and thence along Strathearn, a valley of the greatest beauty and fertility, surrounded with every characteristic of romantic grandeur as far as Crieff, in the near vicinity of the Castle, and which was brilliantly illuminated in the evening.

DRUMMOND CASTLE.

After one of the most interesting progresses, her Majesty arrived within the splendid demesnes of Drummond Castle about a quarter before seven o’clock, just as the sun had sunk behind the rugged peak of Ben Voirlich. She was saluted in the Castle court by the clansmen of Drummond, composed of tenantry, and sons of tenantry, on the estate, who formed an imposing band, including riflemen, men-at-arms (with sword and target), and stalwart Highlanders with their battle-axes. Lady Willoughby made it a *sine*

qua non that every man of them should be able to speak Gaelic. The clan was commanded by the Honourable Alberic Drummond Willoughby, the Master of Willoughby, whose gold, silver, and diamond-mounted accoutrements were of the most splendid and costly description. Major Drummond of Strageath, the Master of Strathallan, and Captain Drummond of Megginch, acted as officers. A temporary pavilion was erected for the dining-hall, and fitted up in a style of eastern magnificence. The tables and walls literally groaned under the mass of plate gathered in successive ages by the families of Drummond and Willoughby; but by far the most precious and interesting was a gold salver, at least a foot in diameter, gifted to the Drummonds by the Queen whom they gave out of the family, viz. Arabella Drummond, wife of Robert the Third of Scotland, a treasure which has been preserved through all the vicissitudes of the Drummonds. Many of the distinguished parties we have repeatedly mentioned had the honour to surround the dinner-table this evening, with a few others in addition, including the following guests at the Castle, or connected with the family—viz. Lord and Lady Carrington, Mr. and Mrs. Heathcote, Honourable Miss Willoughby, Honourable Mr. Drummond Willoughby, Duc de Richelieu, Lord Ossulston, Sir George Murray, Sir David and Lady Dundas, Lord Strathallan, Lord and Lady Ruthven, &c. The dresses of the ladies of the Willoughby family were of the most gorgeous description—being of the Drummond tartan, worked upon velvet faced with gold.

Sunday, September 11.

This morning her Majesty and the Prince walked in the unrivalled garden-grounds of Drummond Castle, and at twelve o'clock, with part of their suite, attended divine service in the drawing-room, the Rev. Mr. Giles, chaplain to Lord Willoughby, conducting the service. In the afternoon her Majesty again repaired to the gardens. A limited party dined with the Royal guests in the evening.

Monday, September 12.

By dawn, this morning, Prince Albert started for deer-stalking in the wild forest of Glenartney, accompanied by Lord Willoughby d'Eresby, Mr. Campbell of Monzie, the Prince's own Jager, the head-forester of his Lordship, and Mr. John White, head-gamekeeper to Major Moray Stirling of Ardoch and Abercairny. The Royal party had a most adventurous, interesting, and successful day's sport. They reached the Castle, on their return, a little after

three o'clock. Her Majesty again spent a good part of the morning in the flower-gardens. About half-past four, afternoon, her Majesty, Prince Albert, and several noble attendants, took a drive to Abercairny, on a visit to Mr. and Mrs. Moray Stirling, returning at half-past six. The additions to the dinner table this evening were the Marquess and Marchioness of Abercorn, Earl and Countess of Sefton, Earl and Countess of Craven, Lady Eglinton, Mr. Little Gilmour, and Mr. Campbell of Monzie.

The festivities of Drummond Castle closed with a grand ball. The company consisted of her Majesty and Prince Albert, the Royal suite, and almost all the noble and distinguished parties whose names we have had occasion to mention as guests at the different dinner-tables in the county at which the Royal visitors were entertained. The dresses of the ladies at this ball were peculiarly brilliant. Her Majesty was graciously pleased to dance with the Honourable Alberic Willoughby, and his sister, Lady Carrington, was led off by Prince Albert. The music, conducted by Mr. A. Mackenzie, was exquisite.

HER MAJESTY'S RETURN FROM THE HIGHLANDS.

Tuesday, September 13.

This was fortunately a fine morning, and the Royal party took their departure, by Dunblane, &c. at nine o'clock. By the way, Prince Albert alighted to inspect the celebrated Roman camp at Ardoch. Here Roman banners were displayed, and the Royal standard was hoisted on his Royal Highness entering the Prætorium. The illustrious cavalcade quitted the hospitable borders of Perthshire, at Bridge of Allan, about eleven o'clock—the hoary fortress of Stirling Castle firing a Royal salute. Her Majesty visited the Castle, and after partaking of a *dejeuner* at the Governor's house, perambulated the ramparts, and from the north-west eminence surveyed one of nature's grandest scenes, and the plain below, by which Prince Charles Edward proceeded from Perthshire to the Scottish capital, the very day of the very same month, just ninety-seven years before. The Royal travellers reached Dalkeith Palace the same afternoon. They left Granton Pier on Thursday, the 15th, at ten o'clock, morning, and landed at Woolwich on Friday about the same hour.

SECOND VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA
TO PERTHSHIRE.

It is well known how much our gracious Sovereign and her Royal Consort enjoyed their first visit to these "scenes of brown heath and shaggy wood;" and we look back with much pleasure on the happiness they derived while passing along to the limits of their intended route, from the fair scenes spread everywhere around, and which increased at each stage in grandeur and magnificence. Often did we find her Majesty commanding the Royal carriages to pause in their progress in order to obtain more satisfying views, and deepen in her own recollection and that of the Prince some of those sublime and picturesque scenes for which our own county is so justly celebrated.

The gratification derived by the Queen and her Royal Consort from their visit in 1842, diffused the hope amongst all classes of her Scottish subjects, that at no distant period her Majesty's visit would be repeated. In course of the month of August, 1844, previous reports became more decided in their tone, and all doubts on the subject were removed by an official letter from Sir James Graham to Provost Lawson, Chief Magistrate of Dundee, dated 5th September, informing him that her Majesty would probably arrive at that port on the following Wednesday morning. The most active exertions were immediately made to prepare properly for this auspicious event.

The Directors of the Dundee, Perth, and London Shipping Company very handsomely placed the steamer, Perth, at the disposal of the Masters and Brethren of the Trinity-House to conduct the Royal yacht into the port.

TRIP OF THE PERTH, STEAMER.

A large party of gentlemen, with several ladies, partly from Perth, availed themselves of the liberal invitation of the Directors of the Dundee, Perth, and London Shipping Company, to accompany the Trinity-House pilots to meet the Royal squadron. The Perth discharged her guns at four o'clock, P.M.; and with flags flying and music playing immediately began to descend the river, and in a very short time approached the outmost buoy of Tay. Here the Volcano, one of her Majesty's steamers, became visible, riding in the offing. Exchanging communications with her, the Perth turned her course to the south, traversing the Bay of St.

Andrews. The sea was smooth as a lake, the sunset most beautiful, and all on board joyful in the prospect of fine weather for the morrow. The Island of May soon became distinctly seen, and St. Abb's Head had appeared within a dozen of miles, when excitement was again created on board by another Government steamer being observed, and we bore down on her with signals to obtain information. Lying to when within a proper range, the war-steamer, Stromboli, made a rapid and graceful semicircle towards us,* demanding a pilot for Dundee, and stating that her Majesty was still distant several hours' sail. Having supplied her with a pilot, we retraced our course towards the entrance of the river Tay, and as it was now somewhat dark upon deck, the party spent the intervening time most pleasantly below in partaking of the good cheer which was so handsomely provided.

Songs succeeded toasts, and the evening sped gaily on until about twelve o'clock, when the saloon was emptied by the report that the Royal squadron was at last descried. An interesting sight was visible from the deck. The Perth had again proceeded southward, and the steady May light, and the flashing revolving brilliancy of the Bell Rock, now seemed equidistant. In the middle space appeared wandering lights of a triangular form, occasioned by the steamers of the Royal squadron carrying one light aloft and one beside each paddle-box. Blue lights of a dazzling intensity, and rockets shooting into the dark clouds, rose at intervals from the Royal squadron, and also from the deck of the Perth.

One treble light bears down upon us. A large steamer, with two additional lights at the stern, is supposed to remain stationary, farther off. We are hailed by the foremost vessel as she sweeps past us, and ordered to send a pilot on board the Victoria and Albert. A burst of cheering from the deck, and Captain Spink's order from the paddle-box to lower away the boat succeeds. We near the Royal yacht with the red stern lights, and our boat returns with orders to go a-head and lead the way. In so doing, we pass close alongside, and, we fear, disturb the Royal slumber with another irrepressible cheer. About the same time, Mr. Kennedy had been placed on board the Royal yacht by the boats of the Volcano, and had the honour of piloting her Majesty into the River Tay. Running a-head, we soon after receive salutes from Carnoustie, and

* The above description is from a letter by a gentleman who was one of the party on board. The compiler of this volume had also the felicity of being present on this exciting voyage, and can corroborate every word of the account.

approach the bonfires blazing on the North and South Ferries. Broughtly replies to us with guns and fireworks. Dundee awakes! hark to the cannon and the merry peal of bells. At four o'clock the Victoria and Albert anchored; the joyous population of Dundee was crowding in masses through every street towards the Docks.

The following is a list of the Royal Squadron:—

Victoria and Albert, steam-yacht, Captain Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence.
 Black Eagle,steam-yacht, Earl of Hardwicke.
 Blazer,steam-vessel, Captain Washington.
 Stromboli,steam-sloop, Hon. Captain Plunkett.
 Eclair,steam-sloop, Captain Estcourt.
 Volcano,steam-vessel, Lieutenant Miller.
 Princess Alice,steam-tender, Captain Smithett.

Royal salutes were fired from various points as the squadron moved up the river. The splendid vessel, the Duke of Wellington, was lying at anchor in the roadstead, and in common with the steamer, Perth, and other vessels in the river, fired a Royal salute when her Majesty entered the barge.

The line of procession from the landing-place, on the west side of the gates of King William's Dock, to the Triumphal Arch, at the north end of the middle quay, was beautifully arranged. The Sixtieth Regiment of Royal Fusiliers was drawn up in double column from the Royal carriage along the line of procession. The Queen was received outside the Arch by an escort of the Scots Greys.

THE LANDING.

At twenty minutes past eight o'clock, the Royal flag is observed to descend from its proud position on the top of the mainmast of the Royal Yacht; a squadron of five boats, at equal distance from each other, was next descried, pulling rapidly to the entrance of the Harbour. The central boat bears the Royal standard, and attracts all eyes; it reaches the middle space between the jetties, and after a little ceremony, amidst deafening cheers, the Royal Family ascend the staircase together.

On reaching the level of the quay, her Majesty smiled and bowed, the Prince following her example. After the interchange of civilities between the Royal party and the Magistrates, the Member for the Burgh, and others in attendance, several addresses were presented, which were received by the Earl of Aberdeen.

The Royal party having entered their carriages, proceeded through the principal streets of the town, which in many places presented

splendid decorations. A short way beyond Dudhope Church, the carriages of the Magistrates were drawn to a side to allow the Royal carriages to pass, which proceeded at a more rapid pace towards Lochee. From thence her Majesty's route, for about nine miles, lay chiefly through the property of the Earl of Camperdown. Lord and Lady Camperdown, with their family and visitors, tenantry and servants, were in attendance at an early hour in front of the gate, to pay their respects to her Majesty and Prince Albert. The lodge and gates were decorated with the standard of England waving over the Royal names of Victoria and Albert, while the flag of the gallant Viscount Duncan, which had truly "braved the battle and the breeze," having been nailed to the masthead of his ship at the battle of Camperdown, now peacefully floated on one side of the lodge, with the captured standard of his gallant adversary, De Winter, on the other. Immediately after, the *cortège* passed into the county of Perth at

COUPAR-ANGUS.

On its being observed at the Glack of Pitcur, the bells commenced ringing, and the inhabitants took up their stations to receive her Majesty. The horses were changed at half-past ten o'clock, and the party resumed their journey in a quarter of an hour, without quitting the carriage. Several ornamental arches, with appropriate mottos, were erected, to grace their entrance and exit. The next stage was

DUNKELD.

It was expected that her Majesty would arrive at nine o'clock, and long ere that time the town was thronged with strangers. On arriving, her Majesty and suite (while the horses were being changed) took lunch at Grant's Hotel. The Royal party were received with hearty Highland cheering, the bells rung, and salutes were fired from the battery on Stanley Hill, and from guns placed by Mr. Wallace at Torwood, an eminence on the other side of the Tay.

BLAIR CASTLE.

At thirty minutes past twelve o'clock, a flag was hoisted at Blair Castle, in reply to a signal stationed on the summit of the hill of *Craig-our*, intimating that the guns firing a salute at Dunkeld had been heard at Moulinarn. At twenty minutes before two the signal was made that the Royal cavalcade had reached that place. The Royal party were met there by Lord Glenlyon, who accompanied them to Blair on horseback.

At a quarter past three o'clock, her Majesty entered the grounds at Blair Castle, escorted by a party of the Scots Greys. They were joined at the entrance of the approach by a dozen of Lord Glenlyon's gillies, who ran on each side of the Royal carriage, with drawn swords, from thence to the door of the Castle, a distance of upwards of a mile, though the postilions continued to drive at a good hard pace. On the *cortège* arriving in front of the Castle the Highlanders gave the salute, the four pipers playing the air called "*The Prince's Welcome*."

Her Majesty, on alighting, was received by Lady Glenlyon, the Honourable Miss Murray, and the young Master, by whom she was ushered into the Castle. Immediately the flag, which had been waving on the top of the Castle, was struck, and the Royal Standard hoisted in its stead, amid a royal salute of twenty-one guns from cannon stationed a little to the north of the Castle. The escort of dragoons then retired, and returned to their quarters, resigning to Lord Glenlyon's troop of Highlanders exclusively to act as body-guard during the residence of the Royal party in Athole. The Highlanders were splendidly equipped in full Highland costume, with muskets, bayonets, Lochaber axes, swords, and spiked targets. William Duff, commonly called "Beardy," bore the banner, and attracted particular attention, from his gigantic stature and black beard, descending quite in eastern fashion. It would be difficult to surpass the fine appearance of these men.

The Highland Guard consisted of four companies—Lord Glenlyon being Colonel; and the Honourable James Murray, Major; Captain Drummond of Megginch, R.N. Captain of the *first company*; the Honourable William Drummond, Master of Strathallan, Lieutenant.

Second company—Charles Drummond, Esq. brother to Lady Glenlyon, Captain; Sir David Dundas, Bart. of Dunira, Lieutenant.

Third company—Captain Oswald of Dunnikier, Captain; Mr. Small Kier, younger of Kindrogan, Lieutenant.

Fourth company—Mr. Stewart of Urrard, Captain; Mr. Butter of Faskally, Lieutenant.

Blair Castle, the ancient residence of the Dukes and Earls of Athole, stands on an extensive plain, known as the Blair or Vale of Athole;* and from its strength and situation, in former times,

* Athole signifies pleasant land.

frequently served as a post of defence. It was repeatedly taken and garrisoned by rival armies, which alternately lost and won this key to the Highlands.

The Castle is very old, and its exterior is plain and unpretending. It was originally three storeys higher than it now is, with battlements and castellated turrets ; but sustained so much injury by repeated sieges during the civil wars, in 1715 and 1745 especially, as well as in the campaigns of Montrose and others at an earlier period, that about the middle of last century the then Duke of Athole reduced the building considerably, and denuded it of the prominent characteristics of a fortalice—to supply the place of which he built an extensive modern wing, containing apartments for the domestics, and a long suite of bed-rooms above. The interior accommodation is still ample, and the principal apartments lofty and spacious—Lord Glenlyon having also made every arrangement, on this occasion, necessary to render it suitable for the Royal residence.

The Castle fronts the east, and is environed on all sides by lofty hills. A splendid back-ground is formed by the dark and majestic forest of Athole, with the lofty and cloud-capped higher range of the Grampians closing the view. Ben-y-Gloe and Ben-Vracky, in particular, raise their proud heads in awful grandeur in the foreground, and in full view of the Royal apartments.

The main entrance, from which the Castle is distant about half-a-mile, fronts towards the high road from Perth. A new approach was formed from the public road, leading up the west side of the Tilt, and passing through the avenue of splendid trees called “Macgregor’s Walk.” It would indeed be difficult to select a spot where her Majesty could enjoy greater seclusion, or command views of greater sublimity.

The historical recollections of Blair Castle are interesting. In 1644 it was besieged by the Marquess of Montrose, in his contests with the Covenanters, when the Marquess experienced a very unexpected and successful resistance by the brave men by whom it was garrisoned. In 1655, Colonel Daniels, one of Oliver Cromwell’s Generals, marched against it with a well-appointed army, and eventually succeeded in taking it by storm. In 1689 it occasioned what was truly termed the most important event of the day—the celebrated Battle of Killiecrankie, in which King William’s troops were defeated by the rebel army under Viscount Dundee, an action which terminated the career of that celebrated man, having fallen in that bloody field or in its immediate vicinity.

His Grace the Duke of Athole, at the time of the Royal visit, was great-grandson of Lieutenant-General Lord George Murray, commander of the rebel army in 1745; and now had the honour of accommodating a Sovereign of the House of Brunswick, in the person of Queen Victoria, at the ancient feudal residence of the Athole family, and in the very centre of a district whose former inhabitants, almost to a man, followed General Murray to the field to support the claims of the exiled family of the Stewarts to the throne of these realms.

Soon after her Majesty's arrival, Lord Glenlyon presented her Majesty with a white rose—the tenure on which the broad lands of Athole are held being, that the heir at that time should present the Sovereign with a white rose so often as they visit the country.*

Her Majesty, on the first morning of her stay at Athole (September 12) was early awake, and walking in the grounds by seven o'clock; and during the day, which was delightful, enjoyed several excursions in the neighbourhood of the Castle, including a drive up Glen-Tilt. The Fender, a small tributary of the Tilt, lies within the pleasure grounds of the Castle, and has some fine falls. During her Majesty's stay in Athole, a bottle full of water, drawn from a favourite spring in Glen-Tilt, famed for its crystal purity, was placed in her bed-room every morning, and along with it, its appropriate accompaniment—a bouquet of fresh-pulled heather.†

The banks of the Tilt are beautifully wooded for several miles up the sides of the Glen, and there is a succession of charming walks and drives. On the right, near the rivulet of Torhainn, there was pointed out to her Majesty the site of a wooden palace, which was erected by the Earl of Athole in 1529, in order to receive, at a hunting party, King James the Fifth, the Queen Mother, the Pope's Ambassador and suite, in which they were sumptuously entertained for three days.‡

* Lord Glenlyon succeeded to the Dukedom of Athole upon the death of his uncle, the late John, fifth Duke of Athole, which happened the 14th September, 1846.

† The Master of Strathallan and the Honourable Captain Drummond, the two officers of the Athole Highlanders on duty the third day of her Majesty's stay in Athole, had the honour of joining the Royal party at dinner. The Master of Strathallan wore the sword which his great-grandfather wielded at the battle of Culloden, where he fell.

‡ Special mention of this sylvan pavilion has been made in a previous portion of this work. An old author, Lindsay of Pitscottie, gives a more minute account of this fairy-like hunting seat; and as it is very curious, it may be considered worthy of quotation. He dates the Royal visit to Athole four years

THE QUEEN AT CHURCH.

Blair-Athole, Sunday, 15th September.

But the most interesting feature in the present visit of Queen Victoria—being the only public act, except the landing, which could not be avoided—was the marked respect paid to our religious institutions, and especially to the Established Church of our land, in her attendance at the Parish Church of Blair this day, and that

earlier, and also makes Queen Margaret a companion of the party, which was not noticed before. But from the fact of the Pope's Ambassador being present, there can be no doubt that both accounts refer to one and the same event. Lindsay says, that "in the summer of the year 1529, King James the Fifth, accompanied by Queen Margaret and the Pope's Ambassador, went to hunt in Athole, where he remained three days, most nobly entertained by the Earl of Athole, and killed thirty score of hart and hynd, with other small beasts, as roe and roebuck, wolf and fox, and wild cats. The Earl of Athole, hearing of the King's coming, made great provision for him in all things pertaining to a Prince, so that he was as well served and eased with all things necessary to his estate as he had been in his own Palace of Edinburgh. For, I heard say, this noble Earl gart make a curious palace to the King, his mother, and the Ambassador, where they were as honourably lodged as they had been in England, France, Italy, or Spain, concerning the time and equivalent for their hunting or pastime; which was builded in midst of a fair meadow, a palace of green timber, wound with green birks, that were green both under and above, which was fashioned in four quarters, and in every quarter and nuke thereof a great round, as it had been a block-house, which was lofted and geisted, the space of three house height; the floors laid with green scharets and spreaths, medwarts and flowers, that no man knew whereon he zied, but as he had been in a garden. Further, there were two great rounds on ilk side of the gate, and a great port-cullies of tree, falling down with the manner of a barrace, with a drawbridge, and a great stank of water of sixteen feet deep, and thirty feet of breadth. And also this palace within was hung with fine tapestry and arasses of silk, and lighted with fine glass windows in all airths; that this palace was as pleasantly decored with all necessaries pertaining to a Prince as it had been his own Royal palace at home. Farther, this Earl gart make such provision for the King and his mother, that they had all manner of meats, drinks, and delicates that were to be gotten at that time in Scotland, either in burgh or land—viz. all kind of drink, as ale, beer, wine, &c.; of meats, with fleshes, &c.; and also the stanks that were round about the palace were full of delicate fishes, as salmonds, trouts, perchies, pikes, eels, and all other kind of delicate fishes that could be gotten in fresh waters, and all ready for the banquet. Syne were there proper stewards, &c.; and the halls and chambers were prepared with costly bedding, vessels, and napry, according for a King; so that he wanted none of his orders more than he had been at home. The King remained in this wilderness at the hunting the space of three days and three nights, and his company, as I have shewn. I heard men say it cost the Earl of Athole, every day, in expenses, a thousand pounds. All this sumptuous edifice was *purposely* consumed by fire on the King's departure."—*Lindsay of Piscottie, History of Scotland*, p. 225, ed. 1778.

under circumstances which deterred many, not so heroic and firm of purpose, from giving their ordinary attendance to religious ordinances at the same time. The evening of Saturday fell under a gloomy sky, with signs foreboding adverse weather on the morrow. Early in the morning "a Highland mist" prevailed over the Strath of Garry, which by nine o'clock had changed to that state of overcharged humidity best understood here by the provincial but graphic description of "an even-down pour."

The general greeting was, "The Queen cannot go to church to-day;" and unless amongst the few who were acquainted with her Majesty's fixed intention, all hope of seeing the Sovereign in so interesting a position as a humble worshipper, in the simple forms of our National Church, was totally abandoned. Hundreds, therefore, absented themselves because of the inclemency of the weather; but their Queen came!—a shining example in this, as in every other virtue, to her faithful subjects. Nor was the performance of public religious duties retarded by any pompous delay on the part of the Royal Family and Consort. Exactly at the usual hour the Royal cavalcade approached the portals of the house of prayer. Undaunted by the drenching rain, the Queen and Prince drove up in an unpretending phaeton and pair, and, alighting at the church-yard gate, walked from that to the porch, although under circumstances of discomfort which frightened so many to encounter them.

The Royal Pair took their places in a plain pew, slightly elevated, and allotted to the Glenlyon or Athole family—followed first by Lord and Lady Glenlyon, and then by such of her Majesty's Ministers as were in attendance on the Court, and other ladies, noblemen, and gentlemen, who composed it. The church, which is a neat, plain edifice, happens to be of such a construction that the Royal pew was seen from every corner of the interior. There was a good attendance, but, for reasons already stated, it was not crowded. The Queen took her place on the right, with Prince Albert on her left. Next his Royal Highness sat Lady Glenlyon, and the Viscountess Canning and Lady Caroline Cocks. Lord Glenlyon occupied the extreme left of the pew.

Almost immediately after the illustrious party had taken their seats, the worthy pastor of the parish proceeded from the vestry to the pulpit, and commenced the public services by giving out the first four stanzas of the Scottish version of the 145th Psalm, which was then sung in the usual unaccompanied style, with heart and voice, and in which the Queen and her Royal Consort heartily

joined, evidently with pious animation and sincere devotion. After this followed a devout and impressive prayer, and then was read that passage from Christ's Sermon on the Mount, comprised in the 5th chapter of Saint Matthew's Gospel, and containing the "Beatitudes," as the first seven or eight verses are commonly called. Another portion of the 145th Psalm was then sung, after which the subject of discourse was announced from the 13th verse of the above-mentioned chapter—"Ye are the salt of the earth." From these words the preacher delivered a plain, but lucid, orthodox, and evangelical sermon, which occupied exactly half-an-hour.* Then there was the concluding prayer, much in the usual form, and then the last four stanzas of the 119th Psalm were sung—the Sovereign and her subjects joining, as before, audibly and fervently in the devout exercise. The whole services were conducted in the usual rigid simplicity of the Presbyterian formula. There was nothing throughout the entire service, nor anything in the demeanour of the worshippers generally, which could have led any one to suppose that Royalty was present, unless otherwise cognizant of the fact. The deportment of her Majesty and the Prince Consort was altogether in keeping with the associations of the place and the occasion—serious, devout, and simply unaffected.

After the blessing was pronounced, a party of the Highland guard, unarmed, ranged themselves on either side, and lined the few yards leading to the Royal carriage, to which her Majesty was conducted by Lord Glenlyon. An umbrella was held over her head to protect her from the rain, which poured in torrents, and

* The able representative of the *Times* newspaper, who was present, stated his opinion in the following number of that journal, as follows:—"It was a very excellent discourse, but more logical than fervent or impressive. It might be supposed, from the selection of the text, that some attempt would be made by the preacher to allude directly or indirectly to the presence of her Majesty in the church. It is due to Mr. Irvine to say, that he had too much good taste, to say the least of it, to import any such topic into his sermon. He appeared to look upon the Royal visitors only as part of his ordinary congregation, and his discourse was, probably, no other than he would have delivered in the customary discharge of his ministerial office. . . . In delivering the part of the prayers relating to her Majesty, there was some slight appearance of special application; but beyond that, nothing occurred in the whole service that marked the presence of any other than the usual congregation. . . . Her Majesty paid the deepest attention during the service, which, it is understood, much gratified her from its simplicity. The choir ought not to be passed over without notice. Under the direction of Mr. Peacock, of St. John's, Perth, the ladies and gentlemen forming it sang extremely well."

she was also provided with India rubber golashes. The Queen was attired in a black satin gown, and a cape of the same material; and a white silk cased bonnet, trimmed with a looped white *ruche* of crape, a white *barege* kerchief fastened about the neck, and hanging down the breast, completed the plain dress of her Majesty. On leaving the pew, her Majesty had a black shawl thrown around her, rendered necessary by the excessive rain.

At four o'clock the rain ceased, and her Majesty left the Castle, and with the Prince proceeded through the grounds to view the falls of the Tilt and the Fender—which had derived additional grandeur from the recent heavy rain—and shortly returned to the Castle.

FALLS OF THE BRUAR AND TUMMEL.

On Monday, the 16th, the Queen and Prince Albert, accompanied by Lords Glenlyon and Wellesley, left the Castle in the pony phaeton, to visit the Falls of the Bruar, celebrated by the pen of Burns, which they had been disappointed of seeing on two previous occasions.

The Bruar rises in Ben-Dearg, or the "red mountain," in Athole forest, and descends through a precipitous ravine of about three miles in length. The rain of the previous day had swelled the Bruar considerably, and the falls were consequently seen to much advantage. Her Majesty and the Prince Consort expressed repeatedly how much they were charmed by these magnificent scenes. After an absence of about two hours, the Royal party returned to the Castle.

On Tuesday, the 17th, the Royal party left the Castle in two carriages and four, preceded by outriders, to view the Falls of the Tummel. On arriving at the Bridle Road, her Majesty alighted from the carriage, and proceeded along with the rest of the party on foot. The Queen walked, leaning on Prince Albert's arm, Lord Glenlyon acting as cicerone. On arriving, her Majesty viewed attentively the confluence of the two rivers, where the Tummel falls in the most varied and graceful forms over the rocks into the Garry, a height of sixteen feet, and expatiated in glowing terms on the beauties of the fall and surrounding scenery. About five or six miles south of this point, the united waters of the two mountain streams mingle with those of the Tay at Logierait.

TULLOCH HILL.

By ten o'clock on Wednesday, the 18th, her Majesty and the

Prince, mounted on ponies, crossed the Garry immediately above Blair, and ascended by a steep and difficult road to the top of Tulloch Hill, which is about eleven hundred feet above the adjoining valley, and at a distance of three miles from the Castle. Arrived at its summit, they alighted and walked for some time along the ridge, which commands a magnificent view of Strathgarry to the Pass of Killiecrankie on the one side, and of Glen Fincastle on the other. Her Majesty enjoyed the excursion exceedingly; and from her expressions of admiration on her return, induced Lord Aberdeen to follow the same track, to enjoy personally the visual treat.

The Marquess of Breadalbane arrived at the Castle on Friday to invite the Queen to Taymouth, which her Majesty declined, as unsuitable to the retirement she then desired.

BLAIR CHURCH AGAIN.

Sunday, September 22.

In all its external concomitants this second act of public homage to the Giver of all Good was almost entirely different from the former. On the previous Sunday, the morning clouds lowered dismally, and ere mid-day poured down their contents in torrents of rain. But this morning the sun rose effulgent in the blue empyrean: not a cloud was to be seen above the wide horizon. As the day advanced, the royal standard (which on the previous occasion hung dripping on the battlements) floated gaily in the light and healthy breeze, and altogether a lovelier day never shone out from the heavens. Hundreds flocked from all quarters, on foot and in vehicles of every description. The church was consequently crowded, and there were perhaps as many beyond what it would contain with comfort, as constituted the entire congregation of the previous Sabbath. At one time it was feared that the edifice was much too small for the numbers, but there appeared to be a general feeling for mutual accommodation, and we believe very few were disappointed. All were in their places at least half-an-hour before the time appointed for commencing public worship, and when the Royal party drove up, there was not the slightest appearance of a "pressure from without," or of confusion within. Temporary seats were set along the passages, and the church, which was originally constructed to contain about 650 of a congregation, must have had a thousand assembled within its walls.

With her usual rigid punctuality, the Queen entered the neat small aisle appropriated to the noble family of Athole. The Queen,

still in mourning, was of course attired much in the same style as on the previous Sunday—only she wore a grey shepherd tartan plaid in addition, which was not doffed until the Royal party had deliberately taken their places in the pew. The same noble and distinguished individuals as on the former occasion formed her Majesty's suite.

The Rev. Norman M'Leod, D.D. pastor of the Gaelic Church of St. Columba in Glasgow, and one of the Deans of her Majesty's Chapel-Royal for Scotland, was appointed to preach and conduct the public services on this occasion. This was not, as many imagined, in consequence of any Court command, but of a friendly private arrangement between the reverend doctor and the respected minister of the parish himself—the cause of which soon became sufficiently obvious to the assembled congregation, by the nature of an announcement audibly given forth (and which seemed to form the subject of lively remark in the Royal pew), immediately previous to the commencement of the solemn services of the sacred day.

Dr. M'Leod at length ascended the pulpit stairs, and immediately gave out the first version of the 100th Psalm, which was sung with powerful effect by the whole congregation—her Majesty and Prince Albert joining heartily in the devotional exercise. Then followed a very impressive prayer, and after that the clergyman read the 3d chapter of the First Epistle general of John. This was followed up by the singing of the first four stanzas of the 65th Psalm. The reverend gentleman then gave out as the subject of his discourse the 2d chapter of Paul's Epistle to Titus, from the 11th to the 15th verse—"For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared unto all men," and so forth—and delivered a sound practical sermon, in that style of impressive eloquence which is characteristic of this distinguished preacher. No personal allusion, direct or indirect, to the rank and dignity of his royal auditors escaped his lips. It was addressed to the *whole* congregation, without reference to peculiar circumstances or respect of persons; and it was listened to with marked attention by the Queen and the members of her Court. The discourse was chiefly an illustration of the universality of the free grace of God, and its efficacy in reforming the life and amending the heart—and he reprobated the narrow sectarian notions too prevalent, that God's grace could be limited or restricted by bounds which erring man, in his bigotry or his prejudice, might be disposed to set.

The sermon concluded, the congregation again joined in prayer,

in course of which the reverend doctor petitioned fervently at a throne of grace for peculiar blessings on the Sovereign, her Royal Consort, and the members of their illustrious family; which intercessions were responded to by the people with such unction, that the big tear suffused many a manly eye, and the stainless handkerchief was applied to many a fair cheek. The deportment of the Royal pair, sincere throughout, was at this moment most peculiarly humble and becoming. The general service concluded with the singing of that beautiful Paraphrase of Scripture, the 54th, in which, as before, the Royal worshippers joined.* The sermon lasted about 30 minutes, and the entire services occupied an hour and a quarter.

The Rev. Dr. M'Leod formed one of the Royal circle at dinner in the evening. Except the Marquess of Breadalbane and the Glenlyon family, the reverend gentleman was the only guest, unconnected with the Court, who had that honour.

The manner in which her Majesty joined her Scottish subjects in this quarter in their national worship, gave the highest satisfaction throughout Scotland.

On Monday her Majesty and Prince Albert rode to Craig Urrard, a wooded hill near the Castle, the site of the old house of Urrard, which overlooks the northern outlet of the Pass of Killiecrankie,† and was the scene of the conflict between the Hanoverian army and the Highlanders under Viscount Dundee.

* "Dr. M'Leod, of St. Columba Church, Glasgow, one of the Deans of the Chapel Royal,* officiated. He commenced the worship by reading the 100th Psalm—Mr. Peacock, from Perth, leading the music, which was performed with much taste and propriety; all the congregation joining. After prayer, reading a chapter, and again joining in praise, the reverend doctor preached an excellent sermon, to which her Majesty listened with marked attention. The text was Titus ii. 11-14. The concluding prayer was expressed with a depth and earnestness which reached every bosom, especially when the good Doctor's aspirations arose in behalf of her Majesty. In obedience to the command of Him who is "King of kings and Lord of lords," we are accustomed to unite in supplicating the Most High in behalf of "Kings and all in authority;" now, however, were these aspirations quickened by the presence of the object of those requests, in the person of our young and beloved Sovereign, Queen Victoria, and her Royal Consort, Prince Albert."—*Contemporary Notice.*

† A brief imperfect description of this remarkable defile has already been given, but we here insert one more graphic by Mr. Chambers, in his *History of*

* Many supposed that it was because of his official status that he was preferred on this occasion; whereas, the fact is, it was by an engagement of several weeks' standing with his friend the minister of Blair, and that specially because on that day the banns of marriage were to be proclaimed betwixt the reverend gentleman and Miss Robertson, the heiress of Kindrochit. Her Majesty had thus the opportunity of witnessing the preparatory step to the marriage ceremony as practised in Scotland.

There are graves about old Urrard—huge mounds by rock and tree,
 And they who lie beneath them died fighting with Dundee.
 Far down along the valley, and up along the hill,
 The fight of Killiecrankie has left a story still.

MRS. OGILVIE.

DEER-STALKING IN GLEN TILT.

On Thursday, the 26th, his Royal Highness, accompanied by Lord Glenlyon, went to Glen-Tilt, to enjoy deer-stalking. Setting out by seven in the morning, the Prince for the first time enjoyed that sport in good earnest. He succeeded in coming within shot of three deers, two of which he brought down, and wounded the third, which escaped. The Prince returned to the Castle in good spirits with his success.

VISIT TO FASKALLY.

In the afternoon, the Royal party proceeded in a pony phaeton through the Pass of Killiecrankie to the grounds of Mr. Butter of Faskally, situated at the southern entrance to the Pass. Proceeding along, they met a funeral on its way to Blair church-yard, the relations carrying the coffin, which was covered with a tartan plaid, as is the custom in this district. The Prince immediately turned his phaeton to the side of the road and halted, uncovering his head as the funeral passed, while the Queen looked on the mournful procession with much interest. This mark of respect for the customs of the country, and for the feelings of others, evincing so much condescension and kindness, justly endeared the Royal Pair to the hearts of the people around. Mr. Butter conducted his Royal visitors through the grounds. Her Majesty proceeded along

the Rebellion in 1689 and 1715. "At Killiecrankie," he says, "which is about four miles on this side of Blair Castle, the bold, dark hills, which range all along the vale on both sides, advance so near, and shoot up with such perpendicular majesty, that eagles call to each other from the various tops, and the shadow of the left range lies in everlasting gloom on the face of the right. The road passes along the brink of a precipitous brae, on the north-east side, the bare steep face of the hill rising above, and the deep black water of the Garry tumbling below, while the eye and the imagination are impressed by the wilderness of dusky foliage which clothes the opposite hills. The scene is one altogether which might make the boldest soldier pause before entering it, supposing him to be in the least degree uncertain as to the disposition of the country towards his party, or the motives of the enemy. Sixty years after the time under review, when the Hessian troops were taken to it for the purpose of relieving Blair Castle, then under siege by the forces of Prince Charles Stewart, they absolutely refused to go farther, alleging that it looked like the extremity of the world, and under that impression, by a more fortunate resolution than General Mackay adopted on the present occasion, they returned to their safe quarters at Perth."

the path on her grey pony, and, after enjoying the beauties of the scene, dismounted and descended the bank by a beautifully winding path, half-way up which there is a rustic seat, which commands a view of the whole Pass, particularly of the two celebrated points called the Soldier's Leap and the Trooper's Den—spots rendered famous from their being connected with the battle of Killiecrankie.

A desire was expressed that her Majesty might witness the national dances of the Highlanders. Accordingly, on the evening of Friday, the 27th, a party of the Highland Guard were selected for that purpose, and the Baronial Hall was brilliantly lighted up for the occasion.

The whole armoury of the Castle—including three hundred muskets, with a number of pistols, bayonets, Lochaber axes, and claymores—were arranged in fanciful devices on the walls, and above these the banners tastefully displayed. At half-past nine o'clock, her Majesty and the Prince Consort, the members of the suite, Lord and Lady Glenlyon, the Master of Strathallan, and the officers of the guard, Mr. Drummond of Megginch, &c. entered the hall, when the dancing commenced.

The first dance was the *Hullichan*, which was performed by twenty Highlanders in five reels, among whom Lord Glenlyon was conspicuous. *Ghillie Callum* was performed in fine style by the Honourable Captain Murray. Her Majesty enjoyed the dances very much, and laughed heartily at some of the more extravagant figures which were introduced for her amusement, accompanied by the wild shouts and snapping of thumbs in time with the music.

On the following Sabbath her Majesty had the Church of England service read in her private apartment—having caught a slight cold from exposure to a shower on Saturday morning, and Sir James Clarke considered it inexpedient to run the risk of farther increasing it by sitting in an overheated church.

On the Monday her Majesty again drove to Glen-Tilt, accompanied by Prince Albert, Lord Glenlyon, and the whole suite. The party lunched in the Forest Lodge, and immediately afterwards went out to see the deer. The sight is said to have been very fine—an immense number (more than had been driven together for many years) having been collected within the view of her Majesty.

It may not be out of place here to give an account of a driving of game in 1563, by the Earl of Athole, for the entertainment of Queen Mary. The quotation is from Barclay's *Defence of Mo-*

narchical Government :—“ The Earl prepared for her Majesty’s reception, by sending out about two thousand Highlanders to gather the deer from Mar, Badenoch, Moray, and Athole, the district he had previously appointed. It occupied the Highlanders for several weeks driving in the deer, to the amount of about two thousand, besides roes, does, and other game. The Queen, with her numerous attendants, and a great concourse of the nobility, gentry, and people, were assembled at the appointed glen, and the spectacle much delighted her Majesty, particularly as she observed that such a numerous herd of deer seemed to be directed in all their motions by one stately animal among them ; they all walked, stopped, or turned as he did—they all followed him. The Queen was delighted to see all the deer so attentive to their leader ; and upon her pointing it out to the Earl of Athole, who knew the nature of the animal well, he told her that they might all come to be frightened enough by that beautiful beast. ‘ For,’ said he, ‘ should that stag in the front, which your Majesty justly admires so much, be seized with any fit of fury or of fear, and rush down from the side of the hill, where you see him stand, to this place, then it would be time for every one of us to provide for the safety of your Majesty in our own ; all the rest of these deer would infallibly come with him, as thick as possibly they could, and make their way over our bodies to the mountain which is behind us.’ This information occasioned the Queen some alarm, and what happened afterwards proved it not to be altogether without cause—for her Majesty having ordered a large fierce dog to be let loose upon a wolf that appeared, the leading deer, as we may call him, was terrified at the sight of the dog, turned his back, and began to fly thither whence they had come ; all the other deer instantly followed. They were surrounded on that side by a line of Highlanders ; but well did they know the powers of the close phalanx of deer, and at speed, and therefore they yielded, and offered no resistance ; and the only means left of saving their lives was to fall flat on the heath in the best posture they could, and allow the deer to run over them. This method they followed, but it did not save them from being wounded ; and it was announced to the Queen that two or three men had been trampled to death. In this manner the deer would have all escaped, had not the huntsmen, accustomed to such events, gone after them, and with great dexterity headed and turned a detachment in the rear ; against those the Queen’s staghounds, and those of the nobility, were loosed, and a successful chase ensued. Three

hundred and sixty deer were killed, five wolves, and some roes ; the Queen and her party returned to Blair, delighted with the sport."

Various incidents were daily occurring to show the complete freedom from all Court formality which her Majesty enjoyed in her Highland home. The Royal table exhibited specimens of most of our Scottish dishes, of which her Majesty seemed to enjoy particularly "the halesome parritch, chief o' Scotia's food."

At Dunkeld, Moulinarn, and Blair, her Majesty tasted, and, as report goes, highly relished, the Athole brose which was presented—and it is even whispered that her Majesty was not altogether ignorant of the mysteries of Scotch haggis ! The Princess-Royal, too, appeared to have a taste akin to her Royal mother, lunching on oat-cake and milk, and occasionally dining on broth.

Tuesday, 1st October.

After completing a sojourn of nearly three weeks at Blair, her Majesty prepared for her return to England. At half-past eight, morning, the Royal carriage was in readiness ; and in a few minutes after, the *cortège* drove slowly off. Lord Glenlyon rode alongside, and two carriages followed, in one of which was the Princess-Royal, with Lady Canning and Mademoiselle Chanier ; and in the other, Lord Aberdeen, Lord C. Wellesley, and Sir E. Bowater. The other members of the suite had left earlier. The august party proceeded to Dundee by the same route as that by which they had come to Blair. The Magistrates and Council, who were waiting in carriages at Lochee, there joined the procession.

At the place of embarkation a slight confusion ensued, but the Royal and distinguished personages of the party took their places in the barge quietly, and proceeded to the Royal Yacht under a Royal salute from the guns stationed on the East Protection Wall. At half-past four o'clock the Victoria and Albert left her moorings, followed by the war-vessels of the squadron ; and all arrived well at Woolwich Dockyard, on Thursday, at half-past two o'clock, after a rather rough passage. The Royal party reached Windsor Castle at four o'clock, about forty-eight hours after having quitted the boundaries of Perthshire.

QUEEN VICTORIA'S THIRD VISIT.

On Friday, the 29th September, 1848, her Majesty and the Royal Family again honoured the City with a visit, unexpectedly—

but substantially a visit; for the august party, instead of merely passing us, as they might have done, had their carriages dismounted from the railway vans, and proceeded slowly through our streets, amid the loyal greetings of the people—of so many, at least, as were aware of their arrival.

In the beginning of the month, the Queen, Prince Albert, and three of the Royal offspring, made a fourth excursion to Scotland, resulting in a third to this county, and a second to the Fair City. After passing about three weeks at Balmoral, on the Dee, the Royal party were about to return, *via* Aberdeen, by sea, on the 28th; but the weather was rather unpropitious, and it was resolved that their route should be by land. Accordingly, on the morning of Friday, the 29th, arrangements were made for the Royal progress. From Aberdeen the route was by Stonehaven, and along the turnpike-road to the nearest railway point, the Montrose station of the yet unfinished Aberdeen line. They arrived there in their own carriages about three o'clock, afternoon, and thence proceeded by the Dundee, Perth, and Aberdeen Railway Junction so far as the Forfar station, and then along the Scottish Midland Junction to Perth, where they reached the General Station at St. Leonard's betwixt seven and eight o'clock the same evening. The illustrious visitors alighted there, and in less than another half-hour were quietly domiciled amongst us. They took us completely by surprise. No premonition of their approach was conveyed to the authorities, nor was any one aware of it till within half-an-hour of the arrival, when a pilot-engine came with notice to have carriages ready. While we had reason to think that she was buffeting the waves of the German Ocean, the Queen of this mighty empire, with her beloved domestic circle, quietly knocked at our doors. It was a literal argument for the propriety of having our lamps trimmed and our lights burning. There was barely time to have the crossing of the platform and the saloon of the station laid with crimson cloth, and as brilliantly illuminated as possible.

The illustrious travellers first took up a temporary lodgement in the ladies' waiting-room, and it was yet understood that they would anon take their departure for the south by the Scottish Central line, for which the *employés* of the station were busy marshalling a train. Every attention to the Royal comfort was paid by the waiting-women at the station and by the officers of the Company. Mr. Milner, the active superintendent; Mr. Tasker, the resident engineer; and Mr. Smart, the station-agent, and their subordi-

nates, were all assiduous in their exertions to make the Royal party comfortable. It is said her Majesty first made inquiry whether the Earl of Mansfield was at Scone?—which being a Royal Palace, the Queen might have taken up her quarters there; but on learning that his Lordship was absent, the Queen formed the unexpected resolution to honour the city in which she had been so much honoured before, by making it her home for the present. Notice was sent to the George Hotel that the Royal family and suite meant to dine there and take accommodation for the night.

This might be held, as we believe it was, a flattering proof of her Majesty's confidence that she would enjoy quiet and security amongst the denizens of her "good city of Perth." Almost immediately after the return of the messenger, the Royal carriages were brought round to the entrance of the station. Even at this time the happy event was but partially known in town, and only two or three official gentlemen, and a very few of the High Constables, were there to greet the Royal pair and their interesting charge. All being at length in readiness, the Queen, Prince Albert, and the Royal children, were escorted to their carriages by the head-officers of the station, and such of the authorities as had arrived.

The Queen was very plainly attired. She wore a white cased bonnet—to which she seems to be partial—with a fine ostrich feather hanging down the left side. Her shawl was a plain broad-set tartan, chiefly red, and her gown was of a grey or leaden-coloured stuff. Prince Albert was in a plain travelling dress, and the young Princess was also exceedingly plain. The Prince of Wales and his younger brother were in full Highland costume, very pretty boys, and looked very interesting. All the party appeared in vigorous health and spirits. We had not before seen her Majesty look healthier or happier, nor the Prince Consort so fresh and well.

The *cortège* proceeded into the town by St. Leonard's Bank, King's Place, Marshall Place, Princes Street, St. John Street, into George Street, and onwards to the George Hotel. By this time the crowding there was dense, but the Royal party suffered no annoyance, beyond a rather boisterous welcome from the "great (though loyal) unwashed." The Queen had alighted just before Major Montgomery, and some companies of the First Royal Regiment, arrived from the Barracks on a sudden warning. Sentinels were then posted and the thoroughfares kept clear.

A few of the High-Constables had been early in attendance at the General Railway Station, and nearly the whole body immediately assembled in the Council-Hall. The Lord Provost and some of the Magistrates waited on Sir George Grey, and very soon had intimation of the intended Royal movements. These were communicated to the members, who by this time were quaffing bumpers in rosy wine to the health and happiness of the illustrious strangers. At a reasonable hour in the evening the crowds retired, and there is reason to believe that the Queen and her family circle enjoyed a quiet night's rest, with the monotonous rushing of the noble Tay, almost under the windows of their apartments, to lull them into balmy slumber.

The apartments in the George (now "*The Royal George*") which were occupied by her Majesty are situated on the east side of the inn, and consisted of a large and handsomely furnished dining-room, two elegant sitting-rooms, a bed-room, and dressing-closets. The building ranges close along the ancient "*Lady Walk*," leading to the North Inch through a dry arch of the Bridge of Tay; and is only a few yards from the locality called the Castle Gable, where a Royal residence at one time stood, and within a few paces of the site of the *Gilten Arbour*, from which King Robert the Third, his Queen, and courtiers, witnessed the memorable and sanguinary conflict, on the Inch, betwixt the Clan Chattan and the Clan Quhele.*

Besides the Queen, Prince Albert, and their three children—the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, and his Royal Highness Prince Alfred—the Royal retinue included the following parties

* At the banquet on Saturday evening, Mr. Sheriff Barclay happily alluded to the interesting associations of the locality thus—"Never before did Victoria more securely sleep, surrounded with so many historical associations of the deepest interest. Two hundred yards or so, in one direction, there is a spot where, in troublous times, one of her Royal ancestors fell beneath the stroke of the assassin, which the heroic arm of a fair Douglas was unable to avert. About as far in an opposite direction, another of the Royal race, whose tartan her Majesty has well selected, was mingled with one of the darkest and most doubtful of events which perplex the page of history. Her Majesty would, for once, hear the curfew toll from the balcony of St. John's, under which was first lighted that flame of reforming truth, and from which proceeded the voice which eventually called the House of Orange, of which she is an honoured descendant, to the throne of these realms. Again, a few paces off, and there stood the pile (shame that it stands no longer!) within which was modelled the greatest and best portion of Scotland's laws, many of which are still the rule of our customs, and the measure of our rights."

connected with the Court:—The Countess of Gainsborough; Sir George Grey, Home Secretary; the Honourable Mr. and Mrs. Anson; Sir James Clark; and Captain the Honourable Alexander Gordon. The dinner circle this evening of course consisted only of these individuals. By an unlucky coincidence, the hostess of the George, Miss Davidson, had, along with a friend, gone north to Aberdeen to witness the Queen's embarkation; but having there got notice that her Majesty had set out for Perth, she hastened back with all speed, and was here the next day before the departure, in time enough, however, to make her *devoirs* to her Royal lodger, and to receive the welcome assurance that the arrangements for her comfort had been fully satisfactory.

Meanwhile all was bustle and preparation at the General Terminus. Mr. Milner, Mr. Smart, and their assistants, earned great credit for the activity they displayed in having the station suitably decorated during the night. Mr. Ker, the Secretary of the Scottish Central Railway Company, as well as the resident Directors, gave liberal orders, and a great number of persons were busily employed the whole night in the requisite operations. The public, no less than the Company, were greatly indebted to Mr. Turnbull, of Bellwood, for an immense supply of evergreens and flowers of every description, and many private individuals were eager in contributing their "little all" in that department, to do honour to the occasion. A grand Triumphal Arch made its appearance next morning at the entrance to the large area in front of the Terminus; while the long saloon and the platform within, garnished with ample foliage, and supplied by Flora and Pomona from their choicest stores, all studded with fanciful gas-lights, presented a fairy scene of fancy and of garish splendour. To those who saw only the bare walls the evening before, the appearance of the same place next day was like the work of enchantment.

Soon after the arrival on Friday evening, an express was sent off to Camperdown, with intimation to Lord Duncan, Chairman of the Scottish Central Railway Directors. His Lordship, together with Lord Kinnaird, whom he had aroused by the way, was early in attendance on Saturday, and both exerted themselves to the utmost, to have everything in the best possible order. Mr. Errington (of Locke & Errington), civil engineer, also arrived during the night. The Magistrates, as also the High Constables, mustered between eight and nine o'clock on Saturday morning. These marched off a little before nine o'clock to take order at the Railway

Station, while the Lord Provost, the Dean of Guild, and Bailie Stuart, with the Town-Sergeants in attendance, were left behind to wait the movements of the Royal *cortège*, and preceded the Royal Family and suite, in a carriage and four, along the north end of George Street, Charlotte Street, Athole Place, Athole Crescent, Athole Street, Methven Street, and King Street, to the General Station. One company of the Royal Scots had been in attendance at the hotel, and another marched towards the Terminus; but the officer in command was the only military escort along the line of procession. The military were posted in distant open order along both sides of the approach by St. Leonard's Bank to the Triumphal Arch in front of the Terminus, while the High Constables were arranged in similar order within, and a detachment of that body kept the platform and the immediate access to the Royal train.

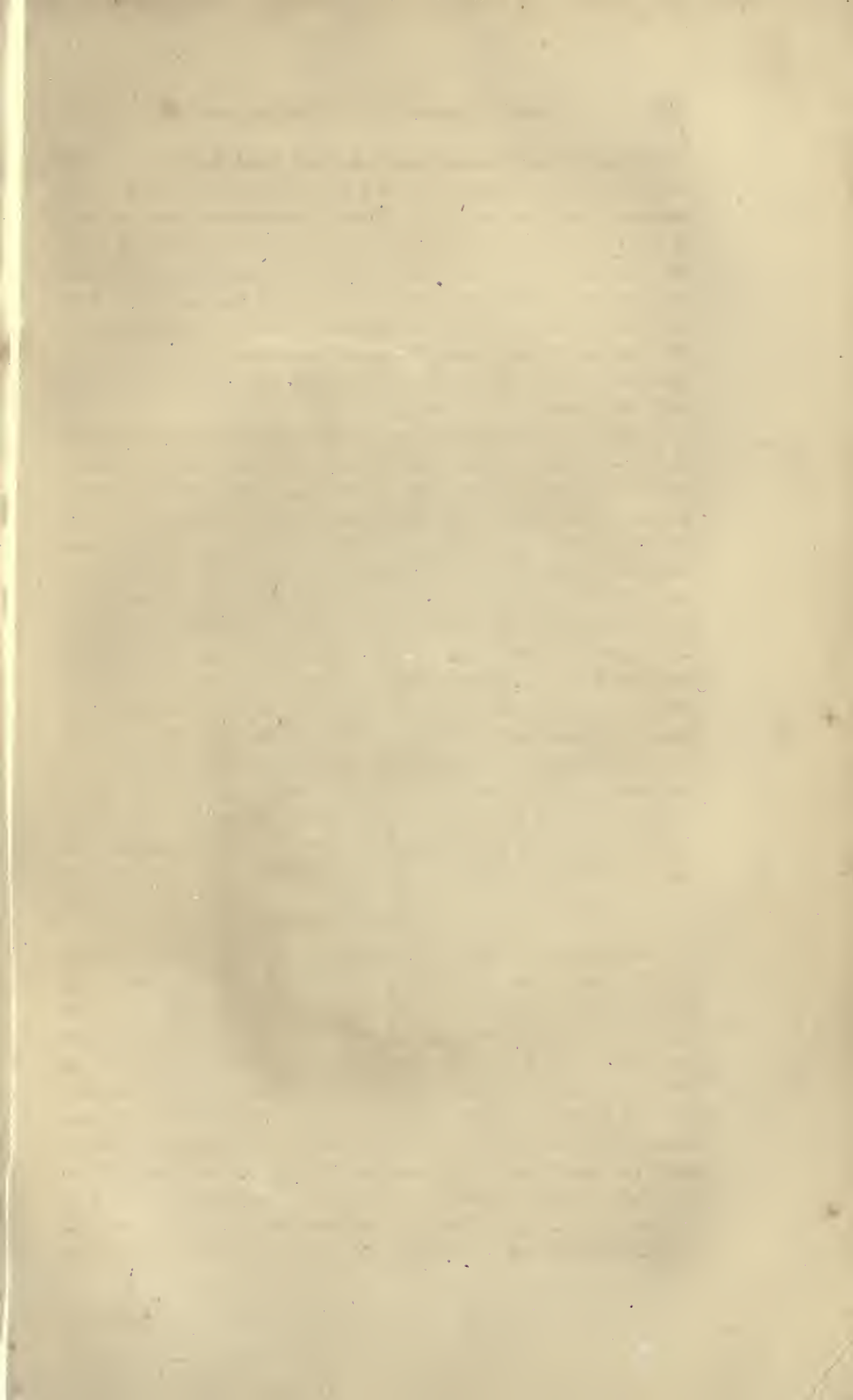
During the long route of the procession, the community enjoyed a good opportunity of seeing the Royal Family, the carriages proceeding at a moderate rate through the different streets. Her Majesty was observed to view the North Inch with great attention and apparently peculiar interest, as the procession skirted its lower end. From before the time of starting, the bells of the City Churches rang a merry peal, and while in progress several pieces of artillery thundered forth a royal salute from the battery on Bellwood Terrace. Flags and banners waved on every elevation and public building, and the devices of that sort at the Terminus were numerous and finely arranged. Her Majesty and her happy family proceeded along amidst the cheers of the assembled spectators, which they graciously acknowledged by bows and smiles.

Alighting at the station entrance, they were received by Viscount Duncan and Lord Kinnaird, and by the Lord Provost and Magistrates, who preceded them, walking backwards to the Royal carriage. Within the station they were received with respectful silence until the train moved off, when they were greeted with deafening cheers. It was nearly a quarter of an hour after they had taken their seats ere the train began to move, and all on the platform had a full view of the whole party. In the meantime, Viscount Duncan and Lord Kinnaird held familiar converse with the Sovereign and her Royal Consort. The members of her Majesty's suite and the Royal attendants having taken their places in separate carriages, the signal was given, and the train moved slowly off, amid the heartiest cheers of the company assembled. While

proceeding along, at an increased rate of speed, betwixt the Penitentiary and the entrance of the grand tunnel at Friarton, the Bellwood battery gave the illustrious travellers a thundering farewell volley, which reverberated in successive peals amongst the neighbouring hills. Mr. Tasker, the local engineer of the line, Mr. Harrison, locomotive superintendent, and Mr. Errington, C.E. guided the train. So soon as the steam of the engine was lost in the darkness of the tunnel, the pleased spectators returned home—their best wishes attending the august visitors who had just taken their departure.

At seven o'clock the same evening, a large and respectable company met in the retiring room of the City-Hall, where an elegant collation of wines, fruits, and confections, was served up. The meeting consisted chiefly of the Magistrates and Members of Council, the Moderator and Society of High Constables; but these were also joined by a number of the private citizens. The Lord Provost (Clunie) occupied the chair; and Mr. Murie, Moderator of the High Constables, Mr. Peacock, and Mr. Scott, acted as croupiers. It is needless here to occupy space by a statement of the leading toasts, or of the manner in which they were responded to. It was altogether a heart-stirring occasion. The Lord Provost stated, that the Lords Duncan and Kinnaird had the Royal commands to intimate how much her Majesty had been gratified with her reception, with her accommodation in Perth, and the attention of her body-guard, the High Constables. Thus ended the proceedings connected with the Second Royal Visit of Victoria to Perth, and the Third to Perthshire.

Although, in the details of these auspicious and welcome visits of Royalty, the editor of this volume has occasionally preferred the language of others to his own, when he found it more suitable, his readers may rest assured of their general accuracy, from the circumstance that he was an eye-witness of all the scenes and almost all the stirring incidents described, from the arrival of her Majesty at Dupplin Castle, to the eve of her departure from Drummond Castle, in 1842; from the meeting of the steam-ship, Perth, with the royal yacht, Victoria and Albert, on the open sea, to the embarkation at Dundee on her return homewards, in 1844; and from the Royal arrival at the General Station here, to the departure from the same, in 1848.





VIEW OF PERTH FROM BRIDGEND

DRAWN & ENGRAVED FOR PERTH, ITS ANNALS & ITS ARCHIVES BY G. CUNNING, DUNDEE

PERTH, THOMAS RICHARDSON.

Inundations and Pestilence.



ESIDES the details connected with these remarkable Visits of Royalty, which are here recorded apart from the main *History*, there are some other events to which it is now necessary to attend, as historically connected with Perth, although purposely omitted from the chronological order. Of these we shall first take into account two species of calamity to which the City has been occasionally subject—viz. Inundations and visitations of Pestilence. The latter is not of course peculiar to Perth: to the former it is frequently and specially exposed. First, then, as to

INUNDATIONS.

The most remarkable of these on record, as having been peculiarly destructive, occurred in 1210, 1621, 1740, 1773, and 1814. In the fall of 1847 there was a very alarming flood; and its devastations, although not so serious as on some former occasions, were nevertheless very annoying and of considerable magnitude. And in the month of January, of the current year, there were two successive inundations, one of which, on the 25th of that month, rose to within about two feet of that in October, 1847. Of the overwhelming casualty of 1210, notice has been already taken in the course of the previous history—page 36.

INUNDATION OF 1621.

In regard to that of 1621, Cant records, that the Bridge was totally demolished by the overflowing of the river on the 14th October that year. The surreptitious and imperfect *History* of Calderwood gives the following account of this desolation:—"October 14, A.D. 1621, the stately Bridge of Perth, newly completed, consisting of ten arches, was destroyed by the high swelling of the river Tay. The water of Almond, and a loch bewest the town, came down on the west hand, as dangerous as the river on the east. The town was environed with water, so that none could pass out for five or six days, nor could the inhabitants go from house to house for the water in the streets. Young children were let down at windows by cords into boats. The people ascribed this wrack to

iniquity committed in the town; for there was held the last General Assembly, and another in 1590, when the schism in the Kirk began; and, in 1606, here was held that Parliament at which Bishops were erected, and the Lords rode first in their scarlet gowns." Cant farther states—"This year the town of Perth was in great danger by an extraordinary inundation. I am favoured, by Mr. James Scott, present Minister of Perth, with the best account of this inundation, recorded in the Session Register, as follows:—

"Tuesday, 16th October, 1621.—The council and elders being convened, have ordered an voluntary contribution to be uplifted of the haill inhabitants, for declaration of their thankfulness to God for their deliverance from the fearful inundation of waters, threatening destruction both of the town and inhabitants, to be applied for the use of the poor. The manner whereof follows:—

"An Remembrance of God's Visitation of Perth.

"It is to be noted, and put in register in this book, the great and miraculous deliverance that the Lord gave to this burgh of Perth of an fearful inundation of waters, compassing the same on all parts, so that therethrough the Brig of Tay was haily dung down, except only one bow thereof standing. None could get furth of it, nor yet come within it, to make any relief thereto.

"The manner of the rising of the water was this. The rain began on Friday, the 12th October, about ten hours of the day. It continued that day and Saturday; and in the night, unlooked for, the water rose so high, that all them that dwelt outwith the Castel-gavel port in laigh houses, the water increased so, that they behoved to go to high houses for preservation of their lives: and being in high houses, the water rose to the loftings in the highest mid-houses in the Castel-gavel before six hours on Sunday in the morning; and the wind and weat continuing, the water came up to Gilbert Henderson's yett (gate) in the Castel-gavel, and to Margaret Monypenny's yett in the fish-market, to Donald Johnston's yett in the High-gate, to the Meal Vennel in the Southgate; and the water ran like miln-clouses at the yetts of diverse parts on the north side of the High-gate. An great tempestuous wind at the east blew all this time. The water also came above Henry Sharp's shop in the Speygate. The like fearful inundation of water was never seen in no living man's remembrance, which brought the people under such fear, that they looked for nothing but to have been destroyed.

“Whereupon, Mr. John Malcom, minister, powerfully endued with God’s Spirit, caused ring the preaching-bell on Sunday at seven hours of the morning, and the hail inhabitants came to the kirk, and there he exhorted them to repent for their sins, which had procured the said judgment of God to come upon the town, assuring them, that if they were truly penitent therefor, and would avow to God to amend their lives in time coming, God would avert his judgment, and give them deliverance; whose powerful exhortations moved the people to cry to God with tears, clamours, and cries, and to hold up their hands to God to amend their lives, and every one of them to abstain from their domestic sins.

“The like humiliation, both of men and women, has not been seen in Perth before. Fasting, preaching, and prayer, continued all that week. Our pastor, with great magnanimity, insisted in exhorting the people to true repentance and amendment of their lives.

“The waters began to decrease after noon on Sunday, 14th; but after daylight past there arose a greater tempest of wind and rain than at any time of before, which so affrighted the people that night, that they looked for nothing but the waters should have arisen to greater height nor they were of before. Notwithstanding thereof, miraculously, through the great mercy of God, by (beyond) all men’s expectation, the water greatly in the mean time decreased: Which in the morning moved the people in the kirk, and all other places, to give most hearty thanks to God for his mercy towards them. Mr. John Malcom proved the part of a faithful pastor to his flock, with great godly courage and magnanimity, to comfort them with the mercy of God. Great plenty of corns in all parts—both stacks and stooks—being on haughs and valley-ground, was carried away by the waters; and diverse ships by tempest perished, and horse, nolt, kye, and sheep drowned.”

INUNDATION OF 1773.

About the end of December, 1773, a severe frost came on, followed with a great fall of snow. The frost continued intense all the month of January, with snow-showers at intervals. The river Tay was frozen over on the 10th; and the stream-tides had no force to break the ice, which was of a greater thickness than that in 1740. There was no thaw until the 11th day of February, when the stream-tide began to flow. The thaw increased until the 14th, when the tide raised the ice about four feet, which loosed

it at both sides of the river ; but, when the tide returned, such was the thickness and strength of the ice that it subsided unbroken. Almond and the other small rivers began to flow, bringing down huge shoals of broken ice, which began to make an impression on the river above the Bridge. Tay yet remained firm and unbroken. Many people began to be apprehensive, especially if the dissolved snow from the mountains should swell the river before the ice was broken below the Bridge to give it vent, for the river was one continued sheet of thick ice for about eight miles—from Luncarty down to the mouth of Earn River. The water increased with the dissolved snow, and tore into pieces the ice above the Bridge, which was crowded with spectators trembling for the event. About mid-day, the water, choked up by the ice, overspread the whole North Inch, broke down a long wall of stone and lime at the head of it, lodged upon its surface immense blocks of ice above eighteen inches thick, piled one upon another, tore up and broke a fine row of trees on each side of the Dunkeld Road, and rendered it utterly impassable. In a short time the town was an island, the water ran with a great current through the Castle Gable and north end of the Skinnergate, and laid many houses under water, so that infirm and sick people were with great difficulty removed to places of safety. The water from the Inch increasing, took its course through the Blackfriars grounds on the north of the town, where there is a stone wall through the middle of these grounds from north to south. Nothing could resist its impetuosity, and the force of the large blocks of ice floating in it—the wall was overturned, and the water directed its course to the Mill Wynd at the west end of the town, and, to the surprise and consternation of the inhabitants, laid their habitations six feet under water. There was no getting out nor in to many houses in Newrow. The Spey and Hospital Gardens, on the south, were under water, and the gardeners were obliged to fly to the upper storeys of their houses. Meantime, the pressure of the water, and the great blocks of ice, broke down the walls on the west side of the Deadland garden and orchard, immediately below the Bridge. The trees broke the force of the great masses of ice, otherwise the houses in the orchard would have been in the utmost danger of being carried into the river. During this havoc, the whole ice over the Inch, floating like moving mountains, was in one tremendous motion pressing towards this place, where it found a vent ; and as it continued to run through this new passage into the river, it soon began to subside above, and some time after

the ice opposite to the Barracks,* at the south end of the town, broke quite across the river, by which means the water found a free passage under the ice. The confusion and alarm at this time was very great betwixt two and three in the afternoon, and things continued much in the same situation until about nine o'clock at night, when the ice at the Bridge began to give way, with amazing cracks and noise, by the inundation from Tay, which raised the water some feet above the spring of the arches of the Bridge. To such a height was the water raised, and such immense blocks of ice floating in it, that in its passage it broke down the parapets on the north shore, and ran in a violent current through the strong arches below the Council-House, and lodged great blocks of ice upon the High Street near as far as Campbell's tavern, overturned the walls of several gardens in the Watergate, and filled them with ice. The end of one of the fish-houses was carried off. Five ships were thrown upon the quay. Four were got off without damage; the other suffered considerably. About eleven o'clock that night the river began to clear and subside. The Bridge did not receive the smallest damage; only a small part of the parapet beyond the river, next to the snuff-mill, was broken by the ice. From Almond, which is more than a mile above the town, down to the foot of the South Inch, was one sheet of water. From the Bridge, Muirton and the town had the appearance of islands. Although many people were under fearful apprehensions, it is amazing that so little damage was done, and no lives lost. Kind Providence has so ordered that the rivers Isla, Almond, Shochie, and Ordie, rise, and begin to subside, twenty-four hours before Tay rises at Perth; if it were otherwise, it is hard to tell what danger the town would sustain. The town may suffer from inundations; but it does not appear that the Bridge, as it is now situated, will; for, before the water reach four feet above the spring of the arches, it will overflow the whole of the North Inch and surround the town. The inhabitants have now ocular demonstration that the Watergate Street is considerably higher than the west end of the town, for there was no water in that street at the height of the inundation, when the houses at the west end were six feet under water.

* There stood, within the memory of some very old men, on the east side of the South Inch, on the site of Cromwell's citadel, a range of Cavalry Barracks—the foundations of which are still traceable in the turf, north-east of the thorn tree, towards the eastern avenue.

INUNDATION OF 1814.

The next very alarming and partially destructive visitation of this kind we have on record, was what occurred in the beginning of the year 1814. The frost had set in severely towards the end of December, 1813, and continued for more than a month. Early in February following, the thaw came on gradually, and the weather afterwards continued mild. About the middle of this month, the ice accumulated on the Almond gave way, in consequence of a rise of its waters, and most of it was carried into the Tay. Much broken ice from the higher mountain-streams also came down ; and about three o'clock, afternoon, of the same day, a movement of the ice above the Bridge was observed—the nearer portion broke against the cut-waters, and much of it passed down through the arches, but was soon obstructed by the unbroken massy sheet below, which had not yielded, but remained entire from the bank next the town to the opposite shore at Bridgend. From the Deadlands to Friarton, there was no egress whatever for the rapidly-accumulating masses above ; and the obstruction, of course, raised the water to an alarming height. Taking its course across the North Inch, Rose Terrace, Barossa Street, and other portions of the Blackfriars, in what might be termed the New Town, were deeply flooded in course of the following night ; while the northern parts of the burgh—such as the North Port, Curfew Row, Castle-Gable, and Skinnergate—shared the same calamity. On that side the town, the water came within a hundred yards of the High Street. The South Inch, too, was soon several feet under water ; and the Edinburgh Road, betwixt Princes Street and the Dépôt, was quite impassable. The flood rushed impetuously up Canal Street ; the Spey Gardens and Hospital Gardens, as also the Newrow, were completely inundated. In a house behind Marshall Place the family had to seek refuge by mounting to the top of the house, and there remained until relief came in the morning. By this time the waters had risen sufficiently to float boats in many of the streets ; and several families were rescued from the imminent peril of their situation by such means, while those who remained in the higher storeys were supplied with victuals in the same way. Immense damage was done to goods of all kinds lodged in vaults and cellars, or in warehouses in the less elevated localities. Most of the sheep and cattle on Moncrieffe Island were drowned ; and no fewer than five sailing vessels were thrown out of the river upon the Old Shore, where they lay high and dry after the waters sub-

sided. The whole of next day (Saturday), the flood continued to rise. Great fears were entertained for the stability of the Bridge, and several pieces of artillery were brought to bear upon the masses of ice which had accumulated high upon the piers. The river sheet of ice first gave way late on the same evening, and floated down the rolling current. Thus relieved below, it gushed through the arches with such tremendous impetuosity, drawing such blocks of ice along with it, that the whole fabric shook from end to end. It sustained, however, the immense pressure uninjured. The entire North Inch was covered with masses of ice to the depth of twelve or fifteen feet, and all was left on its expansive surface when the waters subsided. It was cleared away with singular rapidity, however, by the influence of a genial spring and fine soft western winds; but portions of it lay in an undissolved state even till Midsummer. The index on the Bridge marks the height of this flood at twenty-three and a half feet.

Occasionally, since this period, we have been subject to inundations; but these have been caused more by deluging rains and the rapid dissolution of the mountain snows, than from such a gorging of the ice as in 1814. Much fear has been frequently created, however, of a recurrence of this danger. In the winter of 1838, especially, the extent and thickness of the ice were as great as in the former year, but it broke up in such a manner that it caused no inundation. The Tay was at that time closed for nearly two months, from Scone to the mouth of Earn, and all navigation was totally obstructed. The weather, though frosty, was often remarkably fine; and winter sports were enjoyed with great avidity, throughout the long period, on the bosom of the river. Dinner parties on the ice were common. The enterprising Messrs. Graham, merchants and shipowners, entertained upwards of two hundred of the principal inhabitants—including magistrates, clergymen, and other officials—to a splendid banquet on the deepest part of the river, just opposite to the Water Reservoir, with bands of music, and every other accessory usual on any grand season of festivity. The entire banquet, varied and substantial as it was, was cooked on the ice; and the water for the negus, toddy, &c. (which was also liberally distributed to hundreds of spectators), was boiled on furnaces burning around the party on the frozen element. The sailing-masters of the vessels then pent up in the harbour entertained a numerous party the following week, also on the ice, betwixt the building-yards and Friarton Island; and about the same time a

large and respectable portion of the community of Bridgend also enjoyed themselves in a similar manner on that branch of the river betwixt "the Stanners" and Bridgend quay. All this accumulation of ice wore away without the occurrence of any such casualty as was generally apprehended.

INUNDATION OF 1847.

The 7th of October, 1847, will long be memorable for one of those semi-centennial inundations of the Tay with which the city is liable to be visited. Certainly it is not oftener than once in a half-century that the locality is flooded to such an extent, and there had not been seen, within the memory of any living man, a visitation of the kind to exceed this. True, in the winter of 1814, the water rose two feet higher, and perhaps the inhabitants were exposed to fully as much danger; but all this arose chiefly from the gorging up of ice, and never was there such a deluge known from the mere accumulation of rain water, nor anything approaching to it, of which we have any record, in so short a period.

It began to rain—mildly at first—on the evening of Tuesday, the 5th, but by about ten o'clock it was heavy. Much fell during that night, and throughout most of Wednesday. There was an abatement at intervals, but anon it returned, with a gusty disagreeable east wind. Gradually the Tay began to swell, and as this was aided by more than a hundred tributaries from a very wide extent of the Highlands, it amounted to a "*spate*" by about dusk. The following night was tempestuous—the wind howled, and "the pelting of the pitiless storm" was indeed frightful. By next morning the river had overflowed all its ordinary limits, and in course of the day grew on until it made serious and destructive inroads on the land and property of various kinds. All day hundreds of people crowded the parapets of the Bridge, watching—some with terror, and others apparently with idle curiosity—the approach of every huge object as it appeared floating on the surface. Immense quantities of brushwood came down, and not a little of it settled on the North Inch, which was eagerly gathered up for fuel by the poorer inhabitants. Trees, large and small, of all kinds, also came tumbling down, and great quantities prepared for railway sleepers, as well as cut wood of various lengths and size, for the railway works, found their way to the sea, except such as the dexterity of individuals arrested in their progress. The *employés* of the great contractors, Stephenson, Brassey, & Mackenzie, pre-

sented rewards to the most active to encourage them in this dangerous work.

But amongst the objects carried along by the overwhelming and impetuous flood, were many others of greater value, and which were the cause of much more serious loss. Hay ricks, whole corn stacks, and other productions of the earth, followed in rapid succession; and bestial of various kinds—cattle, sheep, and swine—washed away from the haughs above, were intermingled with the general wreck. In one instance, a horse, saddled and bridled, went down, which was also seen to pass Blairgowrie. Altogether, the “wreck of matter” was dismal, and the impetuosity of the still augmenting current appalling.

Meanwhile, the inhabitants in those parts of the town usually most liable to inundation were busy endeavouring to secure their goods and furniture. Early in the day the necessity of that precaution became apparent. The George Inn stable-yard was amongst the first places that had to be cleared, and so rapidly did the waters rise, that it was with difficulty the horses and other live stock were rescued. The removal of an extensive piggery was even amusing. The North Port, Castle Gable, and Curfew Row, were next inundated, and by this time the North Inch was completely covered. At the South Inch, too, the river had risen till it broke over the Shore Road, and in a short time this Inch was also under water. This state of matters there was accelerated by the effect of a rising spring-tide, which was at its height about two o'clock, afternoon. About four o'clock—and during an interval of the rain, for at other times the heavens continued to pour down torrents—the present writer took the opportunity to ascend the heights on the other side of the river, to view the scene from thence. By and by a dull reddish streak showed itself along the horizon in the west, the rain abated entirely, and the sky in that direction partially cleared up, till the sun with a fiery red hue broke through the dense vapours, about half-an-hour before the time of his setting, and shed a more than momentary lustre over the face of nature. At this time the scene presented below was terrific, but truly grand. The lurid glow of the glorious orb of day communicated its hue to all around. There, at a short distance, rolled on the tumultuous surges of the river, while all along—from Friarton on the extreme left, to the river Almond on the right, a stretch of nearly four miles—the country presented one vast lake, with farm-houses, cottages, and hamlets, as well as the city of Perth itself, in the midst of it! The

farm of North Muirton, and lower portion of South Muirton, together with Easthaugh, &c. were all submerged to a considerable depth, and there the turnips, as well as other exposed crops, suffered great damage.

As yet Moncrieffe Island had been defended by the height of its artificial embankments, but fears were now entertained for its safety, and for that of the farm-steading, the crop, and live stock thereon. To transport either stock or crop to the mainland was impossible, and it was a matter of great hazard for a man to ferry over the turbulent river. Mr. Thomson, the farmer, with his men and some neighbours, succeeded, by extraordinary exertions, in warding off the waters until nearly two o'clock on Friday morning, when the tide rising, the flood burst over the embankment, a little above the farm-steading, with overwhelming force. The cattle and horses were driven into the sheds, where a number of men, situated on the rafters above, succeeded in holding their heads above water by means of halters. When they could persevere in this no longer, and were just about to let them go, Mr. Swan, Friarton, fortunately suggested the idea, that, as the tide was again receding, it should now be tried whether the river *without* might not have fallen below the level of the waters *within* the embankments. To cut through the embankments at five or six places was the work of about as few minutes, and the flood being gradually on the decrease, a large portion of the water rushed out, and fell as the river fell on Friday forenoon.

During this time the inundation of the city had gradually but irresistibly progressed. In course of Thursday evening the flood rose upon Rose Terrace; and about nine o'clock it covered the foot pavement, and even broke over the parapet, on which the railings were fixed, with a thundering noise, into the sunk areas of those spacious buildings. Ere this most of the furniture had been removed. For an hour or two before, the whole space from Charlotte Street, along Athole Place, and Athole Crescent to the Theatre in Athole Street, was flooded. From the North Port the waters rose upon Charlotte Place, and latterly they came considerably up the steep acclivity of Charlotte Street. Blackfriars House (Mr. Condie's) was completely surrounded, and the extensive business offices there were inundated to the depth of four feet. It was with extreme difficulty and exertion that the books and papers of that establishment were saved from destruction. From about eight to ten o'clock, most of the streets in the southern district of the

town were in the same situation : Marshall Place and King's Place had shared the same fate with Rose Terrace. Princes Street, and the Edinburgh Road beyond it, through the South Inch, were impassable. Victoria Street and South William Street were flooded from end to end ; Nelson Street, also, and the greater part of Scott Street, James Street, and King Street, in the same situation. In Canal Street the water rose so high as the Star Hotel, which was unapproachable when the flood was at its height. Near to the west end of that street it was still worse. Farther west still, County Place, part of Newrow, Hospital Street, with the Hospital itself, were in a depth of several feet. The damage done to property in all these districts, was serious.

It is a remarkable fact, that while the great inundation of October, 1847, was created solely by the rapid accumulation of rain water, scarcely any of that fell in the north-western and western districts of the county. There was no particular flood in the Earn, and neither the Almond nor any other of the north-western tributaries of the Tay contributed materially to the mighty current at Perth. The main body of water was supplied from the Isla and its various feeders on the north-eastern parts, and from Forfarshire. The Erich and other streams above Blairgowrie came down in torrents. A portion of the churchyard of Kirkmichael was carried away : some coffins were found in the haughs farther down, while others were left partially exposed in the bank.

Surveys have been made, and engineering plans suggested, for the means of defence to the town against such casualties, but no measure has yet been adopted. Embanking above the city could scarcely effect this, while the drain mouths and the various accesses into the Tay for the water of the great aqueduct, or King's Lade, must remain open. The floodings of the South Inch, the Hospital grounds, and other western suburbs, are invariably caused, not by water from above, but below the city.

The causes of the very frequent floods of late years, and especially of the two in succession which took place in the beginning of the present year, 1849, the last of which rose to an alarming height, and within about two feet of that in 1847, are ascribed chiefly to the recent improvement of the lands by drainage, which, in times of heavy rains, at once throw out the water into the great natural canals which feed the mighty current of the Tay.

Only one means of local defence has yet been attempted. The

Magistrates and Council have entirely filled up the sunk area of the Public Seminaries in Rose Terrace, and private proprietors in that quarter, as well as some others, are beginning to follow the example.

PESTILENCE.

It is not that Perth is more liable to epidemic or contagious diseases than other places, that such a head is introduced here. Quite the contrary—for excepting occasional fogs during what may be strictly termed the winter quarter, the climate is generally salubrious, and the inhabitants healthy. The late learned and scientific Professor Anderson, in his contribution under the head “Meteorology,” in the *New Statistical Account*, says, that “though Perth stands extremely low (being only a few feet above the level of the ocean); and although it is closely surrounded on all sides, except towards the north, by hills, the flanks of which descend to the plain on which the town is situated; yet these hills being of moderate elevation, the hygrometric state of the incumbent atmosphere is little affected by their vicinity, and the air is accordingly more dry and clear than might have been expected. Fogs are not more frequent than in the open plains; and the *diseases* arising from a damp soil, and a humid atmosphere, *are of rare occurrence*, or rather **ALTOGETHER UNKNOWN**. The gravelly and sandy subsoil of the district, and the perpetual change of air occasioned by the current of the river, in all states of the weather, contribute to render the climate of Perth *more salubrious* than that of many towns possessing a greater elevation above the level of the sea.” We give the following instances of pestilence, not as peculiar to Perth, but when the judgments of God were abroad on the earth generally, because they were of a very devastating character, and are well authenticated.

In the year 1512 the plague visited Perth. The principal document respecting it is preserved in the city records. It is a letter from the King to the Provost, Bailies, and Council of the burgh, and is as follows:—

“James, be the grace of God King of Scottis, to our lovitts the Provost, Bailies, and counsall of our burgh of Perth, greeting zow well: Wit ye ws with consent of our counsall for stanching of this

contagious *playg of pestilence* now raiging in maist pairt of our territorie alone be Goddis grace . . . and apperand causes thair of in tym coming, so far as may be done be diligence of men and uisingis, statutis and articles vnder written, to be maid and kepit anent the samyn in tyme cuming; and our will is heirfore, and we charge zow straitlie, and commandis that zo mak the said statutis and actis to be kepit within the boundis of zour office, that is to say, that ze incontinent, and in our name and autoritie, command and charge, be open proclamatioun at the mercat croce of our said burgh, all and sindrie our leigis and subiectis, and alsua strangearis of all utheris within this oure realme, that none of thame tak upoun hand to receive anie personis in our realme, ylis, or ony paire thei of be sey or land, ony infect gudis fra thame, bot that they sall mak scharp travale and diligence to eschew the samyn vnder the pane of deid; and gif ony persons vnwitting happinis to bring ony infect stuf negligentlie, that they still take the saym to the provest, alderman, bailies, or officiaris of the place quhair thai are to keip the samyn, and sall use the command of the saidis officiaris thairin, in eschewing the danger of the said infectioun, under pain of dead; alsua that no infect persone or personis, man nor woman, nor ony utheris strangearis being infect or cuming frae ony infect placis or personis, or intromitteris with ony uthers infect personis or gudis, come to kirk or merket preartlie or apertlie, be day or night, vse ony traffik or converse with clene personis under the pane of dead; alsua that na persone nor personis of quilsomever estait or degrie closit, in thair housis, or put to ony uther place be the provest, alderman, baillies, or officiaris of the burgh or land quhair eueir thei are cuming fra all sic housis or placis that thai ar put or sall happin to be put to, be nicht or day, that ward or house so committit to thame, under the said pane of deid, and all sic infect personis, as God relevis thame of the pestilence, and givis thame strength, may converse nocht nor hant with hele folks, for the space of xl dayis thairafter, thai havand ane quhiet wand in thair hand, or ane quhiet claithe on thare breist, as ane taiken of thare seikness, gif thai cum furth, that utheris clene folks may eschew thame under the said pane of deid; alsua that the houssis, gif ony be now infect, or suspect, or sall happin to be infect, or suspect hereafter, that they have nait upone thare stairs, or dur, or uther maist outward and sicht places of there said houssis, ane quhiet claithe in taiken of thare infectioun, and that ze within zour boundis se at the samyn be dune, as ze will answeere to us at

zour uter pirrell, and quha that beis fundin doing or attempting to do contrare the saidis actis, statutis, and ordinanci maid be us and our council for the weill of our realme or leigis, be ony manner of way in tyme cuming, efter the day of the dait hereof, that ze within all zour boundis mak thay suspect persons be in force put in surprance, and amangis vther supect personis, thare to remane quhill thai be put to ane assize, and gif thai be convict of ony of the saidis poyntis, and articulis, that ze put the samyn to executioun of deid, attour that ze cause clenzeing be maid diligentlie of all infect personis houssis, and gudes, gif ony be at this tyme, or happinis to be in tyme cuming within the boundis of zour office, and tak diligent cure, and mak sharp executioun herein, as ze will answeere to us thairupoun, and under the pane of dittaye, to be taken of ze for your negligence . . . or fawouris to be poneist with regour, and ze be fundin neglegent or inhabil herein. Attour at ze cause all wild and syspect bestis, as doggis, swyne, and cattis, except tham that are kept in bandis, to be slane quhar evir they may be apprehendit within zour saidis boundis the time of the said pestilence, gif ony happinis the quhilkis sall be free to be slane be all personis, officiaris, or uthers that findes thaim louse for the tyme, without any amendis to be made to the party thairfor.—Attour at ze in our name command and charge be oppen proclamatioune, all our liegis within the boundis of zour office to clenyis all thare rewis, wyndis, clossis, and guttaris, baith in backside and forside, ilkane of thame for thare awine pairt, within four dais next efter zour charge, vnder the pane of ane vulaw of fywe merkis, to be taken up and applyt to zou and officiaris of oure said burgh for the clenzing of the samyn, and that na personis lay myddonyis at porttis, entressis, or inches of our said burgh, under the said pane, and als, that all our liegis cum and wsse merchandice, and bring to our merkat all necessarys for merkat and court, and that every man answeere for his servandis tuiching the observatioun of all thir statutis, vnder the samyn panis; and at ze suffer na beggaris to remane within our said burgh, bot that has ane taken, gevin be zou to thame, and thay to be impotent, agit, or blynd folkis that ar noth able to wyn thare leving utherwais within the realme, as ye will answer to us thareapoun. The quhilk to do we commit to you, coniunctlie and severallie, oure full power, be thir oure letteres, given under our signet at Edinburgh xvij. day of Januar, and of regime the xxv. zeir (1512) De speciale mandato.”

In the years 1585-87, the plague was again in Perth. The

only account extant of it being here at that time is in the subjoined extracts from the Session records :—

“ April 12, 1585.—Whilk day, Mr. John Howisson, minister of God’s word at Perth for the time, did, at the command of the Session thereof, excommunicate, with great grief, sorrow, and do-lour of my heart, Margt Watson, sometime an member of the said kirk of Perth, for double adultery, and five bairns born therein, whilk bairns received never the sacrament of baptism, and one of them she suffered to perish and starve for hunger in the lodges infested with the *pest*, &c. (Signed) JOHN HOWISSON.”

“ May 24, 1585.—It was statute and ordained, that hereafter induring the time of the plague, no banquet shall be at marriages, and no persons shall resort to bridals under the pain of 10 pounds, for to be paid by ilka one that contravenes the same. And 10 pounds to be paid by them that calls more than four on the side to the banquet or bridal induring the pest.”

“ July 17, 1585.—Whilk day, the hail Assembly and Session of the kirk agrees in one voice, that so many fornicators who have not satisfied the kirk for their offence hitherto, and are rather willing to pay an permulctuary sum of money, according to the act of Parliament, than otherwise to satisfy the civil magistrate and the kirk, for relief of the poor, being presently in great necessity, shall instantly deliver the same, according to the act of Parliament, to support the poor withall that are putt in the lodges (*pest houses*), who otherwise may die for want, or be compelled for hunger to stray and go abroad in the country, and infect the same,—and ordains, that this our ordinance shall have place induring the time of the plague, and this extreme need, which otherwise cannot be helped ; and therefore desires both all the congregation, and also all them that shall come after us in our rooms, to judge charitably of this our ordinance, and rightly to ponder and weigh the causes that moved us, viz. the falling of the lives of our poor brethren and sisters, and could find no other help at the present to relieve them withall, and therefore have received for that effect the promulctual sums from the persons under-written, and also discharges the persons under-written from all other satisfaction to the kirk,—they are to say, George Johnston Bailie, Catharine Heron, James Gibson, John Robertson.”

“ Oct. 11, 1585.—Two parties (for gross impurity) ordered to be carted backward through the town, with paper hats on their heads, at 2 of the clock in the afternoon ; thereafter to be locked

fast in the irons on the cross, and there to stand till 3 in the afternoon ; then to be put in prison, and on Sunday to be brought forth with their paper hats on their heads to the stool of repentance. They had been persons formerly suspected of the plague, and put forth to the lodges (the pest-houses), and having escaped with life, rendered this unsuitable return, when there was fasting and humiliation that the plague might be removed from the town and other towns in the country."

"Nov. 7th, 1587.—Appoints an fast to begin on Saturday night, and to pertinue while Sunday 8 days thereof at even, with great humiliation and prayer to God that it would please him to remove the plague of the pest from the towns of Edinburgh, Leith, &c. and to preserve us therefrom ; as also to preserve us from the pest of the soul, which is Papistrie's ignorance, maintained presently by thir jesuits and Papists new come in, who press to bring men under the thraldom of idolatry and ignorance, and from the true knowledge of Christ our Saviour, revealed to us in his Word, and to embrace the superstitious rites and ceremonies, from which the good Lord preserve us,—and ordain them to be noticed from the pulpit on Thursday next, that none remain ignorant hereof,—that every one may address them to fasting, to prayer, to humiliation, at the time appointed."

In 1608 the plague again appeared in Scotland. Vigorous measures were promptly adopted by the Magistrates and Council of Perth to prevent its entrance into the City. All communication with those places where it was known to exist was prohibited. Watchmen were placed at the different ports of the town, to prevent the entrance of any one without the sanction of a magistrate. But every means used was unavailing. Many of the inhabitants were seized with the pestilence and died. Of the number who died, no correct account appears to have been kept ; but it must have been considerable, as the interments were at the public expense, and places of burial specially appointed. The infected who were sent out of the city to St. Leonards, a place in the neighbourhood, and died there, were ordered to be buried at that place ; as also all the infected who died in the Watergate, Southgate, and beneath the Cross. Those who were sent out to the "Lone" of Balhousie, also in the neighbourhood, and died there, were ordered to be buried in the adjoining grave-yard of the Blackfriars ; as also all the infected who died in the north and south side of the Highgate. Those who conducted the interments received for each,

12s. ; and the grave-maker, 6s. Men, designated cleansers, were employed in examining the suspected tenements, and received for each that they cleaned, 13s. 4d. Duncan Macqueen and others were imprisoned for speaking with David Hunter in Dundee, the plague being there ; and an order was issued to close up the houses of James Ross and others, they to remain therein during the Council's will, for having purchased certain goods from John Peebles of Dundee, who died of the pest.

In an old manuscript volume we find the following account of the plague in 1645 :—" In Perth, it raged with great fury ; whole families were seized therewith. At first, when one person in a family was seized, he was carried into a separate place in the house, where he was visited by the physicians. Such as recovered were of singular use in assisting the sick, it being always the case, that if once they recovered they never fell into a relapse, for which reason they were called cleansers. But the calamity still increasing, and the contagion spreading, not only one person, but severals in a family, nay, whole families, and several families in a lodging, were taken with the distemper. Wherefore a new method was fallen upon of shutting up the dwelling-houses where the distemper was, and allowing none to enter them except the physicians and cleansers. All communication between them and the inhabitants who were whole was entirely stopt. But this method being found inconvenient, by reason that persons evil disposed among the cleansers entered the houses of the whole, and thereby spread the infection through the town, it was thought proper for the future to put those out of the town at some distance who were sick. Accordingly, they went out and builded huts for themselves in different places around the town, particularly in the South Inch, the Vicar Knoll in the grounds of Friartown, Witch-Hill, near the parish kirk of Kinnoull, and the grounds near the river Almond, at the mouth thereof, in all which places there are as yet the remains of their huts which they lived in. The persons who died were buried deep in the open fields, none being allowed to be buried in the precincts of the town, or if they were, it was in a certain place allotted for that purpose, as in the west side of the South Inch. The wearing apparel, goods, and gear of the persons affected, were burned, and their houses shut up for some time, and their money was afterwards given to persons employed to boil it, who returned the same to the relations of the defunct. This calamity not only raged in the town, but was severely felt through the adjacent country--great multi-

tudes in the neighbouring parishes dying of it. Three thousand of the inhabitants died of it during that time, besides many who died afterwards, it not ceasing for several years, though not raging with such violence. It almost depopulated Perth, many houses in different places being shut up, which afterwards, in back parts, went to ruin; and what houses stood to the streets uninfected were inhabited but by few. Several houses were infected in a great degree to the front, and even some streets were entirely forsaken, particularly one between the church and the Meal Vennel. And the inhabitants being few in number, had no courage to carry on trade or manufacture, and buildings, for many years." It appears from an entrance in the City records of 1667, that in 1645 a house without the Castlegable Port was burnt, by order of the Council, for the purpose of "preventing the spreading of the plague." It is remarkable that no historian of the time attempted to give any circumstantial account of this devastating pestilence. The engrossing political condition of the country may have in some measure occasioned that.

In connection with this subject, we may not well omit the interesting but melancholy incident of the death of *Bessie Bell* and *Mary Gray*, which gave rise to one of our standard Scottish lyrics, and the composition of one of our excellent old Scottish melodies, both of which are popular at the present day. Cant relates it as having occurred in 1666-7, and says, "I shall give the reader the history of these ladies, as in a letter (from Major Augustus Barry, who possessed the property in his own time, which he purchased previously from one of the Grays of Lednoch) [Lynedoch], written at my request, with which he was pleased to favour me:"—"The common tradition of Bessie Bell and Mary Gray is, that the father of the former was laird of Kinvaid, in the neighbourhood of Lednoch, and the latter laird of Lednoch. These two young ladies were both very handsome, and a most intimate friendship subsisted between them. While Miss Bell was on a visit to Miss Gray, the plague broke out in the year 1666; in order to avoid which, they built to themselves a bower, about three quarters of a mile west from Lednoch House, in a very retired and romantic place, called Burn Braes, on the side of Beauchie Burn. Here they lived for some time; but the plague raging with great fury, they caught the infection, it is said, from a young gentleman who was in love with them both, and here they died. They were buried in another part of Mr. Gray's ground, called the Dronach Haugh, at the foot of a

brae of the same name, and near to the bank of the river Almond. The burial-place lies about half-a-mile from the present house of Lednoch." The late Lord Lynedoch bestowed much care on the resting-place of these unfortunate and far-famed maidens, enclosing it with a handsome railing, and otherwise adorning it.


Before quitting this subject, it may be mentioned, that one respectable account of the epidemic which ravaged Perth in 1585, says, that it carried off no fewer than 1,427 persons!

In 1832, the Asiatic cholera visited Perth, as it did many other towns in Britain. As in the visitation of the plague, the most effectual means that could be devised were adopted by the constituted authorities to avert or mitigate the malady. A meeting of the influential classes of the community was called. The meeting divided the town and suburbs into sections. To each of these a certain number of persons was appointed, with authority to remove nuisances, and cause the houses which required it to be thoroughly cleansed and purified. A temporary hospital was fitted up to receive patients, and competent medical officers were appointed to attend and take charge of them. A soup-kitchen was established, from which the poor of the place were supplied daily with broth and bread. The consequence of these precautionary measures was most beneficial. To them may properly be ascribed, under Heaven, the comparatively small number of cases that occurred. The deaths were 147. It is proper to mention, that, through the liberality of certain noblemen and gentlemen in the county, and of the inhabitants of the parish, no legal assessment was resorted to. The sum collected and expended was £2,091 4s. 5d.

This scourge again visited this country, and was very destructive, during the winter of the present year, 1849—especially in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dumfries. It was very fatal also in various other towns, but has now subsided, and almost entirely disappeared. Here, in Perth, alarming symptoms and rumoured cases of the epidemic prevailed to some extent in the beginning of April. Vigilant precautions were taken; but the alarm passed over, with few or no decidedly ascertained instances of real Asiatic cholera, we believe, having taken place.

The past winter has been singularly remarkable for the absence of epidemic, endemic, or contagious disease; and even typhus fever, a more fatal and more-to-be-dreaded visitant than cholera, has been almost a stranger.

Topographical Peculiarities.

N the very commencement of this work, *locality* was a leading topic; but there also it was stated, that this was taken up at that stage in the most limited sense of the term—leaving the description of topographical features as a subject for subsequent treatment, apart from the department strictly historical. This now presents itself as a theme peculiarly demanding the compiler's notice, before closing his labours.

It may, however, be considered a work of supererogation to attempt describing what has been so often and so well done by others, and what is so well known to the numerous tourists attracted by its amenities, and the romantic grandeur of the county of which the "Fair City" is the capital. Still the present work might be considered defective were all allusion to its singular local attractions omitted.

Sir Walter Scott, to whose magic pen both County and City are so deeply indebted—the former for the glowing descriptions of his muse in the *Lady of the Lake*, and the romantic prose of his *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*, and the latter to his fascinating novel of *St. Valentine's Day*—commences this last mentioned production of his mighty genius in the following graphic terms:—"Among all the provinces in Scotland, if an intelligent stranger were asked to describe the most varied and the most beautiful, it is probable he would name the county of Perth"—and, farther, he proceeds to say, that its peculiar features "give the inhabitants a fair right to plead, that—prejudice apart—Perthshire forms the fairest portion of the northern kingdom." He then goes on to say, that "the most picturesque, if not the highest hills, are also to be found in the county of Perth. The rivers find their way out of the mountainous region by the wildest leaps, and through the most romantic passes connecting the Highlands with the Lowlands. Above, the vegetation of a happier climate and soil is mingled with the magnificent characteristics of mountain-scenery; and woods, groves, and thickets, in profusion, clothe the base of the hills, ascend up the ravines, and mingle with the precipices. It is in such favoured

regions that the traveller finds what the poet Gray, or some one else, has termed Beauty lying in the lap of Terror."

And such is the *locale* of Perth, while from every surrounding height the beauties here described are distinctly seen. The first appearance of Perth, "so eminent for the beauty of its situation," as seen from a ridgy eminence on the south, "one of the most beautiful points of view which Britain, or perhaps the world can afford," is such as Sir Walter farther proceeds to describe—"He beheld, stretching beneath him, the valley of the Tay, traversed by the ample and lordly stream; the town, with its two large meadows, or Inches, its steeples and its towers; the hills of Moncrieffe and Kinnoull rising into picturesque rocks, partly clothed with woods; the rich margin of the river, studded with elegant mansions; and the huge Grampian mountains, the northern screen of this exquisite landscape." And, moreover, the mighty Magician, as if reluctant to quit the delightful theme, declares that "it is not in his power to communicate, nor in his reader's to receive, the exquisite charm which surprise gives to pleasure, when so splendid a view arises when least expected or hoped for, and which he experienced when he beheld, for the first time, *the matchless scene.*" He "recollected gazing on that scene as if afraid it would shift, like those in a theatre, before he could distinctly observe its different parts, or convince himself that what he saw was real. Since that hour, and the period is now more than fifty years past, the recollection of that inimitable landscape has possessed the strongest influence over my mind, and retained its place as a memorable thing, when much that was influential on my own fortunes has fled from my recollection."

It is fortunate for the writer he has it in his power to quote such authority, not only because he lacks ability to do the subject justice, but, moreover, his own admiration of the locality is such, that were he to attempt description he should assuredly be liable to the imputation of partiality, if not of hyperbole. One cannot sufficiently admire such a scene, but everybody has not the same taste for it. In his own case he feels (what he knows to be the feeling of many others) that there is what appears to be an exceedingly wise disposition of an infinitely wise Providence, that as he descends towards the vale of years, and other tastes diminish or fail, his appreciation and enjoyment of nature increases as the seasons roll on. He fully participates in the impression so enthusiastically expressed by the great author whom he has cited.

The singular sylvan beauty of its situation, the remarkable regularity and uniformity of its streets, and the general neatness; if we may not say elegance, of its modern architecture, have obtained for Perth, from the impress of high authority, the peculiar appellation of "The Fair City." It is situated on a spacious level plain on the right bank of the Tay, a noble navigable river, giving access and harbourage for ships of considerable burden, almost at the very doors of the inhabitants, and rolling onwards to the ocean a mightier current than any other river in Britain. When swollen by the winter flood, collected from its numberless tributaries, its motion is truly magnificent—the only drawback in this case being the dangerous inundations to which it is consequently liable. Being bounded on the north and south by two beautiful verdant meadows, respectively called the North and South Inches—the former used as a race-course, and both for the recreation and athletic sports of the citizens—the town has no defence from those occasional visitations.

The plain on which the city stands is three-parts surrounded by hills, some of them of striking romantic beauty, and during the summer months it seems embosomed in the richest foliage. The finest approach is generally reckoned to be that, as described by Sir Walter Scott, from the south; and it is needless here to do more than merely advert to the reported exclamation of the Romans, when the magnificence of the view broke on their astonished vision :

"Behold the Tiber!" the vain Romans cried,
Viewing the ample Tay from Baiglie's side;
But where's the Scot that would the vaunt repay,
And hail the puny Tiber for the Tay?*

Almost every view of Perth is taken from the southern approach, and, for the sake of variety, therefore, the Publisher of this volume presents three vignettes, each from other and different points.

The walks and rambles in the vicinity are numerous and most inviting. The Inches, particularly the South, with its shady clumps and alleys green, while the prospect from the North is superior, present favourite resorts for the gay as well as for the valetudinarian. From the fact of the only open side of the country being that towards the north, strangers might be apt to fancy that this exposure was unpleasant or forbidding. It is quite the contrary, however; the beautiful champaign country is charming, while

* Such is the author's opinion, founded, perhaps, on feelings of national pride, of the relative claims of the classical river and the Scottish one.—*Note in Scott's "Fair Maid."*

the vast amphitheatre, bounded by the huge Grampians—so near, that in an ethereal autumn day one can almost discern the interstices of the rocks, and distinguish the colours of the heather—impart to the scene a charm inexpressible.

Time and space will not permit of any description of the more extended rambles which the visitor, even of a single summer day, may enjoy. The top of Kinnoull Hill, by Montague Walk, is little more than a mile from any of our hotels, and Moredun summit is scarcely two. From either the most magnificent views may be enjoyed; and there is more than the unparalleled scenery to enchant. From these points the spectator may embrace in his view several of those battle-fields associated with the most interesting passages of Scotland's history, or where her sons immortalized themselves as patriots and as heroes. From these are distinctly seen the extent of Birnam forest, and the ruins of Macbeth's Castle on Dunsinnan Hill: Immediately under the eye, too, lies the North Inch, the scene of the sanguinary struggle between the Clan Chattan and the Clan Quhele: At a short distance the battle-field of Luncarty extends itself, reminding the spectator of doughty deeds, and the honours won by the noble family on whose demesne he stands: Nearer still, the embattled towers of Scone Palace overtop the ancient avenues of gigantic trees that surround them: Little more than a mile to the left of that, we see the hoary walls of Huntingtower, the scene of the Raid of Ruthven: About two miles farther west and south-west respectively, are the fields of Methven, where Sir Aymer de Valence defeated Robert Bruce in 1306, and of Tibbermuir, where the Marquess of Montrose routed Lord Elcho in 1644; while about another couple of miles south of the latter, lies the bloodier arena of Dupplin, famous for the mortal strife betwixt Edward Baliol and the Earl of Mar: Within the scope of the eye, too, and at no very great distance, must lie the scene, claimed by various localities, where Galgacus maintained the independence of Caledonia against Agricola and the legions of ancient Rome: Killiecrankie's famous Pass, although at a greater distance, is distinctly seen; and the nearer northern verge of Sheriffmuir is also visible. Moreover, Abernethy's round tower, marking the site of the Pictish capital, is just at hand; and the twin Lomonds of Fife, the one leading the eye to the Royal seat of Falkland, and the other to Lochleven and poor Queen Mary's lonely isle, appear quite in the neighbourhood.

Respectable strangers are permitted at all times to visit the sum-

mits of Moredun and Kinnoull; and to tourists desirous of enjoying all the advantages of the picturesque on the latter, we would advise their obtaining leave of Mr. Turnbull of Bellwood, either to ascend or descend by his most delightful walks. On the top of Moredun, 756 feet high, it is from *Carnac* Fort, a stronghold of the Picts, that the best prospect is gained. The geographical site of Perth is in latitude $56^{\circ} 23' 40''$ N.; and its longitude $3^{\circ} 25' 20''$ W.

STREETS AND GENERAL FEATURES OF THE TOWN.

Tourists and occasional visitors, attracted by the far-spread fame of the "Fair City," must experience great (we do not mean unpleasant) disappointment in its general aspect, whether viewed externally as a whole from the vicinity on any side, or on a more minute inspection in perambulating the streets and thoroughfares. No doubt all such expect to see a venerable and very ancient array of irregular streets, composed of quaint old edifices, with not a few bearing signs of some grandeur as well as antiquity. Such is a very natural notion; but they must be surprised to find, that now-a-days there is *nothing of the kind*, either in its public or private architecture. The almost rigid rectangular order and connection of its streets rather exhibit the characteristics of a modern colonial town, and, excepting the sacred fane of St. John's itself, there is scarcely a vestige of the antique to be seen.

Under the present head, it is proper to take the old streets first; and it may be generally stated, that, for many centuries, Perth consisted of only the *South Street** (or Shoegate), which appears to have been at one period called the High Gaitt—a splendid straight and spacious thoroughfare, 560 yards long, from east to west (with a continuation of 250 more, including County Place and

* Some confusion occasionally occurs in the historical records of Perth, from there being two high or principal streets in the city—the North High Street, still called *the* High Street, and the South High Street, now known only as the South Street, or Shoegate. An instance of this occurs in the evidence of one of the witnesses in the Gowrie Conspiracy, who deponed that the Earl of Gowrie ran to the High Street; whereas the Earl's house stood in that part of the town now known as the South Street [at bottom]. This also explains how Sir Walter Scott had fallen into an apparent discrepancy, when, in his *Fair Maid of Perth*, he makes the *Gow Chrom* pass St. Ann's Chapel and St. John's Church on his way from the High Street to Curfew Row, in the first line of the fifth paragraph of chapter IV.

York Place in the same line), reckoning from the corner of the County Buildings, at the foot, to its junction with Canal Crescent, King Street, South Methven Street, County Place, and Hospital Street, all concentrating along with it, at the top. This, as it stands, is capable of being made one of the finest streets in the kingdom, were it well built; but with the exception of about 200 yards at the east end, where it generally looks very respectable, most of the houses are rather of a mean character, although there are some exceptions. There are a few rather old buildings, but scarcely one exhibiting the features of respectable antiquity.

Next, and nearly parallel, farther north, at a distance from South Street averaging about 160 yards, is the *High Street*, lying in the same direction as South Street, and a few yards longer, running from the North Shore westward, to the intersection of Methven Street at St. Paul's Church. This was originally called the North Gaitt, as far west as the Turret Port, the site of which was on the crossing of North and South Methven Street. When the High Street constituted the main outlet to the road leading to Crieff, &c. the continuous line beyond the Port was also reckoned, and is still numbered, as a portion of the High Street; and passing the Mill Wynd and Paul Street on the right, and Newrow on the left, adds other 400 yards to its length. The houses in that portion situated within the Port are generally substantial (very few ancient), and approaching eastward to the bottom gradually increase in apparent respectability,* till they assume the character and consequence of at least a second-rate provincial town. This street is not exactly straight, but has a regular gentle bend towards the south from both ends, which, unlike South Street, are not seen from one another. At its centre, near the Guild-Hall, both ends are visible, with all the intervening space from side to side in both directions.

Canal Street, parallel to, and little more than 100 yards south of, South Street, is just about the same length, with the exception of the Crescent at its western end, about 150 yards long, which

* Several of those still standing were erected by the *York Building Company*, who had become purchasers to an immense extent of the forfeited estates of Jacobite proprietors, after Mar's rebellion in 1715, but whose affairs soon became totally deranged, owing to the infidelity and extravagance of their managers. The large tenement on the south-west corner of Skinnergate was in progress of erection when the manifesto of the Pretender, in favour of his son, Prince Charles Edward, was proclaimed from the Cross, nearly in front of it, in 1745.

leads off from the east end of Charterhouse Lane, to the broad concentration of six streets, as above mentioned. While all those thoroughfares already mentioned are closely built on both sides, Canal Street is but partially filled up on the south side, and on neither are there any ancient buildings. It is gradually improving, and begins to look respectable. It is connected with South Street by Speygate near the east end, the north end of Princes Street (a modern thoroughfare), and farther west by the Cow Vennel and Horner's Lane. Along and under the middle of this street runs one of the various branches of the King's Lade (originally the City *fosse*), from the west end to the river. Hence its name.

The High Street and South Street are connected transversely, reckoning from the east end—First, By the *Watergate*, 300 yards long, which, with Speygate 100 yards in continuation, anciently formed the main entrance into the middle of the town from the south; and, being in the neighbourhood of Gowrie Palace, contained not a few old houses of the nobility and gentry, particularly in the vennels and gardens on the east side, between the street and the river. Some of these are still standing, and various parts of the street present an antique appearance. Second, By the *Kirkgate*, a closely-built narrow thoroughfare of respectable old houses, leading (only about 75 yards long) from the ancient site of the old Cross to the north side of St. John's Church. This connection is continued by *Kirkside*, now St. John's Place, by the west end of the Church, through the short street called Flesh Vennel. Till the beginning of the present century there was also a connection by the east end of St. John's, called the *Salt Vennel*, and from its south side by the *School Vennel* or *St. Ann's Lane*. Farther west than Kirkgate, there is a very old and much-frequented zig-zag thoroughfare from the High Street to St. John's Church, called the *Kirk Vennel*, and to South Street by the other accesses just mentioned. The Kirkside or St. John's Place is also connected with the Watergate on the east by two ancient alleys, Oliphant's Vennel and Baxter's Vennel. Farther west, the Guild-Hall Close and Fleshmarket Close also afford convenience for foot-passengers betwixt the High Street and South Street. Third, About two-thirds west, there is the ancient *Meal Vennel*, the St. Mary's Wynd of Edinburgh, nearly 200 yards long. The shops and houses are of an inferior description. Fourth, The only remaining connection is what we have left out of the order, because quite modern, *St. John Street*, parallel to and of the same length as the Watergate, and contain-

ing many fine modern buildings, with splendid shops, passing close by the east end of St. John's Church, which highly adorns it.

The remaining old streets are *Skinnergate*, very ancient, which is a northward continuation of *Kirkgate*, across the High Street at the Cross, and during many centuries the only access into the town from the north. Beyond that is also the not less ancient locality of *Castle Gable*; and, crossing its north end, *Curfew Row** and *North Port*. At the junction of *Skinnergate* with the *Castle Gable*, a short narrow street called *Bridge Lane* branches off towards the Bridge. These are all the old streets; for *Mill Street* (400 yards), from *Bridge Lane* westwards, though just within the ancient walls, is not closely built, nor does it contain any ancient houses. It is connected with the High Street by *Skinnergate*, and farther west by the *Old Guard Vennel* and *Cutlog Vennel*.

At one period there must have been an *Argyll Gate*, mentioned in the Town-Council records and in some old documents, but the site is now unknown. On the 6th April, 1529, King James the Fifth granted a precept to the Provost and Bailies to infest Sir Edward Gray, his chaplain of the Church of Loretto at Perth, in tenements situated in *Argyll Gate*, and others.

In all the streets above described, the ground storey of every house is occupied as shops, except where there are banks or public offices; and the same remark applies to *George Street*, *Princes Street*, *Athole Street*, and *Methven Street*, not yet enumerated.

* The following note is furnished by a gentleman well versed in the antiquities of bonnie St. Johnstoun:—"Curfew Street or Row must, at a period not much earlier than the epoch of Sir Walter Scott's story, have formed part of the suburbs of Perth. It was the Wynd or Row immediately surrounding the Castle Yard, and had probably been built, in part at least, soon after the Castle was razed and its moat filled up by Robert Bruce. There is every probability that in the days of Robert the Third it was of greater extent than at present—the *Castle Gable*, which now terminates it to the eastward, having then run in a line with the *Skinnergate*, as the ruins of some walls still bear witness. The shops as well as the houses of the Glovers were then, as the name implies, chiefly in the *Skinnergate*;* but the charters in possession of the Incorporation show that the members had considerable property in or adjacent to the *Curfew Row*, consisting not only of fields and gardens, but of dwelling-houses."

"In the wall of the corner house of the *Curfew Row*, adjacent to *Blackfriars Wynd*, there is still to be seen a niche where the *Curfew bell* hung. This house formed at one time a part of the Chapel dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and in it at no very distant period the members of the *Glover Incorporation* held their meetings."

* The last mortal relic of the operative Glovers—a respectable old lady, Mrs. Prop—died in the *Skinnergate* about three years ago.

The north side chiefly claims the denomination of the New Town, an epithet, however, to which a portion of the south is equally entitled. Of these districts, the new St. John Street, already mentioned, forms no part. Neither does *George Street*, the very best of the town, of comparatively modern erection, but on the old burghal territory. This fine street not only forms a northern continuation of the Watergate in a lineal direction, but is also a much more important link of the great thoroughfare from the south by Princes Street and St. John Street. It is, moreover, now the grand northern outlet by Charlotte Street to the north and north-west; and, by the Bridge of Tay, to all the country districts beyond the river to the east and north-east. Some of its fine shops are rich and elegant. It is upwards of 200 yards in length; and its adjunct, *Charlotte Street*, wide and lofty, breaking off to the north-west at the Bridge, is only about 50 yards long. Passing from the latter in the same direction, we proceed by the fine new suburban features on the left, *Athole Place* and *Athole Crescent*, facing the foot of the North Inch, and then along *Athole Street* to the main gate of the Military Barracks, 500 yards in all, from the extremity of which *Barrack Street* runs into the Crieff and Dunkeld turnpike. Opposite the west end of *Athole Crescent*, facing the Inch eastwards, we have one of the finest promenades in the New Town, *Rose Terrace*, 200 yards long, crossed at the north end by a fine range of villas, called *Barossa Place*. From the south side of this, *Barossa Street*, *Stormont Street*, and *Melville Street* run at right angles betwixt that and *Athole Street*. Betwixt *Athole Place* and *Crescent*, *Blackfriars Street* breaks off towards the left. A little beyond, from the east end of *Athole Street*, *Kinnoull Street*, a fine broad thoroughfare, reaches the Union Bridge at Mill Street; and from near the top of *Athole Street*, on the same line with *Melville Street*, *North Methven Street*, wide and straight, stretches onward to the top of High Street proper, at St. Paul's Church. All this district, which may be called the northern New Town, from Charlotte Street outwards, originally belonged to the Dominican or Blackfriars Monastery, and is now all held under feu from King James the Sixth's Hospital.

There now only remains to be noticed the new south side. *Princes Street* (broad and level) is but partially built and paved. It forms the grand entrance from Edinburgh and by the South Inch, across the site of Cromwell's fortification, into the town. Facing the South Inch there is a beautiful terrace of buildings, 250 yards long,

designated *Marshall Place*,* extending to *King's Place*, on the same line, about the same length, and occupied by elegant houses. Behind and parallel to these and Canal Street, are *Victoria Street* and *South William Street*, but partially built; and *Nelson Street* bisects Marshall Place in the middle. Betwixt Marshall Place and King's Place, *Scott Street* extends at right angles to Canal Street. This, and all west of it, consist of Hospital Feus. King's Place is intersected by *James Street*, which stretches to *Charteris Street*, west end of *Reform Place*, Canal Street; and *King Street*, one of the most spacious and fashionable in town, extends all the way from King James's Hospital and County Place to the South Inch. King Street and the Methven Streets (South and North) constitute one broad continuous line of about 1,000 yards. On the Glasgow Road are *County Place* and *York Place*; and to the south-west of these lie the densely-populated manufacturing districts of *Pomarium* and *Leonard Street*. *Kinnoull Causeway* and *Earl's Dykes* complete the south-western extremity.

St. Leonard's Bank, a line of splendid villas, bounds the west side of the South Inch; and a numerous range of private mansions skirt the eastern bank of the Tay opposite the town, for more than two miles, from the demesne of Scone to the south-western extremity of Kinnoull Hill.

“To those who are acquainted with the localities of the city and its neighbourhood, it may be somewhat interesting to have the following facts brought before them:—The walls, which were once esteemed a sufficiently strong protection, have completely disappeared, except in one place on the north side, where a small fragment remains. The fosse or aqueduct which surrounded the walls, and which was broad and open, has been much reduced in breadth, and been, since about 1802, arched over on the south and on part of the west side. Before this took place, Canal Street was an unpaved and narrow pathway, along which ran the aqueduct. Between it and the South Inch there were gardens, which, having originally their principal entrance by the Spey Port, were called the Spey Gardens. In 1801, Marshall Place, on the South Inch, began to be built. This occasioned the removal of the gardens, and

* So named in honour of a tasteful and most public-spirited Chief Magistrate, Thomas Hay Marshall, Esq. Lord Provost alternately with Mr. John Caw, during the first decade of the present century. He founded the first house of Rose Terrace, and to his taste we are indebted for most of the modern improvements of the city.

the cutting down of the northern division of a beautiful avenue of lofty trees which surrounded the Inch.

“The road to Inverness, *via* Dunkeld, was at a remote period nearly where it now is, only it commenced at the High Street Port, passed through the Mill Wynd, and the field on which the Barracks stand. Its course, as far as to the Bridge of Almond, was changed at an after period, and commencing at the north end of the Skinnergate, where was the North Port, ran through the centre of the North Inch, and the Muirton village. In 1664-5, missives passed between the Town-Council and the Presbytery of Dunkeld, “as to the helping of the Muirtoun causeway.” The present line of road was formed about the year 1790. Before this time, the north road to Stirling, *via* Methven and Crieff, commenced at the High Street Port, and ran by Dovecotland and Goodlyburn. The south road to Stirling commenced at the South Street Port, and ran by the Hospital-House, Earl’s Dykes, and Pittheavlis Castle. The road to Edinburgh commenced at the same Port, and ran by Leonard Causeway, and the Bridge of Craigie. It was afterwards changed, when it issued from the Spey Port, and passed to More-dun Hill, through the east side of the South Inch, intersecting the ruins of Cromwell’s Citadel. The present road to Edinburgh by Princes Street was not opened till about the year 1770. The bridge over the Tay, to the east of the city, which was destroyed by a flood in 1621, was not replaced till 1771. The river was crossed by means of boats and barges, which plied between the Quay at the foot of the High Street, and that on the opposite shore, called the Gibraltar. Immediately after the building of the bridge, George Street, leading from it to the High Street, was opened. Charlotte Street, leading from the bridge also to the Dunkeld road, was not built till 1783. St. John Street, lying between the High Street and South Street, was opened in the year 1801. The suburban population was very inconsiderable till within these sixty years. Within that period almost all the houses on the south of the city, including Pomarium, have been built—and a great portion of those which are on the north and west. But the populous villages of Balhousie and Muirton, in the neighbourhood, have been thrown down, or allowed to fall into decay.”

Modern Public Buildings.



F these, the fabric most entitled to notice here, either in point of ornament or utility, is

THE BRIDGE OF TAY.—This magnificent work was designed and engineered by the celebrated Mr. Smeaton, architect, and was finished in 1771, at a cost of £26,631 12s. 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. a sum raised by public subscription. This is the third bridge over the Tay, at Perth, of which we have any certain account. After the demolition of the second bridge in 1621, many unsuccessful efforts were made for its reconstruction. A subscription was opened by James the Sixth, Charles, Prince of Wales, and a long list of noblemen and gentlemen, but the King's death suspended the scheme, and the turbulence of the succeeding reign prevented the execution of the design. During a century and a half the only mode of crossing the river was by ferry-boats. The erection of the present Bridge is chiefly to be ascribed to the patriotic and public-spirited exertions of the then Earl of Kinnoull, who procured most of the subscriptions, including £400 by himself. The list was headed by his Majesty, George the Third, with £10,000. The City gave £2,000. The Royal Burghs of Scotland, £500; besides liberal contributions by many of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, and by the more opulent citizens of Perth. The Bridge consists of nine arches.

PUBLIC SEMINARIES.—The Academy and Grammar School are situated in the centre of Rose Terrace, are built of beautiful stone, and ornamented with noble pillars and balustrades. The edifice is after a design by Mr. Burn. It was erected in 1807, and cost about £7,000—also contributed by voluntary subscription. The class-rooms are large, airy, and elegant, and form a noble monument to the taste and public spirit of the period.

MILITARY BARRACKS.—This extensive square of commodious and substantial buildings was erected in 1793-4, at the west end of Athole Street, and beyond the new suburbs in that direction. The Barracks were originally intended to accommodate 200 cavalry,

but were subsequently converted to the use of infantry, of which they are calculated to contain a full regiment. Latterly such changes have been effected as to make them suit both purposes—no such number of either being now necessary, or to spare, for this station, since the close of the Bonapartist wars. At the head of the square, on the north-west side, stands the Officers' Barracks, a very handsome building, with a fine pediment, on which the national arms are emblazoned in very beautiful bas-relief. In the north-east corner there is a large riding-school. The open square is sufficiently large for the parade and inspection of 1,000 men under arms, or for manual and platoon exercises.

THE DEPOT—now the *Penitentiary* or *General Prison*—was originally erected by Government for the reception of French prisoners of war, was built in 1812, and cost £130,000. It was planned to contain 7,000 men, and was considered the finest specimen of this species of architecture in Scotland. It consisted of a range of massive and very commodious buildings, and was fully occupied for about two years only, or scarcely so much; for all the inmates were sent home to their own country after Bonaparte's first thorough discomfiture when he was exiled to the island of Elba, and there was no occasion for it during the brief final struggle which terminated with the battle of Waterloo in 1815. The site was that which the General Prison—altered about seven years ago to that use—still occupies, on the north-east corner of the Moncrieffe property, immediately beyond the South Inch, betwixt the Edinburgh road and the Tay. The buildings were reared in an amazingly short space of time, the exigencies of the period rendering dispatch imperative. The space occupied is about 600 feet along the Great North Road, by about 700 from that eastward to the bank of the Tay. The eastern portion formed five octagonal sides; while of the western portion nearly the half was a continuation of one of these on either side to the road, forming a square area of about one-half the entire space. On the octagonal portion there were five prisons, parallel to the five sides above mentioned. Each of these consisted of three storeys, each flat constituting a ward. Each of these was 130 feet long, with outside stairs at both ends. The inside width was 30 feet, and each of the five buildings accommodated 1,140 men. Each had an airing-yard converging upon a common centre, or rather upon what was called the "Market Place," from which they were separated by a high iron palisade

which surrounded it. The same sort of barrier separated them from one another. In the centre of the Market Place was a high embattled tower for observation, on which was the flag-staff. On the south side of the square, extending westwards, was the prison for "petty officers" (the better class being on parole), and contained 1,100 inmates. This erection, still standing, is two storeys high; and on the north side of the square is yet to be seen what was the Hospital, also of two storeys, that contained 150 invalids. All these were included within the same range of defences, or rather of security against escape. These were first—reckoning from the inside—a canal or moat, ten feet wide all round. On the outside brink of this was a strong high palisade of iron, similar to those separating the airing-grounds of each prison. Beyond that there were the high walls yet standing, with triangular indentations from the outside; and in the recesses thus created flights of steps were erected, rising both ways, from the low "military walk," with level platforms on the top, nearly as high as the walls, on which sentinels were continually posted. Outside this again was the "military way" just mentioned, about fifteen feet wide. This extended round the whole, and was divided from the open field by a low retaining wall and parapet. The kitchens stood on either side of the Market Place, and within the inner gate. Excluded by the canal and palisade, there was a square immediately within the outer entrance gate, where were the Agent's house on the right, and the Surgeon's on the left, each of two storeys, yet standing, and now converted into residences for the Governor and the Chaplain of the General Prison. Farther inwards, but without the inner gate, were four buildings, of one storey high, for officers of the establishment. There were guard-rooms with verandahs beyond these, on either side, just within the west wall; and there stood a third guard-room, on the military way, at the extreme opposite end. The whole plan was one of the most minute regularity. During the short period it was occupied as a military prison, a guard of 300 men mounted every day, and this required the appointment of three regiments of foot in Perth, partly stationed at the Barracks, partly quartered in town.

This establishment, as already mentioned, has within these ten years been converted into a *General Prison* or *Penitentiary* for Scotland. Formerly it was a neat and rather ornamental adjunct to the town; it is now a huge unseemly excrescence; and its object, as a means of moral reformation chiefly, is admitted to have been

comparatively a failure. The full design has not yet been carried out.

MURRAY'S ROYAL LUNATIC ASYLUM.—To the benevolence of Mr. James Murray, a native of the parish of Perth, the public are indebted for this splendid institution, which is admitted to be one of the best conducted in the kingdom. The building, which is spacious and handsome, stands on the acclivity of Kinnoull Hill, commanding an immense range of view. The erection was commenced on the 18th of October, 1822. The plan, and indeed the whole of the arrangements, were designed by Mr. William Burn, then of Edinburgh, now of London ; and these may be said to have been contrived as not only to embrace every modern improvement which is to be found in similar institutions throughout the kingdom, but to render available the many advantages connected with so favourable a locality. The house stands in the middle of a park of twelve acres, with its gardens, walks, and shrubberies, in which the convalescent patient may seek exercise and amusement. A number of verandahs, commanding the extensive view before referred to, afford him the benefit of enjoying healthful occupation in the open air during the greatest heat in summer, or the most inclement weather in winter. While all is sufficiently secure to prevent injury or escape, all is free from the gloomy aspect of confinement, and there is an air of quiet and comfort which never fails to strike the visitor as pervading the whole arrangements of the institution. The accommodation is so superior—the management so efficient—the mode of treatment and discipline of the patients so highly improved—and the success attending the exertions of the superintendent, the matron, and the physicians, so strikingly apparent—that the applications for admission from all parts of the country became so numerous and urgent, that, though originally constructed to contain one hundred patients, it was considered necessary, in 1834, to make very extensive additions, which were long ago completed, on the same plan with the original portion of the work. It was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1827, under the title of “James Murray’s Royal Lunatic Asylum,” and its management vested permanently in twenty-five Directors—viz. nine *ex officio*, four for life, and twelve elected annually. It was first opened on the 28th June, 1827. The original cost was upwards of £40,000, including the house and grounds ; and lately the Directors have purchased a farm adjoining, at an expense of nearly £7,000, besides the

mansion and grounds of Pitcullen Bank, also contiguous. On the 9th of May, 1837, a large portion of this magnificent structure was accidentally destroyed by fire; but after repairing the serious damage, and paying the purchases mentioned, the munificent bequest of the benevolent donor has been amply sufficient, and a considerable sum still remains as an endowment.

A short account of the events which put it in the power of that individual to bequeath the funds for its establishment may not be uninteresting. We quote from the statistical statement:—"Mr. William Hope, the son of Mr. Murray's mother, having gone to India in early life, realized in Madras a very large fortune as a merchant. Having, by the advice of his physicians, determined to return to Europe in 1809, he, early in that year, executed his will, providing handsomely for his wife and four daughters, and bequeathing, at the same time, considerable legacies to his mother and her two sons. The deed, however, contained no provision against the event which afterwards followed; but, by a peculiar interposition of Providence, when Mr. Hope was about to embark, with his family, he hurriedly, as appears from his will, provided, that, in the event of himself and his family perishing at sea, his fortune should go to his mother and her sons. On the 30th of January, 1809, he, with his wife and daughters, embarked for England in the ship, *Jane, Duchess of Gordon*. The sad fate of that vessel, and other three Indiamen of the same fleet, is still well remembered. Mr. Hope and his family were among the hundreds who perished in the storm. Neither ships, nor crews, nor passengers, were ever seen or heard of since the fatal night of the 15th March, 1809. Out of this appalling event a succession opened up to Mr. Murray, which enabled him to endow this institution on its present splendid scale." The parish of Perth, and two or three others in the neighbourhood, have a preference for admission and treatment, either gratis or at very modified charges.

THE WATER RESERVOIR.—This edifice is one of the main architectural ornaments of Perth. It was erected in 1830, and the hydraulic works in connection were completed in that and the following year. The design of the building, and the whole arrangements of this great work of public utility, were planned by the late learned Professor Anderson, LL.D. and F.R.S. L. & E. then Rector of the Perth Academy, and will remain a lasting monument to the refined taste and profound science of that accomplished and

amiable man. One portion of the erection (that on which the tank is elevated) is 40 feet in height, surmounted by a beautiful balustrade and balcony. All this is of substantial freestone, circular, and in admirable taste. The northern portion is square, of a similar elevation, and contains the machinery by which the water is raised into the tank, which is formed by plates of cast-iron, raised above the first described portion of the structure, and surmounted by a finely formed cupola. A beautiful pillar and vase rise to nearly twice its height on the square wing. The filtering bed is situated on the upper end of Moncrieffe Island, in the centre of the Tay. Into this natural filter the water percolates through the gravel from the river on both sides, and from this there is a copious and inexhaustible supply, pure, limpid, and wholesome at all times. The gravel bed is closely covered in, and nothing but the secreted fluid can reach it. From this a large suction-pipe, 12 inches in diameter, is conducted under the channel of the river to a well below the cistern, from which it is pumped by steam-power into the tank—two excellent engines being fitted up for the purpose within the square portion of the architectural structure. The cistern is of such height—55 feet in all—that by means of service-pipes, the water is conveyed to every quarter of the town, and to the upper storeys of the highest houses. Never did any effort of hydraulic engineering more completely suit the purpose for which it was intended. The public are at all times most abundantly supplied on an assessment on real rents, not exceeding five per cent.; nor is this increased in cases where it is introduced within dwelling-houses, for boilers, baths, water-closets, or any other culinary or domestic purposes. Besides, the assessed are thus afforded an easy means of supplying the poor *gratis*; for no assessment is leviable under the Act on rents under thirty-six shillings. The whole cost amounted to £13,609 11s. 11½d.; and the debt incurred must be extinguished in the course of thirty years from the commencement of operations. The management is under a Commission, and besides meeting the permanent expenses a handsome sum is sunk yearly towards the liquidation of the debt. The respected and much-lamented architect and engineer, Dr. Anderson, then Professor of Natural Philosophy in St. Andrews, died suddenly in the winter of 1846. It is a singular coincidence, that only a few days preceding his demise, and on occasion of his last visit to his friends and family in Perth, where he continued to occupy a splendid mansion, his own design, on St. Leonard's Bank, he got a short ladder from the interior of the works, and cyphered with chalk,

on a sunk panel above a small door-way, the following inscription in broad Roman capitals, now formed in cast-iron:—

A Q U A M
I G N E E T A Q U A
H A U R I O.

Before proceeding to another head, it may be noticed, as in connection with Dr. Anderson's name, that he acted as engineer in first introducing Gas into the city. The *Gas Works*, either Old or New, can scarcely be classed amongst the Public Buildings, but the Old adds some importance to Canal Street, which the main entrance faces, with this inscription over it:—

MDCCCXXIV.

NON FUMUM EX FULGORE, SED EX FUMO DARE LUCEM.

The New Establishment is situated in Blackfriars Wynd and Curfew Row.

THE SCOTT STATUE.—At the bottom of High Street, and opposite the Council-House, there stands a well-executed statue of Sir Walter Scott, erected on a neat pedestal, and surrounded by a handsome railing. This is an appropriate ornament for Perth, and the features present a good likeness. It is rather small, however, not being more than about one-third beyond a life size; but it was not cut for the purpose, but purchased by the Magistrates at a sale of the stock of a local sculptor of considerable talent, when about to emigrate to Upper Canada.

EXCHANGE COFFEE-ROOM.—This spacious hall is situated in George Street. The design is by Mr. W. M. Mackenzie, City-Architect, and presents an exterior of considerable taste.

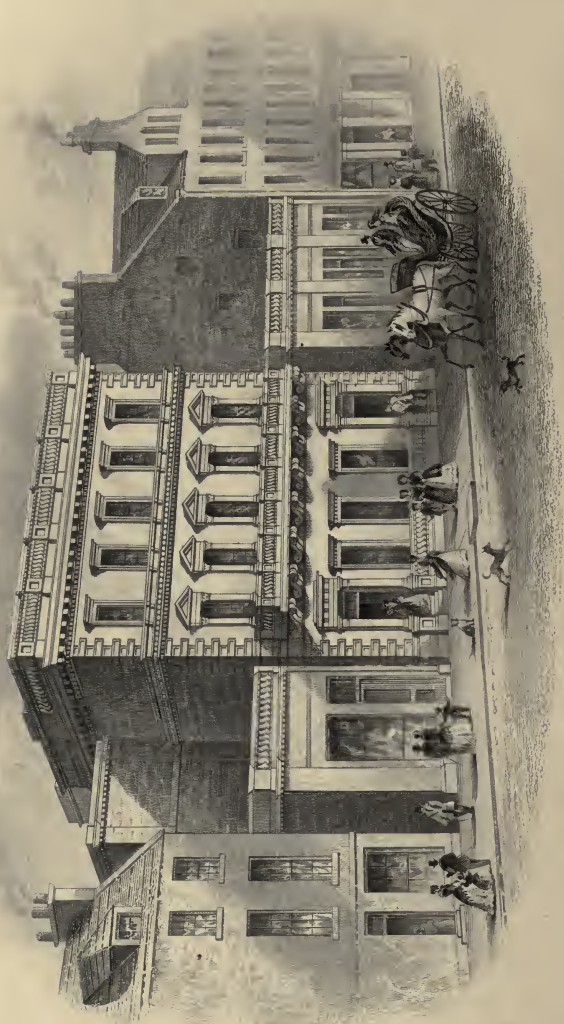
THE PUBLIC BATHS, erected in 1846, by public subscription, are situated near the top of Mill Street, and built in a neat plain style; but their purpose was, of course, more for public utility than ornament. The interior arrangements are excellent, and altogether well calculated to be of much benefit. We have heard not a few strangers, from quarters where such accommodations are better known, express a very high opinion of the convenience and comfort of those baths.

THE INFIRMARY.—The County and City Infirmary, with fever wards, was erected in 1836. The expense originally was about

£6,000, chiefly obtained by public subscription. The site is excellent, at the west end of County Place, fronting what is now called York Place, and just where the Glasgow turnpike enters the town. The design is allowed, on all hands, to be admirable, forming a prominent public ornament, and a monument to the artistical skill and good taste of Mr. W. M. Mackenzie, City-Architect, and Superintendent of Public Works. The foundation stone was laid in the summer of 1836, with great masonic "pomp and circumstance," by the Right Hon. Lord Kinnaid, Provincial Grand-Master of the Eastern District. Its pecuniary foundation was laid about ten years before, by a bequest of the late Dr. Patrick Brown of Charlotte Street, to the extent of £500 for this special purpose. That sum lay at interest till the death of the late Marquess of Breadalbane, who bequeathed £3,000 to the public charities of Perth—£600 of which was devoted by the noble Marquess's executors to this useful and benevolent institution. Various other individuals have made bequests in its favour, which, with donations from different quarters, now form an endowment of considerable amount. The donations and bequests are all recorded on tablets in the Directors' Room. This institution has been eminently beneficial, supplying, as it does most efficiently, a want which was long seriously felt—no public receptacle for the diseased, nor for the treatment of sudden or violent injuries, having previously existed in the county.

BANK OFFICES.—Perth is a stage behind most other towns of note in point of elegance in the architecture of its banking houses. To this remark there is one special exception, which we shall notice anon. The oldest concern of the kind in this city (the Perth Banking Company) carry on their extensive business in a very plain street house, only of rather larger dimensions than those about it. The British Linen Company have for many years had a branch established here, and their office makes a respectable corner termination to the east side of George Street, and also at the commencement of the long-contemplated Tay Street, as starting from that point along the right bank of the river southwards. The branch office of the National Bank, near the bottom of High Street, north side, is a fair substantial fabric, and marks itself out as a public office by four stately columns in front. It is of some ornament to the street in that quarter. The Bank of Scotland has also long maintained a branch here, and the office is merely a substantial looking tenement, on the west side of Princes Street. The





CENTRAL BANK OF SCOTLAND.

Engraved for Perth, its Annals & its Antiquities by W. H. Lizars, Edinburgh.

PERTH THOMAS RICHARDSON

business of a branch of the Commercial is carried on in South Street, and occupies only part of the tenement in which it is situated. The exception above admitted is an important one. Three years ago, a local company, that of the Central Bank of Scotland, built a most elegant and ornamental edifice on the east side of St. John Street, nearly opposite to St. John's Church. It does high credit to the taste and liberality of the directors. The main objection to it is, that it ranges along with meaner erections in the street. It ought to have been isolated, and at some distance farther back. There is no room to see it to full advantage, although by far the most florid specimen of modern architectural embellishment of which the Fair City can boast. It is from the designs of Mr. Rhynd; and although not to be compared with the Commercial Bank of Scotland at Edinburgh, is a striking piece of architecture in a city which stood in need of some such improvement. The front of that Bank consists of a ground floor and two upper storeys, of five windows each; in the former, which is of lofty proportions, are two large Doric doorways, and between them three windows with dressings and cornices. The windows of the next floor, before which is carried a continuous projecting balustrade or balcony supported on trusses, are pedimented, and have Corinthian pilasters. In the upper floor, the windows are of nearly the same proportions, and though their dressings are comparatively plain, they have cornices. A block cornice and balustrade complete the elevation. Here there are quoins at the angles; and good architectural expression has been so far attended to, that the cornice and balustrade are returned at the ends, where they show themselves above the adjoining houses. Of the interior, it is enough to say, that the public office is distinguished by a highly-enriched panelled ceiling, which, however, contrasts too greatly with the plain walls, and seems to demand some embellishment for them also. It is, on the whole, a splendid effort of architectural art.

COUNTY BUILDINGS.—Erected in 1819-20; cost £32,000. This splendid edifice was designed by Sir R. Smirke, after the model of a Grecian Temple. It is a very fine structure, but disadvantageously situated for effect, on the site of the celebrated Gowrie Palace. The colonnade and pediment are magnificent, and altogether the taste of the design is classic and pure. Besides the Sheriff-Court offices and Record Rooms, it contains the Law Library, the Justiciary Hall, where Lords Commissioners from the

High Court hold sittings both in spring and autumn in course of their circuits (the County Prison is behind), and there are the beautiful Assembly Rooms, for the race and county balls, surpassing in elegance and ornament anything of the kind in Scotland. The ball-room is spacious and of admirable proportions—the dimensions 68 feet by 42. There are various retiring-rooms; a commodious one for refreshments and card-parties, and a large supper-room above. The mantel-piece of the ball-room and its pillars are of the purest Italian marble, and the furniture and hangings are rich. Three first-rate full-length portraits adorn the walls. That in the west end is an admirable likeness of the late John, Duke of Athole, in his ducal and official robes and the appropriate insignia of his order. Over the fire-place is a no less striking representation of the heroic Lord Lynedoch, also deceased—in full military uniform. Both these are the work of Sir Thomas Lawrence, and *chefs-d'œuvre* of his pencil. In the east end is a portrait of the gallant General Sir George Murray, first sketched also by Lawrence; but in consequence of his death when he had merely draughted the outline, it was finished by Pickersgill. It is a very fine painting, and a perfect likeness of the subject in the costume of his warlike profession. A most correct and characteristic portrait of the celebrated Niel Gow, in a sitting posture, and in the act of extracting Orphean strains from his violin, adorns the side-wall of the supper-room—a grand effort of Raeburn. The promenade under the portico, and of the vestibule within, of this splendid edifice, is in each very spacious and beautiful. There is a delightful quadrangular parade in front, close by the side of the river. From this airy and inviting terrace are seen to much advantage the most prominent objects on the eastern side—viz. the fine church of Kinnoull, built in 1826 at a cost of £4,000—Bellwood (Archibald Turnbull, Esq.)—Bowerswell House—Marshall Cottage—St. Alban's Cottage—Garry Cottage—Bertha Cottage—Castlebank, near the site of the old Castle of Kinnoull—Barnhill, formerly the property of Sir Stewart Threipland, and since 1796 of Moncrieff of Culfargie, but latterly purchased by the Dundee and Perth Railway Company, and which, until the spring of the present year, was used as the Perth station of that line.

THE MONUMENT.—This building was erected by the citizens (the *CIVES GRATI*, as set forth in *basso relievo* on the entablature) in memory of the late Thomas Marshall, Esq. of Glenalmond, for-

merly Lord Provost of Perth, to whose public spirit the City and its neighbourhood are indebted for many of their most important improvements. The foundation-stone was laid, with high Masonic honours, by the late patriotic John, Duke of Athole, in 1822. The interior of the Monument is devoted to the accommodation of the Perth Library, and the Museum of the Literary and Antiquarian Society. The architectural design is that of David Morison, Esq. the erudite Secretary of the Institution, and is in the style of the Pantheon at Rome. It forms a fine termination to George Street—the tall fluted columns, with the highly ornate Ionic capitals, the classic pediment, and the surmounting dome, telling with excellent effect. The Literary and Antiquarian Society was instituted in 1784, for investigating the history and preserving the antiquities and records of Scotland generally. The Museum contains a very great number of rare articles of every species of *virtu*, but the allotted space is far too small for the classification or exhibition of its precious stores. The Public Library is commodiously fitted up, and contains about 8,000 volumes, chiefly of history, philosophy, and belles-lettres.

THE THEATRE.—This edifice was erected in 1820, at the conjunction of Athole Crescent with Kinnoull Street, at a cost of £2,625, raised in joint-stock shares. It is a plain substantial edifice, and the interior is very neat and elegant, but not very commodious—the space within the walls being too small to admit of proper lobbies and dressing-rooms. The old Theatre, and still older Grammar-School, stood on the site of the City-Hotel, entering from St. Ann's Vennel; before which the Glover's Hall in George Street, now the Exchange Coffee-Room. During the occupancy of these two in succession, the drama flourished much better than it has ever done since the erection of the new Theatre. It is still an elegant place of amusement; but while it is too small for its purpose when the leading dramatic *stars* visit us, it is too large for the ordinary run of business.

CITY-HALL.—A place for the accommodation of popular assemblies, for public amusements (not dramatic) of an attractive and fashionable nature, for scientific lectures, and for very numerous attended festivities, had long been felt wanting. For the first, some one or other of the churches of the Establishment, or belonging to some of the dissenting bodies, were not unfrequently occupied in a

manner rather unseemly, and all sects began to hold this a sort of desecration, and in two or three cases resolutions were passed against any such appropriation. For the second purpose, the Theatre was generally too limited, and for the last the greatest difficulty and inconvenience were generally encountered. The call for a plain but extensive arena became general. The object did not seem to warrant or induce the formation of a joint-stock company or society, and the Town-Council very properly resolved, in 1845, to supply the desideratum. It has turned out as expected, that by this the public finances have suffered no loss, and an immense convenience has been provided for all classes of the community. No small credit is due to Dr. Barlas in particular, an active magistrate at the time, for his perseverance against great discouragement and some odium, in the successful prosecution of this project. The west end of the public Flesh Market—almost unfrequented—including the Butter and Poultry Market (at a former period the School or College Green), was appropriated for this purpose; and a very proper central site it is. It was resolved that the erection should be of the plainest, and certainly the exterior is void of all architectural pretension, in respect of ornament at least. Still there is nothing mean or unsightly in the edifice; but it has more in its appearance of a baronial stable-yard and offices than of a public building, the interior of which, by its elegance, contrasts singularly with the plainness of its external aspect. It is, however, just what was wanted, and is quite as it should be. Mr. Mackenzie, the city-architect, may claim much credit for the admirable purpose to which he has turned limited means to the complete accomplishment of the object desired. In all its accommodations it is alike spacious and elegant. It measures 98 by 66 feet in area; and while it often contains more than 2,000 at a promiscuous meeting, it accommodates 1,800 persons sitting, and moveable seating is provided for that number. At the opening banquet, about 1,500 surrounded the tables, which also constitute part of the furniture. The most fashionable company by which it was ever occupied was in September, 1847, when the unrivalled Swedish *cantatrice*, Jenny Lind, astonished by her extraordinary vocal powers about 1,600 of the *elite* of the county and city, including many fashionable parties from Dundee, and the neighbouring counties of Forfar and Fife. The roof is supported by sixteen cast-iron pillars, encased, octagonally, to a certain height, in wooden facings. By a curious disposition of gas-fittings on these, they look like as many magnifi-

cent candelabra, and when lighted up there is no shade in the splendid apartment. The capitals are highly ornamented, and the compartmented ceiling is tastefully coloured, and the pendants are richly hatched with gold. The painting of the pillars and walls is in admirable taste, and altogether the decorations and appointments are quite unique. Besides a very spacious lobby, with a commodious gallery above, there are two long antechambers, and a retiring-room, 32 feet by 28, with a grand lantern light on the top, the fitting up of which is truly superb. The large hall is also beautifully lighted from above. There are no windows in the walls of either apartment. The lantern in the smaller was constructed chiefly for the display of paintings. Of these there is a fine collection belonging permanently to the room. These, with one exception, were all presented to the City or the Literary and Antiquarian Society. The following is a list of these admirable productions of the pencil :—

1. The Most Noble JOHN, MARQUESS OF BREADALBANE—painted by J. M. Barclay, Esq. (a local artist). Presented July 15th, 1844, to the City of Perth, by Mr. Alexander Hill, Printseller to the Queen, Edinburgh.
2. ADAM ANDERSON, LL.D. and F.R.S. L.& E.—painted and presented by the same artist, from the original by Thomas Duncan, Esq. R.S.A.—also a native of Perth.
3. The Right Honourable FOX MAULE, M.P.—painted also by Thomas Duncan, Esq. R.S.A. 1838. This fine portrait was purchased by the Town-Council.

The following were presented, in 1833, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Ormelie, to the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth :—

4. THE BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS—by the Chevalier Farelli and Lucas Giordano. A splendid picture—canvass, 16 feet wide by 8 high.
5. PROMETHEUS—by Michael Angelo Carravaggio.
6. THE MAGDALEN of Andrea Vaccari.
7. ESAU SELLING HIS BIRTHRIGHT—by Lucas Giordano.
8. THE FORUM ROMANUM of Vanvitelli.
9. SAINT ANDREW—by G. Ribera (Lo Spagnoletto.)
10. EARLY REFORMERS—a numerous group of portraits. (Artist not known.) The least valuable picture of the collection. Presented by the same donor, in 1835, after he had become Marquess of Breadalbane.

ECCLESIASTICAL.—It might be supposed, that, celebrated as it justly was in days of old in this respect, Perth should still abound

in sacred edifices of taste and elegance. But it does not. As coming under another head, St. John's Church is in the meantime left out of view. The only other erection of the kind, belonging to the Establishment, is St. Paul's, a modern building, reared in 1807. It cost about £7,000; and although, from its site rather than its architecture, it is an object of some consequence, it possesses no feature of classical beauty, and something much superior might have been produced for the money. Speaking of this erection, the editor of the *Memorabilia of Perth* thus remarks, and we agree with him—"The situation (that where one of the city gates formerly stood) is now loaded with a church, the structure of which architects will not much admire. It had often been remarked, that another steeple would much improve the prospect of Perth; but to have a steeple it was necessary to have a church, and therefore was laid the foundation of St. Paul's!" The steeple is only a mediocre affair, but it *does* supply what must have been a great want. In King Street, not far south of this, there is a very handsome *quoad sacra* chapel, St. Leonard's, with an elegant erection over the portico, in miniature imitation of the Choragic Monument. It is the design of Mr. Mackenzie, City-Architect, and the interior is remarkably commodious and chastely elegant. The Episcopal Chapel of St. John in Princes Street is a neat structure, but very unecclesiastical in its architectural features. None of the many other places of public worship are of any ornament to the city, or any credit to the taste of those having a hand in their erection. There is not one that we could point out to a stranger as worth going ten yards out of his way to see. Of these there are not a few, however, which may merely be mentioned. In the High Street, there are the Old Burgher and Antiburgher meeting-houses* (Rev. Dr. Newlands and Dr. Young). The First Relief, in South Street (Rev. Mr. Lindsay); the Old Antiburgher (Rev. Mr. Manson); Wesleyan Methodists (Rev. Mr. Shelton); and the Baptist (Rev. Mr. Bannister);—all in the same street. The Independent Chapel (Rev. Mr. Low), in Mill Street; Second Relief (Rev. Mr. Bow), in Canal Crescent; St. Stephen's, Gaelic (vacant), in Canal Street; Evangelists (vacant), King Street; Balchristie (Mr. David Bower), South Methven Street; Roman Catholic (Rev. J. S. M'Corry), Melville Street; Free Middle (Rev. Mr. Dymock), Blackfriars Street; Free West (Rev. Mr. Andrew Gray), Skinners' Yards, Mill Street;


* These and the two Relief churches, with their congregations, are formed into what is now termed the United Presbyterian body.

Free St. Leonard's (Rev. Mr. Milne), Victoria Street; Free Gaelic (Rev. Mr. Grant), Newrow. There is a Glasite Chapel in High Street, above the Port, and a new Episcopalian body (Rev. Mr. Chambers), congregating in Athole Street.

GENERAL RAILWAY STATION.—The General Station, or Termini of the different Railways, will, when completed, form one of the finest architectural ornaments of the place. The high inside walls, supporting the extensive roof of the Station, are finished. The masonry is very fine, and the roofing is remarkably ingenious. The length is 600 feet, and the width 110. The water tank, and several offices on the outer west side, are complete and elegant. The buildings on the outer east side, founded, and partially built, but not yet come into shape, will be very ornamental and commodious, and present a fine frontage the whole extent of the Station, as above. The design is that of Mr. Tite, architect of the new Royal Exchange, London. The foundation stone was laid, with imposing masonic honours, by the Right Hon. Fox Maule, M.P. on 13th October, 1847.

NOTE.—To this detail of the Public Buildings, it may be proper also to add another connected with, although a few miles distant from, Perth. It was, we believe, originally intended to be, and should have been, in the immediate vicinity. We mean the new Episcopal Seminary, Trinity College, on the Almond. The buildings of this institution form a group arranged quadrangularly, with the chapel at the south-east angle, and that range which, as it contains the gateway tower, may be considered the principal front, extending along the entire west side of the general plan. The architect is Mr. J. Henderson, whose chapel of St. Columba at Edinburgh is a clever modern specimen of Gothic architecture. Of this other work of his, the greater portion is equally satisfactory and characteristic, being treated according to that particular mode of the perpendicular style which is distinguished by the name of collegiate. For the chapel, however, that style is departed from very violently, therefore injudiciously; for instead of looking like a college chapel, it resembles a small church with a tower and spire, in what is called the early English style; consequently, although immediately connected with the other buildings, it does not seem to belong to them. No doubt, variety and contrast are thus secured, but the variety partakes of displeasing discrepancy, and the contrast of contradiction, when, merely for the sake of variety, the widely distinct modes of different periods of the art are applied quite arbitrarily and unnecessarily. Moreover, expression becomes falsified, for we are reconciled to such incongruity only by supposing that the works have been erected from time to time under different architects. The College is not yet completed, and as the chapel is one of the portions that remain to be erected, Mr. Henderson has time to reconsider the matter, and bring what, as an important feature, ought to be a perfectly satisfactory one, into keeping, as to style, with the rest.

Population, &c. of Perth.

 HE earliest statement of the number of inhabitants is for the year 1562, when it is said to have amounted to 6,075; but some are inclined to question the accuracy of this statement. It is not unlikely, however; for at that time there were no suburban districts—nearly all were comprised within the ancient walls. There is reason to believe that the number may have fluctuated very immaterially for a considerable period before and after that epoch, which may be termed the epoch of the Reformation.

When Dr. Webster drew up the Widows' Scheme in 1755, he reported the population at 9,019. The census of 1801 gives it 14,878; that of 1811 makes it 17,248; in 1821, it was 19,068; in 1831, it amounted to 20,016; and in 1841, it was found to have fallen off by 415, the aggregate number being 19,601—but this may have depended much upon the accuracy and acuteness of those employed in the work, and it was generally thought at the time there must have been some mistake. By a careful examination for a different purpose nearly twenty years ago, the population within the Parliamentary boundaries—which include the village of Bridgend in Kinnoull, and exclude a portion of the landward parish of Perth—the number was found to be upwards of 23,000. The population must have increased considerably of late years, and the next Government census, for 1851, is expected to prove this. The present writer hazards this conclusion from the fact, that in 1841 the number of unlet dwelling-houses was very remarkable, while for these two years past an empty house of any kind has become a rarity. The demand for dwelling-houses is now great, and the erection of new buildings has become indispensable.

COMPOSITION AND CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIETY.

The population of Perth is of a singularly mixed character. Until after the era of the Reformation it seems to have been as remarkably entire. The very names in public deeds and records

allied to, or descendants of, the aboriginal citizens of Perth. There is reason to believe, that, prior to the period alluded to, the Gaelic language was spoken by none of its regular inhabitants. Now the dialect is pretty well known, though not common, but only amongst some of those still alive, bearing the characteristic patronymic, whose birth-place was the Highlands.

A third addition, although a small one, to the different septs of the population, was contributed by the Hessian troops and other military settlers, after the suppression of the rebellion in 1745. The great number of soldiers stationed here, while the depot for French prisoners was occupied, added a fourth, although limited, quota, at the end of the long war, chiefly by intermarriage. The drain upon the youth of our city for the military levies required in that war, operated as a powerful countercheck to an increase of population in consequence of these partial additions. Latterly, the extensive railway works have supplied a fifth reinforcement, chiefly to the labouring classes, and these are mainly "navvies" from the central counties of England and the "Green Isle." The principal cause of the great increase of population since the close of the last century, must be mainly ascribed to the influx of people from the rural districts, in consequence of the "clearings" which the conversion of so many small holdings into extensive farms rendered necessary.

CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND INDUSTRIAL PURSUITS.

Any attempt to sketch the character of a community in which one himself lives, may be considered a rather delicate if not invidious undertaking. In treating of this subject, therefore, we shall be general, and the limited space now at our disposal enjoins brevity.

Limiting remark to the staid old established inhabitants—and in that category may be classed not merely the descendants of the aborigines, if so they may be termed, but also of the numerous immigrants from the extensive Highland districts of our county—it may not be too much to say, that, on the whole, Perth may boast of a respectable community. The original burghers, and their industrious offspring, have always maintained that character; and the Celtic portion of our fellow-citizens have not only in general been distinguished for good behaviour and industrious habits, but must have credit, in many instances, for superior politeness. Amongst those of the former class, which the present writer has

been accustomed to distinguish as *primitives*, there is a strong cast of sound common sense and honourable feeling; but he regrets to say, that some of the original characteristics of this race are disappearing, and amongst a portion at least other modes of thought and shades of feeling scarcely so amiable seem to supervene.

Most of those who wish to hold a reputable status in society have had opportunities, less or more, to cultivate and improve their minds by some measure of education; and very few indeed have altogether neglected such opportunities as lay in their way. In this, the allusion is made not merely to the middle classes, but to those who may more particularly be designated the sons of toil. They are generally industrious, and all endeavour to obtain a moderate share of ordinary education for their children. Their means, especially those engaged in manufactures, are very limited. They are a church-going people; and it is astonishing to see so many of them filling the streets on their way to and from the places of public worship on the Sunday—theirself and families in such decent attire, procured from the very scanty wages of their daily labour. They form an extraordinary contrast to many of the urban communities of the sister kingdoms, and to many, it must be said, of the strangers who seem of late to be settling down amongst us. There are some of our own naturalized population who depreciate their own condition and neglect that of their families by an over addiction to “Scotland’s skaith;” but the number is small, and sobriety, frugality, and decency of deportment, may be said to distinguish our artizans and operatives in a satisfactory degree. As a natural concomitant of these, domestic cleanliness seems as generally to prevail.

The better informed of our mechanics and operatives fall little short of the middle classes in point of mental accomplishment. Most of our population may therefore be said to be intelligent as well as respectable. But they are intelligent, rather than intellectual; speculative; and, in their communication, political and controversial rather than literary or sentimental. The reading of none appears to be extensive, in any degree approximating to their opportunities. There are few or no literary men amongst us, unless it be a few, and these very few, connected with the learned professions; and the present writer must say, that, during nearly a thirty years’ intercourse, he scarcely ever found a social party disposed to engage in literary conversation. How can it be otherwise? Few, comparatively, read at all, unless it be newspapers and other ophic-

mera of the day. That improving department of literature which may appropriately be termed the English classics, appears to be a sealed book, a dead letter—so little does the general taste lead, or the time suit, for such a study.

The writer of one portion of the new *Statistical Account*, issued in 1837, says—“ The habits of the people do not in any respect differ from those of the inhabitants of the country generally. Their style and manner of dress have no peculiarity, as their intercourse with all quarters of the kingdom is free and frequent. Their habits are in general cleanly and increasingly so. Among the sober and industrious operatives, even where the wages are very limited, there is a marked disposition to habits of cleanliness.”

This seems to be a correct view, and in many respects it holds good to the present time. The same authority proceeds thus:—“ The truth was lately shown, when, upon the cholera making its appearance in the country, a strict scrutiny was instituted into the state of every quarter of the parish. A want of cleanliness was discovered in a few districts, but the utmost readiness was shown by the people to remedy the evil. On the whole, the people enjoy the comforts and advantages of society, and are contented with their situation. There are, as in all such population, some who are discontented with their allotment in society, and are easily moved to take a violent part in the political questions of the day, and follow the standard of the turbulent agitator. The press is teeming with periodicals that are violent on both sides of every matter, bearing on the interests of the country, and such productions an ignorant and credulous multitude generally prefer to those that are moderate and dispassionate; and thus it happens that our politically disposed operatives are particularly violent in their attachments and animosities. Were there fewer inflammatory newspapers brought into active circulation among them, they would be a much more sober, prosperous, and happy portion of the community. With respect to the general ‘character of the people, intellectual, moral, and religious,’ we are disposed to speak in commendatory terms. The reading portion of them is considerable, and they have easy access to various libraries containing useful and practical treatises. When we speak of the morality of a place, it is always comparative; and we know of no town of the same size in which there is more attention paid to moral duty. If, on the one hand, it cannot be denied that immoral characters have become more openly daring, it will not be denied, on the other, that

moral characters have stood forward more openly and avowedly. There are persons among us who openly profess infidel principles, and some, also, who openly disregard all religious ordinances; and, what in this country is uniformly symptomatic of an abandonment of all feeling of religious propriety, there are some tradesmen who walk abroad on the Lord's day in their ordinary working habiliments, as if to show a marked contempt of what the community in general hold to be sacred.* With the exception of these fellow-townsmen, the inhabitants of the parish are entitled to the appellation of a moral and religious people."

Of the manners and habits of previous generations, especially those of what may now well be considered, in every sense, a bygone age—with which the present has little connection in any shape, and nothing whatever in common—the contents of *archives* from which we have already made various extracts, and others, which the space occupied by our *Annals* must limit much more than was originally intended, may be the best and surest exponent; and to these the reader is referred. They are far better than mere traditionary gossip.

In estimating the character and manners of a people, it is most proper that it should be done impartially; and in doing so here, we regret having to notice any feature which may not be reckoned amiable. But amongst the characteristics of our population, there is one particularly remarked by strangers, the existence of which is well known to the natives. That is, a rigid distinction of *caste*, which has a strong tendency to wither the amenities and deaden the sympathies of social life. This is not as it ought to be; and it is not in accordance with the "spirit of the age" to exercise an up-setting exclusiveness. And the strange thing is, that nobody can estimate the measure of qualification or learn the standard entitling to confraternity. Sheer vulgarity merits exclusion from refined or sensible society; but here that is not the only rule.

In adverting to the industrial pursuits of our population, it cannot be said that they evince a high spirit of commercial enterprise. Instead of extensive manufactures, they are more addicted to the exercise of mere artizanship; and with a few exceptions, their trading speculations are restricted to respectable shopkeeping. This may arise from the fact of our snug City being the emporium

* This class is certainly *very* limited—not existing to such an extent as to be admitted a characteristic of our population.

of a wide circle occupied by a rural population, and especially as forming the grand mart of the central Highlands. Our handicraftsmen in every department are justly celebrated as amongst the best in Scotland. Leaving out of view the weavers, who form a distinct and numerous class, we have artizans of every description in a greater than ordinary proportion. There are blacksmiths, ironfounders, plumbers, gasfitters, brassfounders, bookbinders, watchmakers, upholsterers, cabinetmakers, carvers and gilders, lapidaries, house-painters, silk-dyers, calico-printers, masons and house-carpenters, letterpress-printers, and plasterers—all in great numbers, and mostly of remarkable skill in their various avocations. There are, besides, a great many shoemakers and tailors, as there necessarily must be in every populous community. There is, of course, not a very small number of our citizens following what are distinguished as *professional* avocations, to which most of them do much credit. Upon the whole, we may boast of a busy, industrious, and respectable, as well as an intelligent, a moral and religious, population.

A M U S E M E N T S.

It is quite evident from all local records, that our ancestors of the olden time were a very volatile people, peculiarly prone to indulgence in the festival follies and extravagant mummeries of the period. "St. Johnstoun's Hunt is up" is a special instance; and from what we know of the *Corpus Christi* play, St. Obert's or Aubert's, and other tomfooleries, it is not only clear that the youthful population of Perth, "Fair Maids" and all, engaged in such pastimes with avidity, but that the early Reformers had great difficulty in repressing them, as corruptions got up or existing under the proscribed hierarchy. The annals of the "cock stool" or pillory, the *jougs*, the cross-head, and stool of repentance, during the latter half of the sixteenth century, furnish ample evidence of this.

"St. Johnstoun's Hunt is up," a celebrated slogan or war cry, was generally accompanied by a stirring strain of music, which was of much repute in its day, but which has long eluded the search of musical antiquaries. It is described by the local poet, Adamson, in his *Muses' Threnodie*, as a great inspirer of courage:—

Courage to give, was mightily then blown,
Saint Johnstoun's Hunt's up, since most famous known
By all musicians.—*Vide 5th Muse.*

From the description which follows, one might suppose that it had also been accompanied by a kind of war-dance:—

O! how they bend their backs and fingers tirl,
 Moving their quivering heads, their brains to whirl
 With divers moods; and as with uncouth rapture
 Transported, so do shake their bodies' structure;
 Their eyes do reele, hands, arms, and shoulders move;
 Feet, legs, and hands, and all their parts approve
 That heavenly harmonie; while as they throw
 Their brows—O mighty strain! that's brave!—they shew
 Great fantasie.—*Ibid. Id.*

Of the nature of *Corpus Christi* play, or St. Aubert's, we have no very distinct record, nor would the description profit the reader or be even acceptable. The former, at least, appears to have been nothing better than a blasphemous and hideous caricature of the leading incidents and circumstances connected with the great events of man's redemption!

St. Obert was the patron saint of the Baker Corporation or Calling—whether a real or an imaginary being, is uncertain. But believing him to have been a real being, they were accustomed to honour him by holding an annual festival, at which a play was performed, known by the name of "Saint Obert's Play." On the 10th December, a number of people assembled at even, called "Saint Obert's Eve." They attired themselves in disguise dresses, and passed through the city piping and dancing, and striking drums, and carrying in their hands burning torches. One of the actors was clad in a particular kind of coat, which they designated the Devil's Coat, and another rode upon a horse, having on its feet men's shoes. There is no account extant of its minute particulars, but, from the manner in which the kirk-session and the corporation officials dealt with the performers, it appears to have been idolatrous, profane, and immoral in its tendency. In December 25, 1581, the Session issued an "act against idolatrous and superstitious pastimes, especially against the Sanct Obert's play." "In January 7, 1587-8, the Deacon of the baxters of the burgh of Perth, with the haill brethren of their said craft, being convened for the time to take order for amendment of the blasphemous and heathenish plays of Sanct Oberti's pastime, and express their . . . of such as shall hereafter play or mint or do the like; and finding that the playing of the game this year has ingenerate throughout the haill toun great slander of the Gospel, evil report of the toun, and defame of the craft, ordain that Wil. Thairpe, &c. abide the punishment threatened to them by the Bailies and Council, and submit themselves in the minister and elders' will; and if

they or any of the craft shall hereafter be guilty of the like, to lose the liberties of the corporation, and be banished the town for ever." This minute was laid before the session, and that court took up the matter as follows:—"April 5, 1588. Whilk day the minister and elders being presently convened, considered the idolatrous past-time of several insolent young men in playing of Sanct Oberti's play, to the great grief of the conscience of the faithful, and infamous slander of the hail congregation throughout the hail country, have ordained for the present punishment of the same and sic like idolatrous past-times in times coming, that Wil. Thairpe, &c. be put in ward, there to remain unreleased while (until) every one of them has paid twenty shillings to the poor; to put themselves on the seat of repentance, there to remain the Sabbath day in time of sermon; and after to find caution, under the pain of ten pounds, and doubling of the former punishment as oft as ever they offend therein—never to do the like in time coming; and if any of the forsaid be not responsible for the twenty shillings, to stand in the irons of the cross, had on an mercat day, for the payment; and this act to be extended upon all such idolatrous players and observers of such like superstitious days in times to come, without exception."

After these mummeries fell into desuetude, the more rational exercises of golf, foot-ball, and archery, seem to have taken their place, and were much practised from two to three hundred years ago. But our present purpose is more especially to notice the games and amusements of a more recent period and of the present day, as much more pertinent to the main object of this work.

Of the more intellectual species of amusement—viz. the dramatic, for which the taste has been rather on the wane during the last quarter of a century—the first notice on record is to be found in the minutes of the Kirk-Session. From these it appears that a company of players visited Perth in the year 1589. In accordance with an act of the General Assembly, passed in 1574, they applied to the Consistory of the church for a license, and produced a copy of the play which they intended to perform. Their reception was more liberal than we suppose it would even be now-a-days, were such license necessary. The following is copied from the record referred to:—"Perth, June 3, 1589. The Minister and Elders gave license to play the play, with conditions that no swearing, banning, nor any scurrility shall be spoken, which would be a scandal to our religion which we profess, and for an evil example to

others. Also, that nothing shall be added to what is in the register of the play itself. If any one who plays shall do to the contrary, he shall be warded, and make his public repentance."

This last sentence must be understood to intimate, that the person so acting should be subjected to imprisonment, and be rebuked publicly in the church. In the record, the actors are spoken of as being all of them men. It was not till after the restoration of Charles the Second that women ventured to appear on the stage. The answer of the minister and elders shows that the theatrical performances were under the control of local ecclesiastical jurisdiction at the time, and that restriction as to the morality and decency of the representations were held necessary.

It is generally understood that Shakspeare, who was himself a player, visited Scotland professionally. At the date of the above minute, he was just twenty-five years of age. It is rather curious to think that he may have been of this party; and still more so to suppose that to this visit the world is perhaps mainly indebted for the grand, almost local, drama of *Macbeth*!

The games which at present are most common are, foot-ball, casting quoits, cricket, and golf. Within these few years, a number of gentlemen have formed themselves into a society under the designation of "The Royal Perth Golfing Society." The golf and foot-ball were, in ancient times, favourite games in Scotland; but the Government, in the reign of the Jameses, consulting more the security of the realm than the amusement of the lieges, discouraged these games, and, by legislative enactments, encouraged the more athletic and warlike exercises of weaponshawing and of archery. It was enacted, in the reign of James the First, that weaponshaws be made in ilk shire, and sicklike in burroughs. In the reign of James the Second, that the foot-ball and golf be cried down, and bow marks erected in each parish. In the reign of James the Third, that Sheriffs and Bailies of regalities hold weaponshawing, and americiat them that are absent or not well abuilzied. In the reign of James the Fourth, that neither foot-ball nor golf, nor unprofitable sport for the defence of the realm, be used. In the reign of James the Fifth, that weaponshawing be made twice in the year, in the months of June and October, at days and places as shall please the Sheriff, and Bailies, and burgesses of the land. The harness of the weaponshaw was as follows:—"For every nobleman, sic as earle, lorde, knight, and baroune, and everie great landed man, havend ane hundredth pounce of zerlic rent, bee an armed

in quhite harness, light or heavie, as the please, and weaponed effeir, and to his honor. And that all uthers of lower rent and degree in the low-land, have jacks of plaite, halksikes or brigitanes, gorget or pesane, with splents panse of mailzie, with gloves of plate or mailzie ; that gentlemen, unlanded and zeamen, have jacks of plate, halksikes, splents, salcate or steil bonet, with pesane or gorget, and everie with sworde ;—and na maner of weapon be admitted in weaponshawing, bot speares, pikes stacke and lang, of six elnes of length, *Leith* exes, halbardes, hand bowes and arrowes, crose bowes, culverings, twa-handed swordes, and every man to be an armed as said is, under the peine of five pounce to be tane of everie landed man, fiftie shillings of everie gentleman, and twentie shillings of everie zeaman, alsaft as they be founden faltous in the premisses.”

Adamson, in his *Muses' Threnodie*, laments that in his day archery was neglected in Perth. Mr. Cant, in his notes on the *Muses*, comments on the lamentation in the following terms :—“ Archery, of which the gentlemen of Perth were great masters, was made an indispensable part of education from the days of James the First. This most accomplished and wise Prince passed an Act forbidding the favourite diversion of foot-ball, substituting in its place that of shooting with bows and arrows. Every boy,* when he came to the age of thirteen, was obliged, at stated times, to practise archery at certain bow marks. There is a piece of ground without the West Port, on the left hand of the road leading to Huntingtower, called the Bow Butt, where this exercise was practised ; but the strong and expert archers had their bow marks on the South Inch. Near the south end of this Inch stands yet a stone which tradition says was the southern mark. The northern is near to the north-west side of the ditch that surrounds the mound (Cromwell's citadel). It was fixed on a rising ground called the “Scholars' Knoul.” The stone was but lately carried off. The distance between these marks is about five hundred fathoms. They must have been very strong and expert archers who could shoot an arrow between these marks.

From the City Records, it appears that the weaponshaw was, from an early period, observed in Perth according to statute. The Magistrates, by beat of drum and proclamation, called out the

* There is an act of the Town-Council in 1624, “as to children going about weekly with their bows and arrows, *as use and wont*.”

weaponslawers to exercise on the North Inch at the fixed periods, and sometimes oftener. They appointed them a captain and other officers; they gave them an ensign, which was called the *hanzgenzier*, and the bearer was designated the *hanzgenzier* bearer. At particular times, the flag, having upon it the holy lamb *en passant*, carrying the banner of St. Andrew, was produced. Absentees were fined in forty shillings each. In 1604, a "Mr. Brown, surgeon, and Deacon of the Wrights, produced a letter of exemption under the Privy Seal, dated 2d February, 1507, of divers contents, whereupon the Council granted him exemption from all assizes, and weaponslawings, and others, during his life."

There is on record an account of a weaponslawing on the North Inch, 27th July, 1614. "The performers were assembled by beat of drum; Alexander Peebles was nominated 'hanzsengier bearer.' Persons were appointed to be 'gydaris, and setting the pepill rank for ordour, and disobediencents to be warded' (imprisoned). The seven officers (town sergeants) got for the occasion a stand of new red Fleming. 'Patrick Bresone is ordained to deliver and lay the pledges, whilk ar in his handis, of the browsteris, in gardie for officeris clathis to this weaponslawing.'" A riot took place, occasioned by the disorderly conduct of some of the skinnermen and hammermen crafts. The Lord Scone, who was Provost of the burgh, was sent for to "take ordour with the riot." An investigation took place; the rioters were required to appear next day, and say whether they would refer themselves to the Town-Council or the Secret Council. The Deacons obliged their crafts to abide by the decision of the Town-Council. The skinner rioters were fined in 500 merks, to be laid out on the east pillar of the bridge, and they paid the penalty. It does not appear what judgment was passed on the hammermen rioters. After the year 1620, there is no account of weaponslawing in Perth.

Horse-racing appears to have existed in Perth from an early period. The place appropriated to it was the South Inch; the course was marked by six stakes. The first account we find of a prize having been run for is in 1613; it was a silver bell, presented by Ninian Graham of Garvoek, in name of John Graham of Bogside. In 1631 there were three prize silver bells, but they were declared to be unsuitable, and a cup was substituted in their place, which it appears weighed no more than eight ounces. The race on that year was run on the day after Palm Sunday, and the prize was awarded to Thomas Tyrie of Drumkilbo; his horse was

called Kildair. The Palm Sunday race in 1633 was for a piece of plate, value £40. In 1637, the cup was won by Francis Story, servant to Lord Fenton. Till 1688 the race was called "the bell race." By authority of the Magistrates it was thereafter called, "Race for a cup and other prizes."*

The course was transferred from the South to the North Inch many years ago, being in several important respects preferable. By an excambion which the Town effected with the Earl of Kinnoull in 1785, the Inch has been very much enlarged; the course is 2,220 yards. For fleet horses it is unrivalled, as throughout the plain there is not a single rising; it is almost a dead level. It may be proper to mention, that, before the excambion took place, the course was nearly the same as at present, the Earl permitting it to go through his park, and the division wall to be for the time taken down.

Many of our citizens not only excel at the game of golf, but at cricket their dexterity has become peculiarly remarkable. The Cricket Club of Perth has repeatedly borne off the bell from the best players in Scotland, and have coped successfully even with some of the *crack hands* of England. In the winter season, the animating sport of curling is engaged in with great spirit, when the state of the weather is favourable. This game requires both dexterity and judgment, and is altogether one of the most rational sports in vogue. There are two numerous associated Clubs in Perth, and both maintain a character for skill in the best-contested matches. It is a very healthy exercise; and "curlers' fare," *beef and greens*, generally closes the enjoyments of the day. No amusement seems to amalgamate classes so unreservedly, either in the *rink* or at the social board.


In adverting to intellectual amusements, that of the drama must be reckoned amongst the foremost, and almost the only one that comes under this category. In common with most other places, the taste for dramatic representations has greatly fallen off here. When, in the close of the last century, Messrs. Moss & Bell ma-

* This was on the 25th June, 1687, and during the last mayoralty of Sir Patrick Threipland. The minute says—"The Council, by plurality of votes, empowers Sir Patrick Threipland, their Provost, to cause insert in the next year's Almanac on the Town's expenses, that their old race, the Bell Race, formerly kept and run on the South Inch, upon the Monday after Palm Sunday Market yearly, is to be kept and run upon the said day in all time coming, for a silver cup, and other prizes formerly run for."

naged in the Glover's Hall, theatricals took the public taste remarkably, and under Mr. Ryder, for the first twenty years of the present, the Old Theatre, which had formerly been the Old Grammar School, in St. Ann's Vennel, was generally crowded. In that place, and under his management, the highly popular national play of *Rob Roy* was first brought out, and had a *run* almost unprecedented by anything produced in the great metropolitan theatres. It was here, and in its first production, that Mr. Mackay first earned his laurels as the original Bailie Nicol Jarvie. Mr. Ryder opened the New Theatre in Athole Street in the close of 1820, and succeeded amazingly for five years. But success made him ambitious, and leasing the Caledonian Theatre (formerly Corri's Rooms) of Edinburgh, in opposition to the Theatre-Royal, he found it a ruinous speculation, from which he never recovered. Except for two or three summer seasons that the *elite* of the Edinburgh company kept it open with more respectability and credit than success, the taste for the drama has singularly failed; nor does the support given warrant the engagement of an efficient *corps dramatique*.

It might be difficult to account satisfactorily for this decay of the drama and of dramatic taste. Much may be ascribed to the rule of *fashion* with some of the people, and religious feeling may have influence with others. But one great drawback is the scanty wages of the labouring classes, and the consequent value of money, which renders it impossible for any but the best paid artizans to indulge their taste for such a species of entertainment. Music has for many years been a favourite public amusement, and generally good concerts have been better supported than the drama.

Educational Institutions.

 O other place in Great Britain, we believe, can boast of ampler means for the acquirement of a liberal education, either useful or ornamental—scientific, mercantile, or classical; and in few do the people more readily avail themselves of this invaluable advantage, than in Perth. In noticing the Educational Institutions of the City, what chiefly claims our special attention is what may be termed the twin Establishment of

THE ACADEMY AND GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

THE ACADEMY was established in 1760, and has long maintained a high reputation, having produced scholars of distinguished eminence. It was intended by its originators to furnish the necessary instructions for preparing young gentlemen for the Army and Navy, for commercial pursuits, and for the ordinary business of life.

The course of education taught in it consists of arithmetic, in theory and practice; book-keeping; mathematical, physical, and political geography; logic, and the principles of composition; algebra, including the theory of equations and the differential calculus; geometry—consisting of the first six books of Euclid; plane and spherical trigonometry; mensuration of surfaces and solids; navigation, fortification, analytical geometry, and conic sections; natural philosophy—consisting of statics, dynamics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, pneumatics, electricity, galvanism, magnetism, electromagnetism, optics, and astronomy; and chemistry—consisting of caloric, oxygen, hydrogen and the composition of water, nitrogen, carbonic acid and the nature and composition of the atmosphere, chlorine and the other gases, the alkalis, the earths, and the principles of agricultural chemistry.

The Rectors of the Academy have all been men of great eminence. Mr. Mair, who was appointed in 1761, occupied that situation till his death, which took place in 1769. He is well known for two works, viz. Mair's *Book-Keeping*, and Mair's *Introduction to Latin Syntax*—the latter of which has long retained a great degree of popularity, and is still taught in all our best schools and colleges.

In 1769, Dr. Robert Hamilton was unanimously elected to the Rectorship, the duties of which he discharged with great ability and success for a period of ten years, when he was promoted by the Government of the day to the Chair of Natural Philosophy in Marischal College, Aberdeen, where he was justly considered one of the most distinguished members of that university for the long period of fifty years. He died in 1829. He was a very eminent mathematician and political economist, and is well known for two treatises, viz. Hamilton's *Introduction to Merchandise*; and an *Inquiry into the Rise and Progress, the Redemption, and Present State, of the National Debt*.

He was succeeded in Perth by Mr. Alexander Gibson, who was Rector for thirty years. His memory is still held in deep veneration by his numerous pupils. He was peculiarly distinguished for the ease and perspicuity with which he communicated a knowledge of abstract science to the youthful mind.

He was succeeded in 1809 by Dr. Adam Anderson, who occupied the situation of Rector for twenty-eight years. The Doctor's merits are well known and highly appreciated. He was a gentleman equally conversant with the most abstruse and more popular branches of science, and he fully sustained the high reputation of the Institution over which he presided. Many scholars of eminence, now occupying situations of honour and trust in various parts of the world, are indebted to Dr. Anderson for having first imbued their minds with a taste for science.

Dr. Anderson was appointed to the Chair of Natural Philosophy in the United College of St. Andrews in 1837, which situation he occupied, greatly to the advantage of that far-famed University, till his lamented death in December, 1846.

He is the author of many papers of great ability in the *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, and *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*; and to him the City of Perth, as already stated, is greatly indebted for having first supplied it with excellent water and gas.

In 1837, Thomas Miller, Esq. M.A. who was First Mathematical Master in the Madras College, St. Andrews, was unanimously appointed by the Patrons to succeed Dr. Anderson in the Rectorship of the Academy. During an incumbency of four years in St. Andrews, he more than doubled the number of Mathematical students; and his classes in Perth are numerously attended. His students have very frequently carried the highest honours in the Universities of England and Scotland; and it must be gratify-

ing to every one interested in the cause of education in the City to know, that the First Tutor and Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, and the First Fellow of the University of Edinburgh, were students of his, and attended his classes in Perth within the last few years.

The Second Masters or Assistants of the Academy have always been men of acknowledged ability. In confirmation of this, we need only mention the names of the late Professor Wallace, of Edinburgh; of Professor Ritchie, of London; of the Rev. Dr. Gordon, of Edinburgh; of the Rev. Dr. Forbes, of Glasgow; of the late Mr. Runciman; and of the present talented incumbent, Mr. George Dott.

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL is of high antiquity, and has long been considered one of the best classical schools in Scotland. The branches taught are Latin, Greek, Geography, Composition, and the Antiquities of Greece and Rome.

The Rectors of the Grammar School have always been eminent in their profession. The first of whom we have any account is Mr. William Rhynd, who seems to have been appointed on or before the 16th March, 1590. He was a gentleman of high classical attainments for the period, and his School is said to have been numerously attended. He was for some time preceptor and travelling companion to the Earl of Gowrie.

Our space will not permit us to give a historical sketch of all the Rectors of the Grammar School—the most eminent of whom were Mr. John Row, afterwards one of the ministers of Aberdeen, and author of *Institutes of the Hebrew Language*; Mr. George Paterson, afterwards Professor of Humanity in the United College of St. Andrews; Mr. Andrew Cornfute, who had, ere his appointment, greatly raised the reputation of the Royal Grammar School of Dunkeld; Mr. William Dick, who had been previously Rector of the Grammar School of St. Andrews, and who in the year 1824 retired upon an annuity of £150 from the Lord Provost and Magistrates; Mr. Muir; and Mr. Logan, whose health becoming impaired, retired in 1847 upon an annuity; and was succeeded by our present respected Rector, Mr. William Dunbar Steele.

Besides those already mentioned, there are classes for English Grammar, Geography, and Composition, by Mr. Alexander B. Smith; for Writing and Practical Arithmetic, by Mr. John Smith,

A.M. ; for Landscape and Architectural Drawing, and Painting in Oil and Water Colours, by Mr. William Brown ; and for Modern Languages, consisting of French, Italian, German, and Spanish, by Mr. Laurence Craigie. All these gentlemen are eminent in their professions, and every exertion is made to promote the advancement of the pupils committed to their charge.

The ancient office of Teacher of Music, which is known to have existed in the sixteenth century, is at present occupied by Mr. David Peacock, a gentleman of acknowledged talent and of long experience.

The salaries of the Masters, payable from the burgh funds, are as follow :—The salary of the Rector of the Academy is £100 ; with £25 for an Assistant. The salary of the Rector of the Grammar School is £50 ; and of the Teacher of Music, £18. The salary of each of the other Masters is £25. In addition to which, each receives the fees of his own class, amounting, in some cases, to a sum exceeding his salary tenfold.

Previous to 1807, the Academy and Grammar School were conducted in separate buildings—the former where the new General Session-House is now erected, and the latter in a building upon the site of which the City-Hotel now stands. In the Public Seminaries, which occupy the centre of Rose Terrace, ample accommodation is provided for the Academy, and all the schools already mentioned. That building, which is ornamented with splendid Doric pillars, was erected in 1807 by public subscription, at an expense of about £7,000—of which the Magistrates contributed out of the City funds £1,050, and bound themselves in all time coming to keep the building in good repair, and never to employ it for any but educational purposes ; and as the Magistrates have always taken a deep interest in the cause of education, it is unnecessary to state that they perform this part of their engagement most faithfully.

There are various other endowed schools and salaried teachers in the town and parish. The salaries paid to the masters of these schools are :—To the master of the Trades' (Stewart's Free) School, £76—besides an annuity to a retired teacher ; the master of the School for the Poor, taught by Mr. Duff at the Hospital, £50—paid partly by the Kirk-Session—the larger portion by the Town-Council ; the master of the Guildry School, £26 ; the mistresses of the Infant Schools, £50 ; the mistress of the Female School (Mrs. Harris at the Hospital), £20—with half the fees and half the price

of work done. There are also private schools at Cherrybank and Craighend, to each of which the Town-Council contribute annually £5.

Notwithstanding all these, who were previously in operation, in 1834 the Magistrates and Town-Council, with a laudable concern for the elementary instruction of the young among the operative portion of the community, caused a survey to be taken of the city and suburbs, to ascertain the state of school accommodation. A great deficiency was ascertained to exist, and measures were promptly adopted to correct the evil. A public subscription was opened for the purpose of erecting additional schools, and application was made to the Lords of the Treasury for aid out of the sum set apart by Government for the erection of schools in the large towns in Scotland. The Town gave a donation of £200, and individual gentlemen subscribed to the amount of £200 more. This having been represented to the Treasury, and satisfactory pledges having been given that the schools would be erected, and conducted in conformity with the requirements of Government, the sum of £400 was obtained. £800 being thus secured for accomplishing the benevolent object, the building of the school-houses immediately commenced. They accommodate 400 schoolars. The City is pledged to give to each of the teachers a salary of £10 per annum; and £10 for an assistant is also contributed from the Burgh funds. The scholars pay, for the day school, 8d. per month, and for the evening school, 6d. per month. These are called *National* Schools, and the mode of teaching is, as far as practicable, that of Mr. Wood of Edinburgh. The Magistrates and Town-Council are the patrons.

Besides these, two handsome and commodious buildings were erected in 1839, as parochial schools—the one in South William Street for the West Church parish, and the other in the Meal Vennel for that of the Middle Church. The expense of erection was raised partly by public subscription, supplemented by the Government aid, which this entitled the projectors to claim. These are well attended, and taught by able masters, whose salaries are paid, partly from the funds of King James the Sixth's Hospital, and partly from the Government. The Hospital Managers have also voted £10 annually for the support of the Infant School in King Street.

In addition to all these, there are many private seminaries and boarding schools, where all the useful and ornamental branches of education are taught, in most cases with much success, and with equal advantage to the public.

Municipal Government and Civic Polity.



THE records of the Burgh are of very high antiquity, but the older portion is now illegible. The earliest which can be deciphered dates 1512. Cant tells us that the proper records before 1465 had been mislaid, and in a list of the Magistracy now before us, which is full and uninterrupted from 1465 to 1765, the only list before the year first mentioned, that he says he could find, is that for 1374. For a long period previous to the passing of the Burgh Reform Bill, the majority of the Town-Council elected themselves, or at least nominated their successors in office; but occasionally, during the continuous record alluded to, casualties took place that for the time disturbed this mode of proceeding.

It is clear that for a long lapse of time the whole body were elected from the guild-brethren—merchants who had been admitted as members of that ancient fraternity. In the lists already mentioned, there appear the names not only of the principal burgesses, but of the most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen of the neighbourhood, as Chief Magistrates (some of whom had residences in town); and amongst these may be mentioned, the Earl of Gowrie, the Earl of Montrose, the Earl of Athole, Lord Ruthven, Viscount Stormont, Sir Patrick Threipland of Fingask, Sir William Murray of Tullibardine, Thomas Charteris, a descendant of Thomas de Longueville, who came from France with Wallace, and was ancestor of the Kinfauns family. Wallace's famed two-handed sword is preserved in Kinfauns Castle to the present day. The Magistrates of Perth, in the olden times, consulted what was becoming their rank, and how they should appear before the public eye, as the rulers of the city. Thus, in 1688 they were among the nobility and other attendants on the funeral of Lord Strathallan—and it stands on record that they appeared there attended by their trumpeter.*

The jurisdiction of the Provost, Dean of Guild, and Bailies, ex-

* In a former age the Magistrates of Perth had a very distinguished official importance and authority. The Chief Magistrate wore a cloak of office, and carried "a bend rapier." The other Magistrates carried "white staves." Their officers or sergeants were six, and on particular occasions seven in number,

tends over the royalty of the burgh, but the boundary of the royalty is not well defined. The property holding burgage situated without the line of the ancient walls exceeds in extent that within the walls. The jurisdiction is exercised by the Magistrates, personally and directly. The Dean of Guild exercises judicial functions in conjunction with a Council, consisting of the Provost, three merchant-bailies, two members chosen by the incorporated trades in their court of conveyance, and four members chosen by the Guildry Incorporation. There are no dependencies, and there is no delegated jurisdiction. The Town-Clerks act as assessors, for doing which they receive no emolument. There is a Burgh Court held every Tuesday, in which one of the Bailies presides. Each of them does duty for three months. A Guild Court is held regularly on the fourth Monday of each month, and occasionally at other times when business requires.*

The Sheriffship was conferred on the Provost by Robert the Third in the fourth year of his reign. In this character as a criminal judge, Provost M'Breck acted in 1524. He condemned, by the verdict of an assize, John Pearson to be hanged on the gallows for stealing two cows, and John Butcher for stealing a *grey mare taen hand havand*, and for being a common thief.

As a royal burgh, Perth had the precedence till Edinburgh was made the capital of the kingdom. At an early period, Dundee contended with it for precedence. But the matter was determined by a precept under the hand of James the Sixth, dated at Holy-

clothed, as at present, in red Fleming, and wore swords, and attended them daily. In church, the Lord Provost's seat was "lined and covered with velvet." There was also at their command a city marshal, a trumpeter, a drummer, a piper, and a swasher. In the records there is "an act for repairing the foot mantle and livery for the lacqueys, with the bridle and stirrup-leathers against the Provost going to Parliament;" and in 1678 there is an entry, that there were deposited "in the Council-house four pairs of colours, an officer's coat with lace, two suits of livery cloaths, with fastian doublets, for lacqueys at Parliament, foot mantle, with other horse furniture—a saddle only excepted—and the town's trumpet." The Magistrates of those times consulted what became the dignity of the ancient city—the former metropolis of the kingdom—by observing the feudal acts of hospitality to strangers and visitors of distinction. The entertainment, except on extraordinary occurrences, was, according to the practice then followed, very simple, "wine and spices," *i. e.* spiced wine; and the visits of strangers, and the reception given to them, appear to have been regularly adverted to in the Council minutes.

* Local Reports from Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Scotland, p. 299, &c. Considerable changes have taken place in these matters since the date of the report.

rood House the penult day of May, 1594, in which his Majesty commands that the commissioners of the burgh of Perth shall have place next to the commissioners of the burgh of Edinburgh. And in the charter of confirmation of the whole rights and privileges of the burgh, it is declared, "our said royal burgh of Perth shall have and enjoy perpetually the principality, prerogative, first place, dignity, and order; as also, in giving votes and suffrages, shall be preferred before our said burgh of Dundee, and the inhabitants, procurators, and commissioners thereof;" . . . "and for that cause that they altogether cease and leave off to contend with our said royal burgh of Perth, inhabitants, procurators, and commissioners thereof, or to do unto them any whatsoever trouble, scaith, or wrong, or to hinder or fash them in their lawful commerce." In the rolls of the Scottish Parliament, the following is the order of the principal burghs—Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Stirling, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Montrose, Dumbarton, Glasgow. The Chief Magistrate has the title of Lord Provost. His right to it was lately called in question, but it was established by the Court of Session on the 12th of March, 1836.

From 1445 to 1471, inclusive, Andrew Chartres held office as Provost, and other two years alternately with Robert Donying. A Gilbert Chartres appears as Bailie, under Andrew as Provost, in 1475. Robert Donying continues each alternate year till 1485, in general changing biennially with a Robert Mercer, who first comes in as Bailie in 1469, and appears as Dean of Guild in 1472; he was again Bailie in 1475, and was out of the Magistracy till 1481, when he was again elected Provost, and continued to be so, changing with Andrew Chartres, till 1505, after which his name does not again appear. From 1495 to 1500, Gilbert Chartres remained as Dean of Guild—to which office John Chartres succeeded in 1502. He was Bailie the following year, and next appears as Provost in 1507, and again in 1509. After this we see no more of the Chartreses, till we find a Patrick Chartres as first Bailie in 1519; and in 1521, Patrick Chartres of Cuthilgowdry, the same person likely, appears as Provost, as also in 1522-23. In the commencement of the sixteenth century, a Patrick Wellis alternated with the Chartreses, in 1498, 1500, 1502, 1504-5-6-8-10-12. Alexander Tyrie of Busbie held the office only once, in 1511, while Andrew Bunch and Alexander Blair occasionally exchange with John Donying and the Chartreses till 1523. Alexander M'Breck was chosen Dean of Guild in 1521, and passed from that to the Provostship in

1524. This is the same who in that year, in the capacity of Sheriff within burgh, condemned to death John Pearson, &c. as already mentioned. John Hutchison was also condemned by the same assize, for breaking proclamation made upon him, banished the burgh, never to return under pain of death, and for the theftuous stealing certain wool, apprehended with him *hand havand*, and for a known thief. It is on record that Pearson sold the stolen cows to "Halkerston the flesher," but it does not appear that he was implicated as a reset. The following is a list of the jury:—Alexander Chalmers, John Mackison, James Brison, John Piper, John Pebles, David Murray, Thomas Flemyng, John Dundee, Robert Campeon, Robert Robertson, George Patullo, Laurence Blackwood, John Ross, Alexander Sharp, and Andrew Barbour.

On 6th February, the same Sheriff, by an assize of fifteen men, convicted and condemned to be hanged on the gallows, John Brown, for stealing a cow, and *tane havand* therewith, stolen by him from William Williamson, in Drumcawan, east from Falkland, and for a common thief. On the 13th of April the preceding year, Alexander Chalmers, Depute-Sheriff (not Provost) within the burgh, by an assize of seventeen burgesses, found Margaret Lockhart guilty of stealing, from John Ramsay's wife, a silver belt and pot, and proved a known thief. She was decerned to be "drowned under the water till she be dead." These are the first instances we have recorded of the exercise of the Sheriff's power within burgh, although, as already said, the Sheriffship was granted by Robert the Third, in the fourth year of his reign.

It is rather remarkable that this uncompromising Chief Magistrate does not appear to have held even a subordinate place in the Magistracy beyond this year. In 1525, Patrick Chartres was appointed Provost and Sheriff, and, passing over Alexander Blair in 1526, he is re-elected in 1527. John Chartres succeeded him in 1528, and then we have William, Lord Ruthven, as Provost and Sheriff, for the first time in 1529, and he was continued in 1530. In the previous year, John Pebles was elected a Bailie, and had to abjure his craft of baxter accordingly. From this it may be inferred that craftsmen were not yet eligible to Magisterial office.

The election of 1531 was remarkable for tumult and confusion. John Donying was elected as Provost, and John Balneavis, *alias* Pyper, a butcher, was made a Bailie. There is no Dean of Guild or Treasurer in the recorded list, and a new election took place. Alexander Blair, senior, was appointed Provost and Sheriff. Mr.

Blair and his colleagues were confirmed at Edinburgh, and the others declared intruders; but it appears both were afterwards set aside, and Lord Ruthven, with the Bailies elected the former year, were reponed. Oliver Maxton of Drumgreen, one of the ousted Bailies of 1531, held office during the two years that followed. Then, in 1534 there was another controverted election. Oliver Maxton and his party were turned out by a decree of the Lords of Council and Session, and Alexander Blair, superseded the same year, was again restored by lawful election. John Chrystison, Dean of Guild, was exalted to the office of Provost and Sheriff for the next two years.

The year 1538 brought back the Chartres family for once again, as appears from the Council record; but the election was controverted, and an old manuscript gives John Donying as Provost and Sheriff, along with other Magistrates of his own party. It would appear that the manuscript is correct, for in the months of January and April thereafter, we find that John Donying, with first one portion, and secondly another, of his Bailies, sat in the Burgh Court. Oliver Maxton again sat in 1539-40-41, and in 1542, he, with certain Bailies, were chosen, *by express command of the King*. There was a violent contention betwixt two parties, and both complained to his Majesty. Cant says—The Council was summoned to meet at the command of our Sovereign Lord's charge and writing under his superscription, directed to the Council, neighbours, and community of the burgh, the tenor whereof follows:—

“Council, neighbours, and community of our Burgh of Perth, we greet you well. For sa meikle as we hear there is appearand contention amangis zou, about the election of zour Provest, our will is herefor, and we charge zou to convene zour auld Counsail and new and best neighbours, and elect ane gude and common man to your Provest, for the well of our burgh, and as tye [well] John Chrystisone as any others, and that we hear na cummir nor trouble hereuntill. Subscribit with our hand at Falkland the sixt day of October, and of our reign the 20 zeir, in absence of our signet.”

The whilk charge being openly read the 9th of October, thai having choisit and electit John Christison Provost and Sheriff of the said burgh for this instant year, conform to the laws and acts of parliament made upon chusing officers within burghs, and attour at our Sovereign Lord's request and charge foresaid choisit the said John Chrystison Provest and Sherriff as said is, and therefor in judgment gair his aith for ministration of justice, the tolbooth being almost full of the communitie and neighbours for the time contentand, and all in ane voice to the said John's election for an common man.

August 1st, 1543. The governour issued an order to the Provest, Bailies, and community thus:—"We understand, that before our letters were granted to our cousin and counsellor Lord Ruthven, that ye should not obey our lovits John Chartres of Couthilgourdy, and Thomas Chartres of Kinfauns. Our will is therefor, and also charges you to obey our saids lovits John and Thomas in all votes, and no other person or persons, notwithstanding our other letters given in the contrary, whilk be thir presents we discharge simpliciter, and the said letters impetrate, be our cousin Lord Ruthven, be the tenor hereof we decern to have na effect, and discharges the same under our hand, and under our signet at Edinburgh, 1st August, 1543."

The Town-Council met the 17th October. Whilk day Walter Brusone, Bailie, elected by the Council at Michaelmas hes transferrit all election and titil that he hes or ma haif for this instant zeir to the office of bailzierie of the burgh of Perth in the hands of an honourabil man, John Chartris, Provest of the said burgh, sua that the said Provest may dispone thereupon laughfully at his own pleasour, as he thinks best and expedient for the well of the said burgh, quhilc translation was made in the said Provest's hands in presence of the said Bailzies and Council, which wes done be the said Walter Brusone, at the consent of the said Bailies and Council. Whilk day the said Provest has given his consent and election to Gilbert Rettray of the Bailziery for this instant zeir, wha hes sworn *de fidei administratione in officio*.—N.B. Gilbert Rattray was a goldsmith, and the first Trades Bailie.

26th January, 1543. The whilk day John Chartirs beand be my lord Governour and Lords of Secret Counsale for certane causes and considerations movane them, dischargit of the office of Provestrie, and Mr. Alexander M'Breck be the said Lord Governour and Lords of Secret Counsale, thought qualifiet and convenientist to the said office. The said Mr. Alexander, at the command of the said Lord Governour and Lords of Secret Counsale, was chosen Provest and Sherif of the burgh of Perth, and gair his aith in judgment for faithful ministratoun of justice.

5th February, 1543. Whilk day Maister Alexander M'Breck, Provest of the burgh of Perth, haifand power of my Lord Governour to imput and decern Bailzies and all uther officiars within the said burgh, the said Provest, with the avise of the Counsale and Decains of crafts, choisit Thomas Flemyng Dean of Gild of the said burgh, and Andro Robertson Bailie, in the place of Andro Rhind, Dean of Gild, and James Rhind, his brodir, ane of the Bailies, becaus for certain causes and considerations movand my Lord Governour [Hamilton, Earl of Arran] and Lordis of the Secret Counsale, wer wardit, quhilc Dean of Gild and Bailzie forsaid gair their aith for faithful ministratoun of justice.

15th April, 1544. "Proclamation by Mary, Queen of Scots, the second of her reign, directit to the Sherifs of Perth, Forfar, and Fyffe, to the Provest, Aldermen, and Bailies of Perth, Dundee, Brechin, and Montrose, against Thomas Chartris of Kinfauns, John Chartris of Couthilgourdie, and

their accomplices, to the number of eighty persons, denouncing them rebels, and commanding to apprehend and bring them to justice."

This was a busie year. Thomas Flemyng, late Dean of Gild, for himself, Bailies, Councel, and Crafts, expatiand, that the Spy Tower was put in their keeping by the Governor and Lords of Secret Counsale, under great pains to this present day, whilk was lauchfully done, and the keys thereof was delivert to Mr. Alexander M'Breck, Provost for that time, protestand that what followed thereupon in time coming prejudgit theme nocht, nor turn to them in prejudice. Whilk day John Rosse of Craigie* deliverit to them the keys of the Spy Tower to the hands of Mr. Alexander M'Breck, Provost for that time, protestand that he was relievit from his obligation given for keeping of the said Tower, and that what followit thereupon turnit him to na prejudice. Whilk day Adam Ramsay, for himself and the laive of the merchandis and brether of Gild of this brugh, protestit that the administration of Dionysius Cavers, goldsmith, in office of Bailzerie, not electit nor chosen be them, hurt not their privilege in time to come. This protestation was continued by the Dean of Gild annually for many years, which they at last gave up.

Cardinal Beaton, in the last Convention, having obtained an act in favour of the bishops and clergy to prosecute and punish heretics to death, came in January this year to Perth, with the Regent Hamilton, Earl of Arran, who was a weak man, and condemned five men and a woman, who were executed on the 25th of January. This violent measure against people who were esteemed in the town stirred up the inhabitants against the clergy. By the Cardinal's influence, Lord Ruthven was turned out of his office by the Governor, and John Charteris appointed Provost. Lord Ruthven was suspected by the priests, because of his friendship to the Reformers; Charteris was also friendly, but more pliable than Ruthven.

From 1546 to 1555 the Lords Ruthven, William and Patrick, held the dignity of Provost and Sheriff. It seems, in the last-mentioned year, that, previously, the Deacons of Crafts had been members of Council, but for how long a period does not appear. The fact is known, however, from an Act of Parliament of that year *prohibiting* that privilege. The statute is dated Edinburgh, 10th June, 1555, and in the following terms:—

Because it has been clearlie understood to the Queines Grace, Regent of this Realme, and three estatis of Parliament, that the using of Deyki-

* The Rosses of Craigie were a considerable family in the neighbourhood, and had no small interest in the town. They sold Craigie and the Friartowns, and purchased Invernetly.

nis and men of craft within burghs hes bein kyth dangerous, and as thai haif usit themselves in times by gaine, heis causit great troublis in burrows, commotions and rysings of the Quenis Leiges in diverse parts, and be the making of leagues and bands amang thaimselfes, and betwixt burgh and burgh, quhilk deservis grait punishment. THAIRFORE the Quenis Grace, Regent, with avis of the three estatis foresaid, hes statut and ordainit that there be no Dekyins chosen in time coming within the burgh; but the Provost, Bailzies, and Council of the burgh, to chiose the maist honest men of the craftes of guid conscience, and of everie craft to visit their craft that thai labour sufficiently, that the samen be sufficient stuff and wark, and thir persons be callit visitouris of their craft, and to be electit and chosen yeirlie at Michaelmis be the Provost, Bailzies, and Counsale of burgh, and that thai thereafter gif their aith in judgment to visit leley and truely their said craft, without any power to make gathering or assembling of them to any privat convention or making of ony acts or statutis; but all craftsmen in tym coming to be under the Provost, Bailzies, and Counsale, and their visitors, chosin sworn and admittit, to have voting and chuising of officers and visitors, the thing is as the Dekyins voted in use before, and that no Craftsman bruik office within burgh in tym coming, excepting twa of theme, maist honest and famous, to be chosen zearly upon the Counsale, and that thir twa to be an pairt of the auditoris zeirly of the compts of the common guide, according to the acts of Parliament maid therupon of befoir; and whosoever conveins in contra this act, to be punishit be warding of thair personis be the space of an zeir, and tynsil of his freedom within burgh, and na mair to be receavit thereafter as freeman unto the time he obtain the favour and benevolence of the provest, bailzies, and counsale quhair the falt is committit, and the thrid pairt of thair guides to be eschetit and applyit to our Sovereine Lady's use for thair contemption. Extracted by me, Mr. James Macgill of Rankeilor neither, Clerk of the Rolls, &c.

We are then told that Walter Pyper, Bailie, "after the production be him of ane writing of our Sovereign Lady Mary, Regent of Scotland, directed to the Provost and Counsale, praying them and exhorting them to chuse the craftsmen after thair auld use, without prejudice of the act of parliament, likas at mair lenth is containit in the same under her Graces said writt and superscription at Edinburgh the penult dai of September, 1555 zeiris," James Macbreck, also a Bailie, immediately "protestit, that he (Pyper) should have tint his freedom in pursuing thereof, becaus he purchast private writings, by (beside or beyond) the act of Parliament as he allegit."

Quhilk dai James Anderson protestit against the Counsale gif thai lettit not the bailzie substantious men for the Quenis valaw.

Quhilk day William Tyrie, Treasurer, productit an act of Parliament

following, of the dait at Edinburgh, holdin the 10 dai of Juin, 1555 zeiris; and hereafter the said Walter Pyper acceptit the foresaid in that part, in so far as makes in voting visitors for the craftsmen.

Quhilk day James Macbreck protestit, that na craftsmen be admittit further than the act of Parliament produced foresaid.

Quhilk day Walter Pyper protestit that the said act tak na effect, because as he allegit the same is not ratified as yet.

Quhilk day Walter Pyper desirit of my Lord Provost his answir of the Queinis grace writing. The Provost says he can give na answir, till his speaking with the Queinis grace, and knaw her pleasur therintil, becaus the merchands has produced an act of Parliament for their part and their allegiance, and the craftsmen produced her graces writing of the date foresaid, therefore continues his answir of speaking with hir grace. Quhilk day the said Walter Pyper protestit, what beis done in chusing of the bailizies and office men beis not prejudicial unto the craftsmens voice, until the time the Provost speak to the Queinis Grace.

30th September, 1555. Quhilk day John Bonar, Sherif and Masar in that part, procutit within the Council-House of the Tolbooth of Perth our Sovrein Ladys letters under her Graces subscription and signet, and after the tenor and effect of the same, chargit an noble and mighty Lord, Patrick Lord Ruthven, Provost, quhilk letters and charge the said Provost with reverence obeyit, quhairof the tenor follows:—

“Mary, by the grace of God, Queine of Scottis, to our lovits Alexander Borthwick, John Bonar, Perth, Masar, our Sherifs in that part, conjunctly and severally, specially constitute, *greeting*. For so meikle as it has been understood to our dearest mother Mary, Queine Dowager and Regent of our realme, that in all times bypast the craftsmen of our burgh of Perth has usit, brukit, and exercit offices and dignitys within the same without interruption or impediment, and that be reason they are the maist part of inhabitants thairof, and payis the greatest part of taxations and contributions quhair the same is imput thairto, and that the auld Counsale, Craftsmen, and Dekanis sould be electars and choisars of the Bailies and Council of the zeir following. Nevertheless as our said dearest mother is informit, the Bailzies, Counsale, and other officers of our said burgh, are chosin this instant zeir, be the adviss and consent of the Provost thereof, Craftsmen, Dekanis, and an part of the auld Counsals of the same, and by the auld laudable use and consuetude of burrows, practised of before in sic cases. For remeid of the quhilk, and our dearest moder willing to haif universal concord and unitie among the inhabitants of all our burrows, and specially within our said burrow of Perth, and to tak away all sic occasions as wad be the hinderance thairof,

“Our will is herefore, and we charge you straitly and commandis, that incontinent thir our letters seen, ye pass, and in our name and authority, command and charge the Provost of our said burrow to convene the auld Counsale of the same quha was electit and chosen the zeir by past, togidder with the merchands, craftsmen, and dekanis, that had

vote of before, and elect and choise Bailzies, Counsale, and oddir officers for the weil rule, guiding, and government of our said burrow, and communitie thairof, this instant zeir, and longer induring our said dearest moddirs wil, for causes above written; and gif any Bailzies, Counsale, or officers be ellis chosin be their aviss and election, and not conform to the said auld laudible use of the said burrow, that the said Provost reform the same, and cheize the maist famous and qualifoit merchands and craftsmen, beand gild and freemen, to bear offices within our said burgh: Ya levand the execution of yar crafts so lang as ya beir offices; and in case any of the Bailzies or Counsale ellis electit dissobeys, and will not come into the effect foresaid, that ye charge the said Provost to convene others mast famous merchands and craftsmen and cheifs of new, sic persons to beir offices and reule within our said burgh as beis found the maist famous and qualefyit thairfor, sic like as thai might haif done at the feast of Michaelmas last by past, and mantein and defend them therintil conform to the said auld laudible use, notwithstanding any our acts of Parliament, or othir statuts in the contrary, anent the quihilks we dispense be thir presents, delivering the same to you duely execute and indorsit again to the berar. Given under our signet, and subscrivet by our said dearest modir at Edinburgh, the 17 October, and of our reigne the thretteine zeir."

Quhilk letters and charge the said Provost obeyit, and commandit the said John Bonar, Masar, Alexander Borthwick, John Ester, to pass command, and charge the auld Counsal this last zeir to convene within the Council-Hous to the effect of the said letters.

The Council was chosen accordingly, and by the Queen's order, dated at St. Andrews, 2d December, 1555, their election was confirmed, and they were ordered to qualify and accept office. Of date 29th June, 1557, there is the following minute:—

Quhilk day convenit within the Counsail-House of Perth, the hail Counsail and hail Decains of Crafts of the same; and there, after diverse allegations alledgit and proponit be either of them, of thair awn free willis, for guide rule, order, amitie, and kindness to be had among the merchandis and craftsmen, and hail communitie thereof, hes ferrert the cheising and electing of the four Bailzies in my Lord Ruthvens will to be chosen and deputed be his Lordship to use the office of Bailzierie, quhill Michaelmes next to come after the said Michaelmes. Quhilk Lord, after guide advisement for staunching of appearand skaith and cumers among them, and pleasure of his maistres, the Queines Grace, and for guide reule and order to be had amangis the inhabitants of the said burgh, sua that our Sovreign Lady's lieges adjacent thereto may be the better treat and usit in sua far as concerns the burgh, and less cause to complaint—has electit, chosin, namit, and ordaint Thomas Flemyng, William Tyrie, David Seaton, and Walter Pyper, Bailies, to use the office thereof for administration of justice quhyl Michaelmas next to come; and sicklike hes ordaint that TWA of the said Bailies sall be

put togidder in judgment at all decreets giving, and other grite affairs of the town, conform to our Sovreign Ladyes and Lordes of secret counsals ordinance. Quhilk Bailies hes made faith, and sworn in judgement for administration of justice without favour or feid, price or prayer, &c.

From this time to 1566, Patrick, Lord Ruthven, was continued Provost. During this period the Reformation took place. In a note on 1558, Cant says—

This year, Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, stretched out his hands against the Reformers, and burnt Walter Mylne, priest of Lunan, near Montrose, which exasperated the whole country. Mylne, at eighty years of age, died with great boldness. The Lords of the Congregation immediately assembled in defence of their lives and liberties.

And on the election of 1559 there is the note—

Upon the 11th of May, this year, the mob arose and pulled down the religious houses at Perth. Lord Ruthven was at Stirling attending the Queen. When the news came there of what was done at Perth, she flew in a rage and menaced Lord Ruthven, who in a few days fled to St. Andrews, and joined the Lords of the Congregation.

In another note on 1566, we are informed—

Lord Ruthven had been sick three months. The King communicated to him his purpose of destroying Rizio, and told Ruthven that Rizio was a mortal enemy to the banished Lords; to save them, he proposed to have Rizio slain. Ruthven was for bringing him to justice, and hanging him. The King was impetuous, and for slaying him that night, and promised to charge himself with it, and protect the accomplices. Morton conducted the assassination plot, and Rizio was slain on the 9th of March. The King basely forsook them, and Ruthven fled into England, where he died.

Then Sir William Murray of Tullibardine was chosen Chief Magistrate; but on 3d April, next year, he renounced into the Council's hands his office, when they chose to succeed him the Treasurer, Andrew Ramsay, whose reign was but short. At Michaelmas, that year, William, Lord Ruthven, was elected, and continued without interruption till 1582, when he was again chosen, and appears for the first time as Earl of Gowrie. Ten years before, in 1572, it appears that the merchants and traders were tumultuous at the election of Council, and ran into confusion, protesting against one another. By an order of the King, signed by the Earl of Mar, Regent, directed to the Magistrates, Council, and Deacons of Crafts, the Council met a week thereafter, on 13th October, and Lord Ruthven made a motion to refer the election for that year to him, to which they all agreed, each party merely protesting that this should be no hurt to their privileges. Amongst

others, he nominated Patrick Inglis, a saddler, to the office of Treasurer—the *first* who had been taken from the Crafts.* From 1582, as above noted, the same William, Earl of Gowrie, was farther continued, and ultimately re-elected at Michaelmas, 1584. On the 2d of the following May he was executed at Stirling, about nine o'clock at night, for his connection with the "Raid of Ruthven." By the King's order, John, Earl of Montrose, was appointed Provost on the 7th June, and the Bailies continued. That same year (1585), the Earl of Montrose was re-elected at Michaelmas; but on the 16th December following, by virtue of the King's letter and charge, dated at Linlithgow, 11th December, the Magistrates were set aside, and a new set chosen, with John, Earl of Athole, as Provost and Sheriff, who was again continued by re-election in 1586.

On the 2d October, 1587, there was another change, and a James Hepburn appears in the list as Provost; but great contentions had taken place about the election, and complaints were made to the King and Lords of Secret Council that the new set had applied the common good to their own private use. They were convened before the King and Secret Council at Falkland, who, on hearing the cause, confined the chief authors to the Castle of Blackness; and the King, with advice of his Council, ordered to be chosen James, Earl of Gowrie,† &c. in their places. The Bailies were Patrick Blair, Adam Anderson, Oliver Young, and

* In 1574 the Magistrates were, for the first time apparently, openly sworn into their offices, and professed the true religion of Jesus Christ, renouncing all idolatry and superstition, and all Papistical errors whatsoever, acknowledging and avowing the right excellent, right high, and mighty Prince James the Sixth, by the grace of God, King of Scots, for their only Sovereign, promising for this time forth, during the time of their continuing in the offices into which they are now elected, to continue in the profession of the true religion, and to keep faithful and true allegiance to our said Sovereign Lord, whose authority and sovereignty they shall assist and defend to the utmost of their life, with their bodies, goods, and gear, against the enemies of God and his Majesty, being either strangers, or his Highness's unnatural and disobedient subjects whatsoever; and hereupon ilk ane are sworn severally by God himself. The Magistrates and whole Council swore the above oath, which continued to be administered annually. At the Michaelmas election, 1st October, 1576, Henry Adamson, in name of the merchants (or Guild side), protested against William Hall, baker, being elected Treasurer; and George Johnstone, in name of the Crafts, protested that their privileges, granted by the Kings and Queens of Scotland, should not be hurt.

† After Arran was turned out and degraded by the King and Protestant Lords, Gowrie's sons were restored to their honours and estates. James was young when elected, and died when he was Provost, in 1588.

Andrew Malcom, baker. After the death of Gowrie in 1588, the Council referred the election of Provost to the King, who accepted the reference, and nominated, next Michaelmas, John, Earl of Athole. He continued till Michaelmas, 1592; when John, Earl of Gowrie, was elected, and remained in office till 6th August, 1595. On the 6th of August that year, the Earl told the Council that he was to go abroad for his education. They unanimously entered into a resolution to elect him Provost next Michaelmas, and became bound for their successors in office to elect him annually until he returned. This agreement is signed by the whole Town-Council, in presence of Mr. Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth, the King's chaplain, and Henry Elder, town-clerk. Such was the affection of the town for this young Lord, that he was continued Provost until his return from Padua in 1600.

The reader has already had full details of the tragical fate of his Lordship soon after his return. It was on the 5th August that year that he fell a victim in the dark transaction of which we have treated so fully in a previous part of this volume. On the 28th September, immediately before the new election of Council, the King wrote a letter from Brechin, which was read to the Council, in the following terms:—

“Trusty friends, we greet you heartily well. Having pruf and experience of the loyaltie, affection, and guide service of you the present Provost, Bailzies, and Counsale of our burgh of Perth, we are no wise mindit that ye sal be alterit at the time of your election approaching, and theirfor haif thought guide to will and desire you, with sic of your neighbouris as hes vote in election of Magistrats within our said brugh, to continue you, and evry ane of you, in your particular offices within the same, without alteration or change, quharby we may have a full testimony of your guide will, honest dewties, and service severally.” Quhilk being read, the forsaid Provost, Counsal, and Decanis of crafts, all in an vote but variance, obeyit his Majesties letter with all hearty guide will, and theirfor continues the present Provost, Bailzies, and Counsal for the year to come; and because of the ill parts of Oliver Peblis, and of Andro Henderson, wha is registrat at the horn and summoned for treason, the Counsal, be moniest votes, has electit Andro Arnot and Gawin Dalziell to be in their place for filling up the Counsal.—Cant says, “It was necessary, to save appearances, that Andro Henderson should be put out of the Counsal, as there was use for him at Gowrie's trial. Oliver Pebles was Gowrie's friend.”

It appears, that, immediately after the Gowrie tragedy, Alexander Blair of Balthayock was appointed Chief Magistrate till Michaelmas; and on the 6th October was elected Provost,

Sheriff, and *Coroner*—this third designation having first been attached in the case of the Earl of Gowrie in 1596. In the civic elections of 1601-2-3, Sir David Murray of Gospetrie is entered as holding these offices; and for the five following years in succession, the same individual, as Lord Scone, was continued in office. In the last of the three years above specified, Cant has a note, stating that “Andrew Henderson, after he had served the Court by his deposition against Mr. Alexander Ruthven, was *restored*, by the interest of Sir David Murray, to his seat in Council, and was this year (1603) elected youngest Merchant Bailie. He had been Lord Gowrie’s chamberlain at Scone, and continued in that office by Sir David Murray, who got that part of Gowrie’s forfeited estate. Henderson was so unpopular, however, that he was never after elected Magistrate. Spottiswoode says, ‘he had alwise a downcast countenance after the fright he got in the closet;’ but others attributed it to an evil conscience, which was directed by Mr. Patrick Galloway.”

At Michaelmas, 1609, a charge from the King was produced in Council, narrating an Act of Parliament discharging any persons to bear office as Magistrates in burghs, “except trading merchands residing in the burrows, under the pain of treason, and putting them to the horn and escheat of goods.” The reason of this new and stringent enactment does not appear; but in obedience to this charge, James Adamson, merchant, was elected Provost, &c. and continued for two years. But David, Lord Scone, again stands on the record, 5th October, 1612, and continues for nine successive years* under that title, and after that for other seven years as Viscount Stormont.

The final close of Viscount Stormont’s municipal reign was in the year 1627-8. On the 6th October of the last-mentioned year, his Lordship was again elected; but by a decree of the Lords of Secret Council of the 21st February following, the election was declared illegal. The Viscount was therefore set aside, and Pebles of Chapelhill was elected in his stead. The Provostship alternated betwixt that gentleman and Robert Arnott of Benchills till 1650, except in the year 1635, that Mr. Andrew Gray, who had held

* At Michaelmas, 2d October, 1616, it is stated, that, “conform to the act of burrows, the whole crafts, ilk ane, made choice of their decanis, and this to stand yearly thereafter on Wednesday after the election of the Magistrates, which is yearly on Monday after Michaelmas.” This order has been punctually observed ever since.

office as Bailie and also as Dean of Guild, was chosen, and continued for one year. In 1650, Andrew Grant of Balhagels was elected, and continued for two years at this time; after which a Mr. Andrew Butter of Gormack was chosen, and continued from 1655 to 1659; when John Paterson of Benchills succeeded him, and reigned two years. Grant of Balhagels came in again in 1661, for one year only; and then again Andrew Butter for two years.

The Threipland family make their first appearance in office in 1657, when Patrick Threipland was chosen Treasurer; in 1659, he was First Bailie; in 1660, Dean of Guild. He was twice again First Bailie in 1661 and 1662; in 1664-5-6-7-8-9, he was Provost, Sheriff, and Coroner; and in 1670, George Threipland held these dignities. Patrick came in again in 1671, as Patrick Threipland of Fingask, and continued other three years. In 1674 he appears in the same offices as *Sir* Patrick Threipland of Fingask. On the 4th October, 1675, Archibald Christie, late Bailie, was chosen Provost; but it seems there was a tumult against Provost Threipland and his party, which raised great animosity among the inhabitants. Provost Christie died only three weeks after his election; the Dean of Guild acted as Preses till the following 16th of March, when, by warrant of the Lords of Secret Council, *Sir* Patrick Threipland and some of his former colleagues were chosen and reponed, notwithstanding the efforts of Bailie Thomas Craigdallie, who was appointed by the Council to repair to Edinburgh, and give a "true" account to the Lords of Privy Council and other persons of quality of the form and manner of the last election, "that the misrepresentation of *Sir* Patrick Threipland, late Provost, may not harbour with them as truth." The Privy Council, however, held *Sir* Patrick Threipland as fairly elected Provost before the tumult began, and acknowledged him as such. The Town-Council themselves had previously agreed to continue him as a member of their body.

From this time to 1687, Patrick Hay, Robert Lundie, and John Glas, were each occasionally Provost, &c. In that year the Magistrates were nominated by the King's order, and Lord Kinnaird was appointed to superintend the election. *Sir* Patrick Threipland is again Chief Magistrate, and John Threipland is one of the Bailies. On the 1st May, 1688, by warrant of the Convention of Estates for electing Magistrates, the next set were chosen "by the voice of the whole burgesses." A Robert Smyth was elected Provost, and the First Bailie was James Crie, who afterwards filled the office of

Chief Magistrate several years. This rather untimely election appears to have taken place in consequence of the following Legislative order :—

At Edinburgh, 18th April, the estates of the kingdom, having heard and considered a representation made by the commissioners of the royal burghs for regulating their Magistracy and Councils, it was their opinion that the whole burghs should have a new election, by the poll of the burgesses bearing burden in all the burghs, excluding honorary burgesses, town-servants, pensioners, and beed-men. As also, having considered the representation made by the several burghs, why they ought to continue their Magistracy and Council as being freely elected, conform to the constitution—the estates do find that generally the whole royal burghs have suffered encroachments on their liberties and privileges by letters and recommendations from the King, his Council, and others having power and influence, whereby these several years bypast many of the burgesses otherwise qualified to elect and be elected have been debarred. Therefore, the estates do hereby give order and warrant for a new election of ordinary Magistrates and Town-Council of Perth, to continue until the usual time of Michaelmas, to be chosen by the poll, at Perth, the first of May next, with continuation of days; and the estates do nominate and appoint Thomas Hay of Balhousie, Sir Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, Patrick Symth of Methven, Walter Stuart of Kincarrochie, Adam Drummond of Megginch, Mr. Robert Ross of Invernethy, or any two of them to be present, and see the foresaid election made; and ordains the Town-Clerk to convene the habile burgesses, and proceed in the foresaid election in the same manner as was formerly ordained and appointed by the estates in the election of the Magistrates and Town-Council of Edinburgh and Dundee. Extracted out of the Records of the Estates, by James Dalrymple, C. L. S.

Previous to the 18th February, Bailie Deas entered a protestation that all members of the house should purge themselves of Popery, and that none should continue in their station but such as were true Protestants, conform to the Prince of Orange's *declaration*. Sir Patrick Threipland most frankly gave his oath in face of Council, as he should answer to God that "he is a true Protestant, and that he never was, neither is, nor never shall be, Popish."

In 1745-6, there was no election because of the rebellion. Robert Robertson of Tullibelton was elected Provost in 1747; and in 1754, John Robertson,* of the same, held the office.

William Gray, who had long been in the Magisterial body as Bailie—ten times (appearing first as Treasurer in 1743)—was

* John Robertson of Tullibelton was a Bailie in 1739. James Cree was Provost; but the whole election of that year was controverted, and decided by the House of Lords in favour of the elected party.

elected Provost, for once, in 1760, and his reign was signalized chiefly by the abolition of a remaining Popish relic. It was this: St. Peter was the tutelary saint of the fleshers. Before their seat in the kirk they had an altar illuminated with wax candles. A tax was laid on all slaughtered cattle for supporting St. Peter's Altar, and was usually called Patie's Altarage Penny. It had been regularly exacted till this year, when it was abolished by Provost Gray. It is perhaps also worthy of remark that Charles Cairnie, who "mortified" a considerable proportion of the lands of Scones Lethendy, appears first in the Magistracy as Trades Bailie in 1731; but we see nothing more of him till 1743, when he again holds the same rank, and then seems to have quitted the civic stage.

It appears from a note in our Register that it was about the year 1749 that the South Inch was surrounded with a double row of trees, and that the inhabitants were obliged for this ornament to the Town-Council, and chiefly to Provost James Cree (who laid the foundation-stone of the present Hospital the year before) and to Colonel Crawford. In 1765 the first City Chamberlain was appointed. Cant says—"The Town-Council, finding many inconveniences arising from the Treasurers keeping their accounts, *especially those chosen from among the trades*, agreed to make Patrick Miller, deputy-clerk, the Chamberlain of the town, with a salary, to take the burden of keeping the accounts in a regular manner."

From this period down to the present time we could present a correct and continuous list of the Magistracy, year after year; but it would fail to be interesting to the general reader, inasmuch as there are no movements of importance connected with their several reigns. The Chief Magistrates seem to have been respectable citizens, but there is little matter of peculiar consequence recorded respecting them, nor did anything take place affecting the political constitution of the burgh for a great many years. From the rebellion of 1745, after which, by an order from the Court, the late Magistrates and Council were empowered to elect in the ordinary way, there are Patrick or James Cree and John Robertson of Tullibelton as Provosts, &c. till 1758, when a change of dynasty seems to have taken place, and Provost William Stuart appears to have led the Council.

Commencing with the Provost Stuart above mentioned, we are introduced to a succession of Magistrates, several of whom were known to persons living within the present writer's remembrance, and their names are yet familiar with many of the older inhabi-

tants. There are, besides the Stuarts, the race of Faichneys, Sandemans, Blacks, Ramsays, Alisons, Marshalls—and a Provost Alexander Simpson, for three biennial periods, between 1764 and 1775. There was a Thomas Marshall, First Merchant Bailie in 1777, who appears as Dean of Guild the following year, again as First Merchant Bailie in 1782-3, and as Provost in 1784-5. After having been Town-Treasurer in 1791, Third Merchant Bailie in 1792, and second in 1793, when he must have been a very young man, the celebrated Thomas *Hay* Marshall was first elected as Provost, Sheriff, and Coroner, at Michaelmas, 1800, which rank he also held in 1801-4-5. This last year his colleagues in office were David Morrison, Dean of Guild (afterwards Chief Magistrate in 1819); Laurence Robertson, Robert Ross, and David Beatson, Merchant Bailies; Alexander Macfarlane, watchmaker (late iron-founder), Trades Bailie; and Duncan Spottiswoode, Town-Treasurer. Laurence Robertson and Robert Ross (of Oakbank), were repeatedly Chief Magistrates during the first thirty years of the present century—the latter is still living. David Beatson (of Kirkpottie) was Dean of Guild for a few years, but never took office as Provost.

The composition and constitution of the Council, according to what was termed the *sett* of the burgh, was as follows:—The Lord Provost, Sheriff and Coroner; the Dean of Guild; and three Merchant Bailies. These were chosen from the merchant or guild side of the Council—for the Guild Incorporation had not the election even of their own Dean. Then there was the Trades Bailie, elected annually by the Deacons of Crafts; and a Treasurer, chosen from the guild and trades side of the Council alternately. Of course, a craftsman, in order to qualify himself for this honour, had first to be elected by the members of his craft, as one of a leet of two tradesmen, and this preparatory step was often attended with extraordinary bickerings and contention. The Council consisted of twenty-six in all, and, besides the seven officials mentioned, there were therefore nineteen ordinary members. Of these again, the seven Incorporations contributed as many members in the persons of their Deacons. Besides these, there were four Trades Councillors. There were thus nine other Merchant Councillors, members of the Guild, but elected by their predecessors, which process was, on many occasions, merely a re-election of themselves. Or perhaps the whole may be more clearly stated thus:—There were *fourteen* Merchant Councillors, always including the Lord Provost, the Dean of Guild, and three Merchant Bailies, chosen from the guild. The

other *twelve* were made up by a different process: Each of the seven Incorporated Trades sent in its own Deacon; the Glovers, Hammermen, and Bakers, had each a Trades Councillor; and the other four Incorporations—viz. Wrights, Shoemakers, Tailors, and Fleshers—denominated *small* trades, had the privilege of electing *one* Councillor only for the whole. Thus the Trades had eleven common Councillors besides a Trades Bailie, the latter chosen yearly by the Glovers, Hammermen, Bakers, and Small Trades, in rotation. It is clear that by this usage the addition of a Treasurer from the Trades would have created an equality—thirteen to thirteen—leaving the preponderance in favour of the guild, or close side, to consist merely in the casting vote of the Provost. To remedy this rather too precarious equipoise, a very curious arrangement had been long established. It does not appear that the Council were obliged to adopt a Treasurer from the Trades; as an understood act of grace and courtesy, however, it had been the custom to do this alternately. *But*, when that merely nominal functionary was admitted from them, the craft to which he belonged *had no Trades Councillor for that year!* Such was the curious economy of the old system, which the compiler considers it proper to record, as he finds it has already become a matter of history with the present generation, and might soon be altogether forgotten. These were the days for *fun* in the elections. The *booing*, treating, abductions, and circumventions of every Michaelmas term, formed amusement for the whole year. The keenest competition under the new order of things is *dulness* itself compared to the old fashioned excitement of former times. Although, as we have seen, there were nearly one-half of the members returned by a species of popular election, still the close side preponderated, and unless by some rare chance there was a slight defection from that side, the popular branch had no power to carry any measure which their opponents (and they were generally opposed) had any desire to thwart. The members of the guild side had an understanding that the minority should in all things yield to the majority of their own section, and this was for many years known by the soubriquet of *The Beautiful Order*. Still it must be admitted, that even under this system the administration of public affairs was, in general, honestly and carefully attended to; but, as may be supposed, it gave occasion for almost unquenchable heart-burnings amongst the popular members, whose influence was thus completely neutralised.

But the passing of the Bill for Parliamentary Reform, in 1831,

paved the way for a thorough overturn of this system of things. The last Council according to the "beautiful order" committed an act of *felo de se*. On the 4th October, 1830, Patrick Gilbert Stewart, Esq. banker, who had held the office of Chief Magistrate with Provost Ross, alternately, from 1822 to that period, was again elected Lord Provost, with colleagues and a Council very much of the good old stamp; but (not perhaps without some incipient symptoms of the prevailing *liberalism*) they took alarm at the onward "spirit of the age," and resigned office as a body in the beginning of summer 1831. At the following Michaelmas, Provost Wright, who had for many years been a staunch pillar of the "beautiful order"—although, like some others, reputed a Liberal of the old school in the close of last century—fraternised with a few *quasi* Conservatives and a mixture of the new leaven, took the lead, and was elected Lord Provost on the old system, surrounded by a Council almost to a man making profession of the new principles. He held office for two years, during which the bills for both Parliamentary and Municipal Reform became law; and at the statutory period, 8th November, 1833, the following gentlemen were elected Magistrates by a Council of twenty-six—all, except the Dean of Guild, chosen by the new constituency—viz.

ADAM PRINGLE, Esq. *Lord Provost, Sheriff, and Coroner.*

ROBERT BOWER, Esq. merchant, *Dean of Guild.*

MESSRS. T. R. SANDEMAN, wine-merchant.

„ DAVID CLUNIE, baker.

„ JOHN GRAHAM, shoemaker.

„ JAMES M'LEISH, dyer.

„ JAMES DEWAR, bookseller, *Treasurer.*

} *Bailies.*

Provost Pringle continued in office three years; Robert Matthew, Esq. succeeded; then he was followed by David Greig, Esq. jeweller, who held the office for four years, during which period he also served as representative of the City in Parliament; Charles Graham Sidey, Esq. of Letham, succeeded in 1841, and acted very popularly as Lord Provost for that and five following years. Bailie Clunie, who had been in the Magistracy, with the exception of one year, ever since the passing of the Reform Bill, and repeatedly before it as Trades Bailie, was then called to the civic chair, and continues to hold it. The following is the list of Magistrates and Council, according to the election of last November:—

DAVID CLUNIE, Esq. baker, *Lord Provost, Sheriff, and Coroner.*

WILLIAM IMRIE, Esq. ironmonger, *Dean of Guild.*

JAMES DEWAR, Esq. bookseller.	} <i>Bailies.</i>
DAVID STUART, Esq. merchant.	
CHARLES SHEDDAN,* Esq. watchmaker.	
JOHN PULLAR, Esq. manufacturer.	
DAVID ROSS,* Esq. merchant, <i>Treasurer.</i>	

Councillors.

Mr. Jn. M'Euen Gray,* ironmonger.	Mr. John Kemp, writer.
„ Kirkwood Hewat, candlemaker.	„ Alexander Fraser, shoemaker.
„ Andrew Davidson, writer.	„ John Macfarlane,* ironfounder.
„ William Dow, coal-merchant.	„ David Murie, commission agent.
„ Peter Imrie, cabinetmaker.	„ William M. Farney, bootmaker.
„ John M'Lauchlan, slater.	„ James Balmain, tobacconist.
„ Andrew Heiton, architect.	„ Thomas Richardson, bookseller.
„ James M. Honey, writer.	„ William Halley, merchant.
„ Peter Graham, shipowner.	„ James Readdie, builder.
„ John Fisher, baker.	

The electors under the Parliamentary registration number upwards of 1,000. The municipal constituency is only between 700 and 800—being limited to those residing within the ancient royalty. They do not always make the best possible use of their franchise. One great evil arises from the fact, that almost every dram-shop and tipping-house keeper is necessarily a ten-pound elector, and they must be courted by those candidates who will stoop to do so, not only for their own votes, but their influence among the lower-class voters around them. The city used to send a Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament. From the time of the Union till the passing of the Reform Bill, it was united with Dundee, Forfar, Cupar, and St. Andrews, in sending *one* member to the British senate. Since the latter era, it is again represented by an undivided member. The parliamentary boundaries, as defined by the act, are as follow:—

From the north-western corner of the North Inch, on the right bank of the river Tay, in a straight line to the Bridge on the Mill Lade at the Boot of Balhousie; thence in a straight line to the bridge on the Glasgow Road over the Scouring Burn; thence in a straight line to the southern corner of the Water Reservoir of the Depot; thence in a straight line to the southern corner of the Friarton Pier on the River Tay; thence across the River Tay (passing to the south of the Friarton Island) to the point at which the same is met by the boundary of the respective parishes of Kinfauns and Kinnoull; thence, northward, along the boun-

* Those marked thus (*) are direct or immediate descendants of gentlemen who held office as Magistrates under the old system.

dary of the parish of Kinfauns to the point at which the several boundaries of the properties of Kinfauns, Kinnoull, and Barnhill meet; thence in a straight line to the north-eastern corner of Lord Kinnoull's Lodge, at the gate of approach to Kinnoull Hill; thence in a straight line to the north-eastern corner of the enclosure of the Lunatic Asylum; thence in a straight line to the point at which the Annaty Burn crosses the Blairgowrie Road; thence down the Annaty Burn to the point at which the same joins the River Tay; thence in a straight line to the point first described.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS.—A common seal belonged to the Burgh of Perth in the reign of Alexander the Second, and perhaps long before. No copy of this is extant, so far as we can learn, and it is not known, therefore, whether it was the same as was afterwards used. Many impressions of the seal, which was used about the year 1400, and perhaps many years prior to that date, are appended to charters which belonged to the religious houses at Perth. On the obverse is represented the decollation of St. John the Baptist; Salome standing with a platter in her hand to receive the head. On the reverse is represented the same saint enshrined, and a number of priests, or other persons, kneeling before him. The legend around both sides is *S. Communitatis ville Sancti Johannis Baptiste de Berth*—"The seal of the community of the town of St. John Baptist of Berth." This seal was laid aside after the Reformation as "superstitious." That since used refers to the Roman origin of the town. It bears a golden eagle displayed, viz. an eagle of the double or imperial kind, meaning one eagle spread above another—the two heads looking different ways. A red escutcheon, charged with the Holy Lamb, *passant*, carrying the banner of St. Andrew within a silver double tressure, surmounts the breast of the eagle—the legend at the bottom, *Pro Rege, Lege, et Grege*—"For the King, the Law, and the People." Besides the large or common seal, a smaller one is, or was, made use of on some occasions. It bears a single eagle, wholly surmounted except the head, and with an escutcheon charged as the other. The surrounding inscription is, *Sigillum secretum Burgi de Perth*.

The funds under the management of the Municipal Board are considerable. It is of no use to give a detailed account here, as that is published annually, and put into everybody's hands. For comparison at a future period of the city's local history, we deem it proper to give the last published abstract :—

REVENUE OF THE CITY OF PERTH,
For the Year ending 30th September, 1848.

Rent of Arable Lands,	£94 15 0
Rent of Fishings,	1,055 0 0
Rent of Mills and Waterfalls,	937 5 6
Rent of Customs,	646 5 0
Rent of Inches,	400 0 0
Rent of Coal and Wood Yards,	340 15 0
Rent of Shipbuilding and Lumber Yards,	221 13 3
Rent of Houses, Shops, and Cellars,	421 17 0
Rent of City-Hall,	81 2 0
Feu-Duties and Ground Annuals,	353 9 1
Privilege of Bridges across Lade, &c.	6 5 0
Burgh Muir Feus,	832 4 0
Burgess Entry-Money,	19 18 8
Shore-Dues,	334 5 9
Seats in the Churches,	443 16 0½
Double Feus,	27 8 10
Scottish Central Railway,	77 9 4
Total Revenue,	£6,293 9 5½

EXPENDITURE.

Civil Department,	£2,132 7 3
Ecclesiastical ditto,	882 6 2
Education ditto,	742 1 11
Repairing Property,	1,206 3 7
Public Burdens,	396 11 9
Expense of Justiciary Court,	36 4 11
Finance Department,	1,422 5 11
Total Expenditure,	£6,818 1 6
Expenditure exceeds Revenue,	£524 12 0½

STATE OF DEBTS AND FUNDS,
30th September, 1848.

DEBTS.

Bonded Debt,	£29,503 0 0
Due to the Perth Bridge Commissioners,	1,519 11 6
Value of Annuity,	100 0 0
Due Perth Banking Company,	735 0 0
Miscellaneous Debts,	298 1 0
	£32,155 12 6

FUNDS.

Due by the Perth Harbour Commissioners, £565 16 1	
Due by the Public Bath Committee,	175 0 0
Due by the Auchterarder Road Trustees, 1,158 7 4	
Edinburgh and Perth Railway Stock,	20 0 0
Miscellaneous Debts,	1,732 14 9½
Cash in Chamberlain's hand,	43 3 0½
	3,695 1 3
Ascertained Debt,	£28,460 11 3

Navigation, Commerce, and Manufactures.



T is generally understood, and indeed stated by several historians, that in early times Perth was a place of great trade. Alexander Necham, an English writer, who read lectures at Paris in 1180, was made Abbot of Exeter in 1215, and died in 1227, takes notice of Perth in the following distich, quoted in Camden's *Britannia* :—

Transis ample Tai, per rura, per oppida, per Perth.
Regnum sustentant illius urbis opes.

Thus rendered into English by Bishop Gibson, in his translation of Camden's book :—

Great Tay through Perth, through towns, through country flies.
Perth the whole kingdom with her wealth supplies.

The literal version is, "Great Tay, thou passest on, through fields, through towns, through Perth. The wealth of that city supports the kingdom."

During many ages an extensive commerce was carried on between Perth and the Netherlands; the merchants of Perth visited the Hanse towns in their own ships. The German merchants, or Flemings, as they were called, very early frequented the port of Perth; and not a few industrious Germans, who wrought in the woollen and linen manufactures, and in staining cloth, seem to have fixed their abode at Perth, and even to have been received as burgesses; but William the Lion, following the example of his grandfather, King David, put the foreign merchants under great restrictions when they came to Perth with their goods, in a charter which he gave to the town in the year 1210. And in that same charter, as a farther discouragement, he granted to his burgesses of Perth, "that they might have their own merchant gild, *fullers and weavers excepted.*"

The political reason for the exception of these two bodies seems to have been the dread of an inundation of foreigners; but that apprehension has long ceased to exist. The fullers were afterwards admitted members of the Guildry, and the weavers established their own Incorporation; and for the encouragement of manufactures, the Legislature long ago allowed the weavers to exercise their trade

freely in all the burghs, exempting, however, those who had become incorporated from the obligation to receive any others into their legally-constituted society but on certain conditions. It is not now an easy matter to ascertain the various turns which trade had taken in Perth previous to the middle of the last century.

In the beginning of the year 1794, the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth nominated a number of gentlemen, members of the society, and who were well acquainted with trade, to make a statement of the articles comprehended in the district, the Custom-House, and the Linen Stamp-Office, which might be called the trade of the place. Mr. John Young, a gentleman well known in the city at the time, and still remembered by some of our older citizens, was chairman of this committee, and took a great deal of trouble in collecting the materials. Their report, subscribed by Mr. Young, was dated the 10th June, 1794; and a note was appended, which bore that the several articles were not over-rated, but rather the contrary, if any error there might be. In this document the manufactures are thus reported:—

The staple manufacture of Perth is linen, and of late a considerable quantity of cotton cloth. There are above 1,500 looms employed in the town and suburbs, which manufacture, of linen and cottons, annually, about £100,000 sterling value. Besides this, there is at least £120,000 sterling more in value of linen, purchased in the Perth market by the dealers. These goods are wove in the surrounding country, and all pass through the hands of the traders in Perth; so that the total of the linen and cotton manufactures amounts to about £220,000. The different fabrics, and the general purposes to which they are applied, with their extent, may be arranged as follows:—

1. Brown and white fine threaded linens, denominated Silesias, chiefly printed for handkerchiefs; with Britannias, Kentings, &c. for export trade, may be estimated above	£120,000
These articles Perth has been long famed for manufacturing.	
2. Stout Holland sheetings, of various breadths; with 7-8ths and 4 4ths Holland shirting, and a few long lawns, above	12,000
3. 4-4ths wide brown and white country linen, chiefly used for hat-linings, buckrams, &c.; brown Hollands, Hessians, pack-sheetings, and other coarse fabrics, manufactured in the neighbourhood, including soldiers' shirtings, with a few coarse sheetings and Osna-burgs purchased,	20,000
4. 5-4ths wide umbrella linens, and linens for window blinds, &c. above	8,000
5. The cotton manufacture was rapidly extending; but met with a severe check last summer, by a reduction of the value of goods manufactured, and has not yet recovered its former vigour. The shock did not affect the linen manufactures in a similar degree.	
Carry forward,	£160,000

	Brought forward,.....	£160,000
6.	Shawl-cloths, calicoes, and muslins, with a very few pullicate handkerchiefs, are produced from cotton-yarn, which were estimated within bounds, at £80,000 sterling per annum, but, owing to the late check in the market, shall only be extended to	60,000
	Total amount of the linen and cotton trade, which the committee are confident is under-rated,.....	£220,000

Printing-Works.—There are three printing-works in this neighbourhood, some of them only lately established, carried on by companies residing in Perth—viz. Ruthven printfield, in the barony of Huntingtower, upon the property of the Duke of Athole, carried on by Young, Ross, Richardson, & Caw. Cromwell Park, established on the ground of Thomas Graham, Esq. of Balgowan, Member of Parliament for the county of Perth, under the firm of Meliss & Co. And Tulloch printfield in the vicinity, on the property of the Earl of Kinnoull, carried on by Sandeman, Lindsay, & Co. These works at present may be estimated to do business at least to the extent of £80,000 sterling per annum, and on the increase, being mostly new establishments. The produce of these works is shipped at Perth, chiefly for the London market. The printers here have a full command of the article of Silesia linen for handkerchief printing, being the staple manufacture of the town and neighbourhood; they likewise supply part of the country demand in England and Scotland.

Cotton-Works.—At Stanley, there is a considerable cotton-mill for spinning twist by water, the first that was established in the neighbourhood, in which Sir Richard Arkwright interested himself much in the outset—George Dempster, Esq. & Company. The proprietors have lately built another mill, which will probably be employed soon in spinning linen-yarn by water. There is also a cotton-work for spinning twist by water, at Cromwell Park, under the firm of Wright, Meliss, & Company; and a smaller one at Stormont Bleachfield, belonging to Thomas & John Barland. The operation of all these will produce above £30,000 sterling annually, and they are on the increase, being new establishments. There is cotton spun in the town, and at Luncarty Bleachfield, by water, for wefts and other purposes, such as the manufacture of stockings, &c. to the extent of £5,000 sterling per annum, only lately begun.

Bleachfields.—There are four public bleachfields in this neighbourhood, that whiten cloth for the country round, and for the manufacturers in the principal towns of Scotland, and even some of them have quantities of cloth from England to bleach. At Luncarty Bleachfield, they whiten annually, on an average, 600,000 yards of linen, two-thirds of which may be called low priced linens, with diaper and table linens from Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Perth, &c.; and the other third consists of fine linens and sheetings. This work is carried on by Sandeman, Turnbull, & Co. and is on the ground of Thomas Graham, Esq. of Balgowan. The same company have another bleachfield at Tulloch, where they whiten about

400,000 yards annually of linen for the public. They are chiefly low-priced linens. At Huntingtower Bleachfield (upon the Duke of Athole's estate), carried on by Richardson & Co.—Thomas Young, manager—there are fully 600,000 yards of linen bleached annually, about two-thirds of which are low-priced goods, the other third consists of diaper and fine goods. At Stormont Bleachfield, carried on by Thomas & John Barland, on the ground of the Earl of Mansfield, they whiten to the extent of 450,000 yards annually—two-thirds Silecias, Britannias, shirtings, &c. and all the other third diaper and fine goods. At both Luncarty and Huntingtower there is sometimes, in the throng of the season, about sixty Scots acres at each work covered with linens.

Leather Manufacture.—The manufacture of shoes and boots is carried on here with great nicety, to the extent of at least £8,000 per annum, chiefly shipped for the London market. They prepare at the tan-works from 4 to 5,000 hides, and about 500 dozen calf-skins annually, and do business in tanning to the extent of £10,000 sterling yearly.

Paper Mills.—There are three mills for the manufacture of paper in this neighbourhood, which contain at present six vats, but are constructed so as to admit of nine. These mills produce at present from 9 to 10,000 reams of writing and printing paper; and from 7 to 8,000 blue, cartridge, brown, grey, and other packing papers—value above £8,000 sterling per annum, and increasing in value in proportion to the quantity of fine paper manufactured. This manufactory, though only lately taken up by Morison & Lindsay of this town, is allowed to produce uncommonly fine writing paper, which is chiefly sent to the London market.

Lintseed Oil.—The crushing of lintseed into oil has been a trade in this town and neighbourhood for many years past; but it is now on the decline. The first mill erected in Scotland for the above purpose was at Huntingtower, about two miles from this town.

Salmon Fishings.—The salmon fishery on the Tay is very extensive, and the rent considerably increased of late. It may be stated at £7,000 sterling per annum, of which the community of Perth draws above £1,000 sterling of rent. The spring and part of the summer fish go fresh, packed in ice, to the London market; and when plentiful, in warm weather, they are pickled for the same market. No town in Scotland is better appointed for intercourse with London than Perth, as every four days, at least during the fishing season, one smack sails, and in general makes the passage up within the week, if the weather be any way favourable; and the passage to London has often been performed within sixty hours. The vessels return with porter, cheese, groceries, and other goods, for the consumpt of the town, and supply of an extensive rising country. There are seven vessels constantly employed in the trade.

Mills.—The mills belonging to the community or burgh of Perth are rented by Ramsay, Whittet, & Co. at about £800 sterling per annum. The leading article they manufacture is wheat into flour, about two-thirds of which may be supposed on their own account, for the supply of the

town and neighbourhood ; besides, quantities are occasionally shipped to the different towns of Scotland. The other third may be stated as manufactured at these mills by the bakers in town, for which they pay multure to the company at a fixed rate, agreeable to the old charter of the burgh. The quantity ground may be estimated, upon an average, at 60 bolls per day. They also grind, at these town mills, malt, bear, oats, and pease, and manufacture barley to a considerable amount. But the article of malt is greatly diminished since the late Act of Parliament, which prohibited the working of the small stills in this district, the line being fixed to the northward of Perth. This company likewise rent from Lord Kinnoull the Balhousie flour and meal-mill adjacent, where they also manufacture considerable quantities of flour and oatmeal. The flour-mill of Pitcairn, in this neighbourhood, parish of Redgorton, the property of Lord Methven, is employed by Mr. James Roy, the granaries of which are likewise in Perth. It is supposed to manufacture at least 5,000 bolls of wheat into flour, at an average, annually, which is mostly consumed in Perth and its neighbourhood.

Foreign Trade.—The exports from this to foreign parts are so very inconsiderable as not to merit any statement. The imports from foreign countries may be computed at above £30,000 sterling per annum, of which above £9,000 value may be reckoned for flax and flax-seed. There are considerable quantities of wood, iron, and wine imported, and occasionally some grain. The following statement from the Custom-House books, for an average of five years, will show the flax and lintseed trade:—Imported from 10th October, 1783, to 10th October, 1788, say a quantity which leaves an average importation for each year of 48 tons of flax from Holland ; 23 do. from other ports ; 71 tons of flax and 1,178 hhds. of lintseed. At an average of five years from 10th October, 1788, to 10th October, 1793, there were annually imported 63 tons of flax from Holland ; 15 do. from other ports ; 78 tons of flax and 1,671 hhds. of lintseed.

Coasting Trade.—It appears that there were 209 vessels cleared out in the year 1781 ; and in the year 1791, there were 319 vessels. Arrivals of coasters inwards:—In 1781, 518 vessels ; and in 1791, 887 do. —the difference of which chiefly arises by arrivals of vessels with limestone, of which in 1781 there were only 88 vessels, and in 1791 there were no less than 360 do.—which shows the increasing improvements in agriculture.

Luncarty Bleachfield, mentioned in the foregoing report, is still carried on upon an extensive scale, under the firm of Ross, Sandeman, & Co. and has always been a flourishing concern. The field at Tulloch is now in the hands of Mr. Hector Sandeman ; but the business of calico printing, long prosecuted by him, has of late years been given up. The works at Ruthvenfield have long been in the hands of Glasgow merchants, and sometimes the calico

printing business is carried on with great spirit. Mr. Duncan is the present managing partner. Mr. William Sandeman Turnbull still carries on the trade of bleaching and power-loom manufactures at Huntingtower and Cromwell Park. Messrs. Paton & Brown prosecute a similar business at Pitcairn-field. All these have long been considered as in connection with the trade of Perth—most of them being supplied with water power from the Town's Aqueduct. Stormontfield is now under the management of Mr. Spottiswoode.

The Stanley Mills are now a magnificent concern, and have been for a series of years carried on with great spirit by the Messrs. Buchanan of Glasgow, who often employ nearly two thousand workers. The village is therefore populous, and the streets are well arranged. About fifteen years ago, the enterprising proprietors built a handsome church for the use of the people. It is in connection with the Church of Scotland, and the proprietors pay the clergyman. The church, with its fine Gothic steeple, forms a beautiful and prominent object, and is seen at a considerable distance in various directions.

The foregoing report seems to embrace the period in which the spirit of enterprise in manufactures had reached its height in Perth. At least the palmy days of her prosperity in that department came to their greatest glory about the date it bears; and after that the trade, in weaving especially, suffered a rapid decline. The manufacture, till then, was chiefly linen, but after that it was in a great measure superseded by cotton, and as they had never been accustomed to this, the leading men engaged in the linen trade gradually withdrew from business; but not till many of them had become wealthy. The very general use of cotton led them to adopt this course, and it cannot very fairly be said that they forsook the trade, for it was rather the trade that forsook them. The cotton speculation was not native, and the weavers in this quarter, at that time (as they are to a great extent still), were supplied with work by Glasgow agencies. About the end of the first decade of the present century, a new branch, called "harness" work, was introduced. The Perth weavers soon acquired such skill in this difficult department, that even Paisley could not surpass them. The richest plaid and shawl borders ever produced in the market were manufactured here. By another sweeping change in fashion or the public taste, this branch has again nearly disappeared. Subsequently the manufacture of umbrella gingham was very extensively introduced,

and form the staple trade at the present time. Pullicates, and latterly galas, have been introduced with success. Checks, particularly for handkerchiefs, and stripes, give employment to a good many hands, but zebras have disappeared. In no branch now prosecuted can the most industrious weaver earn the means of a comfortable livelihood. Indeed, the scale of wages is miserably low. Six shillings a week may be stated as the maximum. It was not so about sixty years since. Then, and for some time afterwards, the labour of the loom was productive, and many single weavers were able not only to enjoy the ordinary good things of life, but even erected dwelling-houses and loom-shops for themselves. Since the period alluded to, the number of weavers has decreased by not less than one-third.

Fancy work of some sorts is better paid than plain, but a large mass of the weaving population are unaccustomed to it. The plain fabrics, indeed, on which so many at one time depended for a subsistence, seem to be now nearly extinct. Umbrella gingham especially are fast being expelled by the productions of the power-loom. Not long ago, from 800 to 1,000 of our weavers derived their livelihood from this branch; and, since its decay, the number of weavers in the town has again considerably diminished. Many of the inhabitants can remember the time when tenements in various streets, lanes, and closes, now converted into dwelling-houses, were occupied as weaving-shops by a respectable and intelligent class of weavers. The palmy days of this trade were numbered when the power-loom began to compete with the hand; many have gradually changed to other occupations as employment presented itself, and very soon it will be considered as altogether an unsuitable avocation for grown men, who must seek other means to provide a livelihood for themselves and families.

The glove trade used to be carried on to a considerable extent here, and the Glovers had long been famous for the excellence of their manufacture. Previous to the date of the above report, the quantity manufactured yearly was from 2,000 to 3,000 pairs; and these chiefly for home consumption. Book-printing was also carried on to a great extent about that time, by Messrs. James & Robert Morison. The last-mentioned gentleman is still printer of the oldest newspaper in town, viz. the *Perthshire Courier*; but of late years, he has greatly curtailed his book-printing business. Mr. Scott, in his old *Statistical Account of Perth*, says, he has a letter from Mr. James Morison, dated 10th June, 1794, in which

that gentleman stated—"Since January last, I have printed about 14,000 volumes: so that you may safely state, that, except Edinburgh and Glasgow, Perth is the only town in Scotland where books are printed to any extent; and that there are generally from 20,000 to 30,000 volumes printed here annually." Since the above date, says Mr. Scott, "the University of St. Andrews have appointed the Morisons in Perth to be their printers."

There are editions of many standard works in public and private libraries from the Morison press, which do great credit alike to their enterprise and their skill in the printing department.

As manufactures have declined, the spirit for commercial pursuits has increased. This has recently led to extensive improvements in the natural facilities for navigation which the position of the place presents. The "ample" Tay gives Perth the distinction of a shipping port, and if the magnitude of streams may be estimated by the quantity of water they convey to the sea, it is beyond question the largest river in Britain. It discharges about twice as much water as the Spey, and four times as much as the Forth.

Opposite to the town of Perth, the quantity of water flowing through a section of the stream, measured with great accuracy for a judicial purpose, was determined by Dr. Anderson to be at the rate of 3,640 cubic feet per second, at a time when the river was in its mean state. As the area of the basin supplying the various tributaries of the Tay (excluding the basin of the Earn) is equal to 2,398 square miles, if we assume the annual fall of rain for the hilly districts to be 30 inches, and suppose that one-third of it is lost by evaporation and the various processes of vegetation, the mean discharge would be at the rate of 3,496 cubic feet per second, which is probably not far from the truth, and differs but little from the above result.

The tide from the ocean flows up the river to a point about a mile above the town, in spring tides; and rises, at the harbour, about ten feet above the alveus, or the bed of the stream. At high water, according to the survey of Mr. Jardine, the surface of the river attains the same level with the German Ocean; but it appears by the observations of that accurate and distinguished engineer, that the level of the high water at Perth is actually eighteen inches higher than it ever attains in the Frith of the Tay, three or four miles above Dundee. This singular result is to be ascribed, partly, to the Frith of the Tay being so large, that the tide at the mouth of the river begins to subside before it has had sufficient

time to fill that capacious basin through the contracted inlet by which it is admitted at Broughty Ferry ; and, partly, to the subsequent elevation of the water above its natural level, in consequence of the gradual contraction of the channel of the river, from the town of Newburgh to the city of Perth.

The *form* of the Tay being so extremely unfavourable to the production of river tides for navigable purposes, it was about twenty years ago suggested by Dr. Anderson to the Magistrates of Perth, the conservators of the navigation of the river, that they ought to adopt all the means in their power, in co-operation with landed proprietors along its banks, to contract as much as possible the breadth of the stream below the town, by encouraging the construction of embankments in suitable situations, and the junction of islands with either bank, wherever the river flowed in two channels—compensating, at the sametime, for the diminished area of the section of the stream by a corresponding excavation of its bed. Several islands have accordingly been joined of late to the nearest bank, and the result justifies the expectation that the prosecution of similar operations, on a more enlarged scale, will ultimately prove highly beneficial to the navigation of the river ; while it will be the means of recovering, at a trifling expense, extensive tracts of rich and valuable land. In fact, were a barrier of loose materials to be thrown across the Tay, from the lands of Pitfour to the west end of Mugdrum Island, and were a similar erection to be executed from the eastern extremity of that island to Invergowrie bay, land would be gained, along the north bank of the river, to the extent of upwards of 4,000 acres ; and the river, by the operation, would be easily rendered navigable as far as the harbour of Perth for vessels of 300 tons burden. The embankment would require for its completion 960,000 cubic yards of earth, which would cost about £20,000 ; and the facing of stone next the river, which would be about 150,000 square yards, would amount to an equal sum—so that the land would be obtained for about £10 per acre ; while the rise of the tides at Perth would be increased by the operation probably from three to four feet* in perpendicular height.

In a royal charter granted by James the Sixth, dated 15th November, 1600, there is an inhibition on all sea-vessels, small and

* The junction of two islands with the western bank of the river, one a little above, and the other a little below, the Castle of Elcho, has already had the effect of raising the tides from six to nine inches, and accelerating the time of high water at Perth by half-an-hour.

great, coming within the water of Tay with merchandise, from dis-loading or breaking bulk till they come to the bridge, *i. e.* the bridge at the east end of the High Street, now called the "Old Shore" and "Old Light." Here was the harbour at that time, 1600; but it is now removed from the town down the river to what is called the Lime Shore. This removal appears to have been gradual, in consequence of an accumulation of gravel in the bed of the river impeding the navigation.

The removal was first to the south shore, opposite to the Greyfriars burying-ground; and finally, in 1752, to where it now is. What was in 1600 the principal, the only harbour, receiving vessels of the greatest burden that could come up the river, and even ships mounting great guns (as appears from the account given by Buchanan of an attempt to storm the town in 1544 from the river or eastern side), is now frequented by small craft only.

The citizens of Perth and the inhabitants of the surrounding country appear, from an early period, to have paid a vigilant attention to the navigation of the river, as it contributed very much to their wealth and prosperity. During a great part of the eighteenth century, trade was carried on to a considerable extent between the port of Perth and the principal ports, not only of Britain, but of Russia, Germany, France, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Spain, and Italy. This foreign intercourse, however, has, particularly of late years, been very much diminished. Various causes have operated in producing the decline, such as a total change in the description of the manufactures of the place; a successfully pushed competition on the part of other ports which are free from the inconvenience of river navigation; the establishment of extensive general agencies, through which our merchants now obtain the products of other countries. But the most powerful of all causes has been the natural obstructions to navigation which have arisen in the river itself.

Many centuries ago, a superiority over the navigation of the whole river of Tay was granted by royal charters to the burgh of Perth. Robert the Bruce, by a charter dated the 4th of April, 1316, prohibited stranger merchants coming within the Tay from presuming to sell or break bulk without the license of the burgh of Perth, until they first offered their cargoes to the merchants of the port of Perth. This charter was confirmed by David the Second, the 10th of April, 1365; and by Robert the Third, 6th of May, 1400; and lastly, James the Sixth, 15th November, 1600, confirmed the

charter already mentioned, and granted, in addition, to the Provost, Bailies, Councillors, Burgesses of Perth, the power of charging and uplifting all customs, anchorage, port-money, tributes, and duties within the said bounds of the water of Tay, and established alternately to the said burgh of Perth, the jurisdiction, liberty, and privilege of the said water of Tay, and right of the same. These powers of liberty and privilege of free port were afterwards limited by decret-arbitral of King James, 31st December, 1602, to those parts of the Tay running opposite to the Sheriffdom of Perth.

Notwithstanding the ample powers conferred on the burgh of Perth over the River Tay, more attention appears to have been bestowed upon the rigid exaction of harbour dues than the preservation of the navigable properties of the river; and consequently very serious obstructions had arisen, by the formation of sandbanks in the navigable channel, while, at the same time, the salmon-fishing stations became more numerous and valuable. To such an alarming extent had these obstructions arisen, and so long had the authorities neglected to assert their right to remove them, that many years ago it was judged advisable to consult the most eminent engineers as to the steps which ought to be taken, with the view of asking new powers from Parliament. Messrs. Smeaton and Rennie severally reported their opinion, the former recommending a line of quay, suited to the craft then frequenting the port—the latter recommending a suite of wet-docks on the South Inch.

Mr. Jardine afterwards surveyed and proposed a new harbour on the site of the old one, but projecting much farther into the current of the river, together with the removal of the Weel-Ford, it being the greatest obstruction and nearest to the harbour. Mr. Jardine's plan was adopted, and an Act of Parliament procured for carrying it into effect on the 17th June, 1830, under the direction of a board of Commissioners, twenty-nine in number. The Commissioners had proceeded so far with the works under this Act as to complete the new Pier, when doubts were started as to the efficiency of the remaining part of the plan, which provided for the removal of the Weel-Ford, and the deepening of the river upon an inclined plane, within the very limited space from the County Buildings to the Friarton Hole. It is but justice, therefore, to Mr. Jardine to state, that his recommendations were never fully carried out, but were departed from, chiefly because they did not embrace other

fords between Perth and Newburgh, which would still have presented great obstructions to the navigation although the Weel-Ford had been removed.

During 1833 this important subject occupied much of the attention of the Town-Council, the merchants, and the public generally. It was at last resolved to employ Messrs. Stevenson & Son, engineers, to make a complete survey of the river, and to report fully their opinion as to the best mode of improving the harbour and navigation. On the 22d January, 1834, these gentlemen gave a very full report, in which they recommended the removal of all the fords in the river from Friarton to Newburgh, by a dredging-machine, excavating from four feet three inches, to four feet nine inches; the junction of the several small islands to the mainland, by which means they anticipated that the tract from Newburgh to Perth would be deepened to 16 feet at spring tides, and 11 feet at neap tides; thereby admitting vessels of 380 tons burden to pass at the former, and of 130 tons to pass at the latter tide.* The greatest difficulty in the way of this enlarged improvement was the risk to the salmon-fishings from the operation. The report of these gentlemen then recommended the formation of a tide-harbour, commencing at the Friarton; an entrance lock to a canal leading from thence to a capacious wet-dock, to be excavated about 200 yards to the westward of the present quay. The total estimated expense of these works was as under:—

Improvement of the Navigation,	£ 5,600	14	3
Tide Harbour,	9,168	18	0
Entrance Lock,.....	10,343	8	8
Ship Canal,	6,464	12	11
Wet Dock,.....	22,737	4	4
	£54,314	18	2

It was recommended that these extensive operations should be proceeded with progressively, the benefit of the first branches being available by themselves, without reference to the remaining parts.

* In 1682, the Town-Council passed an act granting allowances to the then "late Provost (Mr. John Glas), as tacksman of the fishings, to take out a great stone in the fishings opposite the Sleepless Inch." He failed in the attempt. The stone has, since that time, been very injurious to the fishings. It was in the year 1836 taken out by Mr. Turnbull, employed to deepen the river, and after lying for sometime on the contiguous shore, it was broken to pieces. It was above four tons weight. Its old name was Craig-sharple.

The suggestions of the Messrs. Stevenson were substantially approved of by the Town-Council, and at a public meeting of the inhabitants; and an Act of Parliament was applied for, and obtained on the 27th June, 1834, for carrying these operations into effect under the direction of a board of Commissioners, thirty in number, of whom the Member of Parliament for the city is one, fourteen are members of the Town-Council, six are Justices of the Peace in the county, three are shipowners, and six are Burgesses of Perth. By the Act, ample compensation is provided for the salmon-fishing proprietors for any damage arising to the fishings from the operations. The time allowed by the Act for the completion of these works is twenty years from its passing, 27th June, 1834; five years for deepening and improving the navigation of the river, and the remainder for the execution of the other works.

Since the passing of the Act, the Commissioners have been actively engaged in carrying its provisions into effect. And although they have met with some difficulties and obstructions in the formation of the tide harbour, it is likely that they have now overcome the greatest of these, and that the work will proceed expeditiously, while the success of their operations on the fords has been in the highest degree satisfactory and encouraging.

The Harbour of Perth is now greatly improved. An Act was obtained for the construction of a tide-harbour and wet-dock, connected by a canal; but in 1840 the tide-harbour only was constructed on a modified plan. Instead of sloops of 60 tons, and even these but seldom, vessels of 300 tons burden now reach the harbour without the tedious process of *lightening*. The clumsy barges called *Bridgend Boats*, formerly used as lighters, are now laid up, except when required for occasional loads of sand. It is now rare that a ship is longer in the river than during one tide, and can be brought up by steam-tugs at comparatively small expense. The trade of the port, exclusive of its connection with Dundee, is very extensive, and vessels have latterly made voyages direct to and from North America and the West Indies. Even after the year 1800, the customs collected occasionally fell short of paying the salaries of the officers, and sometimes they drew upon Leith for the deficiency; whereas the proceeds for the year ending 5th January, 1840, amounted to £25,767! More recently, the Dundee, Perth, and London Shipping Company did all their business at Perth by one person, at an annual salary of about £40; but they latterly employed two local managers or clerks, besides several subordi-

nates.* The tonnage of the shipping belonging to the port in November, 1840, was 10,163, being an increase during the previous part of that year of 2,655 tons. This is exclusive of the extensive interest held by merchants and inhabitants of Perth in the above Shipping Company, who, besides some first-rate sailing smacks, &c. possess three of the most powerful and splendid ocean steamers in Europe. Shipbuilding was carried on to a great extent. Vessels of from 400 to 500 tons have been built, and some of the finest of the earlier sea-steamers were launched from the Perth dock-yards. These and many other superior vessels were built on contract by Mr. Brown, an enterprising shipbuilder, then carrying on business in this quarter; but the great impulse to shipbuilding for the trade of the port was caused by the enterprise of the Messrs. Graham, who in 1840 held in their own hands, and for their own trade, shipping to the extent of 2,400 tons. The Shipbuilding Company, formed in 1838, launched several beautiful vessels. The first iron steam-vessel built on the east coast of Scotland was constructed by the Messrs. Macfarlane, ironfounders, in 1837. The town is in many respects favourably situated for shipbuilding, the materials being easily obtained, and the expense of living lower than in most sea-port towns. The export of potatoes for the London market was for a series of years previous to the failure of the crop in 1846, a staple traffic; and another branch of trade, most advantageous to the inland districts, has been established, in the supply of railroad sleepers from the forests and plantations with which the Highlands abound. In the saw-mills, of considerable horse-power, constructed by Messrs. Graham, the timber is cut up as sleepers, pit-props, and barrel staves, as also for the purpose of shipbuilding.

The following facts respecting the port and shipping were elicited under a Government investigation about the close of last year. This was conducted by James Abernethy, Esq. C.E. by appointment of the Lords of Admiralty:—

Amount of Revenue for year 1848, £3,792 8s. 6½d. Sum expended in improvement of the Piers and Harbour since the first of the three Acts was obtained for that purpose, £12,300. Sum ex-

* Shortly after the opening of the Dundee and Perth Railway, however, the Company withdrew their lighter from the river, by which sea-borne goods were conveyed to Perth from their steamers; and these vessels now land their Perth cargoes at Dundee, and send them on per railway. This arrangement, of course, enabled the Company to dispense with the Perth establishment, which has accordingly been closed.

pended in deepening the River, £24,300. Amount of Harbour dues since the commencement of the improvements to the present time, £45,290 8s. 2d. (The new Act, yet in Parliament, and about to pass, proposes to borrow £30,000, in addition to the sum obtained under the existing Acts.) Number of seamen registered in Perth about 300. The average number of shipbuilders employed varies from 100 to 200, as the trade itself is very variable. The number of arrivals and departures of vessels in 1848 was 973. Twenty-two of these were from other British ports, and twenty were foreign. Previous to the improvements, vessels drawing ten feet water could reach the Harbour only at stream tides; at neap tides they have now ten feet. The River has kept its depth since the dredging, without the necessity of repeating that operation. The run of the tide is now fifteen minutes earlier since the dredging. In times of floods no accident had happened to any vessel, where the posts were good and the mooring lines stout. Few accidents have happened to any vessels at the quay, although a dock would unquestionably be of immense advantage to the shipping. Some of the salmon fishings have been injured by the dredging operations, while others have benefited; and it is considered, if not ascertained, that the take of salmon, upon the whole, has rather exceeded the numbers in previous years. The new Act gets quit of the yearly compensation to salmon fishing proprietors, and the final settlement is to be made by arbitration. The area of the present Tidal Harbour is about two-and-a-half acres, and not above five vessels, although there have often been more, can get completely and conveniently moored at it. The rise of the spring tide is now sixteen feet, so that vessels drawing that depth of water can easily reach the Harbour. The rate of the current in times of flood is from six to eight miles an hour. Mr. Abernethy held that no shipping port in Britain had more need of a dock than Perth.

There are in all 90 vessels belonging to the port. Of these, there are more than 20 of above 100 tons burden; there is one of 212, and another of 219, a third of 228, and one barque of 446 tons. The rest run from 50 to 100 tons, excepting some five or six small craft. With one exception, the whole have been built since 1820.

Railway Communication.



THE Parliamentary Session of 1844-5 opened up a new era upon Perth, and gave a new aspect to the locality. The spirit—the *mania*, it may be termed—of railway enterprise had set in, and during the legislative period abovementioned, Bills were introduced and Acts obtained for the construction of no fewer than four great lines of railway, all concentrating at Perth, as a Grand General Station for Central

Scotland. Of these we shall take notice *seriatim*.

The trunk system of railways, intended to open up a direct line of Scotch and English communication, 600 miles in extent, is prolonged from Castlecary, the point of junction or intersection of the Edinburgh and Glasgow and Caledonian Railways, onwards to Aberdeen, by means of the Scottish Central line from Castlecary to Perth, the Scottish Midland Junction from Perth to Forfar, and the Aberdeen Railway from Forfar to Montrose, Brechin, and Aberdeen; besides the Dundee, Perth, and Aberdeen Junction, by Dundee and Arbroath, to the northern junction at Friockheim, in Forfarshire, and Edinburgh and Northern lines, from Edinburgh to Dundee and Perth.

The Scottish Central will generally be reached from the south, east, and west, at Castlecary, or rather Greenhill Junction, situated intermediately betwixt Castlecary and Falkirk, by the aorta of the Edinburgh and Glasgow and Caledonian lines. The course of the Edinburgh and Glasgow line from Edinburgh, running nearly parallel to the Union Canal, passes through the magnificently cultured plain or valley of the Almond, and the undulated landscapes of West Lothian. Emerging from the fine tunnel at Winchburgh, the town of Linlithgow, attended by all the accessories of antique interest, presents itself to the view, with the grandest of the ruined palaces of the Stuarts—the venerable and haunted church in which the apparition appeared to James the Fourth, before the fatal march

of the "blue bonnets over the border" to Flodden Field—the site, if not the house, where Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh wreaked his vengeance in the assassination of the Regent Murray by a rifle shot, and the lovely little Loch of St. Mary, washing the mound on which the gigantic ruin of the palace rises up into the altitude called Queen Margaret's Bower—

His own Queen Margaret, who in Lithgow's bower
All lonely sat, and sighed the weary hour.—*Marmion*.

The town of Falkirk, as seen from the station, forms a remarkably pretty picture out of very ordinary materials. It is the rendezvous of the great cattle trysts, or fairs, on Stenhouse Muir, which occur at given seasons of the year; and is also renowned as the scene of two of the most memorable battles of Scottish history. The approach from Glasgow, excepting at Castlecary itself, offers much less that is remarkable to observation. The approach through the mineral regions of smoke and flame, by the Caledonian line from Coatbridge, is not more inviting; but by this route the traveller may retain his seat or carriage all the way from London to Perth. We proceed next to our strictly local lines:—

THE SCOTTISH CENTRAL.

This project, from the first, was exceedingly popular. In less than six months after publication of the prospectus, the shares were all taken up with avidity, and it was in high favour as forming a grand connecting link of the great trunk line from London to Aberdeen.

The whole 45 miles, forming the extent of the Scottish Central Railway from the junction to Perth, was opened to the public on the 22d of May, 1848, and is daily traversed by six or seven passenger trains each way. The junction at Greenhill is situated nearly half-way betwixt the stations of Castlecary and Falkirk, on the line of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway, whence the Scottish Central trunk diverges northwards, to the first of the roadside stations at

LARBERT (4 miles), which is reached immediately after crossing the Carron Water—a stream rendered classic by the alleged interview betwixt Wallace and Bruce, as it ran betwixt them. The cattle trysts on Stenhouse Muir, adjoining the Carron Water, take place in the immediate vicinity of this station. The Torwood, situated about a mile from Larbert Station, is supposed to be the remains of the great *Caledonian Forest*. It was the scene of James the Third's discomfiture, previous to his disastrous death at

Milton ; and the ruins of a hollow oak trunk, with vigorous young shoots now springing from the parent stem, bear the name of *Wallace*, in common with the oak at Elderslie, in Renfrewshire. Bannockburn House, which succeeds on the left, was the headquarters of Prince Charles before the battle of Falkirk, in 1746. Previously to crossing the Bannock river or burn, the line reaches

BANNOCKBURN STATION (10½ miles), in the immediate vicinity of the village of Bannockburn, and of the battle-field of Scottish independence. The ground on the left of the line, extending as far as St. Ninians, was the arena of the celebrated engagement of June 24, 1314, betwixt 100,000 English and foreign troops led by Edward the Second, and the Scottish army of 30,000 men under the immortal Bruce. The greatest discomfiture experienced by the English nation since the fight at Hastings, crimsoned the sod of Milton Moss ; 30,000 Englishmen, the exact muster of the whole Scottish army, were left dead upon the field, with 700 knights and noblemen ; and the spoils of the vanquished enriched the victorious monarch and his army. Three roads here converge on St. Ninians, at Brock's Bridge ; and on the footpath of the westmost, leading from Kilsyth, protected by a framework of iron, stands the identical stone into which the standard of King Robert the Bruce was struck, known by the country people (from the perforation made for that purpose) as *the bore stone*. The line now approaches one of the curves of the Forth, and passes on to

STIRLING STATION (12 miles), where the accommodation will be found of a superior kind, possessing the distinguishing feature of a luggage-room, the same as at Derby, in which the travellers may deposit their luggage for as many hours as they please, receiving a ticket in exchange, and may thus at their leisure proceed to view the town and castle, their luggage being kept safely under lock and key, in charge of the head-porter. This piece of convenience has not yet become general at the station-houses in Scotland. A bold range of basaltic columns, stretching from the north-west to the south-east, here starts up like a connecting screen betwixt the Lennox hills and the Ochils. Craigforth, the King's Park, the Castle of Stirling, and the Abbey Craig, irregular in height, and rising in some instances upwards of a hundred feet perpendicularly from the level plain, are the chief of those prominences, which, some of them bare, some of them planted to the brink, and one, the Castle Crag, crowned with royal towers, form the picturesque features of the landscape. It is universally conceded, that

nothing can exceed in singularity of interest the walks which environ the town of Stirling. The general resemblance of the town and castle to Edinburgh is somewhat remarkable. But Stirling Castle, in periods of Scottish history, antecedent to the importance attained by Edinburgh, was the favourite resort of the Scottish Court. In the room still called *Douglas' Room*, the youthful James the Second treacherously murdered the eighth Earl of Douglas. James the Fourth was born in the fortress; and James the Fifth, who, as well as his daughter, the unfortunate Queen Mary, was crowned in it, built a palace, now converted into barracks, within the outworks of the fortification. The panoramic prospect commanded from the battlements of Stirling Castle is, however, calculated to excite, in its beauty and magnificence, much greater emotion in the breast of a stranger, than even the ruins of regal magnificence, or the historical associations of the past. Crossing the Forth below the town of Stirling, the next station gained by the train is that of

THE BRIDGE OF ALLAN (15 miles).—This is one of the most celebrated and delightfully-situated watering-places in Scotland, nestling in the basin of a wooded valley on the banks of the lovely Allan Water, within a quarter-of-a-mile of Airthrey Well, a thermal saline spring of great medicinal efficacy, situated near the summit of the dark pine-clad hill, in the demesne of Lord Abercromby, which overlooks the village. The line crosses the Allan Water before entering the station; and emerging from Stirlingshire into the county of Perth, from the Bridge of Allan it reaches the next station, which is that of

DUNBLANE (17 miles).—There is a heavy but lovely incline of 1 in 75 ascending “the banks of Allan Water.” Some cutting of considerable depth succeeds, and the line passes close by the Old Cathedral and Bishop’s Walk. On issuing from Dunblane station, the line is carried across the Allan Water at Dunblane, and proceeds along the left bank by a rise, a heavy cutting, and a long tunnel, till shortly afterwards a view is obtained of the battlefield of Sheriffmuir. This celebrated field, on which the fortunes of the house of Hanover were established in 1715, was fought betwixt the clans under the Earl of Mar, and the Whigs under the Marquess of Argyle. Both armies, strange to say, retired from the moor of Dunblane under the impression of defeat. The line, in its progress through Strathallan, with the Grampian mountains on the west and the Ochil range on the east, next arrives at the

KINBUCK STATION ($20\frac{1}{2}$ miles).—The line then advances to **GREENLOANING STATION** (23 miles), fully half-way to Perth, which is but 22 miles distant. Sweeping round towards the north-east, the line, instead of proceeding on in the direction of the celebrated Roman camp at Ardoch, situated about a mile-and-a-half from Greenloaning, crosses first the Allan and then the Knaik Water near its confluence with the former stream, and proceeds along the right bank of the Water of Ardoch to

BLACKFORD STATION (27 miles).—Skirting the moor of Tullibardine, the line now reaches as far as

AUCHTERARDER STATION ($32\frac{1}{2}$ miles).—The Kincardine viaduct—a splendid piece of engineering—spans the beautiful valley. The town and parish of Auchterarder are alike celebrated in the civil and ecclesiastical history of Scotland. The line next gains



DUNNING STATION ($36\frac{1}{2}$ miles).—This station is situated considerably to the north-west of the weaving village of Dunning, betwixt which and the station is situated Duncrub, the seat of Lord Rollo.

FORTEVIOT STATION (38 miles).—Forteviot is invested with interesting associations as the ancient seat of Pictish and Scottish royalty. Malcolm Canmore's mother was the daughter of the miller at the Coblehaugh of Forteviot. Up the rising ground, at the opposite side of the Earn, may be perceived the stone cross of Bankhead, quite entire, whilst, on an acclivity to the south of Forteviot, lies the cross of Dronochy, prostrate upon its broken pedestal, and sculptured with emblematical figures. These crosses mark out the approaches to the Halyhill, on which, in the time of Charles the First, there were vestiges of the palace ruins, which, however, the waters of the May, here flowing into the Earn, have undermined and swept away. The May Water, short though its course, of only eight miles, from the Ochils to the Earn, is diversified with various singularities, as odd in aspect as in name, before it passes through the well sung "Birks of Invermay." It first precipitates itself over Muckarsey Linn, in a beautiful cascade of thirty feet perpendicular, as the water comes foaming from the hills; and immediately after forces its way through the Humble

Bumble, a strange and narrow passage which the waters have cut for themselves, for a considerable way, through the rock, whose sides nearly meet together overhead, whilst the rumbling noise kept up within the dark deep channel gives rise to the quaint name of this remarkable place. A fine view is afforded of Dupplin Castle, the seat of the Earl of Kinnoull, in proceeding along the line towards

FORGANDENNY STATION (41 miles).—The village of Forgandenny stands apart to the south-east, and near it Rossie House. The line, in its progress down the valley of the Earn, sports with the serpentine curvatures of the beautiful stream, which it at length crosses as the water diverges to the Tay, whilst the line takes a curve towards Perth in forming a junction with the Edinburgh and Northern Railway, at the entrance to the famous tunnel at Moncrieffe, blasted at an expense of 250,000 lbs. of gunpowder. Through this tunnel, $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles long, the train passes in the course of two or three minutes, emerging on the unrivalled panoramic vision of Perth—"Bonnie St. Johnston," as it stands upon Tay, with its steeples, trees, and Inches, wood, water, and civic beauty, blended into a magnificent picture, to which the grand castellated steep of Kinfauns interposes a masterly foreground, whilst the wandering fancy thrusts itself away, through its only outlet, the long vista of the Carse of Gowrie, with the silver highway of the Tay. Thus the Scottish Central Railway finally attains the

TERMINUS AT PERTH (43 miles), from the Greenhill Junction. The time occupied from Edinburgh and Glasgow averages about three hours.

From the number of lines converging on Perth, it has quite attained the character of a General Railway Terminus. The Scottish Central, Edinburgh and Northern, Scottish Midland, and Dundee and Perth Railways, here meet together as in a common centre—the permanent terminus of Perth being undertaken by the Scottish Central Company, who contract, for instance, with the Perth Water Commissioners for the supply of all the railways, and sublet to the others.

THE SCOTTISH MIDLAND JUNCTION RAILWAY,

FROM PERTH TO FORFAR.

This line, opened to the public in August, 1847, is under the combined management of the head-quarters at Perth.

The course of the Midland Junction Railway, from Perth northwards, is for a considerable distance along the curve of the Tay,

which, from Perth downwards, certainly exhibits all the distinctive marks of volume and majesty which belong to it as the largest river in Scotland, discharging more water into the ocean than any stream in Britain. The line, passing to the west of the city, pursues for some time a course parallel to the road leading to Dunkeld—the fine reaches and beautifully wooded banks of the river putting an air of perfect finish on the rich landscape, in which the richest tracts of Scotland, the Carse of Gowrie, Strathmore, and Strathearn, almost seem to unite. The line is carried across the Almond, on the north side of which stood, till recently, the village of Bertha, and passes from the parish of Tibbermuir into that of Redgorton. In passing the confluence of the Almond and the Tay, a beautiful view is obtained of the Palace of Scone, the seat of the Earl of Mansfield, with its battlements, terrace walls, and beautifully wooded park. This fine structure, the new front of which—240 feet in length—faces the river, was built at the beginning of the present century, in the most imposing style of Gothic architecture. The interior of this palatial edifice corresponds with its external grandeur. Its magnificent halls and spacious chambers are nearly unrivalled. The gallery, floored with tassellated oak, the dark pieces of which were got from the bottom of the Tay and the Earn, is 150 feet long; its windows of stained glass exhibit the heraldic emblazonry of the Stormont family; the roof is after the antique; the superb furniture includes a large and richly-toned organ, and marble busts and costly vases are profusely employed as ornaments. Passing Redgorton, the line reaches

LUNCARTY STATION (4 miles from Perth).—This famed battlefield of Scottish independence from Danish invasion is now a bleach-field. The sod above the head of the ancient hero is kept verdant by the arts of peace. Quitting Luncarty, the line is carried over the united waters of the Ordie and the Shochie, fine trouting streams, for which the Luncarty Company have formed a near cut through a steep bank into the Tay. From a point near to this, the contemplated Branch to Dunkeld, and for which the Act provides, is to break off, but is not yet formed, although just about to be. The main line then proceeds from Luncarty to

STANLEY STATION ($6\frac{1}{2}$ miles).—Stanley is a bleaching and cotton spinning village. Its church and tower, perched on the top of a bank, at a considerable elevation from the river, ornament the extensive district of country around. Throughout the parish of Cargill, through which the railway now proceeds, the most ro-

mantic and magnificent views are afforded on the Tay. The line advances by Taymount and Stobhall, a seat of the family of Perth, fancifully situated on a narrow tongue of high land, to the next stop at

BALLATHIE STATION ($9\frac{1}{2}$ miles)—And passing Ballathie, crosses the Tay near to

CARGILL STATION ($11\frac{1}{2}$ miles).—Crossing several roads, the line reaches

WOODSIDE STATION ($13\frac{1}{2}$ miles)—And shortly afterwards, crossing a small tributary of the Isla, arrives at the market town of Coupar-Angus, or

COUPAR-ANGUS STATION.—It is no great distance down Strathmore from Coupar-Angus, onwards by Ardlar, to

MEIGLE STATION ($18\frac{1}{4}$ miles), near Keillour; situated on a fork forming a junction with the old and singularly constructed line of rails from Dundee to Newtyle, a village of railway origin which has here sprung up. We are now in the parish, and indeed in the vicinity, of the village of Meigle. The church-yard of Meigle is celebrated for the monument which commemorates the punishment of Vanora or Guinever, the unfaithful wife of the fabulous King Arthur. Antiquarians are pleased to be puzzled over this famous monumental relic, whilst unhesitating tradition boldly asserts that the enraged King Arthur having caused Vanora to be torn in pieces by wild beasts, erected this sculptured sepulchre to perpetuate her memory. The stones, now quite detached, seem to re-echo the tale. On one, a huge serpent appears fastened to the mouth of a bull; on another, there is a centaur; two afford representations of wild beasts tearing the human body; and in one instance the body is dragged at the chariot wheels. Passing the Moss of Myres, with Banquo's Tower and Dunoan Castle distantly on the right, the line passes Castleton on the left, and in the course of a short time arrives at

EASSIE STATION (24 miles).—In this neighbourhood are Dunkenny, the abode of Mr. L'Amy, the venerable sheriff of the county; and considerably to the north, the remains of Airlie Castle—"the bonnie house o' Airlie"—burned, as is beautifully told in the rare old ballad, by "the fause Argyle." The line crosses the Dean to

GLAMMISS STATION ($26\frac{3}{4}$ miles), whence a projected branch takes a sweep northwards to the adjacent manufacturing town of Kirriemuir. In the immediate vicinity of the station, the majestic and

venerable gothic pile of Glammiss Castle raises its stately head amidst the old woods planted by its celebrated Earl Patie or Patrick. The central tower of the old castle still rises a hundred feet in height; but the rest of the building was modernized by Inigo Jones, under the direction of Earl Patrick of Strathmore. Malcolm the Second was murdered in the central tower of the castle, where the housekeeper will point out the dark engrained spots of his blood miraculously reappearing in the renovated floor! Retribution, it is added, overtook the regicides, who, venturing in their flight upon the ice of the loch of Forfar in a storm of snow, perished miserably in its bosom. The oaken panelled and painted chapel within the castle has a fine interior; it has also some admirable pictures—amongst which are Sir Peter Lely's original of Viscount Claverhouse; "Bonny Dundee;" a portrait of the poet Thomson, highly characteristic of the author of *The Castle of Indolence*; and drawings by Mary, Queen of Scots. Through a partially wooded country, and skirting the loch of Forfar, the line proceeds to

FORFAR STATION ($32\frac{1}{2}$ miles), and there the Midland Junction ends.

THE EDINBURGH AND NORTHERN.

This line, starting from the North Bridge, Edinburgh, in connection with the Granton Branch—the passengers crossing the Forth by steam-boats,—starts from Burntisland, *via* Kirkcaldy, through Fife, and diverges from the Dundee section at Ladybank, in the middle of the vale of Eden, a few miles to the south-west of Cupar. Passing along by Newburgh, Abernethy, and Bridge of Earn, it joins the Scottish Central, just before entering the Moncrieffe Tunnel, and reaches the General Station at Perth by the same course. The entire length of this line from Edinburgh to Perth is 45 miles.

THE DUNDEE AND PERTH LINE

Is now nearly conjoined with the others at the General Station, and the works will be finished in the month of July this year. This line was opened from Dundee to Barnhill, on the opposite side of the Tay, in June, 1847; and since that time a laminated viaduct of twenty-five arches has been carried over the river, and a temporary station erected in Princes Street during the past spring. This viaduct is now being carried across six streets in the southern portion of the city, by arches formed of cast-iron girders, and the

intermediate spaces are raised to the proper level, partly on built arches, and partly on embankments, with strong retaining walls. At the Grand Terminus it forms a connection with the other three lines already described.

The intercommunication and course of post betwixt Perth and all parts of the United Kingdom to the south have by these means been wonderfully accelerated. Starting from the grand General Station at St. Leonard's, close upon our snug city, which it is anticipated may soon surround it, we may now reach Edinburgh, *via* Stirling, in about $3\frac{1}{2}$ hours, or by the Edinburgh and Northern line in 2 hours 40 minutes. By the Scottish Central, 3 hours 10 minutes takes us to Glasgow. By the Central Express Train we may reach Carlisle in less than 5 hours; Manchester in $8\frac{3}{4}$; Liverpool in $9\frac{1}{2}$ hours; York in about the same space of time; and in 5 hours more we can reach the British metropolis! Travelling to Dundee is now scarcely the work of an hour; Montrose requires only 3 hours; and very soon we shall be able to travel from Perth to Aberdeen in about 4 hours. To all the principal towns in Ireland the journey is proportionally expedited. Till about the commencement of the present century it required half as many days! The communication of intelligence by railway, aided by the electric telegraph, is now all but miraculous!



Antiquities of Perth.



ANY may suppose that under this head the writer has a fruitful theme. It is indeed natural to infer that a place of such note in the page of history should abound in relics of antiquity. Not so. We have already said that Perth has no appearance of an ancient town; and it scarcely contains a vestige of its former grandeur, nor any feature to attract the special notice of the *virtuosi*—with the single exception of the ecclesiastical fabric dedicated to St. John the Baptist. From the era of the Reformation—the demolition of the Monasteries in 1559—down to the present day, the denizens of a city once “fair,” but now exhibiting no mark of *ancient* beauty, seem to have been possessed with a passion for eradicating every relic of ancient days. In treating, therefore, of our local antiquities, we have to write of what *was*, rather than what *is*—and did the prescribed limits permit, the subject would afford the writer much to say.

The compiler of this volume has passed only the half of a not very protracted period of existence in the locality; and even in that brief lapse of time it is curious to consider how many marks of olden consequence have been obliterated. It was but immediately previous to this period that the Parliament House, where many of the best existing laws of Scotland were framed, was demolished, in order to make way for the erection of a hall for the meetings of a Masonic Lodge. It does not form a remote retrospect the erasure of the famous Gowrie Palace from the features of the city, to provide a site for the new County Prison. Within the brief period alluded to, the ancient palace of the Bishops of Dunkeld has disappeared. So have also the Old Grammar School and the old Academy: To be sure the former of these was accidentally burnt down. A large portion of the *fosse* of Cromwell’s citadel has been filled up, and no part of that notable fortification is now visible. All the remaining vestiges of the old city wall have been rooted out. The tenement that afforded accommo-

dition to the last of the royal Stewarts has been extinguished ; and that seat of civic wisdom, the old Council Hall, and the adjoining jail, in whose dungeons so many passed a miserable durance, or were dragged forth to suffer an ignominious punishment, have now been turned to other and different purposes, and "the Laigh Iron House," and "gallows hole," no longer frown their terrors on the passing stranger. The last of the many old aristocratic residences—that of Lord John Murray, in the Blackfriars Gardens—was removed only a very few years ago ; and the Skinner's Yards would now be out of the ken of many who lived within the last twenty.

Before the Reformation, Perth abounded in Monasteries and other Religious Houses. The Monasteries were—

THE DOMINICAN, or Blackfriars Monastery. It was situated at the north side of the town, and was founded by Alexander the Second in 1231, who in 1244 granted to it the whole ground where his garden was, and also a conduit of water from his mill-lade, measuring four inches in width. The buildings were large and commodious, and were sometimes spoken of as a palace. In this Monastery the Scottish kings, when at Perth, usually took up their residence, after the demolition of the old castle. In the Church of the Monastery the Parliament sometimes met, and the national ecclesiastical councils held in it their annual meetings. The designation of the friars was, "The Predicatory or the Preaching Friars of the Burgh of Perth."

THE CARMELITE, or Whitefriars Monastery, designated "The Prior and Convent of the Carmelite Friars of Tulilum, near Perth." It was founded in the reign of Alexander the Third, and was situated a little way west from the town. After the Reformation, when the King's Hospital was founded, the lands and rents of the Monastery were annexed to it.

THE CHARTER-HOUSE, or Carthusian Monastery. This was the only Monastery which the Carthusians had in Scotland. It was situated at the west end of the town, where the Hospital now stands. It was built or founded by King James the First and his Queen, in the year 1429. Its designation was, "The Prior and Convent of the House of the Valley of Virtue of the Carthusian Order, near Perth." The original letter, sent by the Prior of the great Chartreux in France addressed to King James, and giving consent to the erection of a house of the Carthusian order near Perth, for thirteen monks, with their competent number of ser-

vants, is extant among the papers of the Hospital. It is beautifully written, and is as follows :—

To the most Serene and Dread Sovereign Lord the King of Scots, Friar William, the Venerable Prior of the House of Great Chartreux, of the Diocese of Grenoble, presents his suppliant reverence, with all religious courtesy, and with the salutary suffrage of humble prayers.

Authorised by the General Chapter, whose duties we bear upon our conscience, We, by the tenor of these presents, impart and grant to you authority and consent formerly demanded of us by your Serene Highness, to erect and construct one House of our Order within your kingdom, near to the Burgh of Perth, for the accommodation of thirteen monks and their competent number of servants, who shall there serve God perpetually, for the remeid of the soul of your Serene Majesty, of the soul of the renowned Lady your Consort, and of the souls of your heirs, predecessors, and successors.

This House you consequently grant to endow with two hundred merks current in your kingdom, and to guard with privileges and liberties competent to the Order, attentive that the place itself shall, with all due proportion, sufficiently correspond to the arrangement of our Order, as have been related to us by our venerable brother the Prior of the Mount of Grace, and by Dean Bryce, professed of the same House, who, at our command, carefully surveyed the place with their own eyes.

We trust that, under the blessing of God, the said structure, with the endowment suitable to Royal munificence, shall soon be carried on to a good issue. Moreover, if your Serene Highness desires the presence of two monks, who may give more certain information concerning those buildings which best correspond to the fashion and form of our Order, we now write partly of that matter to the said Prior of the Mount of Grace, as is more largely contained in the letters addressed to him, sent along with those to your Royal Majesty.

Given at Chartreux, the nineteenth day of the month of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and twenty-six, under the authentic seal of the said House, in witness of the premises.

Oswald de Corda, Vicar of the Chartreux, near Grenoble, was the first superior of this Monastery. He died A.D. 1434, and was succeeded by Adam de Hangleside, a Scotchman. The Monks had large revenues assigned to them. Adam Foreman, the last Prior, when the Monastery was demolished, retired, together with his brethren, to Errol, of which Church they were patrons. There he feued out to John Foreman, son and heir of Robert Foreman of Luthrie, for a sum of money, the lands of the Chapel of Mary Magdalene, Friartown, and Craigie, and the south part of the island below Perth, with the salmon fishings. King James the Sixth afterwards confirmed to James Moncrieff, *secundem tenorem feu-*

difirmæ, given by the Prior and Convent of the Chartreux Monastery to John Moncrieff the 14th of November, 1569, the house, place, and all the lands, orchards, and gardens, with two tenements within Perth, and all houses, orchards, gardens, stanks, and bulwarks without the town, belonging to the Monastery, with the tithes. This charter is dated at Leith, 18th May, 1572, and the fifth of his reign. He created George Hay, of Nether Lyffe, Commendator of the Priory of the Charterhouse, giving all the emoluments belonging to it, together with a place and vote in Parliament. This patent was given at Holyrood House. And to support his dignity, the King granted him, by another charter dated from the same place, 1st February, 1598, and of his reign the thirty-second year, all the ecclesiastical lands of Errol, with their privileges and pertinents. But the said George Hay, finding the rents too small to support the dignity of a lord, returned back to the King his peerage, and resigned his title of lord into his Majesty's hands, reserving to himself and his heirs the patronage of the church of Errol, which resignation, with the reservation, were accepted by his Majesty. Thus the name of Lord and Prior of the Charterhouse of Perth became extinct. The Monks wore a white gown, with a capuchin and scapular of the same colour. They did eat constantly in private, except on festival days, when they were allowed to eat together in the same refectory. They wore next to their skin a cilicium, or hair-cloth. They observed a constant silence, and never went out of the cloister, the Prior and Procurator only excepted. The laic brothers, who wore a shorter robe, and beards, for distinction, were separated from the Prior and his brethren in the church, and sat in the nave of the church. The rules of the order were exactly observed at Perth as they were abroad. Mr. Patrick Russell, one of the continuators of Fordun's *Scotichronicon*, was a monk in the Charterhouse; the other two were Magnus M'Culloch, monk at Scone; and the principal author was Walter Bower or Bowermaker, Abbot of Inchcolm. In the Church which belonged to the Monastery there were some royal sepulchres, in which were interred King James the First, Jane his Queen, and Queen Margaret, mother of James the Fifth.*

THE FRANCISCAN, or Greyfriars Monastery. It was founded by

* Immediately contiguous lie the lands called Pomarium, on which the suburb of that name is built. They seem to have been, what the designation implies, the orchard of the Monastery, and the gardens are still remarkable for the production of excellent fruit.

Lord Oliphant in 1460, and was situated at the south-east corner of the town, near the river. The ground on which the Monastery and its Church stood was, in 1580, ordered to be in all time coming the common burying-ground for the inhabitants of the town and parish.

The Religious Houses and Chapels were—

THE NUNNERY OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE, with its Chapel. This Nunnery, with the Chapel, was situated about a mile south from the town. The time of its foundation is uncertain. The lands surrounding it, with some other lands and annual rents of several houses in the town, belonged to it. After the Carthusian Monastery was built the Nunnery was suppressed, and its lands and rents were annexed to the Monastery.

THE NUNNERY OF ST. LEONARD THE ABBOT, with the Hospital and Chapel. It was founded before the year 1296, and lay a little way south-west from the town. Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, daughter of the Earl of March, who had been privately married to that unfortunate Prince, David, Duke of Rothsay, and whom he was afterwards obliged to reject, devoted herself after his death to a single life, and became prioress of the Nunnery, and governess of its hospital, in the year 1411. After the Carthusian Monastery was built the Nunnery was suppressed, and its lands and rents were annexed to the Monastery. But the Chapel continued to stand under the patronage of the monks.

OUR LADY'S CHAPEL. It was situated at the foot of the High Street, near to the old Bridge. It was an old building in the year 1210, at which time it was in part overthrown with the bridge, by a remarkable inundation of the river. Afterwards it was repaired. The present Police-office and Council-Hall are portions of it.

ST. LAURENCE CHAPEL. It was situated at the Castle Gable, or on part of the ground which belonged to the old castle. It was founded by the predecessors of Robert the Third, December 3, 1405. He gave it to the Monastery of the Blackfriars. The reason assigned for this gift was, that prayers might be offered for the soul of his mother, Elizabeth Mure,* “who was resting in the church

* David the Second, after the death of his Queen (Joanna of England), married his mistress, “ane lusty woman, Catherine Logie,” and though he soon repented, and would fain have repudiated her, the Pope interesting himself in her favour, he found himself bound. As to the next generation, Boece tells us, that, “After King Robert the Second marryit the Earl of Rossis dochter, he had Elizabeth Mure (of Rosoullan) in place of his wife. In the thrid year of

of the predicatory friars of Perth." The friars, sometime after they got possession of it, suffered it to fall into decay.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. ANN, Mother of the Virgin Mary. It was situated at the south side of St. John's Church. The time of its foundation is uncertain. Sir Walter Eviot, of the family of the Eviots of Balhousie, was chaplain many years before 1528. It had an hospital adjoining for the entertainment of poor people.

ST. JAMES'S CHAPEL. It was situated at the south side of St. John's Church. It was dedicated not only to the Apostle James, but also to St. Thomas a' Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury. About the year 1400 the Chapel fell into decay, and a new one was built by the aldermen and community of the burgh, chiefly by the assistance which they received from William Whitson, a burgess.

ALLAREIT, or Chapel of Loretto. It was situated near the head, and on the north side, of the South Street.

ST. PAUL'S CHAPEL was situated at the north-west corner of the street called Newrow. It was founded December 25, 1434, by John Spens of Glendewglie, or Glen Douglas. It had an hospital adjoining for the entertainment of strangers, and of poor and infirm people.

THE ROOD CHAPEL, or Chapel of the Holy Cross. Mr. Cant says, it stood at the South Street Port, on the north side.

THE CHAPEL OF ST. KATHERINE. According to the description in the foundation charter, it was situated at the west end of Perth, "at the Clay-Pots." It was founded June 19, 1523, by Sir John Tyrie, who for many years was provost of the Collegiate Church of Methven. At the west side of it there was founded at the same time, a house "for the entertainment of poor travellers coming thither." The chaplain was to have a chamber in that house, and also a garden adjoining. The officiating chaplain, a relation of the founder, showed much sympathy for those six persons who suffered as martyrs at Perth, January 26, 1543-4.

All these Chapels, as well as the Monastery Churches and Parish Church, had altars in them, founded and consecrated to the honour of particular saints, at which masses were celebrated, and prayers offered, for the souls of the founders or of their relatives. Each altar had its particular chaplain, or more than one, when it happened to be dedicated to two or more saints, which, for want of

King Robert, deceasit Enphame his Queen ; and he incontinent marryit Elizabeth, lemman afore rehearsit, for the affection that he had to her bairnis." Robert the Third was thus the son of Elizabeth Mure.—*Bellenden*.

sufficient room, was frequently the case. Each chaplain had a yearly stipend of £10 Scots, besides occasional emoluments. The priests and chaplains, who were very numerous, besides performing service at the altars, generally followed the business of the law as public notaries.

KING JAMES THE SIXTH'S HOSPITAL.—After the Reformation, James the Sixth, in 1569, with the advice of the Regent Murray, founded by charter an Hospital, to be called in all time coming King James's Hospital of Perth. The foundation was confirmed by a new charter, which he granted when he came to full age in 1587,* and both were confirmed by an Act of Parliament in 1587. By these charters, and some subsequent Acts of Parliament, the minister and elders of Perth were made the governors of the Hospital. They were established as a civil corporation in the name and on the behalf of the *poor members of Jesus Christ residing and abiding in the Burgh of Perth*, with power to hold legal courts, with their dues and amerciements, and to have tenancies and the service of free tenants. The masters of the Hospital, who were to be annually chosen by the governors, were to produce their accounts not only to the governors and to the superintendents of the county—who were a kind of temporary bishops, and thereby acted with a degree of civil power—but also when required in the Court of Exchequer. For the support of the Hospital, the King assigned all the lands, rents, and emoluments

* When James, having attained the age of twenty-one, passed the famous act of the general revocation of Church lands, it became necessary that the rights of the Hospital should be renewed; and more especially as the former gift of hospitality had been granted during the King's minority, money, as well as interest at court, it might be expected, would be requisite for that purpose, both because of the composition money which the King might demand as the repurchase of the gift, and because of the customary expenses of employing lawyers, and of getting deeds expedited by the officers of the crown. The commissioner from the Burgh of Perth to the Parliament (held in Edinburgh, 1587) was William Fleming, a man of great plainness and integrity, one of the most popular and respectable citizens in his day. He was in great favour with Chancellor Maitland, Lord Thirlestane, chiefly through the Chancellor's lady, who was Jane Fleming, daughter and sole heiress of James, the fourth Lord Fleming, and to whom William claimed kindred. The signal services done by this individual to the Hospital, and the manner in which the gift was obtained, appear in a curious letter, which is preserved in an old Hospital rent-book, sometime before 1655. The letter is from a Mr. Oliver Colt, advocate, the said Mr. Fleming's nephew, dated at Edinburgh, the 22d August, 1587, and sent to his well-beloved mate, Patrick Ray, Town-Treasurer and Master of the Hospital. It is a very curious epistle, but of rather too great length for insertion here.

which belonged to the monasteries, churches, chapels, and altars within the liberty and privilege of the Burgh of Perth, and also what was paid out of the liberty and privilege thereof, to any other such religious places in the kingdom. But it was no easy matter for the minister and elders to recover the lands and rents out of the hands of those persons or communities who had seized upon them. The Hospital transactions, from the beginning, have been, says Mr. Scott, a series of painful litigation. A small part only seems to have been recovered; and even that small part, from time to time, was diminished, according to variations in the coin of the kingdom. At length, to the great injury of the Hospital, in the year 1601, the nominal pound in Scotland was declared to mean no more than twenty pennies sterling; and one merk, which originally was thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling, was made to mean no more than thirteen pennies and one-third of a penny sterling. The annuals and feu-duties, some of which, when they were first granted, were equal to their denomination in English or sterling money, and others nearly equal, could not be changed as to the nominal sums they expressed, and were and still are paid according to what in law is called the usual money of Scotland. The original donors of what now constitutes the ancient part of the funds of the Hospital, were, no doubt, actuated by pious motives, according to the notions which they entertained of religion. It might seem unjust, not only to alter their purpose, but also to withhold from their heirs what otherwise of right would have belonged to them. But the maintenance of the poor, which is the use now made of their donations, may not be reckoned a misapplication.

The heirs of these donors have long been unknown. Mr. Henry Adamson, in his *Muses' Threnodie*, complains of the annual rents which were gifted to the friars, and afterwards assigned to the Hospital.

For none dare buy the smallest piece of ground,
 So many annual rents thereon are found;
 And if he build thereon, doubtless he shall
 Spend in long suits of law his moyen all.

But the proprietors at that time were blameable in litigating a matter which had been clearly settled by the laws of the country. At present the sums demanded are a mere trifle in comparison with the real rents. The tenements have been again and again purchased with the acknowledged burden of such payments; therefore the present landlords cannot with any reason complain of them as instances of oppression.

The Hospital has been the means of preserving ancient records more fully in Perth than they are in most other places. The acts and canons which were made by the annual assemblies or national councils of the clergy of Scotland, and which are said to have been deposited in the Dominican Monastery of Perth, were destroyed or abstracted at the time of the Reformation. But the following documents are extant in the archives of the Hospital:—The chartulary of the Dominican Monastery, viz. the book into which the charters of the Monastery, 162 in number, were transcribed. Also the account book, or book of the receipts of rents, which was kept by the prior of the Convent, from the 20th June, 1557, to May 6, 1559, and 162 loose charters or writs which belonged to the said Monastery; 20 charters which belonged to the Carmelites or Whitefriars; 92 which belonged to the Carthusians; 207 which belonged to the chapels and altars—all these chapels, monasteries, and religious houses, lying within the walls of the city.

Register books of the transactions of the Kirk-Session, with some few interruptions, are extant from the year 1577. These records and charters bring back to our view the manners, the religion, and many remarkable persons of the past ages. The compiler of this work is custodier of all the above-mentioned remarkable relics, as well as nine very large manuscript folio volumes, labelled “Hospital Register,” but are also a record of transactions of the Kirk-Session, a body identical with the Hospital Managers, since 1577. He will be happy to shew these to any respectable inquirer after the interesting matter they contain.

No vestige of the Monasteries and Chapels are now to be seen. Mr. Henry Adamson, in his Metrical history, says, that “all the churches and chapels had lofty steeples mounted in the air.” The only steeple now remaining is that of the parish church. The spire is sufficiently high, and neat in its structure, but is otherwise not remarkable.

Respecting the present Hospital house, it might have been proper to treat under the head Public Buildings, but as under that category all are “modern,” which this may not be truly termed, it was deemed to be as well noticed in connection with the institution. It has been already mentioned that the first erection for the reception and maintenance of “the poor members of Jesus Christ,” under King James’s foundation, occupied a site near the river side, south side of the High Street, which, amongst other edifices of a public nature, was razed to furnish materials for Cromwell’s fortifi-

cation. The foundation stone of the present stately building was laid in 1748, now more than one hundred years ago, with great ceremony, by the then chief magistrate of the city, Provost James Crie. Cant styles it an "elegant building," and states it was finished in 1750. This the date in the pediment bears.* There have been no inmates supported in the mansion since 1812. Since then the recipients of the charity have all been out-pensioners, as at the present day.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.—There are only two, or at most three, existing specimens of ancient architecture standing in Perth. The edifice principally entitled to attention in this class, is undoubtedly that ancient and venerable pile, *St. John's Church*, or the Kirk of the Holy Cross of St. Johnstoun, from John the Baptist, tutelary saint of the church, bridge, and city. It is supposed to be one of the first churches built of stone in this country, and to have been erected soon after the introduction of Christianity into Scotland. It has been almost entirely remodelled from time to time, but enough of the ancient part remains to testify that it had once been a very fine edifice. In recent times its exterior appearance has been greatly improved by extensive repairs. An order was issued by King Robert Bruce, in 1329, commencing, "Robertus, Dei gratia," &c. of which the following is a translation:—

Robert, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to our beloved and religious men, the Abbot and Convent of Scone, greeting. We request, and that very earnestly, that you would grant liberty of taking hewed stones from Kincarrathie and Balcormac, for the edification of the Church of Perth, and of the Bridges of Perth and Eryn, providing always that the liberty shall not be of any prejudice or damage to you. Given at Glasco, the fourth day of July, in the twenty-third year of our reign.

It is on record, that in the year 1400 very important repairs were effected; and indeed it is supposed that the choir, or what is now called the East Church, was at that time almost entirely rebuilt, and all the shrines and altars were renewed. At the time of the Reformation it was in its modern glory, and was the only

* The present writer has in his custody the original "Account of Charge and Discharge," in the handwriting of Bailie Robert Robertson, Hospital Master of that day, very distinctly noted. The first entry of payment is of date June 2d, 1748; and from this to 1st February, 1754, every item of expenditure in the erection and the fitting up is minutely recorded. It was not built under contract, but by tradesmen on wages. The work was superintended by Bailie Robertson himself, and executed under the constant direction of a Deacon Gardiner. The account would form a curious study for tradesmen of the present time.

specimen of monastic grandeur that escaped the fury of the first reformers, or was left as a relic to indicate what Perth once was. At that time, however, all the rich altar pieces, images, and ornaments of the interior, were demolished, leaving not even a wreck behind. It has been already mentioned that this sacred fabric is famous as the place where John Knox first launched his thunders against the corruptions of Popery, and where the first popular demonstration occurred connected with the great era then brought about. At that time the whole area of the building was one open space, and the pulpit from which the great reformer preached on the memorable occasion alluded to, stood close upon the northmost pillar of the now Middle Church, being one of those supporting the great centre tower, believed to be the oldest portion of the church. On the division of the Middle and East Churches, in 1771, it was removed. On the south-west pillar opposite, a pew, originally erected for the use of the Royal Family, was placed, and it was there that, as in a record previously quoted, Charles the Second "heard ane reverend sermon," the 9th July, 1633, when on a visit to Perth. This pew was removed within the last twenty years, when the Guildry Incorporation made some sweeping alterations to extend their seat-property in the Church. The building has also been denuded of several of its adjuncts in more modern times—especially the Revestry, which, within the memory of many yet alive, stood at the north-eastern extremity of the choir. At the farther north-west corner yet stands the basement of what was long known as Halkerston's Tower, and now forms the vestibule of the West Church. It is undoubtedly a very ancient part of the edifice, and the beauty of the groined roof speaks at once for the antiquity and elegance of the original building. During the earlier period of Protestantism, an upper apartment in this tower was used by the Kirk-Session as a place of punishment for moral delinquencies. The north transept of the church was entirely renewed so recently as the year 1823. Under the old structure the Mercers of Aldie had a sepulchral vault, now covered by the public street, but still having access from the interior. The remains of one of that family were deposited there since the new transept was built. Underneath, or near to the site of the Revestry, within the East Church, is also the burial place of the Earls of Gowrie.* The old central tower of St.

* There is now no object of interest within the walls. About two or three years ago, the Officers of the Forty-Second (Highland) Regiment applied for leave to erect a splendid monument within it to the memory of the gallant

John's is surmounted by an octagonal spire of great height, composed of strong oaken rafters, with a heavy covering of lead.

On the outside of this spire, under a small pediment facing the north, and supported by four small pillars, are placed a set of music bells, of very indifferent intonation, which at the half-hourly intervals chime one or other of a limited range of airs, by the operation of a fretted cylinder, put in motion by the machinery of the public clock, and brought into contact with springs attached to the bells. The melodies thus produced were formerly much better adapted to this mode of operation than those more recently in use, and the set ought to be remodelled. This could be effectually done only by the requisite union of musical with mechanical skill in the same person. The chime of large bells within the tower is not surpassed in excellency by any in Scotland, and with the addition of two more might be still more highly effective.

Besides their excellence, these bells are interesting as having summoned the citizens to their devotions long before the Reformation. The largest now in the belfry, and, we believe, with perhaps one exception, the oldest, is of beautiful cast, and the following inscription is in very distinct and finely-formed German text, which, with the wreath above it round the bell, must have been produced by one and the same mould:—“*Joannes Baptista vocor ego vox clamantis in deserto: Mecklini Petrus Maghenus me formabit: sic benedictus qui cunctu creabit. M.CCC.CC.VI.*” The second bell had been recast by Thomas Mears & Son of London, in 1805—and as it contains the following inscription, it is evidently the original, and shows it must have been cast at the same foundry:—“*Joannes Baptista vocor: nos autem gloriari oportet in cruce Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, anno Domini, 1520: facta sum Mecklini per Georg. Maghen.: ego vox clamantis in deserto, Parata viam Domini.*” The third bell was recast by Mears & Co. London, in 1837—having been split while being rung for the Sabbath morning service in the beginning of that year. These three

General Sir Robert Dick, once their Colonel, a brave and respected native of this county, who led them at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, and latterly fell in the heat of the battle of Sobraon, in the Punjaub. The Town-Council seemed generally to favour the proposal, and the cenotaph would have been an important ornament, and perhaps been only the first of a number; but the discussion elicited certain expressions which the Officers justly viewed as inimical to the honour of the military profession generally, and they sought a site for their monument elsewhere.

are very fine bells, and form very closely the harmonics of the key to which the first is set—being about F, flattish. The largest of all, not in harmony with these, nor of peculiarly fine tone, was removed to the steeple of St. Paul's last year. The little *Skelloch Bell*, or *Curfew Bell*, now hangs in St. John's belfry. It bears a cornet, with the word "*Ecce*," the figure of a cock crowing, and the inscription "*Agnus Dei*," but no date. The bell lately removed from St. Paul's is also suspended in the same place.

The following is a list of the FOUNDATION CHARTERS OF THE ALTARS IN THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST. JOHN AND ITS CHAPELS. They now belong to King James the Sixth's Hospital, and are levied in a modified form for behoof of that institution. The originals are all in excellent preservation in the archives of the house, and are certainly antiquities in their way:—

1. ST. NINIAN'S ALTAR. August 14, 1401. Robert Brown, burgess in Perth, founded the Altar of St. Ninian, Bishop of Galloway, and provided ten merks annually, or £4 15s. 6d. with two booths or shops in the North Street, to the chaplain.

On the 21st January, 1510, Sir Robert Thom, chaplain of St. Ninian's Altar, resigned in the hands of the Provost and Bailies a tenement on the north side of the North Gate, formerly paying 20s. now 40s. to said Altar. Same date, seizin was granted in favour of Sir Robert Seton, Chaplain of St. Ninian's Altar, of a booth on the north side of the North Gate, proceeding on decret by the Provost and Bailies, in defect of duties payable therefrom to said Altar. In 1541, Sir William Ramsay is mentioned in a charter as Chaplain of St. Ninian's Altar.—*Perth Town-Council Records*, vol. i.

2. ST. JAMES THE APOSTLE'S ALTAR. About 1402. John Aitcheson, burgess, granted to his kinsman, John Fairlie, and Marjory, intended spouse of the said John Fairlie, a tenement on the north side of the South Street, 20s. annually to be paid to the Chaplain of St. James's Altar in the new chapel, south side of the parish church; but if the said Chaplain's stipend should be augmented to more than ten merks, this donation of 20s. to be applied by the Provost and Town-Council to the maintenance and reparation of the windows and ornaments of the parish church. John Calpy, barber-chirurgeon, also sold to Sir Allan Wood, Chaplain, two tenements contiguous to the Spey Tower, the one to pay 13s. and 4 pennies, and the other 10s. annually, to St. James's Altar.

On 2d October, 1508, Sir James Marshall is mentioned as Chaplain of this Altar. In 1546, Sir David Colung is mentioned as Chaplain.—*Town-Council Records*, vol. i.

3, 4. ALTARS OF ST. JAMES AND ST. THOMAS A' BECKETT. November 30, 1423. Alexander Whitson, burgess, confirmed or renewed the foundation of a perpetual chaplaincy, the stipend £7 19s. yearly, out of certain tenements, in honour of St. James the Apostle, and of St. Thomas a' Beckett, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the new chapel of St. James, of which the said Alexander Whitson was patron.

Latterly the Altar of St. James had fallen into decay, and the Chapel reduced to ruins. The Provost and community, with the assistance of William Whitson, a wealthy citizen, rebuilt the Chapel, and designated it the *New Chapel of St. James*. Alexander Whitson, son of said William, granted an annual rent of 10s. out of his land in the Speygate to this Altar.

5. ALTAR OF ST. NICHOLAS. About 1429. John Spens of Bouthquhophill, burgess of Perth, founded an Altar to St. Nicholas the Bishop in the parish church of Perth, and endowed it with an annual stipend of £7 15s.

In January, 1500, Sir Patrick Young, Chaplain of this Altar, resigned a tenement on the south side of South Street.—*Town-Council Records*, vol. i.

6. ALTAR OF THE HOLY ROOD OR HOLY BLOOD. About 1429, or 1430. The same John Spens founded and endowed a mass to be celebrated at the Altar of the Holy Rood or Holy Cross, and also a lamp.

7. ALTAR OF ST. ELYSIUS. April 30, 1431. Andrew Lufe, goldsmith, burgess, granted certain tenements for the endowment of a Chaplain to celebrate mass at the Altar of St. Elysius in the parish church of Perth.

8. ALTAR OF THE VIRGIN MARY. January 1, 1431-2. Alan de Myrtoun, burgess, founded an Altar to the Blessed Virgin Mary in the parish church of Perth, and endowed it with the lands of Ardonachy, Hardhaugh, a share of the mills of Auchtergaven, and certain tenements in the town of Perth, amounting in all to £100 16s.

In 1534, Sir Andrew Christison, junior, is mentioned as Chaplain.—*Town-Council Records*.

9. ALTAR OF ST. MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL. April 25, 1445. David Fleming, burgess, mortgaged an annual rent of 40s. out of his tenement on the north side of the North Street, to Master Richard de Crieche, who founded the Altar, and whose executors, in name of the Provost and Town-Council, had lent to the said David Fleming the sum of £28, and this annual 40s. was to continue till he repaid the money.

10. ST. STEPHEN'S ALTAR. Robert de Bonkall sold to Sir Simon Bane, as Chaplain to St. Stephen's Altar, an annual rent of 20s. out of two contiguous tenements in the Castle-Gavel Street.

11. ALTAR OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST. December 20, 1448. Sir John de Bute founded and endowed, with a stipend of £10 6s. 8d. this altar, in the new choir of the parish church, near the high altar, on the north side, at the same altar with the Chaplaincy of St. Lawrence.

Sir John de Bute was apparently zealous for the Altar of St. Lawrence. In 1448 he acquired from Robert de Ireland an annual rent of 13s. 4d.; in 1450, from William de Craig, an annual rent of 24s.; in 1451, from Christian de Hutton, an annual rent of 13s. It is immediately seen that Sir John de Bute was the founder of another altar. Sir Lawrence Lorimer was Chaplain of St. John's Altar in 1526.—*Town-Council Records*.

12. ALTAR OF ST. CLEMENT, POPE AND MARTYR. July 10, 1454. John Bunch, burgess, founded an altar in the parish church of Perth in honour of St. Clement, third Bishop of Rome, and endowed it with an annual stipend of £10.

On the 2d October, 1508, is an entry in the *Town-Council Records* of apparently a resignation by —, Chaplain of the Altar of St. Clements, of a tenement belonging to David Boswell, in South Street.

13. ALTAR OF ST. SEBASTIAN. August 12, 1457. Sir John de Bute founded the Altar of St. Sebastian, Roman General and Martyr, and endowed it with a stipend of £10 5s. 4d.—one merk to be deducted and paid to the Monastery of Scone.

On the 6th of May, 1469, James the Third confirmed the altarge and obit charters of Sir John de Bute, who died on the 7th October, 1470. On the 14th of November, 1519, Sir George Sanders was Chaplain of St. Sebastian's Altar. In 1539 and 1540 Sir Andrew Charteris is mentioned as Chaplain to the same.

14. ALTAR OF ST. CATHERINE THE VIRGIN. March 18, 1468-9. William Kinglassy, burgess, granted the Chaplain of the Altar of St. Catherine the Virgin, in the parish church of Perth, an annual rent of 26s. 8d. out of his tenement on the north side of North Street, in pledge, till he repaid the sum of £18 13s. 4d. which he had borrowed from the Provost and Town-Council, patrons of the said altar.

15. ALTAR OF ST. MARGARET, QUEEN OF SCOTLAND. October 15, 1469. Walter de Pitscottie of Luncarty disposed to Sir James Crichton of Redgorton, knight, his right of patronage of Queen

Margaret's Altar, in the parish church of Perth, in fee and heritage for ever.

In a subsequent charter, dated 6th June, 1474, the stipend is stated at £11 4s. 8d.—paid in various sums out of tenements in the town.

16. ALTAR OF ST. MARTIN THE CONFESSOR. December 14, 1470. Walter de Pitscottie completed a foundation of St. Martin's Altar, which had been commenced by his late uncle, Andrew Pitscottie, Vicar of Perth, and endowed it with a stipend of £10 4s. 8d.

In the first volume of the *Town-Council Records*, dated January, 1500, is the payment of a charter by one of the Chaplains of St. Martin's Altar, of tenements in the Kirk Vennel. In October, 1508, Sir David Scott is spoken of as Chaplain, deceased.

17. ALTAR OF THE HOLY PRESENTATION. January 2, 1470-1. Marjory Gray, wife of John Chalmers of Strathy, obtained seizin of several lands and rents, and the charter is said to have belonged to the Altar of the Holy Presentation.

The Chaplaincy of the Lady or Presentation Altar in St. Andrew's Aisle was founded by Robert Chawmer or Chalmer, Master of Arts and burges of Perth. On the 6th of May, 1491-2, King James the Fourth confirmed the foundation of the Chaplaincy of this Altar, so called in honour of the Presentation of our Saviour in the Temple by his mother, the Virgin Mary. Robert de Chalmer married Catherine de Kinnaird, and they both agreed, on the 9th of July, 1491, to found a Chaplaincy at the Altar of St. Andrew the Apostle, in the parish church of Perth, in honour of the same event.

18. ALTAR OF ST. SIMON AND ST. STEPHEN. August 14, 1471. Sir Simon Bane, Presbyter, founded the Altar of Simon Zélotes the Apostle, and St. Stephen the Proto-Martyr, and endowed it with a stipend of £9 19s. 4d.

19. ALTAR OF ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE AND OF ST. THOMAS A' BECKETT, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. April 20, 1474. Foundation renewed by James Scott, burges, and endowed with a stipend of £7 5s. 4d.

20. ALTAR OF ST. DIONYSIUS THE MARTYR. July 13, 1484. John Spalding, Dean of the Cathedral of Brechin, founded a Chaplaincy to St. Dionysius at the Altar of St. Catherine, in the parish church of Perth, and endowed it with a stipend of £8 14s. 8d.

21. ALTAR OF ST. BLASIUS, BISHOP AND MARTYR. March 2, 1490-1. Andrew Cavers, Abbot, and the Convent of the Monastery of Lindores, founded an Altar in honour of St. Blasius, and endowed it with a stipend of £10 15s. out of their property in Perth.

22. ALTAR OF ST. MARY OF CONSOLATION. August 9, 1491. Master James Fenton, Vicar of Tippermuir, founded a Chaplaincy at the Altar of St. Andrew the Apostle, in St. Andrew's Aisle, parish church of Perth, to the Virgin Mary as Lady of Consolation, and endowed it with a tenement on the east side of Watergate, another on the west side of the Kirkgate, a booth on the north side of the North Street, and £2 19s. 8d. out of certain specified tenements.

23. ST. SALVADOR'S ALTAR. February 1, 1492-3. Alexander Scott, junior, grants seizin to Sir Patrick Ray, chaplain of St. Salvador's Altar, of a tenement in the south-east corner of the Meal Vennel.

24. TRINITY ALTAR. July 3, 1495. Master John de Dundee, Vicar of Rhynd, founded an obit of two merks at Trinity Altar, in the new Chapel of St. James, in the parish church of Perth. On 19th of same month, Richard Kelt founded an obit of 6s. 8d. at same altar.

On the 23d November, 1514, Mr. Thomas Spalding, chaplain of the Altar of the Holy Trinity, resigns a tenement on the south side of the South Street; and on the same date, Sir Thomas Young, chaplain of the same altar, adopts judicial proceedings about a yard on the east side of the Meal Vennel, in default of payment of 6s. 8d. therefrom.—*Town-Council Records*, vol. i.

25. ST. FILLAN'S ALTAR. After Michaelmas, 1496. Sir Patrick Ray, chaplain of St. Salvador's Altar, founded, at the said altar, a chaplaincy in honour of St. Fillan the Confessor, and Prior of Pittenweem, endowing it with 20s. out of a tenement in the Vennel of the Watergate, and £8 11s. 2d. annually out of certain tenements in the town.

26. ST. PETER'S ALTAR. February 5, 1503-4. John Rattray of Leitchhill, and David Rattray, his grandson, granted 26s. 8d. to St. Peter's Altar.

St. Peter was the tutelary saint of the Incorporated Fleshers of Perth, who illuminated his altar with six lights. For supporting this altar, a tax, vulgarly called *Patie's Altarage Penny*, was levied on all slaughtered cattle, which was regularly exacted till 1760, when it was abolished by the Town-Council as a "relic of Popery." In 1532, Sir John Matheson was chaplain of St. Peter's Altar.—*Town-Council Records*, vol. i.

27. ALTAR OF SEVERUS. September 6, 1504. Robert Clark, burgess, founded an altar in honour of St. Severus, preacher and confessor, and endowed it with an annual stipend of £5 6s. 8d.

28. ST. CHRISTOPHER'S ALTAR. August 28, 1511. Alexander Tyrie, Provost of Perth, founded an altar or chaplaincy in honour of St. Christopher the Martyr, at the Altar of St. Clement.

On the 17th of September, 1526, Sir Simon Young, Dean of Christianity of Gowrie, and Commissary of the Bishop of Dunkeld for the locality of Tullilum, confirmed this foundation.

29. ALTAR OF THE SALVATION OF OUR LADY AND OF ST. GABRIEL. November 12, 1513. Patrick Wallis, burgess, granted to the Altar of the Salvation of Our Lady of Annunciation and St. Gabriel, by him newly founded, the tenement he inhabited on the south side of the Fish Market, and an annual rent of 10s. out of the same tenement to St. Salvador's Altar.

30. ALTAR OF THE VISITATION, OR ALTAR OF OUR LADY'S GRAVE. April 21, 1514. Sir Simon Young granted an annual rent of 20s. out of his tenement on the west side of St. Ann's Vennel.

In St. Ann's Vennel was St. Ann's Chapel. On the 1st of August, 1514, John Mackison, burgess, granted an annual rent of 40s. out of a tenement on the east side of the Water Street, to celebrate divine services for the soul of John Blackwood. Sir Walter Eviot was then chaplain. The above-mentioned *Altar of Our Lady's Grave* was apparently Our Lady's Altarage, for certain ornaments of which, Adam Ramsay, burgess in Perth, on the 15th April, 1544, obtained an act of cautionry on behalf of John Smetten, at the hands of the Provost, Bailies, and Council.—*Town-Council Records*.

31. NOMINE JESU ALTAR. February 28, 1518-19. Sir John Tyrie, Provost of the Collegiate Church of Methven, Dean of the Confraternity of the Name Jesus in the Parish Church of Perth, and the United Brethren of the same Order, established out of their revenues an altar and chaplaincy in the Parish Church of Perth, in honour of the name Jesus, commonly *Nomine Jesu Altar*, and endowed it with a tenement on the north side of South Street, another tenement and garden on the south side of the same street, and 13s. 4d. out of tenements in the North and South Streets.

32. CONFRATERNITY OR TRINITY ALTAR. March 16, 1518-19. Master John Ireland, Vicar of the Parish Church of Perth, established this altar, in honour of the Holy Trinity, and endowed it with a certain tenement, with its pertinents, on the north side of the South Street, between the tenement of the late Sir John Myerton, Prebendary of Forgan, on the east, and that of Andrew Crieff on the west, and several other subjects. On the 30th of March, 1519, Archbishop Forman ratified the foundation of this altar,

which was notarially attested by John Lauder, Master of Arts, by sacred apostolical and imperial authority notary-public, and entered and enrolled a member in the office of Keeper of the Writings of the Roman Court.

John Lauder acted as prosecutor at the trial of George Wishart, before Cardinal Beaton, at St. Andrews, in 1545-6. He was employed in a similar manner at the trial of Adam Wallace.

33. ALTAR OF ST. FITH, OR ST. FITHIE, THE VIRGIN. May 8, 1523. Finlay Anderson, burghess, founded this altar, and endowed it with an annual stipend of £12 out of certain tenements in the High Street, the North Street,* and the Watergate.

34. ALTAR OF ST. KENTIGERN OR ST. MUNGO, THE REPUTED FIRST BISHOP OF GLASGOW. November 8, 1523. Master James Fenton, Precentor of Dunkeld, founded this altar and chaplaincy in St. Andrew's Aisle, in the parish church of Perth, and endowed the same with a tenement, lately purchased by him, on the south side of South Street, and with an annual stipend of £9 6s. 8d. out of tenements in the town.

35. ALTAR OF ST. BRIDGET, OR ST. BRIDE. January 13, 1523-4. Founded by the same, also in St. Andrew's Aisle, and which he endowed with the tenement he occupied on the north side of the North Street, &c. and the sum of £7 13s. 4d. out of certain tenements in the town.

36. ALTAR OF ST. JOSEPH, CONFESSOR AND HUSBAND OF THE VIRGIN MARY. January 4, 1524-5. Founded by Sir John Tyrie, Presbyter and Provost of the Collegiate Church of Methven.

37. ALTAR OF ST. BARBARA, VIRGIN AND MARTYR. September 17, 1526. Sir Simon Young, Dean of Christianity of Gowrie, &c. confirmed the foundation of the Altar of St. Christopher by Alexander Tyrie, when he was Provost of Perth, to which the said Alexander Tyrie annexed the Altar of St. Barbara.

38. ALTAR OF ST. GREGORY AND ST. AUGUSTINE. April 20, 1529. Sir Simon Young, Vicar of Pitcairn, founded an Altar and Chaplaincy in honour of St. Gregory and St. Augustine at the Altar of All Saints in the parish church of Perth, and endowed the same with the annual sum of £10, out of the two entire tenements lately erected by him on the south side of South Street.

The sasine of annual rents of this Altar was dated November 3, 1532.

Its rent at the Reformation was 16s. 1d. sterling. The Prior of the

* Another proof, inferentially at least, that the South Street must have been at one time called High Street.

Charterhouse appears to have been patron, for after the Reformation there was a gift from the Prior of the Charterhouse of St. Gregory and St. Augustine's Altar to Henry Drummond, son to James Drummond, Sheriff-Clerk of Perth, during his lifetime, dated April 23, 1574, which was resigned to the Kirk-Session in favour of King James the Sixth's Hospital. There was also what was called *St. Gregory's Mass*, pertaining to ten choristers of Perth, or nine clerks, the tenth, with advice of the Provost, founded by Sir John Myrerton, Prebend of Forgardenny. The rent of St. Gregory's Mass, as given by Sir Robert Rhynd after the Reformation, was 18s. 0½d. sterling.

39. THE ALTAR OF ST. ROQUE. July 4, 1553. Archbishop Hamilton, of St. Andrews, confirmed the presentation of Sir David Colling to be chaplain of the Altar of the blessed St. Roque the Confessor, in the Parish Church of Perth.*

The Altars here enumerated were constantly receiving additional endowments, more especially the most ancient of them, in the form of annual rents paid out of numerous properties in the city. Many of these charters remain to this day. Notwithstanding the appointment of so many chaplains to these endowed Altars, St. John's was merely a parish church, and, previous to the Reformation, had only one incumbent, styled *Vicar of Perth*, and for nearly half-a-century after that period the spiritual superintendence of the city was vested in a single individual, who was the sole Minister of Perth.† There were no dissenters in those days, and no other clerical teacher.

* On the 8th February, 1583-4, Andrew Donaldson, Master of the Hospital, is to take instant cognizance of the Altarages of St. Rook or Roque, St. Mungo, St. James, and St. Bryde, pertaining to Sir David Colling, who is mentioned as chaplain of St. Roque's Altar in 1573. Notwithstanding the change of religion, a Mr. David Mitchell, described as "chaplain of St. Roque's Altar," was Colling's (lay) successor; and on the 25th of March, 1584, the King's letters were issued, charging all and sundry heritors, feuars, and farmers, to make payment of the fruits and rents of that altarage under pain of horning.

† It is worthy of remark here, that one of the earliest notices of the organ in Scotland occurs in connection with the Church of St. John the Baptist in this city. In the Council Records, of date 1511, there appears an entry appointing George Donning to be parish clerk, under which appointment he is taken bound to employ a sufficient person to sing and *play the organ* during divine service, and to find strings and cords to the bells. And under date 1521, there is a long and curious document of John and Patrick Chalmers, accepting appointment as joint parish-clerks in room of the deceased George Donning, and binding themselves to find a competent person to "play upon the organ

The other buildings of note were—THE CASTLE, which stood without the walls, immediately at the end of the Skinnergate. It was the usual residence of the kings previous to the erection of the Blackfriars Monastery. Not a vestige of it remains.

THE OLD CROSS.—It was not inferior to Mary Magdalene's Chapel. The time of its erection is unknown. But it must have been long before the year 1578, for in the session record of that year there is the following entry:—"The assembly (session) requests the Bailies to clear the Cross, that the door may open and steik, and that they get a lock and key to the door, and likewise the master of the Hospital to buy three locks for the three irons (juggs) where delinquents do penance at the Cross." It stood in the middle of the High Street, between the Kirkgate and the Skinnergate, and, as in other towns, it was the place from which all proclamations were issued. What entitles it to special notice here is the following narrative, which we find in *Cant's History*:—"In a miscellaneous manuscript in my custody, Mr. Dundee, a native of Perth, and who was on the spot, writes thus—'Item, on the xv Apprill in anno a thousand vi hundred ane yeir, the King's Majestie cam to Perth, and that sam day he was made Provost, with ane great scerlane of the courteours, and the bancait was made at the Crois, and the King's Maiistie wes set down thereat, and six dozen of glassis brokine, with mony owder silver pissis and peuder vescillis, and then the King made ane great solleime aith to defend the haille libertie of this brouche.'" With reference to this strange occurrence, it may here be remarked, that James the Fifth demeaned himself in a manner somewhat similar on another occasion. There is a charter of the Abbot of Melrose, A.D. 1535, constituting that prince the bailiff or steward of the Abbey of Melrose, vesting in him all the powers which pertained to that office, and requiring him to be answerable to the abbot for the exercise of the same. Surely James the Sixth did not act so far beneath his dignity in

and sing at the daily service done in the kirk all the days of their lives." It is probable that St. John's was the only parish church in the kingdom which anciently contained an organ. The first-dated document mentions the organ as having been long in the edifice, and not of recent introduction; and it is evident the Magistrates were proud of the instrument, from the particular manner in which they bound the parties so appointed to maintain the performance of the duty. There were no endowed vicars connected with this church skilled in the Gregorian chant, but various documents still extant prove that there were not a few hired or stipendiary lay choristers, for the daily service and the masses.

becoming the Provost of a city, as James the Fifth in becoming the bailiff of an abbey.

In 1652 Cromwell demolished the Cross, and applied its materials to the erection of his citadel. In 1668, after the restoration of Charles the Second, the Magistrates contracted with Mr. Mylne of Balfargie, the King's master-mason, to rebuild it, and make it as elegant as any in Scotland, for £200; and in the following year, when it was finished, they issued an order to write Lord Lyon for a license to Charles Wilson to gild it with the royal arms and those of the town. It had a spacious terrace above. It was twelve feet high, and had a flight of steps within. On the anniversary of the Restoration, 29th May, 1669, "the treasurer was appointed to cover the terrass of the new Crois with a carpet, and to prepare glasses and two gallons (Scots) of French wine, to be run out of the mouths of lions, bears, and griffins, and other heads with which the Cross was ornamented." In 1765, the Town-Council, in consideration of the Cross being an impediment on the street, empowered the Magistrates to remove it. It was therefore disposed of at a public sale to a mason, he being the highest bidder, for five pounds. He immediately took it down, and carried off the stones.

THE SPEY TOWER was a fortress upon the city wall, near to Earl Gowrie's Palace, and had in it a strong prison. Among those who were at various times confined in it, were the pious persons whom Cardinal Beaton caused to be condemned for heresy. From it he witnessed their execution. It was the last of the towers on the wall, and was taken down about forty years ago.

EARL GOWRIE'S PALACE, called in the days of its glory Perth's Whitehall, was built in the year 1520 by the Countess of Huntly. It fronted the South Street, and part of the Speygate, on the west, the river on the east, the Water Vennel on the north. The city wall bounded its garden on the south, along which wall ran the lade, which, at its entrance into the river, formed a dock or harbour for vessels. After the murder of the noble proprietor, it fell into the possession of the city. In 1746, the Magistrates made a present of it to William, Duke of Cumberland, as a mark of the gratitude of the inhabitants for his services against the rebels. The Duke sold it to Government, to be converted into artillery barracks. It continued to be thus occupied till the commencement of the French war, when the Leith Fort became the artillery head-quarters. In 1805 it was repurchased by the city; and its buildings,

so deeply interesting to every reader of ancient Scottish story, were ruthlessly razed, and the ground given to be the site of the public buildings which have been there since erected. The materials of the house were sold for £597 3s. 7d.

THE PARLIAMENT HOUSE.—Meetings of Parliament were sometimes held in the Blackfriars Monastery, but this was the place in which they were held in ordinary. It stood on the north side of the High Street, a few paces back from the street. The avenue leading to it still retains the name of the Parliament Close. Its site was where the Royal Arch Mason Lodge now is, for the erection of which it was taken down in 1818. Long before that year it had fallen into decay, and was inhabited by some poor families, but it retained many traces of its having been a building of high pretension. The Scottish Parliament meetings were held in it till the reign of James the Second, when they and the courts of justice were removed to Edinburgh, that city having then become the seat of royalty.

LOW'S WARK (OR LOUIS' WORK) merits particular notice, as it is a part of the chartered property of the Burgh of no inconsiderable value. It is a strong and skilfully built weir or dike across the River Almond, about four miles up the river, which diverts a large portion of it into an aqueduct that formerly encompassed the walls.* Before the invention of gunpowder, the citizens, in cases of emergency, by means of sluices, so filled the ditch or fosse with the water as to render the place almost impregnable. This was done by them in 1313, when Bruce invested and took it. At what time, and by whom that wall was built, is a matter of uncertainty. Nor is it certain what was the special object intended by the aqueduct. It has been imagined that it was to strengthen the fortifications by surrounding the town with water. But the probability is, that it was for the simple purpose of procuring a water power for the city mills. And the supposition is founded on the following circumstances:—The proprietor of Meikleour, an estate about eight miles from Perth, in the year 1106, was John Mercer, a burghess of Perth. He was the progenitor of the Aldie family. The arms of that family bear three mill rhynds.† Mills driven by a water power were in these days a

* The Rev. Mr. Scott, in his account of the Parish (1796) says, that there are some documents which show that this canal was in existence before the time of Malcolm Canmore, who, after the death of Macbeth, ascended the throne, 1057.

† In Nesbit's *Heraldry*, it is said, "John Mercer in Perth purchased the lands of Meikleour from Mauritius de Cromod in the reign of King David the

rare and valuable property, and possessed only by persons of influence and affluence. If these mills were his, as tradition informs us they were, that may account for the three rhynds in the family arms, and go far to establish the antiquity of the aqueduct, for nowhere else could water be procured for them. But it appears from a feu-charter granted by Robert the Second in the fourth year of his reign, *i. e.* 1375, that they were then, and had for some time previously been, the property of the Crown, for in that year he made a gift of them to the Aldermen, Burgesses, and community of Perth. We must therefore believe that the Aldie family had for some consideration given them up to the Sovereign. And this may account for the family possessing, by an express royal grant, a burying-vault in St. John's Church, which grant must have been prior to 1126, for it was in or about that year that King David the First gave over to the Abbey of Dunfermline his right to dispose of any part of the Parish Church. The estimation in which Low's Wark and the aqueduct or mill-lade were held in the fifteenth century, appears from an indenture entered in the city records, 4th November, 1494, made by the then Lord Ruthven and his son to the burgh, and John Eviot of Balhousie, anent the mill-lade, water passage, and course of the mills of the said burgh, and anent the reparations and upholding of that work called Low's Wark,

Second, which were confirmed by that King in the thirty-third year of his reign, and afterwards took the designation of Aldie. In the same work, Mr. Mercer is said to carry Or on a fess between three cross Patees in chief Gules, and a star in base azure," &c. But the following old verses, on the Arms of Aldie, which Mr. Scott many years ago received from Mr. Mercer, already referred to, are entitled to attention:—

Behold the arms of the Mercers are,
 Three mill rhynds, three gold balls with glittering star.
 To let the world know that their ancient race
 Possessed three mills for many ages space,
 In pleasant Perth, near situate by Tay,
 Which mills Perth keeps unto this present day.
 Three balls next show them potent in each thing,
 Therefore they gift these mills unto the King,
 Who for their golden gift and loyal mind,
 With arched tomb in church did them propine,
 With lands, rent, arms of privilege and fame,
 Kept now by Aldie's lands, chief of the name.
 Lastly, the star, clear, shining as a gem,
 Proves their descent out of Moravian stem.
 Likewise their will and virtue do presage,
 In name and fame to last with shining age.
 Therefore, men may avow with justest breath,
 Mercers are yea older than old Perth.

These last lines, as Mr. Scott remarks, refer to the fabulous story of Hector Boetius, that Bertha was prior to Perth.

which is the retainer and closer of the said mill-lade. On the east bank of the lade, and within a short distance from the City, there is a stone wall through which there is a hole or perforation called a boot or bout,* having a strong ring of iron at both ends, 32 inches in circumference. Through this boot there passes a considerable body of water, which forms the aqueduct that supplies the Mills of Balhousie. The antiquity of the boot appears from a contract (recorded in the city archives) between the Eviots of Balhousie and the Alderman, Bailies, Council, and community of Perth, dated 19th June, 1464, that the boot shall be taken up and newly made, of thirty-two inches of wideness within at both ends, and banded with iron both within and without at both ends. This stone work was repaired about sixty years ago, and the rings adjusted according to the original contract, in presence of commissioners appointed by the Earl of Kinnoull (who had then become proprietor of Balhousie), and the Magistrates of Perth.

THE CITADEL.—Amongst the things that were, it may be well, under this head, to describe the work of fortification constructed by Oliver Cromwell in 1652. During the previous year, immediately after defeating the King's troops at Burntisland, he had obtained peaceable possession of Perth. With the view of keeping the place more effectually under subjection, he built the Citadel on the South Inch. It is said to have been strong, and of a commanding appearance. It was of a square form, and had a bastion at each corner. It was surrounded by a high rampart of earth, and outside of that a deep moat filled with water. It was almost close by the river, and had a pier for loading and unloading stores. Cant informs us that the entry towards the town had an iron gate. The commanding officer ordered great trees to be cut down from the

* There is a tradition respecting this *boot*, which it may be proper to notice. It is, that a proprietor of Balhousie, wishing to erect a mill near his house, applied to the King, requesting to have from *his lade* at a given place, a bootful of water, which being granted, he produced a boot without a sole, and that he thus obtained a perpetual current for his mill. The tradition carries absurdity on the face of it. The following fact shows clearly enough how the boot may have originated. King Alexander the Second granted to the Dominican Monastery a pipe of water from the same lade or canal, "4 inches in wideness," but with the express condition that it should not be to the detriment of a mill belonging to him at Perth. Upon a similar principle may the limited quantity of water have been granted to the Balhousie proprietor for his mill. The tradition appears to have been credited in 1600, as in the original Latin charter the word is translated "ocream."

King's hunting-park at Falkland, to be used in the erection of this fortress. The school-house, which contained 360 scholars, besides rooms for the rector, doctors, and music-master, was demolished, and its materials used for the same purpose. The high walls of the Greyfriars, with nearly 300 tomb-stones, and 140 dwelling-houses, with their garden walls, were thus appropriated, and also the former Hospital, described as a stately building. The stone pillars and abutments of the bridge were also carried away to be used in the same work, and the surface of the two Inches was all used in building the ramparts. At the Restoration, King Charles made a gift to the town of the Citadel, with "the whole arms, ammunition, and others therein"—as an indemnification for the losses sustained by its erection. In 1666 the Magistrates ordered it to be exposed to public roup, when it was purchased by George Conqueror, Town Treasurer, for 4,000 merks, besides 702 merks for 1,960 stones which he had sold before. In 1681, the Council finding that the time had elapsed which they allowed Bailie Craigdallie to remove the stones and lime, they empowered the Treasurer to use them for other purposes. The Bailie's son was allowed to carry off the stones left by his father above ground already digged. Not a vestige of the Citadel now remains.

THE MONK'S TOWER.—This erection stood in the south-east corner of Gowrie Palace gardens—now that of the promenade in front of the new County Buildings. It also formed the south-eastern angle of the old city wall. The ornaments on the ceiling, of which some persons still alive recollect, are said to have been copied from those in the *Gilten Arbour*, a richly decorated summer-house in the Dominican or Blackfriars gardens, from the balconies of which King Robert witnessed the famous conflict of the clans. The paintings, executed by orders of the first Earl of Gowrie, were allegorical and astronomical, representing the virtues and vices, the seasons, the zodiac, and other subjects sufficiently commonplace; but were, altogether, of such a character as to merit preservation. But, as a local authority has justly observed, "the patience with which the antiquaries of Perth have submitted to the removal (in many cases the wanton and useless removal) of the historical monuments with which they were at one time surrounded, is truly wonderful!"

There are yet a few antiquities, neither of an architectural nor institutional nature, which merit some notice. The first of these is

THE GUILDRY RECORD.—Passing, in the meantime, the interest

of the general contents of this ancient volume, it may be proper to remark, that it is very strongly boarded and bound with firm clasps. In the close of 1842 a massive box, in excellent imitation of antique workmanship, was made to contain and preserve it. The lid bears the following inscription:—

This Box,
 FORMED FROM A RAFTER OF THE OLD HOUSE IN CURFEW ROW,
 THE RESIDENCE OF SIMON GLOVER,
 BY TRADITION
 FATHER OF THE "FAIR MAID OF PERTH,"
 INCLOSES
The Venerable Guild Book,
 CONTAINING THE
 RECORDS OF THE GUILDRY INCORPORATION OF PERTH
 FOR A PERIOD OF
 ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTY-NINE YEARS
 BEFORE THE UNFORTUNATE BATTLE OF FLODDEN.
 AND ALSO,
 THE GENUINE AUTOGRAPHS AND MOTTOS OF
 JAMES VI, CHARLES II, QUEEN VICTORIA, AND
 PRINCE ALBERT.

For the autographs and mottos above spoken of, the reader is referred to page 427 of this volume. Mr. Thomas, Clerk to the Guildry Incorporation, keeps this precious relic, and very courteously shews it to any respectable stranger.

THE GLOVER'S FLAG.—The avocations of the Glover craft were not always of a peaceful nature. They are still in possession of a banner under which their forefathers fought in the troubles of the seventeenth century. It is of fawn-coloured silk, and bears this inscription—"*The perfect honour of a craft, or beauty of a trade, is not in wealth but in moral worth, whereby virtue gains renowne*"—surmounted by the words, "GRACE AND PEACE"—the date 1604.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S TAWSE.—Another relic in the archives of this body is worthy of notice. It is a leathern lash, called "The whip of St. Bartholemew," which the craft are often admonished in the records to apply to the back of refractory apprentices.

MORRICE DANCERS.—The Glovers have also preserved entire, among their relics, the attire of one of the Morrice-dancers, who, on some festive occasions, exhibited his paces "to the jocose recreatement" of one of the Scottish monarchs, while on a visit to the Fair City. This curious vestment is, like the former, made of fawn-coloured silk, in the form of a tunic, with trappings of bright

green and red satin. The sleeves, &c. are slashed, and on the intermediate spaces are fixed *two hundred and fifty-two* small globular bells on pieces of leather made to fasten to various parts of the body. What is most remarkable about these bells is the perfect intonation of each set, and the regular musical intervals between the tones of the various clusters. The twelve bells on each piece of leather are of various sizes, yet all combining to form one perfect intonation in concord with the leading note of the set. The performer could thus produce, if not a *tune*, at least a pleasing and musical chime, according as he regulated with skill the movements of his body—giving by it pleasure to the skilful, as well as amusement to the vulgar. The last time this dress was used was on the 6th September, 1842, when a member of the craft figured in it on a small platform in Princes Street, as her Majesty Queen Victoria proceeded through the town.

CONCLUSION.

The prescribed limits of this work have been for some time warning the compiler to draw his labours to a close; and, for the present, at least, he must now respectfully bid his readers farewell. At first he only promised, in the main, a careful digest from others who had preceded him in the same walk, with such additional information as might have come to his own knowledge, or suggested itself to his observation. There was much matter of local interest recorded in the productions of his predecessors, which the being allowed to fall into forgetfulness would have formed cause of regret, and the increasing scarcity of such exposed their contents to the danger of oblivion. It was this consideration alone, and not the desire of book-making, or the vanity of authorship, that prompted his undertaking; and if he shall have succeeded in preserving such memoranda with some degree of clearness, and more especially if reckoned to have done so in an inviting form, he will consider him-

self well repaid for the labour bestowed. At least his motives have been thus unambitious and his purposes fair. This is his only claim to merit, and he leaves the judgment of the work to the candour of the public.

In tracing the "annals" of a locality having so much to recommend it to his partiality and love, he has made use of the "archives" to which access was open, so far chiefly as to elucidate or confirm. His researches amongst the latter have opened up a field so wide, and so fruitful beyond anticipation, that the space of a single volume is far too circumscribed to admit of such an ample store—and to have curtailed the former, so as to make way for even a portion, would have been considered unpardonable. He hopes it may be conceded that in this respect he has made use of the pages at his command to the best advantage; and should time and health permit a leisurely attention to the subject, he may yet give his readers an opportunity of supplementing the present work, if they should feel inclined, by the publication of all the more interesting of that selection of documentary intelligence which has accumulated on his hands—at as cheap a rate, and in a shape as attractive, as he may be able to present it.

It may be allowable to state, speaking retrospectively, that these annals have, in one important respect, been drawn to a satisfactory conclusion. Every considerate mind must be impressed with a grateful sense of the happy condition in which, upon the whole, society is now situated, compared with that of almost any former epoch of our local history. Distress and misfortune will, in the very best of times, affect some; but, generally speaking, life, liberty, or property was never more secure. Freedom of thought, of speech, or action, is ample as could be rationally desired. We own the sway of a benign and virtuous Sovereign: our laws are framed, reformed, or abrogated, by a legislature in which all classes may be said to have a fair representation, and justice is fairly and impartially administered. Municipal management is now in the public's own hands, and they can appoint or shift their own rulers. We live in peace, and have nothing but our own angry passions to disturb us. Licentiousness and crime are not on the increase amongst us—seldom do we hear the preacher or the moralist assert this: Pauperism *is*—and forms the worst feature of the age. There are fluctuations in business now, as there ever was and ever will be; and the highest authority assures us that "the poor shall never cease out of the land." It is not an uncommon remark that it was

a better world when this or that state of things existed. But this is a vulgar error. The world, locally speaking, mends. The laws of God seem to be as much revered as ever, and never were greater efforts made in support of religion, and for the dissemination of divine truth. Education is encouraged and refined. Intelligence is more general than at any former period, and altogether the social state of our population is immensely improved.

THE MUSES' THRENODIE;

OR,

MIRTHFUL MOURNINGS ON THE DEATH OF MR. JOHN GALL:

Containing variety of pleasant Poetical Descriptions, Moral Reflections, Historical Narratives,
and Divine Observations; with the most remarkable Antiquities of Scotland,
especially of Perth.

BY MR. HENRY ADAMSON.



UCH is the title of the Poem with which we close this volume. It was first printed in Edinburgh, in King James's College, by George Anderson, A.D. 1638. The author was a citizen and native of the "Fair City;" of respectable parentage; and no mean literary talent, wit, and learning. The Poems have been erroneously called, and known by the name of, *Gall's Gabions*. He was born towards the close of 1581—his baptism registered the 1st November of that year. His father, James Adamson, held the office of Dean of Guild in 1600. We find, by the record, that he succeeded David, Lord Scone, as Provost, Sheriff, and Coroner, in 1609; when, in obedience to the King's charge—forbidding all except trading merchants and tradesmen *residing in* the burghs from holding office in the Magistracy, under pain of treason and escheat of goods—he was elected to fill the civic chair. The Poet's mother was the sister of Mr. Henry Anderson, at that time proprietor of the lands of Tulielumb, and who was also elected a Bailie in 1611. Both these families were of considerable mark in the town; for the Hospital Register shows, that for a long series of years about this period they were in the management of that institution, and consequently elders of the Reformed Church. Mr. Henry Adamson received a liberal education, and in his dedication styles himself "a student in divine and human learning." In the Town-Council Records of

date 23d February, 1618, "Henry Adamson, son of James Adamson, is nominated to be Reader, in the room of John Fyffe, deceased; and also to the *Sang School*, in like manner vacant, during will."*

* The compiler finds the following minutes in the Hospital Register regarding this appointment:—

March 24th, 1617.—Present, Mr. John Malcom and Mr. John Guthry, Ministers; Alexander Peblis, Bailie; James Adamson, Mr. Henry Anderson, Patrick Grant, Andrew Brown, chirurgion, David Sibbald, and John Boag, Elders.—Forsomeikle as Mr. Thomas Garvy, musician, this long time bygone has not been apt nor habill to discharge his office in taking up the Psalms in the Kirk at preaching and prayers; whose place Mr. Henry Adamson has supplied, and is very well thought of by the Session, whom they request to continue therein, whille farther deliberation be taken thereanent.

May 12th, 1617.—Present, the Ministers (as before); John Anderson and William Williamson, Bailies (rest of the sederunt as in previous minute).—Forsomeikle as Mr. Henry Adamson having meaned himself to the Session that he has supplied the place of Mr. Thomas Garvy in taking up the Psalms a long time bygone; and that Mr. John Adamson, his brother, has written for him for some matter tending to his behoof; and therefore desires the Session either to appoint him to the said cure, seeing that the said Thomas Garvy is not habill therefor; and that otherwise he will not serve longer in his stead. And the Session, finding the said Mr. Henry's proposition reasonable, and he qualified to serve the said cure, for their part are willing he be provided thereto; and have requested John Anderson and William Williamson, Bailies, to expone the same to the Council, . . . wherethrow the said Mr. Henry may be orderly placed in the said service both by Council and Session.

Monday, 19th May, 1617.—[The sederunt is a full one, including the two Ministers, three Bailies, and Constantine Melice, "*Moderator of the Council*," besides seven Elders.]—Forsomeikle as John Anderson, William Williamson, Bailies, and Constantine Melice, Moderator of the Council, having made report to the Session that this Council concluded to admit Mr. Henry Adamson to the office and service whilk Mr. Thomas Garvy had in taking up the Psalms, and to hold an music school, and had made them act thereupon; and the Session agreeing thereto, have admitted and admits the said Mr. Henry Adamson to the said offices.

May 26th, 1617.—Sederunt being entered, the minute proceeds—In respect of the *literature* and qualifications of Mr. Henry Adamson for taking up the Psalms at preaching and prayers at the Kirk of Perth, and his lawful admission thereto, and to hold a music school—the Session provides and ordains him to have yearly from Whitsunday next, in name of his stipend, the sum of two hundred merks money of this realm, to be paid by the Masters of the Hospital, present and to come, yearly, at two terms in the year, Whitsunday and Martinmas, by equal portions.

May 16th, 1618.—"The Session for their part admits Mr. Henry Adamson to the office of Readership;" and "upon Mr. John Fyffe's (his predecessor's) supplication, grants to give him some acknowledgment, to declare their good will for his service, besides his fee."

May 25th, 1618.—Sederunt, the Ministers; James Adamson, David Sibbald,

Notwithstanding our Poet's profession, respectable connection, and fair character, it appears in the same Register that he was subject to human frailties—for by the minute of 7th June, 1621, we find he had been suspended on account of certain amatory *liaisons* with a "fair maid," Marjory Runciman; and on the day quoted, a grand muster of Council and Session was held, "to deliberate anent his re-entry." The sederunt is thus noted:—Present—Mr. John Malcolm and Mr. John Guthry, ministers; Mr. Ninian Drummond, minister of Kinnoull; Andrew Gray, Dean of Guild; Andrew Brown, Bailie; Patrick Grant, Gregory Johnston, Andrew Anderson, elders; Andrew Brown, chirurgeon; Patrick Pitcairn; Andrew Wilson; John Drummond, deacon of the skinners; John Hume; Patrick Dundee; Robert Skinner, deacon of the tailors; and William Crie. The re-entry to his office is said to have been "earnest craved by him." The following is the conclusion of the minute:—

So many of the Council and Session present, in consideration that he has given satisfaction to the kirk for his offence conform to the order of the kirk; and that he has been long suspended from exercising his said office; and also that he has given great appearance of his inward sorrow for offending God, and bringing of slander upon his kirk and holy office he bore with the same: Therefore, they, in consideration thereof, have re-admitted him to his said office of Readership, ordain him to enter to the stool (*viz.* lettron) at the evening prayers or the morne at the morning prayers, in his choice. He is admonished to take heed to his ways, and to be faithful and diligent in discharging his office.

And besides his restoration to office, the minute 28th May, 1622, ordains that Mr. Henry Adamson, conform to his pension, be answered of his stipend appointed to him, both of Council and Session, of all years and terms bygone resting unpaid to him, and of the Whitsunday term next to come inclusively; and on the 13th of June following, he is ordained to have restitution of "twenty shillings four pennies, for the inlack of gold whilk he received from the Master of the Hospital for his fee."

and Andrew Brown, merchant, Elders.—The Session, all in one voice, have concluded that Mr. Henry Adamson be entered by the Ministers to the lettron and to the office of the Readership at the evening prayers, to continue in serving the cure thereof, and to have a stipend therefor yearly so long as he remains Reader and discharges the duties thereof, according as the Council and Session convened together in the Revestry this day aforenoon has concluded upon, set down in the books of the acts of Council of this Burgh, whereunto thir presents are relative.

From this time we see little more in the Register respecting Mr. Adamson, till the beginning of 1637 (the year before publication of his Poem), when it would appear he fell into bad health. The minute of 16th January, in which Messrs. John Robertson and Joseph Laurie are entered as ministers, "the Hospital Master is ordained by the Session to give Mr. William Chapman, for his service in the Kirk, in supplying Mr. Henry Adamson, Reader, sickly an long time bygone, the sum of twenty pounds; and the Session request the Council to give him as meikle." Again, of date 13th February following—"Whilk day the Session of the Kirk of Perth, in due consideration of the honest and decent behaviour of Mr. Henry Adamson, Reader, discharging the duty thereof sufficiently, but (viz. without) blame or spot, ever since his admission thereto, and now being visited with sickness—if at the pleasure of God he do not recover his health, as God forbid: In that case the Session ordains the Masters of the Hospital, present and to come, to contract and pay to the said Mr. Henry's executors his fee and stipend addebted by the Session to him from the term of Martinmas last was, unto the feast and term of Whitsunday next to come, but (without) any exception."

There is reason to infer that Mr. Adamson did not outlive this last-mentioned term. There is still in the Greyfriars burying-ground a tombstone erected to the memory of his wife, Katherine Buchanan, who had deceased before him. The inscription is partially obliterated. The arms of both families, Adamson and Buchanan, are emblazoned on this memento.

It is believed that the *Gabions* and *Muses' Threnodie* were written about 1620. He for a long time declined to publish them; but being at length persuaded, he prepared them for the press, and sent a copy in manuscript of the *Threnodie* to the celebrated poet, Drummond of Hawthornden, who, after perusal, transmitted the following letter to the author, too late for him to receive. Cant says he died in 1639; but this seems to be a mistake.

To my worthy Friend, Mr. Henry Adamson.

SIR—These papers of your mournings on Mr. Gall appear unto me as *Alcibiadis Sileni*, which ridiculously look with the faces of Sphinges, Chimæras, Centaurs, on their outsides; but inwardlie containe rare artifice, and rich jewels of all sorts, for the delight and weal of man. They may deservedlie bear the word, *non intus ul extra*. Your two champions, noble zany (buffoons) discovers to us many of the antiquities of this country, more of your ancient town of Perth, setting downe

her situation, founders, her huge colosse or bridge, walls, fousies, aqueducts, fortifications, temples, monasteries, and many other singularities. Happie hath Perth been in such a citizen; not so other townes of this kingdome, by want of so diligent a searcher and preserver of their fame from oblivion. Some muses, neither to themselves nor to others do good, nor delighting nor instructing. Yours perform both, and longer to conceal them will be to wrong your Perth of her due honours, who deserveth no less of you than that she should be thus blazoned and registrate to posterity, and to defraud yourself of a monument, which, after you have left this transitory world, shall keep your name and memory to after times. This shall be preserved by the towne of Perth, for her own sake first, and after for yours; for to her it hath been no little glory, that she hath brought for such a citizen, so eminent in love to her, so dear to the muses.

W. D.

Edinburgh, 12th July, 1637.

Mr. Adamson was held in high estimation for wit, learning, and amenity of manners and disposition, and he accordingly died much lamented. It is evident, from the *Muses' Threnodie*, the warmest friendship subsisted between the poet, Mr. George Ruthven, and Mr. John Gall. Ruthven practised as a physician in Perth, and was a descendant of the Gowrie family. Mr. Gall was a merchant, of a congenial temper and spirit with his two confreres. His premature death, of consumption, gave occasion for the eloquent and descriptive poem that follows.* The poet's brother, John Adamson, was Principal of the University of Edinburgh, a gentleman distinguished for scholarship, and a taste highly cultivated and refined. The publication of the poems was superintended by him.

* Mr. Cant says, the representative of the Gall family was John Gall of Kinloch, Esq. The Galls in the Muirton were said to be of the same race. Walter Kier, merchant, married a daughter of the house of Kinloch, and had issue—John, physician in Cornwall; Patrick, of Kinmonth, justice of the peace; and Margaret, married to William Small of Kindrogan, writer in Perth.

The Muses' Threnodie.

Of Mr. George Ruthven the tears and mournings,
Amidst the giddie course of fortune's turnings,
Upon his dear friend's death, Mr. John Gall,
Where his rare ornaments bear a part, and wretched *Gabions* all.

THE FIRST MUSE.

Now must I mourn for Gall, since he is gone,
And ye my *Gabions* help me him to mone;
And in your courses sorrow for his sake,
Whose matchless Muse immortal did you make.

Who now shall pen your praise and make you knowne,
By whom now shall your virtues be forth showne:

Who shall declare your worth? is any able?
Who dare to meddle with Apelles table?
Ah me! there's none: And is there none indeed?

Then must ye mourn of force, there's no re- And I for my part, with you in my turne
Shall keep a dolefull comfort whilst ye mourne:

And thus with echoing voice, shall howl and cry,
Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die?

Now first my Bowes begin this dolefull song;

No more with clangors let your shafts be in fields abroad, but in my cabine stay,
And help me for to mourn till dying day.
With dust and cobwebs cover all your heads,
And take you to your matins and your beads:

A requiem sing unto that sweetest soul,
Which shines now sainted above other pole.
And ye my clubs, you must no more prepare
To make your balls flee whistling in the air:
But ling your heads, and bow your crooked crags,

And dress you all in sackcloth and in rags:
No more to see the sun, nor fertile fields,
But closely keep your mourning in your fields;

And for your part the trible to you take,
And when you cry, make all your crags to crake

And shiver when you sing, alas! for Gall!
Ah! if our mourning might thee now recall!
And ye my loadstones of Lednochian lakes,

Collected from the loughs, where watrie
Do much abound, take unto you a part,
And mourn for Gall, who loved you with his heart,

In this sad dump and melancholick mood,
The burdoun ye must bear, not on the flood
Or frozen watrie plaines, but let your tuning,

Come help me for to weep by mournfull
And ye the rest my *Gabions*, less and more,
Of noble kind, come help me for to roare!
And of my woefull weeping take a part,
Help to declare the dolour of mine heart:
How can I choose but mourne? when I think on

Our games Olympick-like in times agone.
Chiefly where in our cunning we did try,
And matchless skill in noble archerie.

In these our days when archers did abound
In Perth, then famous for such pastimes found:

Among the first, for archers we were known,
And for that art our skill was loudly blown:
What time Perth's credit did stand with the best

And bravest archers this land hath possesst.
We spar'd nor gaines nor paines for to report

To Perth the worship, by such noble sport;
Witness the Links of Leith, where Cowper,
Grahame,

And Stewart won the prize, and brought it
And in these games did offer ten to three,
There to contend: *Quorum pars magna fui.*

I mourn, good Gall, when I think on that
stead,
Where ye did hail your shaft unto the head;
And with a strong and steadfast eye and hand,

So valiantly your bow yee did command;
A sliddrie shaft forth of its forks did fling,
Clank gave the bow, the whistling air did ring;

The bowlt did cleave the clouds, and threat the skyes,

And thence down falling to the mark it flies;
Incontinent the aimer gave a token,
The mark was kill'd, the shaft in flinders broken:

Then softly smiling, good Gall, thus, quod I,
Now find I time my archerie to try.

And here by solemm vow I undertake,
In token of my love, even for thy sake,
Either to hit the mark, else shall I never
More with these arms of mine, use bow and quiver;

Therewith my ligaments I did extend,
And then a noble shaft I did commend
Unto my bow, then firmly fix't mine eye,
And closely level'd ad Orion's knee;

A star of greatest magnitude, who ken'd it
So well as I, prays you be not offended;
(For I did use no magick incantation,
For to conduct my shaft, I will find cation:)

Then cleverly my flen soome can I feather,
Upon my left arm was a brace of leather;
And with three fingers haling up the string,
The bow in semicircle did I bring,

With soft and tender lowse out went the shaft,

Amidst the clouds the arrow flew aloft:
And as directed by a skillfull hand,
With speedie hand, the steadfast mark it

found. ^[known]
The aimer gave his signe, furthwith was
The shot was mine, the bowlt in flinders

flown,
Above his shaft, in such difficile stead,
Closely I hit the mark upon the head:

Then on the plain we caprel'd wonder fast,
Wherent the people gazing were agast:

With kind embracements did we thurst and
thrimble,
(For in these days I was exceeding nimble;) We leap't, we danç't, we loudly laugh't, we cry'd.

For in the earth such skill was never try'd
In archerie, as we prov'd in these days,
Whereby we did obtain immortal praise:
Then, gossip Gall, quod I, I dare approve,
Thou hast a trusty token of my love.

What shall be said of other martial
games? [stemines;
None was inlaking from whence bravest
Victorious trophees, palmes, and noble
pynes,

Olives, and lawrels, such as ancient times
Decor'd the Grecian victors in their playes,
And worthie Romanes in their brave as-
sayes, [with other,

For tryal of their strength each match'd
Whose beauty was, sweat mix'd with dust
together:

Such exercises did content us more,
Than if we had posses'd King Croesus' store.
But, O! ye fields, my native Perth neerby,
Prays you to speak, and truly testifie:

What matchless skill we prov'd in all these
places,

Within the compass of three thousand paces
On either side, while as we went a shooting,
And strongly strove who should bring home
the booting; [inoud;

Alongst the flowrie banks of Tay to Al-
Ay when I hit the mark, I cast a gamound;
And there we view the place, where some-
time stood, [flood

The ancient Berjha now o'erflow'd with
Of mighty waters, and that princely hold,
Where dwelt King William, by the stream
down roll'd,

Was utterly defac'd, and overthrown,
That now the place thereof can scarce be
known:

Then through these haughs of fair and fer-
tile ground,

Which, with fruit trees, with corns and
flocks abound, [honey,
Meand'ring rivers, sweet flowers, heavenly
More for our pastime than to conquesh
money, [park,

We went a shooting both through plain and
And never stay'd till we came to Low's
Wark; [us,

Built by our mighty kings for to preserve
That thenceforth waters should not drown,
but serve us;

Yet condescending it admits one rill,
Which all these plains with christal brooks
doth fill; [length,

And by a conduit large, three miles in
Serves to make Perth impregnable for
strength,

At all occasions when her clowes fall,
Making the water mount up to her wall.

When we had viewed this mighty work at
random, [don:

We thought it best these fields for to aban-
And turning home, we spar'd nor dyke nor
lowsie,

Untill we came unto the Boot of Bowsie,
Alongst this aqueduct, and there our station
We made and view'd Balliowsie's situation.
O'erlooking all that spacious pleasant valiey,

With flowers damasked, level as an alley,
Betwixt and Perth, thither did we repair,
(For why the season was exceeding fair:)
Then all amongst this valiey did we hie.

And there the place we clearly did espie,
The precinct, situation, and the stead,
Where ended was that cruel bloody fead,

Between these cursed clans Chattan and
Kay,

Before King Robert John, upon the day
Appointed, then and there, who did con-
vene, [greene,

Thirty 'gainst thirty match'd upon that
Of martial fellows, all in raging mood,
Like furious Ajax, or Orestes wood.

Like furious Ajax, or Orestes wood,
Their sparkling eyes cast fire instead of
words; [tled mustages,
Their horrid beards, thrown brows, brus-
Of deadly blows t' inshew, were true pre-
sages.

Thus standing, fortune's event for to try,
And thousands them beholding, one did cry,
With loud and mighty voice, Stay! hold
your hands!

A little space, we pray, the case thus stands;
One of our number is not here to-day,

This sudden speech did make some little
stay, [fight

Of this most bloody bargain, th' one party
Would not, unless the number were made
right

Unto the adverse faction, nor was any
That would it take in hand, among so many
Beholders of all ranks, into that place
On th' other side, none would sustain dis-
grace,

To be debarred from his other fellowes,
He rather hung seven years upon the gal-
lowes. [length,

Thus, as the question stood, was found at
One Henry Wind, for tryal of his strength
The charge would take, a sadler of his craft,
I wot not well, whether the man was daft,
But for an half French crown he took in
hand

Stoutly to fight so long as he might stand,
And if to be victorious should betide him,
They should some yearly pension provide
him, [maine,

The bargain holds; and then with all their
Their braikens buckled to the fight again;
Incontinent the trumpets loudlie sounded,
And mightilie the great bagpipes were
winded;

Then fell they to 't as fierce as any thunder,
From shoulders arms, and heads from necks
they sunder, [hasht'd,

All raging there in blood, they hew'd and
Their skincoats with the new cut were out-
slash'd; [it,

And scorning death, so bravely did outfight
That the beholders greatlie were affrighted;
But chiefly this by all men was observed,
None fought so fiercely, nor so well deserved

As this their hired souldier, Henrie Winde,
For by his valour, victory inclinde
Unto that side; and ever since those dayes
This proverb current goes, when any says,
How came you here? this answer doth he
finde, [Winde,

I'm for mine owne hand, as fought Henrie
So finely fought he, ten with him escap't,
And of the other but one, in flood who leap't,
And sav'd himself by swimming over Tay,
But to speak more of this we might not stay.

Thence did we take us to the other hand,
From this divided by a christal strand,
From whence the King beheld with open
sight,

The long time doubtfull event of this fight;
From off his pleasant garden's flowery wall,
Which we the Gilted Arbor yet do call,
And here some monuments we did descry,
And ruin'd heaps of great antiquity;

There stood a temple, and religious place,
And here a palace, but ah! woeful case!

Where murder'd was one of the bravest
 Kings, [things
 For wisdom, learning, valour, and such
 As should a prince adorn; who trades and
 arts, [parts,
 By men of matchless skill, brought to thir
 From Italy, low Germany, and France,
 Religion, learning, policy to advance,
 King James the First of everlasting name.
 Kill'd by that mischant traitor, Robert
 Grahame. [him,
 Intending of his crown for to have rob'd
 With twenty-eight wounds in the breast he
 stob'd him.

Unnatural paricide, most bloody traitor!
 Accused be thou, above any creature!
 And curst be all, for so it is appointed,
 That dare presume to touch the Lord's
 anointed! [cor'd,
 This Phoenix Prince our nation much de-
 Good letters and civility restor'd, [faced,
 By long and bloudie wars which were de-
 His royal care made them be re-embraced,
 And he this city mightlie intended [ed
 To have enhanc'd, if fates had condescend-
 For which, if power answer'd, good-will we
 would

With Gorgias Leontinus, raise of gold
 A statue to him, of most curious frame,
 In honour of his dear and worthy name.
 He likewise built most sumptuously fair,
 That much renown'd religious place and
 rare,
 The Charterhouse of Perth a mighty frame,
Vallis Virtutis by a mystic name.
 Looking along that painted spacious field,
 Which doth with pleasure profit sweetly
 yield. [Tay,
 The fair South Inch of Perth and banks of
 This Abbay's steeples; and its turrets stay,
 While as they stood (but ah! where sins
 abound [ground!)

The loftiest pride lies level'd with the
 Were cunningly contriv'd with curious art,
 And quintessence of skill in everie part;
 My Grandsire many times to me hath told it
 He knew their names, this mighty frame
 who moldit [borne,
 Italian some, and some were Frenchmen
 Whose matchless skill this great work did
 adorne, [race
 And living were in Perth, some of their
 When that, alas! demolish'd was this place,
 For greatness, beauty, stateliness so fair
 In Britane's isle, was said, none might com-
 pare.

Even as Apelles for to prove his skill,
 In limning Venus, with a perfect quill,
 Did not on some one beauty take inspection,
 But of all beautys borrowed the perfection;
 Even so this Prince, to policie inclinde,
 Did not on some one fabrick set his minde,
 To make the prototype of his desigine,
 But from all works, did all perfections bring,
 And rarest paterus brought from every
 part,

Where any brave Vitruvius kyth'd his art,
 So that this great and princely enterprise,
 Perfections of all models did comprise.
 And in this place, where he doth buried lye,
 Was kept the relict wherein he did dye,
 His doublet, as a monument reserv'd,
 And when this place was raz'd, it was pre-
 serv'd,
 Which afterwards I did see for my part,
 With hols through which he stabb'd was to
 the heart. [of reason,

Then, good Gall, thus quod I, what shew
 Mov'd this unnatural traitor work such
 treason?

Reason! good Mr. Gall did thus reply,
 Reason! so much in shew I do deny,
 Reason! no reason did he have at all,
 But wormwood, bitter malice, Stygian gall
 Within this traitor's heart did closely lurk,
 Which mov'd him this tragedie to work,
 And I would truly tell this woeful storie,
 But that my tongue doth faile, mine heart's
 so sorie.

Yet whiles that we unto the town do go
 Monsier, the true occasion will I show,
 This worthie Prince, according to the
 taillie [should faille.

Made by King Robert, when heirs male
 Of his son David then Earle of Stratherne,
 So soon, I say, the King as he did learne
 That heirs male of this David were surceast,
 Into these lands he did himself invest:
 For David leaving after him no son,
 His lands by right came back unto the
 crown,

Yet after him one daughter did survive,
 In marriage which to Patrick Grahame
 they give, [Grahame,
 To whom she bore a son, one Melisse
 Whose parents dying young, Robert did
 claime,

As uncle, and as tutor of these lands,
 To have the charge devolved in his hands,
 Which when the King most justly did deny
 To give, and gravelie shew the reason why,
 This bloody traitor from his gorge did spew,
 Words treacherous, nor to be spoke, nor
 true;

For which he justlie Traitor was declar'd.
 But he the King's authoritie nought car'd,
 But more and more pursuing his intent,
 To Walter Earl of Athole straight he went,
 Whom well he knew, to have the like de-
 signe

Above all things for to cut off the King,
 And all the race sprung of Eliza Mure,
 With witches did consult, and sp'rits con-
 jure,

This to effect, and all th' infernal furies,
 With draughts and spells, and such unlaw-
 ful curies

At length, he finding that incarnate fiend,
 Believ'd his response should have stedfast
 end, [dye

Which was, that he should once before he
 Be crowned King, with great solemnitie:
 Which came to pass indeed, but not with
 gold,

For his familiar sp'rit kept that untold:
 Thus these two traitors cruelly did hatch
 The treason which this good King did dis-
 patch. [aime,

Both of these traitors at the crown did
 Th' one thought his nephew might it some
 time claime

And he without all question would succeed,
 For well he knew to cut the fatal threed:
 Likewise that other hell-taught traitor
 Walter, [alter,

Believ'd by no means his response could
 Thus both of them fed with ambitious
 hopes, [scoops,

Kept secret by themselves their partial
 But mutually this one thing they intend,
 The King must die; and here their thoughts
 they spend; [th' other,

But this Earle Walter subtle more than
 His quaint desigine 'gan cunningly to smother;
 Observing well the Grahames proud haugh-
 Greatly aggread the wrongs he did sus-
 taine,

Affirming that there was none had a heart,
 But would avenged be, and for his part,

He would assist, and when the turne were ended, [fended,
 Against all deadly, Grahame should be de-
 Thus by ambition witch't, and rage de-
 mented,
 This traitor execut what was intened,
 Who from the famous Trojan had his name,
 And from the woods when he did hear the
 fame
 Of this infamous fact, at Edinburghe then
 Residing, to make peace between these men
 Who of the Greek and Trojans are de-
 cended,
 O how he was enraged! O how offended!
 To see so brave a Prince so traiterouslie
 Cut off, he roar'd and rail'd outrageouslie
 'Gainst all the nation, but when he justice
 done,
 Had seen upon the traitours, then his tune
 He quickly chang'd, now have I seen (said
 he),
 A cruel crime revenged cruellie.
 This tragick task, Monsier, in hand to take,

Mine eyes do melt in tears, mine heart
 strings crake,
 What! shall I speak of Priam King of Troy,
 By Pyrrhus kill'd? that cannot much an-
 noy,
 Or shall I of brave Julius Cæsar tell,
 Whom these two traitors did in senate kill?
 These may affect us with some small com-
 passion,
 But for to speak of this, is a tentation.
 Cæsar for valour, learning, and meek mind;
 And ah! too much like Cæsar in his end.
Excusa Moi, Monsier, mine heart's so sorie,
 That I can tell you no more of this storie.
 When I think with what gravitie and grace
 This tragedie was told, tears weet my face;
 And I do wish, good Gall, thou were on live,
 That with Mæonian stile thou mightst de-
 scribe
 Such memorable acts, or else thy spirit
 In some new body plac'd, it to inherit: [cry,
 Ah me! this cannot be, which makes me
 Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die?

THE SECOND MUSE.

But this sad melancholick disquisition,
 Did not befit our jovial disposition,
 In these our days: therefore when we had
 mourned [ed,
 For this good King, we to the town return-
 And there to cheere our hearts and make
 us merrie,
 We kindly tasted of the noble berrie;
 Melancholie and grief are great men-killers:
 Therefore from Tamarisk, with some ca-
 pillars
 Infuse we drank, for to preserve our splens
 From grief, our lungs from cough, and
 purge our reins;
 But this receipt Gall did not keep alway,
 Which made him die, alas! before his day.
 Then home we went, into our beds to rest
 us, [us;
 To-morrow again we to the fields address
 And in my bed as I did dreaming ly, [cry,
 Me thought I heard with mighty voice, one
 Arise, Monsier! the day is wonderous fair,
 Monsier, arise; then answered I, who's there?
 Arise, Monsier, the third time did it call.
 Who's there? quoth I, it is I, Master Gall,
 Then I awoke, and found it so indeed,
 Good-morrow, Mr. Gall, Monsier, God speed.
 Good Mr. Gall, dreams did me much molest
 This night, and almost rave me of my rest;
 Mousier, quoth Gall, what motion might
 that be?
 Said I, I dream'd I was in archerie
 Outmatch'd so far, that I was striken
 dumbe,
 For very grief to be so overcome. [sion,
 Monsier, said he, that's been a mighty pas-
 That hath you striken dumb in such a
 fashion.
 A passion so great that I did sweat,
 My sinews tremble, and my heart did beat.
 At length, respiring, these few words did
 speak,
 O noble heart of force, now must thou
 break!
 For to these days was never in this land
 That did o'ercome this matchless maiden
 hand;
 And dreaming, as I judg'd with Mr. Gall,
 Incontinent a voice on me did call,
 Arise, Monsier, arise: then I awoke,
 And found it was Gall's voice unto me spoke,
 Which made me doubt if so could come to
 passe:

Then answer'd Gall, altho' your bow were
 brasse, [do it,
 That might be done, and I'm the man will
 What say you Gall? quod I, then let us to it.
 Furthwith we dress'd us in our archer
 grath, [wrath:
 And to the fields we came, like men in
 When we our nerves and tendons had ex-
 tended,
 Incontinent our bowes were bravely bended:
 The skie was wondrous cleer, Apollo fair,
 Greatly delighted to behold us there:
 And did disperse the clouds, that he might
 see
 What matchless skill we prov'd in archerie.
 The cristal river Phæbus' beams reflected,
 As glad of us, them in our face directed:
 The flowrie plains, and mountains all the
 while
 That we were shooting, merrilie did smile.
 Meanwhile, for honours praise, as we were
 swelting [melting,
 The sweat from off our brows and temples
 Phæbus, as seeming to envie our skill,
 His quiver with some fierce shafts did fill,
 And from his silver bow at us he darted
 These shafts, to make us faint and feeble
 hearted: [pose,
 Whose mighty force we could not well op-
 Under a shade we therefore did repose
 A pretty while hard by a silver streame,
 Which did appeare some melody to fraime,
 Running alongst the snow white pibble
 stones
 Mourning, did murmure joys, commix't
 with moanes.
 A cup I had with woodbind of the wall,
 And drinking said, this to you, Master Gall.
 Quoth he, Monsier, since that we have no
 better,
 With all my heart, I will you pledge in
 water.
 This brook alongst the flowrie plain mean-
 ders,
 And in a thousand compasses it wanders;
 And as it softly slides so many wayes,
 It sweetly sings as many roundelayes,
 And harmonie to keep, the honie bees
 Their trumpets sound amongst the flowers
 and trees,
 Their shadowes from their shaggy tops
 down sending [ring:
 Did bow, in token of their homage roud-

But in short while Phœbus his face with-drew,
 Then freshly fell we to't again of new;
 And kyth most skilful and most pleasant
 game,
 While to the lands of Loncartie we came.
 Then thus, quod I, good Gall, I pray thee
 show,
 For clearly all antiquities yee know:
 What mean these skonses, and these hol-
 low trenches,
 Throughout these fallow fields and yonder
 inches? mids,
 And these great heaps of stones like pira-
 Doubtless all these ye knew, that so much
 reads: [ply]
 These trenches be (Gall answering, did re-
 Where these two armies, Scots and Danes,
 did ly
 Incamped, and these heaps the trophies be,
 Rear'd in memorial of that victory,
 Admir'd, unlook'd-for conquest in that day,
 By the only virtue of a handsman, Hay,
 And his two sons, from whence immortal
 praise
 He gain'd, and glory of his name did raise
 To all succeeding ages: as is said
 Of Briareus an hundred hands who had,
 Wherewith he fought, or rather as we see
 A valiant Samson, whose activitie,
 With his asse-bone kills thousands, or a
 shangar,
 With his oxegoad kills hundreths, in his
 anger:
 Even so this warlike wight, with oxens yolk
 Beats squadrons down by his undaunted
 stroke,
 And did regain the victorie neere lost
 Unto the Scots, by his new gather'd host
 Of fearful fleers, in a wotul plight,
 By his encouragements infusing might
 Into their nerves, new spirits in their ar-
 ters, [ters,
 To make them fight in blood, unto the gar-
 Against their hateful foes, who for to be
 Did fight, more than for place or victorie.
 Such cruelties their bloudie hearts possesset,
 To have old quarrels on us Scots redrest,
 For utterly quell'd Pights, and for their own
 Armies by us so often overthrowen.
 This worthy chieftain's happy enterprize,
 Which sav'd this countrie from the tyran-
 nies
 Of cruel Danes, and his two Mars-like sons
 Do for all ages wear the quernal crowns,
 Like Thrasibulus; ever bluming bayes,
 Do add much splendor to the worthy Hayes.
 And always since, they for their weapons
 weild,
 Three rubrick targets in a silver shield.
 Which shield the soaring falcon doth sus-
 taine,
 To signify these three men did obtene
 The publick safety, and the falcon's flight
 By mounting, shews their worth; by light-
 ing right
 Unto their lands; for honours high regard;
 Which in all ages should have due reward,
 Like all shall finde, who loyal to the state
 And countries well do prove, tho' small or
 great:
 Men shall them praise, God shall preserve
 their stemmes,
 Immortal fame shall canonize their names.
 Hence forward went we unto Campsie
 Lin, [din
 From whence the river falling makes such
 As Nilus Catadups: there so we sported,
 It is impossible for to report it:
 Whither we walk'd, or did we sit, or stand,
 Quiver was tied to side, and bow in hand;

So that none thought us to be mortal
 wights,
 But either Phœbus or fair Phœbe's knights:
 There we admirod to see the salmond leap,
 And over-reach the waters mighty heap,
 Which from a mountain falls, so high and
 steep,
 And tumbling down devals into the deep,
 Making the boylng waters to rebound,
 Like these great surges near by Greenland
 found,
 Yet these small fish o'ercome these wat'rie
 mountains, [tains,
 And kindly take them to their mother foun-
 With what affection everie creature tenders
 The native soil! hence comes, great Jove
 remembers
 His cradle Creet, and worthie more than he,
 Let th' idle Cretians at their pleasure lie,
 Even these most worthy Kings of mighty
 race,
 Come of great Fergus, long to see the face
 Of their dear Caledonia, whose soyle
 Doth make their kindly hearts within them
 boyle, [arms,
 To view these fields where martial men of
 Great monuments have rais'd with loud
 alarms [kings
 Of thundering trumpets, by a hundred
 And seven, one queen; what antient poet
 sings
 The like descent of princes, who their crowns
 And scepters have bestowed upon their sons
 Or nearest kinsman? neither is it so
 That this continued line had never foe
 To interrupt the same; witness these stand-
 ers [manders
 That bear the Roman eagle, great com-
 Of most part of the globe, and cruel Danes
 Victorious elsewhere, but not in our planes,
 Fights and old Britains, more than these to
 tell,
 Who in the compass of this island dwell,
 But praise be God, Britaine is now com-
 binde, [minde,
 In faith and truth, one King, one God, one
 Let scoffers say that neither wine nor oyle
 (Whose want stay'd conquest) grows with-
 in this soyle.
 Yet if gold, pearl, or silver better be,
 As most men them account, it doth supplie;
 Yea, things more needful for man's use it
 yeelds,
 Herds, flocks, and cornes abound here in
 our fields,
 Wild beasts in forests of all kinds in plentie,
 Rare fowls, fruits, fishes, and what else is
 daintie;
 Perpetual fire, to speak it in a word,
 The like no where is found, it doth afford.
 Thus Providence divine hath it ordain'd,
 That human commerce may be entertain'd,
 All soyls should have, yet none brings all
 things forth,
 Yea, grounds most barren oft have greatest
 worth,
 Contained in their bowels, this to tell us,
Non omnia producit omnus tellus;
 Hence comes that men their gold for yron
 change,
 And so far from their native countrys range,
 Their softest silk for coarsest canvase give,
 Because by commerce men do better live,
 Then by such things their native grounds
 forth measure,
 By trafficke they do find more gain and
 pleasure; [are,
 Yea, things more simple, much more useful
 And for man's well more profitable far.
 Thus yron serves for all brave arts, much
 more

God shall befriend thy friends, and shall all those
 Array with shame, who causeless be thy foes:
 Thou art this antient kingdom's bravest part, (heart)
 For wit and worth, thou art its hand and And who the kingdoms compend brave would see,
 Needs do no more but survey take of thee:

Hence these desires fair Caledonia's soil
 To view, when bravest stratagems with toil
 Have acted been, hence comes these kindlie wishes,
 To see these fields, even like these kindlie fishes,
 Which we behold o'ercome this mightie lin,
 And seek the fountains where they did be- gin.

THE THIRD MUSE.

Thus as we did behold the salmon sporting,
 We spied some countrie clowns to us resort- ing,
 Who striken were with sudden admiration,
 To see us graithed in such antique fashion,
 Their staring eyes grew blind, their tongues were dumb,
 A chilling cold their senses did benumb;
 Said we, What moves yon ghosts to look so griesly? (wieselie)
 They scarcely muttering, answered, and not Oft have we heard of such strauge wights as ye,
 But to this time we did them never see,
 If ye be men or not, scarce can we tell,
 Ye look like men, yet none such here do dwell; (stupid)
 Then said good Gall, Monsier, these fellows Doubtless take me for Mars, and you for Cupid:
 Therefore let us be gone, we will not tarie,
 You clowns will swear that they have seen the fairie, (fire)
 When they come home at night, and by the Will tell such uncouth tales, all will admire,
 Both man and wife, the lads and all the lasses,
 For be ye sure such clowns are very asses.
 Thence down the river bank as we did walk,
 Aud merrilie began to chant and talk,
 A pretty boat with two oars we espy'd,
 Fleeting upon the waters, then we cry'd,
 How, boatmen come; two fisher men near by,
 Thus answer'd us again, and who doth cry?
 Said we, good friends, to favour us delay not,
 The day is very hot, and walk we may not;
 Therefore your kindly courtesie implores,
 To let us have these little pair of oars:
 For down the river we would make our way,
 And land at Perth; With all our heart, said they,
 For we likewise at Perth would gladly be,
 Only we want such companie as yee.
 All men were glad of us, none did refuse,
 What ever thing it please us, ask or chuse;
 Then we embarked with two boys in train,
 Who recollect our shafts, and these two men,
 As down the river did we softly slide,
 The banks most sweetlie smil'd on either side: (joice)
 To see the flowres, our hearts did much re- The banwort, dazie, and the fragrant rose,
 Favonius in our faces sweetly blew
 His breath, which did our fainting sp'rits renew
 Then with Sicilian muse, can we dissemble
 Our secret flames? making our voices trem- ble;
 While as we sweetlie sung kind Amarylhis,
 And did complain of our sweet lovely Phyl- lis: (mountains,
 So sadly, that the nymphs of woods and
 And these which also haunt the plains and fountains;
 Barelegged to the brawns, arms bare, and
 Like whitest ivory bare unto the waste,

The lillies and the roses of their faces,
 Running more pleasant made their waving tresses, (nigh,
 Well curled with the winde: all these drew
 The waters brink, in song to keep reply,
 Treading the flowres, when Gall them so espy'd:
 O! how he cast his eyes on either side
 And wish'd t'have smel'd on flow'r where they had traced, (embraced)
 Judge what he would have given to have
 But chiefly echo fetter'd was in love.
 At every word we spoke her tongue did move, (draw nye?)
 Then did we call, sweet nymph, pray thee
 She answered us most willingly, said, I.
 Draw near, said Gall, for gladly would I please thee;
 Do not deny to hear me, she said, ease thee:
 Then come, sweet nymph, thy face fain would I know,
 She quickly answered him again, said, No:
 Why so, said he? Here is there no Narcissus,
 To this her old love's name did answer, Kiss us;
 Kiss us, said he, with all my heart, again.
 This is the thing I would: She answer'd, gain,
 Gain! such a gain, said he, I crave alway,
 No countenance she shews, yet answers, ay;
 And bashfully obacures her blushing face,
 Lest from Cephisus son, she finds disgrace;
 But if that she had known Gall's tender mind,
 She had not prov'd so bashful and unkind:
 When ended were our songs with perfect close,
 We thought it best to merrie be in prose:
 Then seriously and truly to discourse,
 Of diverse matters grave, we fell by course,
 But chiefly of this blind world's practice had,
 Preferring unto learning any trade;
 For these ill times had not in such account
 Men learned, as the former ages wont:
 But if the worth of learning well they knew,
 Good Gall, quoth I, they would make much of you,
 In poetry so skilled and so well read
 In all antiquitie, what can be said,
 Whereof you fluentlie can now discourse,
 Even like the current of this rivers course?
 Things absent, you can present make ap- pear,
 And things far distant, as if they were near,
 Things senseless, unto them give sense can yee, (and see)
 And make them touch, taste, smell, and hear
 What cannot poets do? they life can give,
 And after fatal stroke can make men live;
 And if they please to change their tune or note,
 They'll make men's names to stink and rot.
 Who did fix Hercules among the stars?
 And Diomedes for his wit in wars
 Made equal to the gods? but odious
 For vice Thersites vile, and Sisyphus?
 Thus were th' immortal Muses, who do sing,

As vice and virtue do their subjects bring;
Therefore this counsel wisdom doth impart
you,

Flee filthie vice, and entertaine fair virtue?
Yet 'tis not so that everie spirit fell,
Whose wicked tongue is set on fire of hell,
Nor everie Momus nor Archilochus,
Whose mouths do vomit venom poysonous,
Hath inspiration of the sacred Muses,
Such wickedness the Aonian band refuses;
But he who will most gravely censure can,
And virtues praise advance in any man
With perfect numbers, such one is a poet,
But in thir days, alas! few men do know it,
Like my dear Gall who gravely did reply,
A good Mæcenus lets not poets die;
Poets make men on gold-wing'd fame to flie,
When lands with loss, life chang'd with
death shall be.

As we thus talk'd, our barge did sweetly
pass (was)
By Scone's fair palace, sometime Abbay
Strange change, indeed! yet is it no new
guise,
Both spiritual lands, and men to temporize;
But palace fair which doth so richly stand,
With gardens, orchards, parks on either
hand, (allow-deer,
Where flowers and fruits, the hart and
For smell, for taste, for venison and cheer,
The nose, the mouth and palate which may
please,

For gardens, chambers, for delight and ease,
Damask't with porphyric and alabaster,
Thou art not subject for each poetaster,
But for a poet, master in his art, (part;
Which thee could whole describe, and everie
So to the life as 'twere in perspective,
As readers that they see thee might believe;
Meanwhile our boat doth with the river
side, (abide,

The countrie nymphs who in these parts
With many a shout moving both head and
hand,
Did us invite that we might come a land;
Not now, said we, and think it not disdain,
For we do promise for to come again,
And view where sometime stood your ca-
thedral,

And mount, which *omnis terra* you do call.
Just by this time we see the Bridge of
Tay,

O happy sight, indeed, was it that day!
A bridge so stately with eleven arches,
Joining the south and north, and common
march is

Unto them both, a bridge of squared stone,
So great and fair, which when I think upon,
How in these days it did so prouddie stand,
O'erlooking both the river and the land,
So fair, so high, a bridge for many ages
Most famous; but, alas! now through the
rages

Of furious swelling waters thrown in deep,
My heart for sorrow sobs, mine eyes do
weep: (speak,
And if my tongue should cease to cry and
Undoubteddie my griefs'-swoln heart would
break.

But courage, Monsier, my good genius says,
Remember ye not how Gall in those days
Did you comfort, lest melancholious fits
Had you opprest, your spleen so nearlie sits,
And told you in the year threescore thir-
teen, (tain,
The first downfal this bridge did e'er sus-
by ruin of three arches next the town,
Yet were rebuilt, thereafter were thrown
down.

Five arches in the year fourseore and two
Re-edified likewise, and who doth know,

Monsier, but ah, mine heart can scarcely
sober! (tober,

Even that great fall the fourteenth of Oc-
Six hundred twenty one, repair'd may be?
And I do wish, the same that I might see:
For Britain's Monarch will it sure repair,
Courage therefore, Monsier, do not despair!
I't credible to be believ'd or told,
That these our Kings who did possess of old
Scotland alone, should such a work erect,
And Britain's mighty Monarch it neglect?
Absurd it is to think, much more to speak
it; (it,

Therefore, good Monsier, yee do far mistake
For never yet a King was more inclin'd
To do great works, nor of a braver mind;
Providing he can have due information,
His word will prove of powerful operation,
For Kings are gods on earth, and all their
actions (tions,

Do represent th' Almighty's great perfec-
Thus Gall's sweet words often do me
comfort,

And my good genius truly doth report
Them unto me, else sure my spleen would
wholly

Be overcome with fits of melancholie.
Therefore I courage take, and hope to see
A bridge yet built, although I aged be;
More stately, firm, more sumptuous and
fair,

Than any former age could yet compare.
Thus Gall assured me it would be so,
And my good genius truly doth it know:
For what we do presage is not in grose,
For we be brethren of the rosie cross;

We have the mason word and second sight,
Things for to come we can foretell aright,
And shall we show what misterie we mean,
In fair necrosticks *Carolus Rex* is seen,
Describ'd upon that bridge in perfect gold,
By skilfull art this cleerlie we behold,
With all the scutcheon of Great Britaine's
King, (bring,

Which unto Perth most joyfull news shall
Loath would we be this misterie to unfold,
But for King Charles his honour we are
bold.

And as our boat most pleasantly did
pass,

Upon the crystal river clear as glass;
My dearest Gall, quoth I, long time I spend,
Revolving from beginning to the end
All our records, yet searching cannot find
First when this bridge was built; therefore
thy mind

Fain would I know, for I am verrie sorrrie
Such things should be omitted in our storie.
Monsier, said Gall, things many of that kind
To be omitted often do we find;
Yea, time hath also greatest works de-
stroyed, (employed;

Wherein the learn'dest penne has been
But if that I should tell what I do know,
An antient storie I could to you show,
Which I have found in an old manuscript,
But in our late records is overslpt:
Which storie no less probable is than true,
And, my good Monsier, I will show it you.
I leave to speak what Hollinshed hath told
O' Cunidad, was Britaine's King of old,
The time Uzzial was of Judah King,
And Jeroboam did over Israel reign;
Ere Rome a city was years forty five,
Ere sons of Rheca did for inasterie strive,
How that this heathen built three cells of
stone,

To Mercurie, at Bongor, built he one,
His way for to direct; then to Apollio,
At Cornuel, another did he hallow,
For favourable response; the third to Mars,

Where Perth now stands, for to assist his wars.

But, good Monsier, this story is too old,
Therefore I leave the rest of it untold.
The time will not permit me to out read it,
I'm sure in Hollinshed yee often read it.
I will a storie of no less credit tell,
In after ages truly what befell.

When mightie Romaines came into this soil,

With endless labour and undaunted toil,
After great conflicts and uncertain chance
Of fortunes dye, they did in arms advance
At length unto these parts where Perth
doth stand,

Under the conduct and victorious hand
Of that most valiant Chieftain of great fame,
Brave Julius Agricola by name.

And there, hard by a river side, they found
The fairest and most pleasant plat of ground
That since by bank of Tiber they had been,
The like for beauty seldom had they seen,
Of eighteen hundred paces good in length,
From Muretoun braes to foot of Carnac's
strength, [hill,

King of the Pights which stood on Moredun
The foot thereof from Friers dwelt therein-
till, [paces,

Now named is, in breadth eight hundred
Painted with white, red, yellow, flowerie
faces

So equal fare, which when they did espy,
Incontinent they campus Martius cry.
And as an happy presage they had seen,
They fix their tents amidst that spacious
green.

Right where now Perth doth stand, and
cast their trenches,
Even where Perth's fowsies are, between
these inches,

The south and north, and bastalies they
make [to break,

The power and strength of Scots and Piets
Who presently would fight, by wise cuncta-
tion, [tion;

They frustrate all their hope and expecta-
Tⁿ abate his enemies rage and courage too,
Finding the place even to their hearts de-
sire, [fire,

With grass for pasture stor'd, and wood for
The river likewise very oportune,
For lighter vessels to pass up and down,
And correspondence with their navy make,
As soldiers wise, they all occasions take,
And do conclude to winter in that place,
To toile their foes, by voluntary chase.

Mean while courageously they do advise,
A bridge to build, for further enterprise,
Then furthwith fall they with redoubled
stroaks,

To fell the tall fir trees and aged oaks,
Some square the timber with a stretched
line,

Some do the tenons and the morties joine,
Some frame an oval, others make a cub,
Some cut a section, other some do grub,
Some with great compasse semicircles
forme, [worme,

Some drive the wages, painfullie some

Some do hoise up the standers, others fixe
them; [them;

And some lay goodlie rafters o'er betwixt
What strength or skill can work from point
to point.

They cunningly contrive with angular joint,
And do most strongly bind these configura-
tions, [itious,

To make them stand against all inunda-
All men are set to frame, all hands are
working,

And all engines are busied without irking:
Thus in short space, a bridge they stronglie
make [sake,

With passage fair, and for their safeties
A mightie strength to be, they frame with hall,
On either end, a bridge to lift and fall,
That soldiers might within it keep at ease,
Admitting or repelling as they please.

Thus fortified, lest that they should ne-
glect,

Due honour to their gods, they did erect
To Mars a temple, rather did restore
The temple built by Cunidad before;

For time on all things worketh demolition,
And heathen men maintaine like supersti-
tion. [river

Then did this valiant chieftaine name the
In Italies remembrance New Tiber,
Which afterwards it kept for many a day,
How long I know not. Now 'tis called Tay.
Likewise an house of mighty stone he
framed, [ed,

From whence our Castle-gavil as yet is nam-
And if Domitian had not call'd him home,
I think he should have built another Rome.
But all these monuments were worn away,
Ere did King William Perth's foundations
lay,

Only Mar's temple stood upon that greene,
And th' house built by Agricola was seene,
And some characters cunninglie incis'd,
With Julius Agricola impris'd
In solid marmor, and some print was found,
Where camped had an armie, and the
ground

Where there had been a bridge: all which
did yield

Occasion to King William for to build
After old Bertha's overthrow, that city,
These ancient walls, and famous bridge; ah
pitie

If they were as! but what doth not the rage
Of men demolish, and consuming age?
For good King William seeing where had
bene

Of old a passage, forthwith did ordaine
A mightie bridge of squared stone to be,
These famous walls and fowsies which we
see, [power,

Perth his chief strength to make, and seat of
Did with most ample priviledge indue her.
These be the first memorials of a bridge,
Good Monsier, that we truly can alledge.

Thus spoke good Gall, and I did much re-
joyce
To hear him these antiquities disclose;
Which I remembering now, of force must
cry,

Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die?

THE FOURTH MUSE.

This time our boat passing too nigh the
land, [sand;
The whirling stream did make her run on
Aluif, we cry'd, but all in vain 't abide,
We were constrain'd, till flowing of the tide.
Then Master Gall, quod I, even for my
blessing

Now let us go, the pretious pearles a fishing,
Th' occasion serveth well, while here we
stay [Tay,

To catch these muscles, you call toyt of
Its possible if no ill eye bevitch us

We jewels finde, for all our days 'tenrich
us:

The waters here are shald, and clear, and
 warme, [harme,
 To bath our arms and limbs will do no
 For these sweet streams have power to
 bring back [slack
 Our spirits which in outward parts make
 Our natural strength, but when these spi-
 rits retire,
 They multiply our heat and inbred fire;
 Helping our vital, and our natural parts,
 Our lungs, our livers, stomachs, and our
 hearts,
 And mightilie refrigerate our reins,
 But above all they do refresh our spleens.
 For such a bathing bravely doth expell
 Melancholie, which makes the spleen to
 swell
 More than it should, causing an attrophie,
 That we like skellets rather seem to be
 Than men, and Atropos appears to laugh,
 Thinking we look more like an epitaph
 Than marriage song; likewise it doth us
 make
 Both support and collation freshlic take.
 Content, said Gall; then off our shoes we
 drew, [threw,
 And hose, and from us we our doublets
 Our shirt-sleeves wreathing up, without
 more speeches,
 And high above our knees we pulling our
 breeches, [reach
 In waters go, then streight mine arms I
 Unto the ground, whence cleverlie I fetch
 Some of these living pearled shells, which do
 Excell in touching and in tasting too,
 As all who search do by experience try,
 And we oftimes; therewith I loudlie cry,
 Good Master Gall, beheld I found a pearle,
 A Jewel I assure you for an earle,
 Be silent, said good Gall, or speak at lea-
 sure, [treasure,
 For men will cut your throat to get your
 If they its worth did know so well as I,
 Harpocrates my patience would try,
 Said I againe, for I am not like such,
 Who hurd their treasure and their speech
 as much.
 But Gall, to stay long no wayes would be
 moved,
 This element, said he, I never loved.
 To land: on goeth our cloaths, alongst the
 way,
 Then did we go, and taking clear survey,
 How proper Perth did stand, one might
 have drawn
 In lanskip fair, on paper or on lawn.
 Good Gall, said I, oftimes I heard of old,
 To be of truth these things ere while you
 told: [said,
 But of these walls I doubt that which you
 That good King William their foundations
 layd.
 Their founding is more late, I you assure:
 That we from strangers' rage may be se-
 cure,
 They builded were, even then when James
 did reigne
 The second, and in minor age was King,
 Upon a bloodie slaughter, I hear tell,
 Which 'twixt our town and Highlandmen
 befell;
 For taking, as the custom was, a staig
 At Midsummer: said Gall, Monsier, you
 vaig, [move:]
 Which word indeed my spleene almost did
 Then Gall, said I, if that I did not love
 You most intirely, I would be offended.
 Said he, good Monsier, would you have it
 mented?
 Then I that storie will you truely tell,
 And if I fail so much as in a spell,

Speak all your pleasure, I my peace will
 hold, [bold:
 And grant my tongue in speaking was too
 Therefore, Monsier, be not so much an-
 noy'd, [destroy'd,
 These walls have oft been built, and oft de-
 And stratagems of war have acted been,
 As worthy as the world hath heard or seene.
 By sojourns as good as the earth hath born,
 This boldly to avow I der be sworn:
 England's first Edwards three can shew the
 same,
 And Scotland's Wallace, Bruce, and Stew-
 art's fame, [confin'd,
 Whose prowess within this isle were not con-
 The Netherlands and France scarce them
 contain'd,
 Nor other parts of Europe, and 'tis cleare
 What great exploits they bravely acted here,
 These stories are well known, I must not
 slack,
 For by and by the tide will call us back.
 When Edward Longshanks Scotland did
 surprise, [wise;
 The strenghts first did he take as Chiftian
 But his chief strength to keep both south
 and north, [Forth,
 Lowlands and Highlands on this side of
 Perth did he chuse, and strongly fortifie
 With garrisons of foot and cavaliarie,
 And what the former times could not out-
 red,
 In walls and fowsies; these accomplished.
 Thereafter worthy Wallace first expelled
 them,
 And for to leave these walls by force com-
 pell'd them.
 Whom after foughten was that fatal field,
 Wofull Falkirk, envie did force to yield
 Up his government: to Perth then came,
 And in the nobles presence quatte the same.
 Lean-fac'd envie doth often bring a nation
 To civil discord, shame, and desolation.
 Such bitter fruit we found, all to confusion
 At once did run, was nothing but effusion
 Of guiltlesse blood: Our enemies did take
 Our strength againe, and all things went to
 wrake,
 Such was our woefull state, unto the time
 That brave King Robert Bruce came to
 this clime,
 Most happily, yet small beginnings had,
 For many years before this land he tred
 From enemies rage, till wisely he at length
 By soft-recoiling recollected strength:
 Then came to Perth, and did the same be-
 siege [rage,
 And take; who through pursuit and cruel
 Kill'd Scotch and English all were in it
 found,
 Brake down the walls, them equal'd to the
 ground.
 But after this victorious king did die,
 And brave Earl Thomas Randolph, by and
 by,
 All things perplexed were, the Baliol proud,
 With English forces both by land and flood
 In Scotland came, arrived at Kinghorne,
 And through the country mightily did sorne.
 Our governors the Earls of Marche and
 Marre,
 Sufficient armies levying for warre
 This pride for to repress, did fire their
 tents [rents
 At Duppline camped Marre: mine heart it
 To tell the wofull event; in the night
 This Earle and all his hoste surprisde by
 flighte, [brought,
 Yee knowe the storie, all to death near
 The Englishmen on Scots such butcherics
 wrought,

Thus Baliol proud to Perth did make his way,
 The city all secure ere break of day
 For to surprize, naked of walls and men,
 As prey most easie did obtain, and then
 To fortifie the same, in haste, did call,
 Go cast the fowse and repair the wall.
 The Earle of March, hearing the woefull chance,
 Incontinent his armie did advance
 To Perth, hoping the same he might regaine,
 Did straightly it besiege, but all in vaine,
 He forc'd was to retire; Baliol to Scone
 Then went, was crown'd, rather usurp'd
 the crown. [tion.
 By these fair fortunes having gain'd a fac-
 Not for the country's peace, but for dis-
 traction, [son
 Did overswey the ballance, none with re-
 durst call the Baliol's enterprise a treason,
 Because it had good success so doth reele,
 Th' inconstant course of giddie fortune's
 wheele.
 Constant in changes of blindfolded chance;
 Mean while King David Bruce did flee to
 France,
 As yet a child his tender life to save,
 From tirrizing Baliol's bloodie glave.
 Baliol install'd in guarding leaves the town
 To some true traitours not true to the
 crown. [binde,
 Hereafter nobles and commons all com-
 Whose kin were kill'd at Dupline in one
 minde,
 Aveng'd to be, did come in awful manner
 Unto the citie with displayed banner,
 And strongly it besiege three months and
 more,
 Till strong asault and famine urging sore,
 Forc'd them to yield, the traitours openly
 kill'd,
 The walls were raz'd again and fowsies fill'd.
 Yet Baliol once more did obtain the same,
 And with new fortunes much advance his
 name;
 But who doth not find fortune's fickle
 chance,
 Whom ere while she so highly did advance,
 To hold a scepter and to wear a crown,
 Now tyrantizing proudly pester's down:
 King Edward came with fiftie thousand
 brave,
 To Perth the Baliol led as captive slave:
 Trust not in Kings, nor kingdoms, nor ap-
 plause [flowes,
 Of men, the world's a sea that ebbs and
 A wheel that turns a reel that always rokes,
 A bait that overswallowed men choakes.
 Seditions rise again, this Edward Wind-
 sor, [sore,
 With greater forces came and made a wind
 To blow through Scotland minding a new
 conquest,
 Did all things overwhelm even as a tempest,
 Castles o' rrome strongly beliger Perth
 It take, rebuild her walls all thrown to
 earth,
 Upon the charges of six abbacies,
 With bulwarks, rampiers, rounds, and bas-
 talies [ments,
 Of squared stone with towres and battle-
 Houses for prospect and such muniments
 For strong defence, clouses, and water-falls,
 With passage fair to walk upon the walls,
 And spacious bounds within sojourns to
 dreel,
 To march, to string, to turne about and
 wheel:
 These were the abbacies Couper Landores,

Balmerinoch, Dumfermling, Saint Androes,
 And Aberbrothok, who these works did
 frame
 For merit and for honour of their name:
 Such zeal had they, though blind; ah, now
 a days, [cayes.
 Much knowledge is profest, but zeale de-
 Thus was the citie strongly fortified,
 Till Robert the first Stewart first assayed
 With four great armies, yet by force re-
 pell'd, [compell'd
 And after three months siege with grief
 To sound retreat, Douglas meane while in
 Tay,
 Most happly did arrive, then they assay
 To reinforce the charge, and with munition
 For batt-rie new prepar'd, and demolition
 Most furiously assault, a month and more,
 Yet nothing could avale their endeavour,
 Until the Earl of Rosse with new supplie
 Did fortifie the leaguer, and drew by
 The water, which the wall did compasse
 round, [ground.
 By secret conduits, and made dry the
 Then after sharp assault, and much blood
 spendd, [ed;
 Bravely pursued, and no lesse well defend-
 Finding themselves too weak who were
 More to resist, to parlie they begin, [within,
 And treat of peace; both parties jump in
 one, [gone,
 With bag and baggage that they should be
 And so it was: The citie they surrender,
 No English since hath been thereof com-
 mander. [Mair,
 Read George Buchanan, Boece, Master
 These histories they word for word declare.
 After the siege the walls some part were
 thrown down,
 But were not wholly raz'd to keep the town
 In some good sort, readie for peace or war,
 If not a bulwark, yet some kinde of bar.
 Thus did they stand until the Highland-
 Amidst their furie kill'd a citizen; [men,
 A citizen to kill, an odious thing
 It then was thought; no sacrifice condigne
 Could expiat the same, though now each
 Dar to account a citizen a slave; [knave
 No such conceat in all the world againe,
 As proudly poor such fondlings do main-
 taine. [notion,
 This sudden slaughter made a great com-
 The burgesses without further devotion,
 As men with war inur'd, to arms do flie,
 Upon these Highlaudmen aveng'd to be,
 Which they pertorme, chaffed in mind like
 beares, [staires;
 And do pursue them unto Houghman's-
 In memorie of this fight it hath the name,
 For many men lay there, some dead, some
 On which occasion they gan fortifie, [lame,
 And build these walls againe, as now we see;
 Though not so bravely as they were before,
 For that did farr surpass the endeavour:
 Yet some resemblance they do keep and
 fashion, [tion.
 For they be builded neere the old founda-
 These are the walls, Monsier, as I have
 shown, (thrown down)
 Which often have been built, oft times
 With stratagem of war, fame hath re-
 nown'd them, (found them.
 And if not Mars, yet martial men did
 But now, good Monsier, needs none more at
 all (fall.
 Them to destroy: they of themselves will
 So said good Gal, and humbly begged leave,
 For that offence so rashly he did give.
 Oh! if he were on life to say much more,
 For so he was dispose sometimes to roare.

THE FIFTH MUSE.

Yet bold attempt and dangerous, said I,
Upon these kinde of men such chance to try
By nature inhumaine, much given to blood,
Wilde, fierce, and cruell, in a desperate
mood.

But no such danger, answer'd Master Gall,
As fearfullie you deeme, was there at all:
For Perth was then a citie made for war,
Here men were soldiers all, and bold to dar
Such motion attempt, a soldier keene
The smallest outrage hardly can sustain.

Many such stratagemes declare I might,
Which Perth hath acted in defence of right:
How Ruthven's place, and Duplin, in one
day

Were burn'd, or battle of the bridge of Tay,
With manly courage fought, where kill'd
were many,

Upon the day sacred to Magdalene,
Five hundreth fourtie foure, for which she
mourner,

And many times here cristall teares she
turnes (men)

In floods of woes, rememb'ring how these
Were justly by their own ambition slaine,
Thinking to sack a town, some through
despaire,

Did overleap the bridge, and perish there:
Some borne on spears, by chance did swim
a land,

And some lay swelting in the slykie sand,
Agruif lay some, others with eyes to skeyes,
These yielding dying sobs, these mournfull
cryes.

Some by their fall were fixed on their
spears, [down bears,

Some swat'ring in the flood the streame
By chance some got a boat, what needs
more words! [swords:

They make them oars of their two-handed
Some doubting what to do, to leap or stay,
Were trampled under foot as mirie clay:

Confusedly to fight and flee they thrimble,
The shivering spears do through their bod-
ies tremble,

And strongly brangled in splents do quick-
ly flee, [dye]

The glistering sword is chang'd in crimson
To wrack they go; even as the raging
thunder, [assunder

Rumbling and rolling roundly, breaks
A thicke and dampish cloud, making a
shower [powre]

Of crystall gems, on earth's dry bosome
So broken was that cloud, the purple
blood

In drops distilling, rather as a fload,
The dry and dusty ground doth warmly
draine;

And dying bodies in their own blood staine,
Or as the comets, or such meteors driven
Or stars which do appear to fall from
heaven. [traile;

So tumbling headlong spears in hand they
As fire dragons, seem to have a taile;
Or Phaeton, or some sulfurious ball,
So from the bridge in river do they fall.

I pray thee Gall, quoth I, that storie show;
Some things I heard of it, and more would
know,

Tell I I pray. No, no, Gall did reply,
Lest I offend our neighbour-town neer by,
When they shall hear how malice did pro-
voke them, [them;

Ambition their guide and avarice choak
Thinking upon our spoyles triumph to
make, [wrak,

And on th' occasion given our town to

With full commission purchast for the
same, [flame

T' intrude a Provest, else with sword and
All to destroy, given by the Cardinal,
At whose devotion then was govern'd all:

So in that morning soon by break of day,
The town all silent did beset, then they
To clim the bridge begin and port to skall,
The chaines they break, and let the draw-
bridge fall,

The little gate of purpose was left patent,
And all our citizens in lanes were latent,
None durst be seene, the enemies to allure
Their own destruction justly to procure;
Thus entering, though well straitly, one did
call,

All is our owne, come fellow-soldiers all,
Advance your lordlie pace; take and de-
stroy, [great joy

Build up your fortunes; Oh, with what
These words were heard! Then did they
proudly step [cap.

As men advanc'd on stilts, and cock their
With rouling eyes they looke, and hand in
side, [pride,

Throwing their noses, snuffe, and with great
Self-looking set their brownes, themselves
admire, [speare

And doubting at their own hearts closely
If it be they, thus wondering do they pause
A prettie while, anone they quickly loose
With swifter pace, and turning round, they
move

If there be any gazer to approve
Their great conceat; thus, inly filled with
glie, [see]

They wish their wife or mistres might them
Scorning Alcides, they his strength would
try,

And in their braine the world they do defie.
With such brave thoughts they throng in
through the port,

Thinking the play of fortune bairnely sport,
And as proud peacocks with their plumes
do prank, [rank,

Alongst the bridge they merche in battle
Till they came to the gate with yron bands,
Hard by where yet our ladies chappell
stands,

Thinking to break these bars it made some
hover, [leap over,

Too strong they were, therefore some did
Some crept below, thus many pass in by
them, [them.]

And in their high conceat they do defie
Foreward within the town a space they
go, [know,

The passage then was strait, as well ye
Made by a wall, having gain'd so much
ground,

They can exult: Incontinent did sound
A trumpet from a watch-tower; then they
start, [heart:]

And all their blood do strike into their
A wondrous change! even now the bravest
fellows [quell us,

In their own fansies glasse, who came to
The vital spirits their arties do containe,
Their panting hearts now scarcely can
sustaine. [darning,

Our soldiers then, who lying were a
By sound of trumpet having got a warning,
Do kyth, and give the charge; to tell the
rest

Ye know it well, it needs not be exprest.
Many to ground were borne, much blood
was shed,

He was the prettiest man that fastest fled.

Yea, happie had they been, if place had
 served (preserved).
 To flee, then doubtlesse more had been
 Within these bars were kill'd above three-
 score

Upon the bridge and waters many more.
 But most of all did perish in the chace,
 For they pursued were unto the place
 Where all their baggage and their cannon
 lay, (prey.

Which to the town was brought as lawfull
 What shall I more say? if you more
 would have, (brave,

I'll speak of these three hundredth soldiers
 Like these renown'd Lacedemonians,
 Courageous Thebans, valiant Thespians,
 Resolv'd to die, led by Leuidas,
 Stopt Xerxes armie at Therinopylas,
 Such were these men who for religion's
 sake,

A cord of hemp about their necks did take,
 Solemnly sworn, to yield their lives thereby,
 Or they the gospel's vertie deny: (all,
 Quitting their houses, goods, and pleasures
 Resolv'd for any hazard might befall,
 Did passe forth of the town in armes to
 fight,

And die, or they their libertie and light
 Should lose, and whosoever should pre-
 sume (doome

To turn away, that cord should be his
 Hence of Saint Johnston's ribband came
 the word

In such a frequent use, when with a cord
 They threaten rogues; though now all in
 contempt, (tempt,

They speak, yet brave and resolute at-
 And full of courage, worthy imitation
 Deserving of all ages commendation
 Made these men put it on, symbole to be
 They ready were for Christ to do or die.
 For they were Martyrs all in their affection,
 And like to David's worthies in their action;
 Therefore this cord should have been made
 a badge,

And signe of honour to the after age.
 Even as we see things in themselves de-
 spised,

By such rare accidents are highly prised,
 And in brave skutsheons honourably born,
 With mottoes rare these symbols do adorn.

Thus some have vermine, and such loath-
 some swarmer,

Yet honourably born are in their armes;
 And some have mice, some frogs, some
 filthy rats, (have cats;
 And some have wolves and foxes, some
 Yet honourable respect in all is had,
 Though in themselves they loathsome be
 and bad.

Thus Millaine glories in the banefull viper,
 As nane more honour, misterie no deeper;
 The antient Gaul's in toads, in lillies now
 Metamorphos'de; the Phrygians in their
 sow, (barter,

Athens their owle with th' eagle will not
 And Honisoit who thinks ill of the garter.
 What shall be said then of this rope or cord
 Although of all men it be now abhorr'd,
 And spoke of in disdain, their ignorance
 Hath made them so to speak, yet may it
 chance

When they shall know the truth, they will
 speak better,

And think of it as of a greater matter,
 And truly it esteeme an hundred fold,
 Of much more honour than a chaine of gold.

Thus may you see, Monsier, men of renown
 Of old time have possesst this antient town.
 And yet this may we boast, even to this day,
 Men of good wit and worth do not decay;

For to this houre some footsteps still re-
 maines [braines.

Of such courageous hearts and cunning
 Good Master Gall. quoth I, I know that well,
 Whereof you speak and clearly can it tell,
 For I did see these men, being then of age,
 Some twelve or thirteen years, a prettie
 page,

As easely you may guesse, and can you show
 Some partial poynts whereof you nothing
 know, [ter Gall,

Nor are they written. Then answered Mas-
 A witness such as you is above all
 Exception; therefore show what you did
 see,

Or heare, good Monsier, your antiquitie
 Is of great credit: Master Gall, quoth I,
 Much did I see, and much more did I try:
 My father was a man active, and wight
 In those dayes, and who helped for to fight
 The battle of the bridge, within few years
 Thereafter was I borne, then all our quires
 And convents richly stood, which I did see
 With all their pomp; but these things told
 to me,

First will I shew, a storie of much ruth,
 How that our martyrs suffered for the truth
 Of Christ's blest gospel, on Paul's holy day,
 Before the fight was of the bridge of Tay
 In that same yeere, the silly Governour
 Led by the crafty Cardinal, with power
 Held judgment on these men, and under
 trust (lust

Condemn'd them; nothing their bloudie
 Could satiate: The citizens, made sure
 Their neighbours should not lose nor skaithe
 endure,

Go to their homes, forthwith the Cardinall
 Cause lead them unto execution all.

And from the Spey tower window did behold
 Doome execut, even as his cleargie would:
 Which treacherous fact did so enrage the
 town, [gown

No credit more to black, white, nor gray
 After these dayes was given. Thus in the
 place

Where malefactors end their wicked race,
 These innocents do make a blessed end,
 And unto God their spirits they recom-
 mend,

In witnesse of the faith, for which they die,
 And by the sp'rit of truth did prophesie
 These words, looking and pointing with the
 hand (staud

Towards our monasteries which then did
 Most sumptuously adorn'd with steeples,
 bells, (else,

Church-ornaments, and what belongeth
 "These foxes which do lurke within these
 holes,

Delighting in the earth like blinded moles,
 Drown'd in their lusts, and swimming in their
 pleasures, (treasures;

Whose God their belly, whose chief joy their
 Who caused have our death, shall hounded
 be (see

Forth of these dens, some present here shall
 The same ere it be long, then shall ye say,
 It's for God's truth that we have dyed this
 day. (cast

And all these sumptuous buildings shall be
 Down to the earth, made desolat, and wast:
 This to perferme God's zeale shall eat men
 up,

To fill the double potion in their cup;
 The apples then of pleasure, which they
 loved

And lusted after, shall be all removed.
 Yea, scarcely shall they finde a hole to hide
 Their heads (thus by the Sp'rite they testi-
 fied).

And in that day true pastors shall the Lord
Raise up to feed his flock, with his pure
word,

And make Christ's people by peculiar choice
Dignose the shepherds from the hyelings
voice."

Which as they did foretell, did come to passe,
Some sixteene years, or thereby, more or
lesse.

Thus with cleare signes, by God's own
In full assurance of heaven's blesse they rest.
Mean while Saint Catharine's chaplain
standing by,

Wringing his eyes and hands did often cry,
Alace, alace, for this unhappie turn,
I feare for it one day we shall all mourn,
And that by all it shall be plainly said.

That we blind guides the blinded long have
led;

Some churchmen there bad pack him here-
Else certainly they should cause burne him
quick.

This done, friends take their bodies, and
Do carry them towards the town, returning
With heavie hearts, them to this chapel
bring

But no soule Masse, nor dirige durst sing.
Yet this good Priest did lay them on the
altar,

And all night read th'epistle and the psalter,
With heart devout, and sad; from th'even-
ing vapours,

Placing upon the altar burning tapers
Unto the dawning: exequies thus ended,
Their bodies to the earth, are recom-
mended.

This chappell some time stood by our
Where I myself sprinkled with holy water,
After these dayes did often hear the Messe,
Albeit I knew not what it did expresse;
But this I saw, a man with shaven crown,
Raz'd beard, and lips, who look't like a
baboun,

Perfum'd with odours, and in priestly ves-
Did act this mimick toy with thousand
gestures;

A mistrie indeed, nor which no fable
Acted on stage to make you laugh more
able.

After these innocents were martyred thus
As you have heard, churchmen were odious,
And, when occasion serv'd, so did they finde,
For, so soone, as did blow a contrare winde,
The houre was come, and then our Knox
did sound,

Pull down their idols, throw them to the
The multitude, even as a speat, did rush
then

In powder beat; and call'd them all Ne-
Our Blackfriars church and place, White-
friars and Gray

Profan'd, and east to ground were in one
The charter house like a citadale did hold
Some two dayes more, untill these news
were told

We should be raz'd and sack't, and brought
Not so much as a footstep should be found,
Where was such citie, neither sexe, nor age
Should saved be, untill the cruell rage
Of fire and sword should satiate that moud,
Quenching the fire with citizens owne blood,
And with destruction's besome sweep from
station,

And sow with salt; perpetual desolation
To signifie these newes made great com-
motion,

The fearfull people ran to their devotion:
Doctrine and prayers done, chief men ad-
vise,

To take in hand first what great enter-
prise.

Said one, this place hard by our town doth
stand

A mightie strength, which earely may com-
And wrecke our citie, therefore let us go
In time, and to the ground it overthrow,

For sure our enemies will possess the same,
And us from thence destroy with sword
and flame,

Even at their pleasure. Then they all
In armes to rise; and rushing as a floud
Which overflows the banks, and headlong
hurles

The strongest bulwarks with devouring
Swallowing the mighty ships them over-
whelme,

Nothing avails his skill that guides the
Even so the multitude in armes arise
With noise confusde of mirth and mourn-
ing cries

For that fair Palace, then sixscore nine
Which had continued; turning of the
spheres

The fatal period brought, to ground it must,
And all its pomp and riches turne to dust.
Even as these Martyrs truly did foretell
In every point the judgement so befell.

Towres fall to ground, Monks flee to hide
their heads,

Nothing avails their rosaries and beads;
Then all men cry'd, Raze, raze, the time is
come,

Avenge the guiltlesse blood, and give the
Courage to give was mightily then blown
Saint Johnston's huntsup, since most fa-
mous known

By all musicians when they sweetly sing
With heavenly voice, and well concurring
string.

O how they bend their backs and fingers
Moving their quivering heads, their brains
do whirle

With divers moods; and as with uncouth
Transported, so doth shake their bodies
structure:

Their eyes do reele, heads, armes, and shoul-
Feet, legs, and hands, and all their parts ap-
prove

That heavenly harmonie: while as they
Their browes, O mighty strain! that's brave!
they shew

Great fantasie; quivering a brief some while,
With full content they close, then give a
smile,

With bowing bodie, and with bending knee,
Methink I heare, God save the companie.
But harmonie which heavens and earth
doth please,

Could not our enemies furious rage ap-
Cruell Eriinis reignes destruction shoring,
Ten thousand soldiers like wild Lyons roar-
ing

Against our town do march. Fame, desola-
Proclames; the church then nam'd the
congregation

Makes for defence: but ah, the burgh's dis-
Papists and Protestants make diverse fac-
tions;

The town to hold impossible they finde,
The fields to take they purpose in their
minde,

Factions within, munition, victual scarce,
Hardly to hold eight dayes they finde by
search.

Amids these doubts these valliant fellows
In armes array'd, and beating of the drum,
With cords about their necks, Come, come,
they cry,

We be the men who are resolv'd to die,
First in this quarrel: we to death will fight,
So long as courage will afford us might,
And whoso yields alive, this tow portends,

Streight must he hing where did our dear-
 est friends (skunner,
 Who suffered for the truth, nothing we
 This certainly we count our chiefest honour.
 Thus as Manasses half tribe, Reuben, Gad,
 Do leave their cattle, and mount Gilead,
 Before their brethren over Jordan go,
 In armes to fight against their cursed foe;
 So these three hundred do abandon quite
 Their citie, houses, goods, and chief delight,
 Resolv'd to die all for the gospel's light,
 Armed before their brethren march to fight;
 And having gain'd a place meet to abide,
 Their enemies to resist, courage they cry'd,
 Be merrie fellows all, leave sad complaints,
 Dine cheerfully, for sup we shall with Saints.
 Fame spreads the brave attempt, all martial
 hearts (parts
 Inflam'd with divine zeale flock to these
 From places most remote, in armes they
 rise
 T' assist the matchlesse happie enterprise.
 God giveth hearts to men, and mightiest
 things
 By weakest means he to confusion brings:
 Our enemies ears are fill'd that all our feare
 Was into courage turned from despair;
 Their firie rage is quencht, their hearts do
 faile,
 Where God forsakes nought doth man's
 strength availe. [out,
 Then what their open force could not work
 By flight they endeavour to bring about,
 They treat of peace: Peace fees with joy-
 full wings,
 But under it was hatcht most lewd designs
 When time should serve: but he whose
 thought doth rule
 This world's great fame their madness did
 controule;
 And gratically through his abundant pitie
 Preserv'd our innocents, and sav'd our citie.
 When by small means they found them-
 selves confounded,
 Even to their very heart-roots they were
 wounded:
 Then they began to raile, and show their
 passion, [fession.
 Saying, such ribbands meet for such pro-
 and in contempt, when any rogue they
 see, [for thee;
 They say, Saint Johnston's ribbaud's meet
 Or any fellow resolute in mind [finde
 For some great act, this ribband fit they
 For such a one, thus time made all men
 use [t'abuse,
 This word, and ignorance through time
 For every bad conceit, which for religion
 Was stoutly undertaken in the region:
 Which I did see, and heare, and well do
 know,
 And for your life the parallel me show
 In all the world; except Leonidas
 The rest, without a third I overpasse.
 Thus our Saint Johnston's ribband took
 the name,
 Whereof we have no reason to think shame.

Our skipper herewith called, *How*, turn
 aback, [make:
 The waters flow, and tide doth quickly
 Therefore of this to speak more was no
 leisure,
 For wind and tide (you know) stay no
 man's pleasure.
 With post-haste to our barge we make our
 way, [stay;
 The day far spent, longer we might not
 Our ship now fairly fleeting comes a land,
 Two skilfull rowers take the oars in hand,
 We re-embarked, down the river slide,
 Which was most pleasant with the flowing
 tide;
 The bridge draws nigh where contrare
 streams do run, [shun,
 Take heed, skipper, said we, these dangers
 The whirling stream will make our boat to
 coup, [floup.
 Therefore let's passe the bridge by Wallace
 Which when we did behold, 'mongst other
 things
 We much admir'd who lent his feet such
 wings:
 Empedocles may leap in *Ætna* burning,
 In *Tiber* leap may *Cocles* home returning,
 Th' one burns in flame, the other falls in
 flood,
 But Wallace overleaping makes all good.
 When we these heaven-like arches had
 survey'd,
 We admir'd in th' air these hinging stones
 what stay'd. [stay
 Then thus, said Gall, these on their centers
 As on their bases fixt, and all their way
 They presse towards the same, a wondrous
 thing,
 Albeit the center in the air doth hing;
 Yea, diverse circles, sections diverse wayes
 Tend to their proper centers, as their staves;
 So these two sections do conjoine in one,
 To make the arch, and finisht in a cone,
 As everie peace these bowing arches bends,
 It rightlie pointing to the center tends,
 So heavens respect the earth, and all their
 powers
 Together in her bosome strongly powres,
 Which is their center, roote, and sure pe-
 destall, [rest all.
 The stedfast base whereon this world doth
 Thus man's ingine God's works doth imitate,
 And skilfull art doth nature emulate.
 As Archimedes in a sphere of glasse,
 The world's great fabrick lively did expresse,
 With all the stars fixt in the azure heaven,
 And all the motions of the wandring seven,
 Moving about a fixed point or center,
 Observing houres, dayes, months, summer,
 and winter.
 Even so the arches of this bridge proclaime
 And shew the building of the starrie frame:
 But now all lost, needs Archimedes' skill,
 Oh, if it were supplied by Master Myne.
 Thus having past the bridge, our oars we
 bend
 To shore, so this day-voyage made an end.

THE SIXTH MUSE.

As we arrived at our Lady's steps,
 Incontinent all men revert their capes,
 Bidding us welcome home, and joining hand,
 They ask from whence we came, and from
 what land?
 Said we, some curious, catching everie winde
 Do run through sea and land to either Inde,
 And compassing the glob, in circuit role,
 Some new found lands to search beneath
 each pole;

Or Memphis wonders, or the Pharian tower,
 Or walls which show the Babylonian power;
 Or bung in th' air the Mausolean frame,
 Or statlie temple of the Trivian dame,
 The Rhodian Colossus, and the grove,
 Where stood the statue of Olympian Jove,
 With endlessse toile and labour passe to see,
 Or if in all this world more wonders be,
 They search the same, and so they stoutlie
 boast,

Yet both themselves and paines are oft times
lost;
For going men, if they return perhaps,
Strange change, in swine transformed are
their shapes: [hence,
Albeit some, though rare, who go from
Returne, like him of Ithaca was Princee;
But we, more safely passing all alongs,
Are not bewitched with such Syren songs.
In little much, well travel'd in short ground,
Do search what wonders in the world are
found;
Treading these mountains, and these plea-
sant valleys,
Elisinn fields had never braver alleys
Then we imagine, and for wonders rare,
More than the Carian tombe which hings
in air
Do we conceive. Of travels let them talk,
We in the works of learned men do walk
And painfullie their learned paths do tread,
For sure he's travel'd far who is well read;
Yea, who so travels my cabinets rich store,
Is travel'd through the world, and some
part more.
Let this suffice, we travel to content us,
And of our travels think ne'er to repent us;
Yea, in our Muses we do travel more,
Than they that coast and sound the Indian
shore. [demne,
Yet think not so, brave travels we con-
fide with safe conscience we may use the
same;
Nor do we speak voide of experience,
For both of us have travel'd been in France,
And France for all, and if that will not ease
you,
We think then all this world will never
please you. [trion,
Then went we home to get some recrea-
but by and by befell a new tentation;
Our neighbour archers our good sport en-
vyng, [ing,
A challenge to us sent, our patience try-
and did provoke us, if we shot for gold,
Or honour's praise, betimes, to morrow
would:
Or for our mistress if we had a minde:
Doubtless, said Gall, thereto we are in-
cline;
But for the present we have ta'en in hand
to view our fields by river and by land;
Boast not therefore, for nothing will dis-
heart us, [us,
Nor from our present progresse will divert
But of our journey having made an end,
Our lives in such brave quarrell will we
spend. [compeer
This answer when they heard, they did
With ardent hearts some further newes to
speer,
And what brave sport we found, what pas-
time rare?
Forthwith in loftie verse Gall to declare,
Began, his breast when Phoebus once did
warme,
Their ears and hearts, his heavenly voice
did charme,
And I to keep a consort with full voice,
As fell by turn, did make them all rejoice
With sweetest rimes; for both of us inclinde,
Even as Democritus did truly minde
Of poets all, when once that sacred fire,
With divine furie did our breasts inspire.
And thus with heavenly rapture, as trans-
ported,
That whole dayes journey Gall to them re-
ported,
Till Hesperus appeared, and in despite
Of heavens which hearkened, forc'd to bid
good night.

Which when I call to mind, it makes me cry,
Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die?
The night was short, Phoebus did touch
the line
Where cruked Cancer makes him to decline,
No sleep could close mine eyes, but wake
must I.
Till fair Aurora did inflight the sky.
Then up I got, and where good Gall did ly,
With mightie voice and chanting did I cry,
Good Master Gall, arise, you sleep too long
With Hey the day now dawnes, so was my
song, [Gall,
The day now dawnes, arise, good Master
Who answering said, Monsier, I heare you
call:
And up he got. Then to our bearge we go,
To answer us our boatmen wondrous slow,
When we did call, thrise lifting up his head,
Thrise to the ground did fall againe as dead.
But him to raise, I sung, Hey the day
dawnes; [yawnes;
The drowsie fellow wak'ning, gaunts and
But getting up at last, and with a blow
Raising his fellow, bad him quickly row.
Then merriele we leanche into the deep,
Phoebus, meanwhile awak'ned, rose from
sleep, [ing
At his appointed houre, the pleasant morn-
With gilded beames the cristall streames
adorning:
The pearled dew on tender grasse did lying,
And heavenly quires of birds did sweetlie
sing: [go,
Down by the sweet South Inche we sliding
Ten thousand dangling diamonds did show
The radiant repercussion of Sol's rays
And spreading flowres did looke like Argus
eyes.
Then did we talk of citie toiles and cares,
Thrice happie counting him shuns these
affaires, [haunt,
And with us have delight these fields to
Some pastorall or sonnet sweet to chant.
And view from far th'ambitions of this age,
Turning the helmes of states, and in their
rage [sands,
Make shipwrake of the same on shelves and
Running by lawless laws and hard com-
mands, [woes,
And often drown themselves in floods of
As many shipwraks of this kinde well
showes. [tain,
We passe our time upon the forked moun-
And drink the cristall waters of the foun-
tain [trees,
Dig'd by the winged horse; we sing the
The cornes, and flocks, and labours of the
bees;
Of shepherd lads and lasses homelie love,
And sometime straine our oaten pipe above
That mean: we sing of Hero and Leander,
Yea, Mars all clad in steel, and Alexander.
But Cynthus us pulling by the ear
Did warning give, to keep a lower air;
But keep what air we will, who can well
say [may?
That he himself preserve from shipwrake
In stormie seas, while as the ship doth re-
Of publick state, the meaneest boy may feele
Shipwrack, as well as he the helme who
guides, [tides,
When seas do rage with winds and contrare
Which ah, too true I found, upon an ore
Not long ago, while as I swim'd to shore,
Witnesse my drenched cloaths, as you did
see,
Which I to Neptune gave in votarie
And signe of safetic. Answered Master
Gall, [wall,
Monsier, your table hung on Neptune's

Did all your losse so livelie point to me,
That I did mourne, poor soule, when I did
see. (the matter,

But you may know in stormes, thus goeth
No fish doth sip in troubled seas clean water.
Courage therefore, that cloud is overgone,
Therefore as we were wont, let us sing on.
For in this morning sounded in mine ear
The sweetest musick ever I did hear
In all my life, good Master Gall, quod I,
You to awake, I sung so merriellie.
Monsier, quoth he, I pray thee ease my
spleane,

And let me hear that musick once againe.
With Hey the day now dawnes, then up I got,
And did advance my voice to Ela's note,
I did so sweetlie flat and sharply sing,
While I made all the rocks with echoes
ring. (doth slide,

Mean while our boat by Friartown hole
Our course not stopped with the flowing
tide,

We need not card, nor crostaffe for our pole,
But from thence landing clam the Dragon
Hole. (hand,
With crampets on our feet, and clubs in
Where its recorded Jamie Keddie fand
A stone enchanted, like to Gyges ring,
Which made him disappear, a wondrous
thing,

If it had been his hap to have retain'd it,
But losing it, againe could never finde it:
Within this cove oft-times did we repose
As being sundred from the citie woes.

From thence we, passing by the Windy
Gowle, (yowle,

Did make the hollow rocks with echoes
And all alongst the mountains of Kinnoule,
Where did we shoot at many foxe and fowle.
Kinnoule, so famous in the dayes of old!
Where stood a castle and a stately hold
Of great antiquity, by brink of Tay,
Woods were above, beneath fair medowes
lay;

In prospect proper Perth with all her
graces, (places, [places,
Fair plantings, spatious greens, religious
Though now defa'd through age, and rage
of men,

Within this place a Ladie did remaine
Of great experience, who likewise knew
By sprite of prophecie, what should ensue:
Who saw wight Wallace, and brave Bruce
on live,

And both their manhoods lively did describe
Unto that noble Prince, first of that name,
Worthie King James, who hearing of her
fame,

Went to her house these histories to learn
When as for age her eyes could scarce dis-
cerne.

This Ladie did foretell of many things
Of Brittain's union under Scottish Kings,
And after ending of our civil seeds,
Our speares in syths, our swords should
turn in speads,

In signe whereof there should arise a
Knight (of right

Sprung of the bloodie yolk, who should
Possesse these lands, which she then held
in fee,

Who for his worth and matchlesse loyaltie
Unto his Prince, should greatly be renown'd
And of these lands insty'p'd, and Earlie be
crowned:

Whose son, in spight of Tay, should join
these lands (stands,

Firmely by stone on either side which
Thence to the top of Law-Tay did we hie,
From whence the countrie round about we
spy,

And from the airie mountaine looking
down,

Beheld the stance and figure of our town,
Quadrat with longer sides, from east to
west, (did cast

Whose streets, wals, fowsies in our eyes
A prettie shew: Then gan I to declare
Where our old Monasteries, with churches
fair

Sometime did stand, placed at everie
corner (adorne her,

Was one, which with great beautie did
The Charter-house toward the south-west
stood, (gray-hood.

And at south-east the Friers, who weare
Toward the north the Blackiriars church
did stand;

And Carmelites upon the westerne hand;
With many chappells standing here and
there,

And steeples fairly mounted in the air,
Our Ladie's Church, Saint Catharine's, and
Saint Paul's, (souls,

Where many a Messe was sung for defunct
The chappell of the rood, and sweet Saint
Anne, (cane,

And Loret's chappell, from Rome's Vati-
Transported hither, for a time took sasing,
(You know the cloister Monkes write nev'r
a leasing.)

For what offence I know not, or disdaine,
But that same chappell borne hence is
againe,

For it appears no more, look who so list,
Or else I'm sure it's covered with a mist.
Saint Leonard's cloister, mourning Magda-
lene, (crene,

Whose cristall fountaine flowes like Hippo-
Saint John's fair church, as yet in mids
did stand;

A braver sight was not in all this land
Than was that town, when thus it stood
decord,

As not a few, yet living, can record.
And to be short, for this we may not tarie
on (earion,

Of that old town, this nought is but the
Monsier, said Gall, that for a truth I know,
These kirks and cloisters made a goodly
show;

But this as truely I dar well alleadge,
These kirkmen used the greatest cousenage
That ev'r was seene or heard. Good Gall,
quoth I,

How can that be? Monsier, if you will try,
Too much true shall you finde. Pray thee,
good Gall,

Your speach to me seems paradoxicall;
Therefore I would it know. Monsier, quoth
he,

And shall I show what such idolatrie
Hath brought upon that town? The many
cloisters

Where fed there was so many idle fosters,
Monks, Priests, and Friers, and multitude
of patrons, (matrons

Erected in their quires; th' old wives and
Gave great heed to these things, which they
did say,

And made their horned husbands to obey;
And mortifie so much unto this Saint,
And unto that, though they themselves
should want;

Yea, twentie Saints about one tenement,
Each one of them to have a yeerlie rent,
And all to pray for one poore wretched
soul,

Which Purgatorie fire so fierce should
thole.

So these annuities, yeerlie taxations,
Are causes of these wofull desolations

Which we behold. The ground of all these evils, [to divels.

What to these Sainets they gave, was given
God made them Sainets, men set them in
God's stead, [made:

Gave them God's honour; so them idols
Thus satan served is; what men allow
On idols in his name; to him they do:

And now these friers destroyers may be
seene, [been:

And of that cities wrake the cause have
For none dare buy the smallest piece of
ground,

So many annual rents thereon are found;
And if he build thereon, doubtlesse he shall
Spend in long suits of law his moeyen all.

If some good salve cure not this cure, I fear
It shall be said some time, a town was there!
Good Gall, said I, some melancholious fit

Molests your joviall sprite, and pregnat wit.
I would some Venus-heir might cure your
sadnesse, [gladnesse;

Repell your sorrowes, and replége your
Therefore Ple quickelie go a herbarising,
To cure that melancholik mood by snising.

Herewith we turn our pace, and down
again

Passé by the Winde gowle, unto the plaine;
And herbarising there a prettie while,
Gall's lustie face blithly began to smile;
Guesse then how blith was I, if I had found
(I would not been so blith) a thousand
pound.

Thus recreate, to boat againe we go,
And down the river smoothly do we row,
Nearby Kinfauns, which famous Longveil
Sometime did hold; whose auncient sword
of steele

Remains unto this day, and of that land
Is chiefest evident; on th' other hand
Elcho and Elcho park, where Wallace
haunted, [daunted;

A sure refuge, when Englishmen he
And Elcho nurrie, where the holy sisters.
Supplid were by the Frates in their
mistres. [Kings

By Sleeplesse Isle we row; which our good
Gave to our town with many better things,
Before there was in that neere neighbour-
ing station,

Or Frier or Nun to set there their found-
ation.

On th' other side we lookt unto Balthock,
Where many peacock calcs upon his mayok.
Megeance fair place, and Errol's pleasant
seat, [late.

With many more, which long were to re-
Right over against is that wood Earnside,
And fort where Wallace oft times did reside:
While we beheld all these, the tide did flow,
A lie the rudder goes; about we row,
Up to the town again we make our course,
Sweetly convoy'd with Tay's reflowing
source.

There we beheld where Wallace ship was
drown'd,

Which he brought out of France, whose
bottome found [art,

Was not long since, by Master Dickeson's
That rare ingeniour, skill'd in everie part
Of Mathematicks; quoth I, Master Gall,
I marvell our records nothing at all
Did mention Wallace going into France,
How that can be forgote I greatlise scance,
For well I know all Gasconie and Guen
Do hold that Wallace was a mightie Gian,
Even to this day; in Rochel likewise found
A Towre from Wallace name greatly re-
nown'd.

Yea Longveil's antiquities, which there
We do behold, this truly do declare

That Wallace was in France; for after that
The publick place of government he quat,
Were full four yeeres and more, before he
shed

His dearest bloud, ah dearest truelie said:
And think you then that such a martiall
heart [part,

Yielding his place, would sojourne in this
And lazily loytring in some hole?
That any so should think I hardly thole;

Therefore I grieve our men should have
forgotten [written;

Themselves, and left so brave a point un-
Or should it contradict, there being so many
Good reasons for this truth, as is for any.

Monsier, said he, that's not a thing to
grieve at, [privat:

For they did write his publick life, not
For sure it is, after his publick charge
Grief made him go to France, his spirit
t' enlarge, [never,

His noble Spirite, that thraldome suffered
For he to libertie aspired ever; [be,

And turning home, his ship caudse sunken
To stop the river's passage, that from sea
No English ship should come Perth to re-
leive,

For any chance of war Fortune could give,
But now this ship, which so long time
before

In waters lay, is fairlie haid ashoare;
What cannot skill by Mathematick move?
As would appeare things nature's reach
above.

Up by the Willow gate we make our way;
With flowing waters pleasant then was Tay.
The town appeares; the great and strong
Spey towre,

And Monks' towre, builded round: a wall
of power

Extending 'twixt the two, thence goeth a
great snout

Of great squair stones, which turns the
streames about;

Two ports with double walls; on either hand
Are fowles deep, where gorged waters stand,
And slow even as you list; but over all
The Palace kythes, may nam'd be Perth's
Whitehall.

With orchards, like these of Hesperides.
But who shall shew the Ephemerides

Of those things, which sometimes adorn'd
that Citie? [pitie.

That they should all be lost, it were great
Whose antique monuments are a great
deale more

Than any inward riches, pomp, or store;
And priviledges would you truly knowe
Far more indeed, than I can truelie show;

Such were our Kings' good wills, for to de-
clare [there:

What pleasure and contentment they had
But of all priviledges this is the bravest,
King James the Sixth was Burges made
and Provest;

And gave his Burges oath, and did inrole
With his own hand within the Burges scrole
And Gildrie Book his deafe and worthe
name, [fame,

Which doth remaine to Perth's perpetuall
And that King's glorie, thus was his gra-
cious pleasure [sure;

Of his most loving heart to shew the trea-
Writing beneath his name these words
most nervous,

Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.
That is, It is the Lyon's great renowne

To spare the humble, and prouddings pester
down. [see:]

Which extant with his own hand you may
And, as inspir'd, thus did he prophesie,

What will you say, if this shall come to hand. [mand?]
 Perth's Prouest London's Major shall com-
 Which words, when did we hear, we much admir'd,
 And everie one of us often inquir'd
 What these could mean? Some said, he mean'd such one, [none.
 That London, yea all England, like had
 Some said he mindes his dignitie and place,
 Others his gifts of nature and of grace.
 All which were true indeed, yet none could say
 He mean'd that England's scepter he should
 Till that it came to passe some few yeeres
 after,
 Then hearts with joy, and mouths were fill'd
 with laughter:
 Happie King James the Sixth, so may I say,
 For I a man most joviall was that day,
 And had good reason, when I kist that
 hand, [mand.
 Which afterwards all Britaine did com-
 Monsier, said Gall, I sweare you had good
 reason
 Most glad to be that day; for you of treason
 Assoyled was, of your unhappie chief.
 Pray thee, good Gall, quod I, move not my
 grief.
 Said Gall, Monsier, that point I will not
 touch, [for a witch.
 They'l tine their coales that burnes you
 A witch, good Gall, quod I, I will be sworne,
 Witchcraft's the thing that I could never
 learn;

Yea, Master Gall, I swear that I had rather
 Ten thousand chiefs been kill'd, or had my
 father,
 The King is *pater patrie*, a chief [chief.
 Oft-times is borne for all his kinnes mis-
 And more, I know was never heart, nor
 hand
 Did prosper, which that King did ev'r
 withstand.
 Therefore, good Gall, I pray thee let that
 passe. [was.
 That happie King knew well what man I
 While we thus talk, our boat draws nie
 the shoare;
 Our fellowes all for joy begin to roare
 When they us see, and lowdly thus gan call,
 Welcome, good Monsier, welcome Master
 Gall;
 Come, come a-land, and let us merrie be,
 For as your boat most happilie we did see,
 Incontinent we bargain'd to and fro,
 Some said it was your berge, and some said
 no:
 But we have gained the prise, and pledges
 all, [ter Gall;
 Therefore come, Monsier, come good Mas-
 And let us merrie be, while these may last;
 Till all be spent we think to take no rest.
 And so it was, no sleep came in our head,
 Till fair Aurora left Tithonus bed.
 Above all things so was good Gall's desire,
 Who of good companie could never tire,
 Which, when I call to minde, it makes me
 cry,
 Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die?

THE SEVENTH MUSE.

Up springs the sun, the day is clear, and fair,
 Ætesia, sweetly breathing, coole the air;
 Then coming to my cabin in a band,
 Each man of us a Gabion hints in hand.
 Where met their Serjeant-Major they elected,
 At my command that day to be directed.
 What prettie Captain's yone (so said some
 wenches)
 Ladies, quoth I, men are not mete by inches.
 The Macedonian monarch was call'd great,
 Not from his bodie quantitie, but state
 And martiall prowess, good ladies then to
 heart you, [tue.
 You shall well know that talenese is no vir-
 Thus merche we all alongs unto Mon-
 crieff, [mous chief
 Where dwells that worthe Knight, the fa-
 Of all that ancient name: And passing by
 Three trees sprung of one root we did espy:
 Which, when we did behold, said Master
 Gall,
 Monsier, behold these trees, so great and tall
 Sprung of one root, which all men brethren
 name,
 The synbole which true concord doth pro-
 clame, [grow,
 O happie presage, where such trees do
 These brethren three the threefold Gerion
 show,
 Invincible, remaining in one minde,
 Three hearts as in one body fast combinde,
 Sciluris bundell knit, doth whole abide,
 But easily is broke, when once unty'd.
 So these three trees do symbolize most
 cleerly;
 The amitie of hearts and mindes, inteirly
 Kythes in that happie race, and doth pre-
 sage
 To it more happiness in after age;
 Love's sweetest knot, which three in one
 doth bring [rishing
 That budding gemme shall make more flou-

Fair brethren trees, and sith sois your name,
 Be still the badge of concord, and proclaime
 All health and wealth, unto that happie
 race,
 Where grace and vertue mutually embrace.
 To Moncrieff easterne, then to Wallace
 town
 To Fingask of Dundas, thence passing down
 into the Rynd, as martiall men, we faire,
 What life man's heart could wish more void
 of care:
 Passing the river Earne, on th' other side,
 Dreilling our sojourns, vulgar's were affraide.
 Thence to the Fights great Metropolitan,
 Where stands a steeple, the like in all Bri-
 taine
 Not to be founde againe, a work of wonder,
 So tall and round in frame, a just cylinder
 Built by the Pights in honour of their King,
 That of the Scots none should attempt such
 thing,
 As over his bellie big to walk or ride,
 But this strong hold should make him to
 abide.
 Unless on Pegasus that he would flee,
 Or on Jove's bird should soare unto the
 skye,
 As rode Bellerophon and Ganymede:
 But mounted so must ride no giddie head.
 From thence we mercht directlie unto
 Dron, [st ne;
 And from that stead past to the rocking
 Accompanied with infantrie a band,
 Each of us had a hunting staffe in hand,
 With whistles shrile, the fleeing fowles to
 charme,
 And fowler's nets upon our other arme:
 But as for me about my neck was borne,
 To sound the chase a mightie hunting
 hoine;
 And as I blew with all my might and maine,
 The hollow rocks did answer make againe,

Then every man in this clear companie
Who best should wuide the horne began to
try;

Among the rest a fellow in the rout
Boldly began to boast, and brave it out,
That he would wind the horn in such a wise,
That easelie he would obtain the prise,
But to record what chance there followed
after, (ter,
Gladly I would, but grief forbiddeth laugh-
For so it was the merrie man was mar'd.
Both tongue and teeth, I wot, were tightly
tar'd; (quod we,
Then no more stay; fellow, good night,
Th' old proverb sayes, that dirt parts com-
panie.

By this we were just at the rocking stone,
Amongst the world's great wonders, it is one
Most rare: It is a Phoenix in its kinde,
The like in all the world yee shall not finde:
A stone so nicely set upon its kernels,
Not artificiall, but natural chernels, (it,
So huge, so great, that if you please to prove

A hundred yoaik of oxen will not move it,
Yet touch it with your fingers smallest
knocking,

Incontinent it will fall to a rocking,
And shake, and shiver; as if obedient
More by request than by commandement.
Then up I clame this rock, as I was wonted,
And like Ægeon on whale's back I mounted,
And with Etites rattling stone I knocked,
And as it rattled, even so was I rocked.
So fair a cradle, and rare was never seen;
Oh, if my Cabinet could it containe!

Next at the bridge of Earne we made our
station,

And there we took some little recreation;
Where in Heroicks Gall fell to declaring
All circumstances of that dayes wayfairing,
And there so merriellie we sung, and chant-
ed, (ed,
Happie were they our companie who haunt-
Which, when I call to minde, it makes me
cry,
Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die?

THE EIGHTH MUSE.

WHAT blooming banks sweet Earne, or fairest
Tay, (day
Or Almond doth embrace: these many a
We haunted; where our pleasant pastorals
We sweetly sung, and merrie madrigals.
Sometimes bold Mars, and sometimes Ve-
nus fair,

And sometimes Phœbus love we did declare;
Sometimes on pleasant plaines, sometimes
on mountains, (fountains.
And sometimes sweetlie sung beside the
But in these banks where flowes Saint
Conil's well,

The which Thessalian Tempe doth excell:
Whose name and matchless fame for to de-
clare,

In this most dolefull ditty must I spare;
Yet thus dar say, that in the world again,
No place more meet for Muses to remain
For shadowing walks where silver brooks
do spring, (sing,

And smelling arbors where birds sweetlie
In heavenly musick warbling like Arion,
Like Thracian, Orpheus, Linus, or Amphion;
That Helicon, Parnassus, Pindus fair,
To these most pleasant banks scarce can
compare. (dwell,

These be the banks where all the Muses
And haunt about the crystal brook and well,
Into these banks chiefly did we repair,
From sun-shine shadowed, and from blast-
ing air:

Where with the Muses we did sing our song,
Sometimes for pleasure, sometimes for our
wrong; (table,
For in those days none durst approach their
But we to taste their dainties, this no fable.

From thence to Methven wood we took
our way,

Soon be Aurora fair did kythe the day;
And having rested there some little space,
Again we did betake us to our chace:
Raising the does and roes forth of their
denss

And watrie fowles out of the marshy fennes:
That if Diana had been in that place,
Would thought in hunting we had stained
her grace.

To Methven castle where Gall did declare,
How Margaret Tudor Queen sometimes
dwelt there, (closes,
First daughter to King Henrie seventh who
York, Lancaster, in one, England's two
roses;

A happie union after long debate,
But union much more happie and more
great, (her race,
Even by that same Queen springs, and by
Whereby all Britaine joys long wished
peace. (crown

Hence came King James his title to the
Of England, by both parents of renown;
Hence comes our happie peace, so be it ay
That peace with truth in Britaine flourish
may.

Right over to Forteviot did we hy,
And there the ruin'd castle did we spy
Of Malcolm Kenmure, whom Macduff then
Thane (again;

Of Fyffe (so call'd) from England brought
And fiercely did pursue Tyrant Macbeth,
Usurper of the crown, even to the death.
Their castle's ruines when we did consider,
We saw that wasting time makes all things
wither.

To Dupline then and shades of a Aberdacie,
From thence to Mailer and came home by
Craigie. (done,

Soon by that time before three dayes were
We went to see the monuments of Scone;
As was our promise Scone's nymphs see we
must,

For in such vows we were exceeding just:
And there with Ovid, thus did we declare,
Here is a green where stood a temple fair;
Where was the fatal chair and marble stone
Having this motto rare incise thereon;
This is the stone if fates do not deceive,
Where e're its found the Scots shall king-
dom have. (nobvant,

Which Longshanks did transport to Troy-
As Troy took in the horse by Græcia sent.
So we who sprung were of the Græcian crue,
Like stratagem on Trojans did renew.
Oh! if this fatal chair transported were
To Spaine, that we like conquest might
have there.

From thence to Italie, to Rome, to Greece;
To Colchos thence to bring the golden
fleece.

And in a word we wish this happie child,
Unto the furthest Indies transported were:
That mightiest kingdoms might their pre-
sents bring. (king,

And bow to Charles as to their soveraigne
Nearby we view that famous earthen
mount, wout:
Whereon our kings to crowned be were

And while we do consider there we found,
 Demonstrate was the quadrate of the
 round; (Erra,
 Which Euclid could not find nor Pater
 By guess we did it find on Omnis Terra;
 And if you geometers hereof do doubt,
 Come view the place and ye shall find it out;
 A demonstration so wondrous rare,
 In all the world I think none may compare:
 Thence need we must go see the mure of
 Scone. (done;
 And view where Pights were utterly un-
 By valiant Scots and brought to desolation,
 That since they never had the name of na-
 tion; (day,
 Seven times that fight renewed was in one
 Pights seven times quell'd, Scots were vic-
 torious ay:
 Hence it is said when men shall be undone,
 We shall upon them bring the mure of
 Scone. (near Tay
 King Donskine with his remnant Pights
 All kill'd, did crown the victorie of that day;
 Then valiant Kenneth went to Camelon,
 And threw to earth King Donskine's an-
 tient throne,
 So greatest kingdomes to their periods tend,
 And every thing that grows must have an
 end; (long?
 Where is that golden head that reign'd so
 The silver arms and bellie of brass most
 strong.
 The iron legs divided now in toes,
 Are mix't with clay and so the world it goes
 Thus nations like to stars in multitude,
 Like sand on shoar, or fishes in the flood:
 Yea, rooted in the earth so deep so long,
 As on the mountains grow the cedars strong.
 Yet time hath overturn'd them, and their
 names
 Are past as letters written on the streams;
 To tell us here we have no constant biding,
 The world unto decay is always sliding;
 One kingdom ever doth remaine, and all
 'Gainst it who rise to powder turn they
 shall. (beth,
 Near this we did perceive where proud Mac-
 Who to the furies did his soul bequeath.

His castle mounted on Dunsinnan hill,
 Causing the mightiest peers obey his will,
 And bow their necks to build his Babylon,
 Thus Nymrod-like he did triumph upon
 That mountaine which doth overtop that
 plaine,
 And as the starrie heaven he should at-
 taine
 A loftie tower, and Atlas caused build,
 Then tirranizing rag'd as Nimrod wild;
 Who had this strange response that none
 should catch him,
 That borne was of a woman, or should
 match him,
 Nor any horse should overtake him there,
 But yet his spr'it deceiv'd him by a mare,
 And by a man was not of woman borne,
 For brave Macduff was from his mother
 shorne:
 Macduff call'd Thane of Fife, who home did
 bring
 King Malcolm Kenmure was our native
 King.
 Kenmore, great head, a great head should
 be wise,
 To bring to nought a Nymrod's enterprise;
 Up to Dunsinnan's top then did we climb,
 With panting heart, weak loyns, and wear-
 ied limbe:
 And from the mountain height which was
 well windie, (die:
 We spy where Wallace cave was at Kilspin-
 But there we might not stay, thence to the
 plaine,
 With swifter pace we do come down again.
 Descent is easy any man can tell,
 For men do easily descend to hell.
 When we had viewed these fields both
 here and there,
 As wearied pilgrims gan we home to fair;
 Home, happie is that word, at home in hea-
 ven, (ven;
 Where Gall now rests above the planets se-
 And I am left this wretched earth upon,
 Thy losse with all my Gabions to bemoan.
 Thence mourne with me my Gabions, and
 cry,
 Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ?

THE NINTH MUSE.

WHAT could there more be done, let any say,
 Nor I did to prevent the dolefull day?
 For when I saw Gall's fatal constellation,
 Would not permit him in this earthly sta-
 tion,
 Long to abide then did I give a tryal,
 To make impartial fate sustain denial,
 By herbarising while I proved my skill,
 On top of Law-Tay, and stay Mooredowne
 hill;
 Collecting vegetables in these parts,
 By all the skill of Apollonian arts:
 If possible 'thad been fate to neglect him,
 By heavenly skill immortal for to make
 him; (blood
 But sith that Phœbus could not stem the
 Of Hyacinthus in his sowing mood,

How then should I, a mortal; ah, too shal-
 low
 In witt and art press to outreach Apollo:
 Far be the thought, I therefore must absent
 me, (me;
 And never more unto the world present
 But solitay with my Gabions stay,
 And help them for to mourne till dying
 day.
 Then farewell Cabine; farewell Gabions
 all,
 Then must I meet in heaven with Master
 Gall;
 And till that time I will set forth his praise,
 In elegies of wo and mourning layes:
 And weeping for his sake, still will I cry,
 Gall, sweetest Gall, what ailed thee to die ?