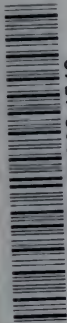

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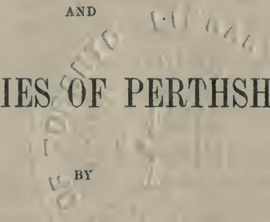

BY

ROBERT S. FITTIS,

AUTHOR OF "GILDEROY," ETC.

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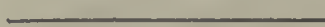

Discover to us many of the antiquities of this country, more of your ancient town of Perth.

Drummond of Hawthornden.

PERTH:
PRINTED AT THE CONSTITUTIONAL OFFICE.

1874.

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PREFACE.

THE following Sketches appeared weekly, under the heading "Antiquarian Repository," in the columns of the *Perthshire Constitutional and Journal*, from 3d November, 1873, to 14th September, 1874, and have thence been reprinted in this permanent form. They deal with subjects lying generally out of the beaten track or broad highway of history; in other words, they are meant to illustrate (though in some cases incidentally) various points and circumstances concerning what may be termed the "domestic annals" of the County and City of Perth. Strict originality is not claimed for them; nor could it be expected: they are mostly careful compilations from works which do not commonly fall under the eye of the general reader: and, according to Chaucer's dictum (in the *Assembly of Foules)*, indebtedness to such authorities can be accounted no disparagement:—

For out of the old fieldes, as men saith,
  Cometh al this newe corne fro yere to yere;
And out of olde bokes, in good faith,
  Cometh al this newe science that men lere.

But this, at least, may justly be claimed, that several old-fashioned and interesting documents and many excerpts have been printed in this series for the first time: the Laws of the Chapmen, the Laws of the Glovers, the Visitation of the Church of Perth, and numerous other extracts from MS. sources: which curious memorials of past generations will, it is hoped, impart a value to the Collection which otherwise it would have lacked.

PERTH, *November*, 1874.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

OF THE

HISTORY & ANTIQUITIES OF PERTHSHIRE.

CHAPMAN LIFE IN PERTHSHIRE.—Part I.

O' a' the slee bodies that ever I saw,
  The sleeist was Patie the Packman;
I'll lay ye my lugs, ere he let ye awa',
  Ye'll hae cause to mind Patie the Packman.
James Ballantine.

TIME was—and the period has not yet become so very remote—when, all over Britain, our highways were bad, and our stage-coaches few and slow,—when lumbering waggons, such as we read of in *Roderick Random*, afforded far slower means of transport for goods and passengers, from town to town, along the main lines of road,—and when pack-horses were employed to convey merchandise through parts of the country destitute of anything like regular roads, and therefore impervious to wheeled vehicles. The pack-horses, laden with heavy sacks, travelled in troops,—each troop ranged in single file, and the foremost beast carrying a bell, the jingle of which kept the rest from straying off the track during a night-journey; and this primitive system was not wholly abandoned in certain districts of Scotland sooner than about the year 1780, when it was superseded by the use of carts. The days of bad roads were those in which a large body of itinerant traders reaped full harvest. We allude to the pedlars—the chapmen or packmen,—who enjoyed a lengthened career of prosperity till towards the end of last century, when improved facilities of internal communication, and other changes, throughout the kingdom, curtailed so much the scope and profits of the craft that it rapidly fell into the sere and yellow leaf, and is now followed on a very limited scale —the merest shadow of what our great-grandfathers knew it.

The pedlar invariably kept his goods stowed in a pack, which was borne on his own willing shoulders,

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or on the back of a nag, if he was rich enough to possess one—hence the designation, "packman." The other term—"chapman"—is the Anglo-Saxon *ceapman*—the word *chap* answering to *cheap*, the name of a place set apart for marketing, as *Cheapside*, and the like. To "chap hands" signifies, in the Scottish Doric, to strike a bargain; and "to chap," to choose or select. Hundreds of years ago, chapmen were traversing England and Scotland in pursuit of their humble and laborious calling; and we might suppose that they were all much of the same class and character on both sides of the Border; but, at all events, those of the sister realm, in the reign of Queen Bess, seem to have been of exceedingly low repute, or else they were virulently libelled by contemporary writers. Harman, in his *Caveat or Warning against Common Cursetors*, issued in 1573, pourtrays them thus :—"These Swadders and Pedlars be not all evil, but of an indifferent behaviour. These stand in great awe of the upright men (sturdy beggars and thieves), for they have often both wares and money of them. But forasmuch as they seek gain unlawfully, against the laws and statutes of this noble realm, they are well worthy to be registered among the number of vagabonds: and undoubtedly I have had some of them brought before me, when I was in commission of the peace, as malefactors, for bribering and stealing, And now of late it is a great practice of the upright man, when he had gotten a booty, to bestow the same upon a packful of wares, and so goeth a time for his pleasure, because he would live above suspicion." Greene's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, published in 1592, declares the pedlar to be "as bad, or rather worse," than the tinker, and tells him—"You carry your pack but for a colour to shadow your other villanies." The Government, moreover, found cause to lift its voice against the whole order. Among the House of Lords papers, described by the Royal Commissioners in their *Third Report on Historical Manuscripts*, 1872, there is the following :—

1593. -Draft of a Bill "For suppressing of pedlers and

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petty chapmen." By colour of licenses under the Act of 14° Eliz. pedlars and petty chapmen wander all over the country carrying letters from one traitorous subject to another, and display their goods in church porches and church-yards on the Sabbath day; the Bill enacts that they shall forfeit all their wares unless lawfully licensed in the open sessions within the county wherein they shall utter and sell the said wares.

Nearly a century later, a similar political charge was brought by the Privy Council in Edinburgh against the Scottish Packmen, of whose morals, however, we have no such black accounts as were penned by Harman and Greene respecting their own countrymen.

1681. May 4th. The Council being informed, that Chapmen who travel up and down the country, are the persons who debauch and abuse the people, and convene them to field conventicles, resolve, that there shall be a clause in the next proclamation that is published, discharging them to travel without passes under the Sheriff's hands, that they are orderly persons.

One of the chapmen of the "Persecution" era was Patrick Walker, Cameronian, and biographer of certain of the Covenanting worthies. By his own confession, he was concerned in the death of Francis Gordon, a Life Guardsman, who had chased and overtaken him and two companions in a desert place. After a scuffle, Gordon, says our martyrologist, "got a shot in his head out of a pocket-pistol, rather fit for diverting a boy than killing such a furious, mad, brisk man, which, notwithstanding, killed him dead. The foresaid William Caigow and Robert Muir came to us. We searched him for papers, and found a long roll of sufferers' names, either to kill or take. I tore it all in pieces. He had also some Popish books and bonds of money, with one dollar, which a poor man took off the ground; all which we put in his pocket again. Thus, he was four miles from Lanark, and near a mile from his comrade, seeking his own death, and got it. And for as much as we have been condemned for this, I could never see how any one could condemn us that allows of self-defence, which the laws both of God and nature allow to every creature. For my own part, my heart never smote me for this. When I saw his blood run, I wished that all the blood of the Lord's

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stated and avowed enemies in Scotland had been in his veins. Having such a clear call and opportunity, I would have rejoiced to have seen it all gone out with a gush." It is to be suspected that the fatal shot was fired by Patrick's own hand, though he never avowed it. He outlived "the killing time" by many years, and was incited to commence authorship by what he deemed the shortcomings of Wodrow's *History of the Sufferings*, which appeared in two volumes folio, in 1721–22. "Surprising, stumbling, and offensive," was it to Patrick to find Mr Wodrow, "a toping, leading Scots Presbyterian, in such gross mistakes, misrepresentations, and groundless, slanderous reflections upon the faithful followers of the Lamb; giving them so many nicknames, as Cameronians, Society-people, the warm party, the warmer sort, warm hot persons, the violent party, highflyers," and so forth; "but this is the fulsome, unwholesome air he has lived in, being over-run and over-driven with the backsliding spirit of the day." Accordingly, the indignant chapman took pen in hand to defend the cause of "the persecuted remnant" and the memory of its martyrs. His Lives of Alexander Peden, Donald Cargill, and others, met with immense popularity, and are still highly esteemed for their simple but graphic pictures of a troubled age.

Patrick's story brings us to our proper design—that being to present (chiefly from a mass of materials in our possession, which have never before been printed) a sketch of the subsequent history of the old Scottish Pedlars—more particularly those of Perthshire,—whose organisation, laws, pastimes, and literature will be found to possess sundry points of curious interest, throwing strong light on former manners, customs, and modes of living.

During most part of the eighteenth century, a vast deal of traffic in all kinds of cloth and haberdashery was carried on by these wandering dealers. Indefatigably extending their peregrinations far and wide, and leaving no nook of the country unexplored, they developed a home market, as well to their own advantage

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as to the encouragement of our infant and struggling manufactures, by bringing the various textile fabrics to the doors of the scattered rural population. For example, they "introduced every article of dress into the Highlands, and found there a good market; the people often having plenty of money, from the high price they received for their cattle, sheep, &c.* The chapmen appear to have thriven well; and not a few of them, who turned their savings to prudent account, eventually realised fortunes. At one time, no small share of the trade in Scotland was engrossed by English pedlars, to whom many a raw Scots lad, for whom there was no hopeful opening at home, was induced to hire himself; and he, after some service, becoming, by his carefulness and economy, master of a well-filled pack of his own, was enabled to push himself on to honest independence. Robert Heron, the historian, writing in 1792, says :—

It is not more than twenty or thirty years ago, since a young man going from any part of Scotland, of purpose to *carry the pack*, was considered as going to lead the life, and to acquire the fortune, of a gentleman. When after twenty years' absence, in that honourable line of employment, he returned, with his acquisitions, to his native country, he was regarded as a gentleman to all intents and purposes. When he had purchased a little estate, he commonly made improvements, and set up in a style of living, by which the taste of the whole country-side was mightily corrected and refined. I believe, in my conscience, that at least a fifth part of our second-rate gentry, whose gentility is not of ancient, military origin, may trace it to the useful industry of this deserved class of citizens.†

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* *Hall's Travels in Scotland.* Vol. II. p. 439.

† *Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland, in the Autumn of 1792.* Vol. i. p. 91.—A French paper, the *Gaulois*, relates a curious anecdote of the first of the Rothschilds, who, it alleges, was a simple pedlar. One day he was going to a neighbouring town, laden with a roll of cloth, to sell at the fair, when he was overtaken by another pedlar who followed the same road with a similar object, but who, more fortunate than himself, was driving an ass carrying his stuff. Conversation began between these two tradesmen, when one said to the other, whom we may call Rothschild the First, "Ease yourself of that burden, and put it on the ass." This was done, and they journeyed on till they came to a deep and narrow ravine, across which a simple plank served

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Heron has unquestionably exaggerated the facts; still, other authorities bear testimony to the comparative importance and influence of "John Cheap the Chapman." A writer in the old *Statistical Account of Scotland* (vol. vii., p. 63) shows that the burgh of Paisley, now a seat of flourishing manufactures, was much indebted to pedlar patronage of its industries during the half-century following the Union in 1707 :—

The trade of Paisley owed its chief encouragement to a set of men who were of great benefit to the country, though they are now discountenanced and laid under severe restrictions by Government; I mean the pedlars or travelling merchants in England, many of whom having frequented Paisley as their staple, and having gained a little money by their trade, came to settle in that town, and bought up large quantities of its manufactures, which they vended among their friends and correspondents in England.

Further, some of the more enterprising of the Scottish pedlars managed to open up direct intercourse with Holland, for the purpose of obtaining supplies of stuffs at first hand. But this was done principally in the contraband line; and in 1748, a couple of Glasgow chapmen were sentenced, by the High Court of Justiciary, to seven years' banishment, for defrauding their creditors by pretended losses in the Dutch trade—which losses they alleged had arisen by their goods having been "partly thrown overboard in a storm, and partly seized by the Custom-House officers."

The fairs in Scotland were attended by hosts of chapmen, who pitched their stalls, or "stands," along the sides of the principal street or market-place of the town, in the same way as similar erections are arranged at the present day.

---

as a bridge. The ass was going over followed by his master, when the prudent Rothschild, impelled by some unaccountable presentiment, said, "Wait a moment, I will take back my cloth, it is all my fortune, and accidents happen so frequently." At the same time he resumed his load, and while fixing it on his shoulder, the ass and his master stepped upon the plank, which sunk under their weight, and they disappeared into the chasm. M Rothschild remained in safety on the bank, bearing with him the nucleus of the enormous fortune his family inherit.

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Here chapman billies tak' their stand,
And show their bonny wallies;
Wow ! but they lie fu' gleg aff hand
To trick the silly fallows.

The fixing of the stall-stances was a matter of much solemnity, being effected on the day previous to the fair, under the supervision of the town-sergeants, who drew the dues thereof for the Magistrates. Every station was chalked out on the causeway by its intended occupant, who then spat upon a stone within the diagram as an earnest of possession. The fraternity improved the intervals between the markets by roaming at will through the country districts, undeterred by difficulty of roads or severity of weather—the more fortunate member with his laden horse or horses, and the poorer with his pack on back, and using his *ell-wand*, or measuring-rod, as a staff to support his weary steps. Occasionally fatal accidents befel unlucky wights, who chanced to be belated or caught in storms. We have all heard of "the ford," on Tam o' Shanter's homeward route,

Whare in the snaw the chapman smoor'd.

And we must not forget that Alexander Pennicuik, the Edinburgh poet, has a strange relation in his "Merry Tales"—not of the perils of tempest or darkness, but showing how a heavy pack played sad mischief :—

I'll tell you a tale o' Jamie the packman.
Ye could not but ken gleid Jamie Cunningham :
As he was travelling within a mile of Tunningham,
He sat down at a fauld dyke for to ease his back;
'Twad bursten our mare to have carried his pack :
As he was rising to gang some miles farther,
He hitched his pack o'er his left shoulder.
The swing of the pack brought him to the ground,
And chok'd him dead ! The laird of the ground,
On the very spot where his servants faund him,
Put up a stane with this memorandum :—
"Whate'er come of the pack,
Spend aye the other plack,
And ne'er let your gear o'ergang you :
Keep aye your back light,
And your pack tight,
And then it never will hang you."

Generation after generation recognised the pedlar as

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a social necessity. He was a familiar visitant at the farm-town and the cot-house; and usually his arrival was hailed with as much cordiality as greeted the wandering minstrel of old at the baronial castle. For the thorough-bred chapman was the newsmonger and flying-stationer of his times. It was an essential part of his business that he should collect a prime budget of "country clash," as well as keep a pack stuffed with attractive "braws," and an assortment of popular penny literature.

> He trots oot and in, he rins here and there,
> He's been at the moon, an' come back, man;
> At bridal, at kirkin', at market or fair,
> Ye'll never miss Patie the Packman.

Many a night and oft did he enliven the farmer's ingle-side with gossip, droll stories, jokes, songs, and pawky, couthy arts. For which reason the Patie of *The Gaberlunzie's Wallet* was thus welcomed to the kitchen of Kelpie Cleugh :—"Come awa', ye walking post-bag, ye paidling newspaper, and tell us a' the outgauns, incomings, dounpoorins, and affcoupins in the parish; what fairs, waddins, and trysts ye hae been at; what sights ye hae seen, what clashes ye hae heard, what bogles, witches, ghaists, and brownies ye hae banished, what kelpies ye hae drowned." The chapman instinctively accommodated himself to the varied moods and idiosyncrasies of his customers and entertainers. He was all things to all men; and, among his other qualifications, could bend the bicker, or toss off a stiff caulker of "mountain dew," with the heaviest toper he might encounter in his rounds; although, to his credit be it spoken, his "drouth" did not become proverbial in the same sense with the "spark" that evermore smoulders in a smith's gullet, but because he was in the habit (as Sir Walter Scott explains) of modestly asking only for a drink of water when, in fact, he was desirous of food.

This vagrant life had its special attractions, irrespective of its pecuniary profits; but few of the fraternity followed it any longer than it could help them to an easier; for the typical chapman's ambition was to

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scrape together as much of a capital as would furnish out a shop in a burgh-town; and, indeed, many of the provincial shopkeepers of those days had made their first start in life by trudging about, "in summer's heat and winter's snow," with their worldly all bundled up in a pack on their backs. Hence the churlish goodman, in the old story, vents his spleen against John Cheap, by declaring that "a wheen lazy, idle villains turn a' to be chapmen, and come through the country fashing folk seeking quarters; and the next day ye'll be gaun wi' a powdered periwig and a watch, and winna let folk stand before your shop-doors, ye'll be sae saucy." In a like spirit, anonymous scribblers sought to cast a slur upon William Paterson, the originator of the Darien Scheme and the Bank of England, by dubbing him "the pedlar turned merchant,"—though, so far as is known of him, he had never been a pedlar in his life. The chances of the trade being very considerable, it was not uncommon for charitable people to provide for a destitute, but deserving, lad, by collecting a small pack with which he might begin to earn his livelihood.

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CHAPTER II.

THE Scottish chapmen were divided into a number of independent Societies, each claiming a district, and being governed by its own office-bearers; but the system of organisation and management appears to have been identical in them all. Amongst those Associations, we find the "Chapmen of Perthshire," and also the Chapmen of Dunkeld," in the same county; the "Chapmen of Fife;" the "Chapmen of Stirling and Clackmannan shires;" the "Chapmen of the Three Lothians," &c. They professed to be *Incorporations.* The Dunkeld fraternity asserted that they held an incorporating Charter by King James V , and "a Renewal thereof" by the Duke of Athole, as High Sheriff of Perthshire, dated about 1730; but both Royal Charter and Renewal have long ago disappeared—if they ever had any existence; and probably the only incorporating authority of which any of the Societies could truly boast was something in the style of the "Seals of Cause," formerly issued by royal burghs to crafts within their bounds. The office-bearers were chosen yearly, and comprised the following :—*Lord Principal; Lord Depute; Boxmaster* (or Treasurer); several *Bailies;* a *Clerk;* and *Officers.* The leading dignitary, who was always addressed as "My Lord," presided at all meetings, and ruled with as great power as the Provost of a town; while, as a mark of high distinction, "the middle place of the market" was allotted for his stall. A meeting of the Society was a *Court.* Admission into the body was called *Brothering;* and the candidate for membership was required to produce "a sufficient testimony of his carriage and conversation," and was then sworn to render implicit obedience to the laws of the Association. A minute-book of the chapmen of Perthshire, embracing the period from 1748 to 1815, is still extant, and in excellent preservation. It is a curiosity in its

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way, being wooden-boarded and brass-cornered, with a brass lock upon it, by which its precious contents were secured against the prying eyes of the uninitiated. With this record—no portion of which has hitherto seen the light in print—we shall now deal. It commences with two forms of procedure :—

THE ORDER AND MANNER HOW THE COURT IS TO BE FENCED.

I defend and forbidd, in his Majesty's name and authority, and in name and behalf of our Lord and the rest of the Bretherin, that no person or persons trouble or molest this Court, or take speech in hand without leave first asked and given, under the pain of Five pounds Scotts.

THE ORDER AND FORM OF BROTHERING.

The Lord Principall, Lord Depute, or any of the Baylies or their Deputys who holds Courts, when any person is to be brothered; after haveing caused read over the whole Acts relating to the Incorporation; the person to be brothered is to be questioned if he has anything to object against any of the said Acts; and having nothing to object, his engadgement is to be taken as follows :—

You engadge and promise to the utmost of your power to maintain and defend the heal Laws and other Rights and Priviledges belonging to this Incorporation; and this I promise before God and these Witnesses.

Next come "The Laws and Acts of the Chapmen of Perthshire. Extracted from the Book of Records of ye said Incorporation, in the year 1713.—*Codex hicce Manu Gualteri Scott, conscriptus est. A.D. MDCCLXVI.*" Of this Code of Laws, numbering 45, and framed mainly for the enforcement of morality and good manners amongst the brotherhood, we proceed to give some specimens.

The Breaking of the Sabath-day.—That whosoever shall be found guilty of breaking the Sabath-day, either by traveling with their packs, or buying or selling (or any other way, except going to the Church), shall pay the sum of Five pounds Scotts.

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For Wrong Measures.—That whosoever shall be found carrying wrong measures, such as weights and elnwands, shall pay Five pounds Scotts, and the said wrong weights or elnwands shall be broken in face of the whole Court.

Covetous Persons.—Such as wrongs his neighbour in buying or selling, or those who shall call people from other's stands, or any other thing prejudiciall one to another, he who shall be guilty of the same, and it be proven against him, shall pay the sum of Five pounds Scotts.

Back-Biteing.—That whosoever shall speak evil of his neighbour, or give his gear an evil word, if it be made out against him, shall pay the sum of Three pounds Scotts.

Swearing.—That whosoever shall take the name of God in vain, or curse, or swear, or speak any idle or profane words, if it can be made out against him, shall pay Three pounds Scotts.

Theft and Lyeing.—That whosoever shall be proven a Theif, or a Lyar, shall be banished from our Court and Company, and all their goods confiscat and given to the Poor.

Wronging of any Person.—That whosoever shall wrong any man's house, or any person whatsomever, either by word or deed, in any place where he shall travel or happen to be, if it can be made out against him, shall pay Three pounds Scotts.

[NOTE.—In December 1793, one of the brethren was fined 2s "for abusing some people, and forcing his quarters upon them."]

Drunkenness.—That whosoever shall be drunk in any place whatsomever, and misbehave himself, and trouble any company or person where he is, without a cause, and it be proven against him, shall pay Five pounds Scotts.

Playing or Gameing.—That whosoever shall play at Cards, or dice, or any other vitious game, and the same be proven against them, shall pay the sum of Three pounds Scotts.

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Buying of False Coyn.—That whosoever shall be found buying of copper or brass money, and offering to pass the same for good silver, shall pay Forty shillings Scotts.

[NOTE.—Base coin seems to have been prevalent in Scotland during the earlier part of last century. "Ill bawbees," at least, were common; and several of the Parochial Records shew that the people had a discreditable habit of getting rid of their bad halfpence by slipping them into the collection plate at the kirk-door on Sunday. Thus, in Tibbermuir book, under date 15th November 1730, we read:—"Coll. this day (ill Babees 5s) Good Babees & doyts, 0. 11. 0:" and in the Rhynd book, 1735—"The Session finding that there is in the (Poor's) box 20 lbs and 4 oz. of bad copper, agreed to sell it; which accordingly was done."]

Buying of Stollen Goods.—That whosoever shall be found buying of gold or silver veshil, or any other kind of mettles or goods whatsoever, that is stollen, if it be made out against him, shall be lyable to pay according as the crime requires.

Contentious Wadgering.—That whosoever shall be found wadgering, one with another, or gameing, if they wadger or play above sixpence at any moderate game, shall pay Twelve shillings Scotts.

Stubborn Persons.—That whosoever shall deny the price of any commodity to a comrade, they both being brothered, and will not help him to anything he stands in need of, if he can handsomely do it, not wronging himself, and will be so stubborn as not to help him, shall pay the sum of Four pounds Scotts.

Travelling with Horse.—That whosoever shall be found travelling with horse on the roadway, and if they willingly let their horse eat among any corn, and not carry themselves as they ought to do, if it be made out against them shall satisfy the skaith and pay Thirty shillings Scotts.

Keeping Evil Company.—That whosoever shall be found drinking or keeping company with idle, profane, or debauched persons, if it be made out against them shall pay the sum of Three pounds Scotts.

Manners or Breeding. — That whoever shall not carry themselves civilly in giveing obedience to their

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superiors, and who shall not be found keeping themselves neat and tight in their clothing, and combing their heads, and washing their hands, and keeping themselves in clean linnens, like other honest men's bairns who take ys occupation: and those who will not observe this at this occupationn, let them betake themselves to another; and for ilk falzie shall be lyable to pay Twelve shillings Scotts.

Civil Carriage in Markets.—That whosoever shall be found eating in the Market place, Bread or any other kind of meat, or carrying of anything in their Bonat or Cap, shall be lyable to pay Six shillings Scotts.

Stands Marking.—That none offer to mark any Stands before sun riseing the day before the Market day, and he who marks first is to mark ane deal length, which is three elns long; and none is to mark above an deal length for himself or any comrade with him; and this foresaid deal length is to be marked for my Lord's use, and that in the middle place of the market, and if it be neglected he is to take it where his pleasure is; and whoever is found marking more than is foresaid shall pay Twelve shillings Scotts.

Absents from the Court.—That whosoever is absent from the Court is fined, and if (when he comes) he bring not along with him his weights and elnwand—if he bring them, he is only to pay Six shillings Scotts as his morning sleep, they being found right; if not, he is lyable to the censure of the Court.

Carrying of inconvenient Goods.—That whosoever shall be found carrying inconvenient goods on their backs, or in their packs, such as bread, meal, or any other thing not suitable to this occupation, is to pay Twelve shillings Scotts.

Provockers.—That whatsoever brother Chapman shall provoke his neighbour Chapman, or any other person, to wrath, either by words or deeds, shall pay Forty shillings Scotts.

Fynes and Entries.—It is enacted by the heal Fraternity that hereafter no Baylie or other Majistrat shall presume to keep Court or to fyne or unlaw any of the

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Brotherhood, or to enter any thereinto, except at Fairs within the shire, and whoever shall happen to contraveen this Act shall be lyable in Four pounds Scotts money each man of Fyne.

Religion and Piety.—It is enacted for the farther propagating of Religion and Piety, that every brother Chapman shall have a Bible particularly for his own use, besides these he shall have for sale; and shall be obliged at the several Courts to bring along with him the said Bible, to be presented if required, under the penalty of Five pounds Scotts, and that those of the Bretheren that cannot read be obliged to learn, at least to use their endeavours, under the aforesaid penalty.

Debates betwixt Brother Chapmen.—It is enacted that in case any debate should fall out betwixt any of the Bretheren of this Incorporation, in any Burgh or other place where they may happen to meet, that they presume not upon any account to enter their complaint to any Majistrate or other Judge, untill they first enter their grievances before my Lord, his Deput, or other members of the Incorporation having power to hold Courts, and get their sentiments thereupon; with certification that whoever contraveens this act shall be lyable in Six pounds Scotts for each transgression.

[Note.—The Guild brethren of the Fair City had an old law of the same nature, viz.—1550, March 6—Act, "that na merchand take upon hand to call or summond ane other merchand before ony Judge, spiritual or temporal, for ony occasion concerning merchandise &c bot before the Dean of Guild."]

For the Benefit of the Incorporation.—It is enacted by the whole fraternity (having consider'd the loss that merchants sustain, and even by our own bretheren, some of whom sell their goods below prime cost, to the great disadvantage of trade) that whoever shall be found guilty of selling their goods without at a reasonable profit, they shall pay Three pounds Scotts, except such reasons be evidenst as, their goods being too dear bought, out of fashion. their credit at stake, and no other way to relieve it, or a bargain in view, by which more than ordinary profit can be had.

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Married Men.—It is enacted by the whole fraternity that for the future no married men shall have right to vote in the annual elections of the Lord and his Depute; without prejudice always to their enjoying the other priviledges and immunities of the Incorporation.

Transgressing Officebearers.—That if My Lord, or any other who carryeth charge within the Court, shall be found to break any of the aforesaid laws (who are Teachers, and ought to be exemplary observers of the samen) they shall be lyable in the double of the penalty of the act transgressed by them. It is enacted that whosoever carrying charge shall be found neglecting to put the above laws in execution against transgressors and offenders, shall pay the sum of Three pounds Scotts: and every brothered Chapman that knows his neighbour Chapman to be a transgressor, and does not inform the Court of such offenders, shall also be liable in a fine of Three pounds Scotts.

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CHAPTER III.

Infractions of various of the "Laws and Acts" being apt to occur amid the bustle and eager competition of public market, it was the duty of the Lord Principals to hold a Court next morning for hearing and adjudging all manner of complaints. The tribunal seems to have come within the category of the *Pie-poudre* or *Dusty Foot* Courts common in former times to both Scotland and England;* and its decisions were not reviewable by any other judicatory. To ensure the brethren's attendance thereat, "My Lord" went about the stalls, at the opening of the fair, and uplifted from each member thirty shillings Scots, or the value thereof in goods, as a "paund," pawn, or pledge for his appearance in Court next day to answer whatever charge might be preferred against him; which "paund" was forfeited by absence "in the hour of cause." Further, "My Lord" was restricted from spending more than one shilling sterling out of the funds, at any Court, except when held at the head markets. For the regulation of all Courts or general meetings of the craft, it was enacted "that

* The English have an ancient court, commonly called *pie-powder court*, held in fairs, for rendering justice to buyers and sellers. We have traces of the same court in Scotland, though long out of use. The English writers give this etymology of the word, that it is a corruption of the French *pieds poudreux*, intimating the dispatch which ought to be given to such cases, ere the dust go off the plaintiff and defendant's feet. But the name has no such allegorical meaning. Fairs are generally composed of pedlars, who in France bear the name of *pieds poudreux*, and in Scotland of *dusty-foot;* and from them the name of the court is derived.—*Kames' Statute Law of Scotland*, Second Edition, note v., p. 424. "The Table," or Index, to the Burrow Laws, &c., in the *Regium Majestatem*, defines a *Dustiefute* to be "ane *Pedder*, or *Cremar*, quha hes na certaine dwelling place, quhere he may dicht the dust from his feet." Chaps. 120, 134, and 140 of the Burrow Laws contain enactments relative to the "pleys" of such persons.

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whosoever should rise up in the face of the Court, to disturb his neighbour when he was speaking, or misbehave himself, should pay six shillings eight pennies:" and also "that whosoever should be found disobedient, and would not submit himself to the will of the Court and answer to that which was lawfully imposed on him, and offer to stand out in the least against them, should be banished from the Court and company of chapmen, and whomsoever should be found in company with any such person should pay forty shillings Scots." The fraternity of a district exercised, or attempted to exercise, "exclusive privileges," much in the spirit of the Incorporated Trades of the towns. To this effect we read in the Perthshire Laws:—"If so be that any Chapman in any other shire comes to this shire, or the markets therein, if he carry himself fair, he is to be made welcome for the first and second times; but if he comes any oftener, he is to submit himself to the will of the Court, and brother himself as use and custom is." The Perthshire Chapmen's annual election took place generally in July, and oftenest at Perth on the day after Midsummer market. This important fair was held on 5th July, until the year 1822, when the City Magistrates re-arranged the days of the local annual markets, and appointed Midsummer to fall on the first Friday of the month. By the previous usage, when the 5th chanced to be a Sunday, the following Monday or Tuesday was the market. Penny's *Traditions of Perth* (p. 134) affords a vivid picture of Midsummer as it was in the palmy days of the Chapmen :—

Midsummer fair was for these persons a central point, where they annually assembled. As a body, they were not only intelligent but wealthy,—and formed themselves into an association, directed by a preses, who was styled "My Lord." It was by this class of men that the cloth-shops in Perth used to be occupied; the summit of their ambition was to fill a shop; and many of the fortunes of our most respectable merchants originated in the profits of the pack. They appeared in such numbers at the fairs, as literally to fill the High Street from the Kirkgate to the Guard Vennel, with a double row of stalls, covered with blankets. An awning extended in front about four feet, and the back

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of the stalls was furnished with shelves for their goods. Towards the afternoon the lasses collected in parties on the street, or ranged themselves in front of the chapmen's booths, waiting anxiously the arrival of their joes, to give them their fairing. Towards evening they again made their appearance, and not unfrequently battles between the country and town lads was the consequence; when a general uproar was the result; to the benefit of pickpockets and such like gentry, the non-conservators of peace and justice.

The Minute-Book shows that from 1748 to 1800, there were 14 elections held in Crieff, 5 in Dunblane, and 40 in Perth. Frequently the election at Perth was in the Guild-Hall; and once it was in the "Skinner-Hall," Skinnergate. At the election of 10th July, 1767, the sederunt of the meeting contains the names of 52 members present. Among the officebearers, during a course of years, appear *Clerks* for Perth and Crieff; and *Bailies* for Errol, Scoon, Gartmore, Balquhidder, Dunblane, Callander, Down, Abernethy, Ochterarder, Comrie, Methven, Ochtergaven, Dunning, Lustylaw, Blackford, and Monteith. From 1776 to 1786 the election was held at Perth on the day after St John's Day Market in September. By a singular law, already cited (the reason of which will be afterwards explained), all "married men" were disqualified from voting in "the annual elections of the Lord and his depute;" but this disability was removed in 1790.

When the election was held in Perth, and the formal business had been concluded, the brotherhood marched in procession to the South Inch, where they engaged in games, to the admiration of an assembled multitude. The first part of the programme was the chivalric pastime of tilting, riding, or running at the ring. Two tall posts were set up in the ground, as much apart as to allow a horse to pass freely betwixt them, and topped by a cross-beam from which a ring was suspended. The trick consisted in a rider galloping through betwixt the posts, and bearing off the ring on the point of a rod or spear. The next sport was vulgar and barbarous. A light closed barrel, containing a quantity of soot and a live cat, was hung from the cross-beam, in substitution of the ring, and the riders tilted at it with the

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design of driving in one end to let grimalkin escape. As soon as the poor animal, alive or dead, fell down, it was seized upon by the crowd, and tossed about as long as its carcase held together. Other athletic exercises followed, and the day was wound up with great joviality. Such things were practised throughout the greater part of last century.

Of the Dunkeld Chapmen, the old *Statistical Account of Scotland* (Vol. 20, p. 432) thus speaks—after mentioning their Royal Charter and its Renewal:—

There is one general meeting of the Society yearly, which, till 1776, was held always at Dunkeld, but now alternately at Dunkeld and Cupar of Angus. At this meeting the office-bearers for the ensuing year are chosen; the laws are enacted or repealed; complaints of members heard, and offenders fined; and assistance given from their funds to indigent members. The meeting is styled a *Court*. (The power of the Court, in matters relative to the concerns of the Society, is supported by the civil Judge, who has on many occasions remitted the complaints of dissatisfied members to be settled by it.) All members coming to the market are obliged to attend it. They are summoned by one of the office-bearers, who, to enforce their attendance, goes round to the different booths, in open market, and takes from each a piece of goods, or 2s 6d, as a pledge for his appearance. Each must produce his measures and weights, which are compared with standards kept for the purpose. (At Dunkeld the standard for the measures is a fixed iron bar, placed on the wall of a house near the market-place, from which a part of the street takes the name of "The Gauge.") If they are found deficient, he is fined at the discretion of the Court. He must produce also, under a penalty, a copy of the Bible, with his own name written upon it. After the Court (which meets the day after St Colm's) is closed, the members dine together; and to prevent that intemperance to which social meetings in such situations are sometimes prone, they spend the evening in some public competition of dexterity or skill. Of these, "riding at the ring" (an amusement of ancient and warlike origin) is the chief.

The Chapmen of Stirling and Clackmannan shires are said to have received a Charter from King James I. in 1423. The principal sport after their election Court was running at the ring.

The Fife Chapmen met annually at the village of Leslie, where they held boisterous sports, as described by the Rev. J. W. Taylor, Free Church minister of

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Flisk and Creich, in his *Historical Antiquities of Fife* (p. 232) :—

On the green, and not far from the gateway of the burial-ground, may still be seen the bull stone, to which the poor animals brought up for the bull-fights were attached; for this was a famous gathering-place for these barbarous fights and games of strength and skill. . . A fighting place Leslie seems to have been. The gateway to Leslie House, at the foot of Leslie path, still bears the name of the Barras Yett, or the Gate of Combats. Here cock-fights took place in the presence of the Duke and the villagers. So late as an hundred years ago these games and fights were still practised. Since then, what had flourished under the patronage of noble Dukes, fell under the management of *the chapmen*, who had a Society here. They had their rough contests among themselves with bar, and putting-stone, and shinties, and when "the malt got the better of the meal," with fists. By degrees the fight extended to the neighbouring towns, and scenes were enacted worthy of Donnybrook.

The head-quarters of the Chapmen of the Three Lothians were at Preston-pans, where they met on the second Thursday in July, and chose their officebearers. According to the old *Statistical Account* (Vol. 17, p. 78),

They elect, on this occasion, a provost or preses, a depute, a clerk, a treasurer, 6 bailies, and several counsellors. . . . . . After the election they march in a body, preceded by music, to the cross at Preston, there drink a few bottles of wine, and then return. . . . . They cannot proceed to an election unless some married members be present; but the preses is annually chosen from among the unmarried; it being supposed that those of this description will more readily attend the fairs. When a new member is admitted, he pays some entry-money, which is added to the common stock: the son of a member pays less than a stranger. At present [about 1796] the number in East Lothian who keep packhorses does not exceed 6. . . . . . The whole numbers of this Society at present are about 24 in number.

The place of meeting, formerly, was in an open field adjoining to Preston, on the second Thursday of October, at which time a fair was held there, called *St Jerome's Fair*. About the year 1732, this fair was transferred to Preston-pans, where it was held for about 20 years, and was then given up. No information has been obtained, that can be depended on, as to the time when this Society was first instituted, nor how they came to hold their annual meeting at Preston. . . . . . . In the year 1636, they acquired a right to the Cross there, which they still preserve. So much is Preston now changed, that this cross stands in a field. The number of packhorse chapmen is much fewer than it once was, and they are

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still on the decline. About 50 years ago, there were 15 in East Lothian, all of whom had a good trade.

The entry-money paid by new members, the fines, forfeited pawns, &c., enabled the different Associations to form common funds, out of which they defrayed the expenses of management, and assisted such brethren as became decayed in circumstances. In 1789 the Perthshire Chapmen "augmented" their "admission money" to 15s. One of their original Laws provides that each Chapman who had a horse-pack should pay one shilling sterling annually, and each Chapman who carried a back-pack, sixpence sterling. At the general meeting in the Guild-Hall, Perth, on 7th July, 1786, it was "enacted that in all time coming there shall be one penny gathered up from every Horse Packman or Merchant, and one halfpenny from every Back Packman, that creams in every Fair, for the support of the poor: the same to be gathered up by the Ballie or officer of that district. Any officebearer neglecting to put the above Law in execution shall render himself lyable to the censure of the Court." The Fraternity were also possessed of certain heritable property: for example, the Register of Bonds, &c., for Perthshire contains the following Deed:—

1 December, 1729.

Charter of Fewfarm, Anthony Murray of Dullary, to the Incorporation of Chapmen within the shire, dated 24 October, 1729—the tenor whereof being:—

I, Anthony Murray of Dullary, proprietor of the tenements of land underwritten . . . . for the price of £500 Scots, advanced out of the stock of the Society and Incorporation of Chapmen of Perthshire, by the deceased Andrew Brown, merchant in Crieff, sometime the Lord Principal . . . have sold and disponed, in few farm and heritage, all and haill these houses and stables in Crieff, back and fore, high and laigh, presently possessed by John Wright, John Bain, musician, and Helen Robine, bounded in manner mentioned in the Charters thereof, with power of casting turf, and divot, for the use of

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said tenements, upon the part of the Knock of Crieff belonging to me, . . . and that for payment of an annual feu-duty of £6 Scots.

Another Deed belonging to the Society appears in the same Record :

February 1758.

Submission betwixt the Society of Chapmen for Perthshire, and James Robertson, Chapman in Crieff, for himself, and in name of the community of Chapmen for the Crieff district, dated 1 December, 1757; and *Decreet Arbitral* following thereon.

Decreet Arbitral.

We, William Paton, jun., Glover in Perth, and Laurence Rintoul, merchant there, Arbiters, . find that the Society of Chapmen in Perthshire is composed of the Chapmen who reside about Perth, Dunblane, and Crieff; that they have a stock common to the whole Society, which is applied to the relief of the poor members of the Society; that the said James Robertson was, in August 1750, elected principal Boxmaster of the said community; that James Bisset was elected principal Boxmaster, in 1751; and that the said James Robertson ought then to have given in to the said James Bisset, bills to the amount of £43 4s stg., also cash in hand to the amount of £2 12s 2d stg. : therefore decerns him to make delivery and payment of the same.

The Fraternity possessed "a convenient chest for holding the security and rights belonging to the Incorporation," which had three keys, one of which was deposited with the Lord Principal, another with the Lord Depute, and the third with the Boxmaster, for the time being : "providing always that the said persons and each of them in whose custody the saids keys are, shall be bound and obliged to make the samen forthcoming for the use of the Incorporation, when called for, under the penalty of fifty pounds Scotts, to be exacted from the contraveeners upon each failzie; and in case by neglect or otherwise any of the persons,

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keepers of the said keys, shall lose any of them, it's enacted that they shall be liable to cause make another key or keys in place of those lost, and repair what damage the chest shall sustain by breaking it up; and the keepers of the said keys are hereby ordained that when they lay down their charges yearly, to lay down the keys also; and this act to stand unalterable in time coming."

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CHAPTER IV.

As "flying stationers," the Chapmen had intimate concern with what constituted the popular or cheap literature of their period, namely, the histories, ballads, songs, &c., which derived their generic appellation of *Chap-Books* from the fraternity by whom they were vended. It seems inconceivable, at the first blush, how such wretched stuff as most of the histories, and especially those of Scottish extraction, should have won so universally upon the favour of the people. But the fact remains, staring us in the face like a sphynx, that in humble homes, both in town and country, *John Cheap the Chapman; Leper the Tailor; Simple John and his Twelve Misfortunes; Lothian Tam; Wise Willy and Wittie Eppie; The whole Proceedings of Jocky and Maggy; The Coalman's Courtship with the Creel-wife's Daughter; John Falkirk's Cariches; The Witty Exploits of George Buchanan,** and others of the like high-kilted stamp, were generally found ranged on the same shelf, drawers'-head, or broad window-sill, with "the big ha' Bible," Josephus, Bunyan, and Boston.

* The transformation of the learned Buchanan into a Court fool is so ridiculous as to be quite inexplicable. Yet other men of mark have shared a similar fate. The poet Virgil figured in mediæval romance as a mighty sorcerer, and was gravely described as such by Gervase of Tilbury, who wrote in the twelfth century. The first English "Life of Virgilius," detailing his necromantic wonders, was printed at Antwerp, in 1508. To this day the people about Palestrina, in Italy, speak of Horace as another great magician. In 1792, when the celebrated Paul Jones died at Paris, a tractate appeared there a day or two after his death, under the striking title of "Paul Jones; or, Prophecies on America, England, France, Spain, Holland, &c., by Paul Jones, a Prophet and Sorcerer such as never lived heretofore!" Mr Dyce supposes that several of the "witty exploits" of Buchanan "originated in the sayings and doings of Archie Armstrong, whom the author appears to have confounded with the learned preceptor of James the Sixth: some of them have been told of various other persons in various jest-books."

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The best-known and most prolific author of Scottish chap-books was Dougal Graham, the bellman or town-crier of Glasgow, who died in July, 1779. Dougal was a national poet in his way, having composed a History of the Rebellion of 1745, "all in metre," which was published in September, 1746, at the modest price of a groat—the advertisement adding that "any bookseller or *packman* may have them easier." This work, which is written in Hudibrastic rhyme, and presents a homely, matter-of-fact record of the Rebellion, went through several editions in the author's life-time, and has been frequently reprinted since. At one time Dougal was a "merchant in Glasgow;" but business failing, he started as a printer, and, it is said, fell into a habit of composing and setting up his own works, without taking the trouble of committing them to writing. The new venture for a livelihood proved likewise unsuccessful. Amid "the weary widdle o' war'ly cares," he became a stated employé of the chap-book publishers in Glasgow, and could concoct and "screed aff" a droll tale for the press with remarkable facility: the *honorarium*, or copy-money, being, we presume, correspondingly small.

The Chap-books, however, were not all of the one unvaried vulgar complexion. Though catering to please a public taste destitute of refinement and delicacy, the printers took the widest possible range in their selection of subjects. Old ballads and songs formed an important section of their issues. Narratives of the supernatural were not awanting—witness *The Laird of Cool's Ghost*, which used to inspire solemn awe and shrinking terror around the winter hearth. The pious edification of the masses was cared for by Scripture Histories (such as *Joseph and his Brethren; Judas Iscariot*, &c.), and by sermons, religious poems, and lives of the Covenanting worthies. Among the more favourite religious poems, may be named *The Wife of Beith*, called an allegorical dialogue; *Cogitations upon Death, or, the Mirror of Man's Misery; The New Jerusalem* (of which a superb edition, annotated by the Rev. Dr Bonar,

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Kelso, appeared in 1852); and *A Soliloquy on the Soul*—this last by the Rev. Thomas Black, who was minister of Perth from 1698 till his demise in October 1739, and Moderator of the General Assembly in 1721. Wonderful prophecies had also due place in this "Popular Library." One of the tracts printed in the classic region of the Saltmarket, Glasgow, 1801, contains *An Account of the Surprising Foreknowledge and Predictions* of the Rev. Allan Logan, minister at Culross, Perthshire, who died in 1733, aged about 72. In a professed extract of a letter from Mr Logan to a brother-minister in Stirling, the former predicts great commotions and calamities, wars and bloodshed, on the earth between 1753 and 1793; and then adds—

> At this time shall idolatrous Rome have her double cup, for she and her associates shall be waging war against the Protestant kings and princes; but God shall animate a Protestant Prince, who shall head and lead a victorious army against her and her allies, who shall overcome her and them; and they shall never have power of government after. Rev. xviii. 8. *Therefore shall her plagues come in one day.* But in the 10th verse we read of her merchants and lovers standing afar off, for fear of her torments, saying, *Alas! for in one hour her judgments is come upon her.* That is, in one month (taking a day for a year, by Daniel's weeks expounded), or may be in one decisive battle, her powers may be broken. And this Protestant Prince is plainly pointed at by the Prophetess Cybelles, to be a Prussian.

A Prussian! This apocalyptic exposition reads strangely in the lurid light of the recent Franco-Prussian War! Another (questionable-looking) extract of a letter, from a gentleman in the country to his friend in London, said to be "taken from the *London Chronicle*," furnishes further particulars of Mr Logan's vaticinations in favour of the Prussian:—

> Some years before his death, he prayed in public for the King of Prussia, after sermon, that he and his descendants might be stirred up and honoured to support the Reformation interest in Germany.
>
> Being asked in the evening by a lady of distinguishing good character, what led him to name the King of Prussia in prayer, contrary to law, he answered, That he was strongly impressed, both when asleep and afterwards in his closet, with a firm belief, that one of that illustrious house would be raised to head a victorious army, and prove as a *Saviour upon Mount Zion*, for preserving the Protestant interest there, when at the lowest ebb.

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These curious passages are certainly worth the space they fill; and we might quote others showing Mr Logan's special gift in discovering "all the witches and those that dealt with familiar spirits," which would amuse the reader. But we must pass on to other matters. A famous vendor of chap-books in the Perth district was Peter Duthie, whose elegy and epitaph are appended to the *Memoirs of the late John Kippen, Cooper in Methven, near Perth*—a tract of the same species. Peter was a native of Kirriemuir, and born in 1721. As the preface to the elegy relates, he "took up the profession of a travelling bookseller when only about eight years of age, and continued in the same line till the day of his death, excepting about three years that he was a soldier, or rather a prisoner; for Peter was impressed into his Majesty's service in the year 1755; but such was his attachment to the House of Stewart, that he never would handle arms under the Hanoverian family; and the regiment to which he was attached was obliged to discharge him, after having in vain tried every method to make him a soldier." He died at Perth in October, 1812—his death and burial being entered in the Mortality Record of the City. The elegist, apostrophizing Death, expresses himself in this strain—

> Thy sov'reign will, nae doubt it was,
> Altho' we canno' tell the cause,
> To drive poor Peter from the earth,
> An' cause sic mourning into Perth,
> Where lang the honest body dwelt,
> Where mony a hunder beuk he selt,
> An' where ten thousand wad defend him,
> And sae wad ilk ane that kend him.

A brother of the craft was John Megee, pedlar and flying stationer, who, in 1809, published at Glasgow a pamphlet of 48 pp., containing his *Travels in North and South Britain.* The tone of the book is religious—the author denouncing the corruptions of the time, and declaring that the manners of the people were rapidly changing for the worse.

Glib, superficial writers of the "progress-of-knowledge" school occasionally assure us that the chap-

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books have been consigned to oblivion since the rise of the modern cheap press. This, however, is a misapprehension. Admittedly the field for such old-world literary wares is very much circumscribed from what it was; but they are still reproduced *verbatim*, adorned with facsimiles of their original illustrations, those

> Wooden cuts,
> Strange and uncouth; dire faces, figures dire,
> Sharp-kneed, sharp-elbowed, and lean-ankled too,
> With long and ghostly shanks, forms which once seen
> Can never be forgotten.

In a catalogue belonging to Glasgow we count 169 Penny Histories, including the entire series of ancient worthies, and 44 Halfpenny Ballad-books, all kept in stock, and sold in quires to the hawkers, who apparently find a remunerative market for them. Similar reprinting goes on briskly in Newcastle and elsewhere. In place of being consigned to oblivion, the chap-literature promises to survive, "with all its imperfections on its head," for a good long time to come.

We have already spoken of Patrick Walker, the Cameronian martyrologist; but he has not been the only "popular author" of whom the packman fraternity could boast. The well-known John Brown of Haddington, author of *The Self-Interpreting Bible* and other works, was a chapman in his younger days. He was born in 1722, at Carpow, in the parish of Abernethy. At that period, as one of his biographers remarks, the chapman vocation was "of much greater importance and higher esteem in Scotland than at present, . . . and was often pursued by persons of great intelligence and respectability." After serving for some time as a shepherd on the hills, where he spent many a lonely hour in the study of the Greek Testament, the future clergyman essayed a new start in life as a pedlar. But he "did not shine in his profession. During his mercantile peregrinations, which lay chiefly in the interior parts of Fife and Kinross-shire, he made it a rule to call at no house of which the family had not the character of being religious and given to reading. When he was received into any such dwelling, his first care was

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to have all the books it could furnish collected together, among which, if he did but light upon a new one, with avidity he fell to the literary feast, losing in the appetite of the soul, the hunger of the body, and in the traffic of knowledge forgetting the merchandise of pedlar's wares."* A course of proceeding so unworldly precluded every prospect of success in his trade; his friends and well-wishers unanimously pronounced him "good for nothing but to be a scholar;" and he, acquiescing in the decision, eventually laid aside the pack.†

Wordsworth chose a Scottish pedlar—"a vagrant merchant bent beneath his load"—as the chief interlocutor in the *Excursion.* The "wanderer" had his prototype in a pedlar bard, whose name the lovers of the Scottish muse will not willingly let die—Alexander Wilson, the American ornithologist, and author of *Watty and Meg.* Wilson was born in 1766, in Paisley, the town so much benefitted by the chapmen. He was bred to the loom; but in 1789 want of employment forced him to shoulder the pack. He endeavoured, at the same time, to obtain subscribers to a small volume of his own poetry. He writes in his journal:—

I have, therefore, filled up a proper budget, consisting of silks, muslins, prints, &c., for the accommodation of those good people who may prove my customers,—a sufficient quantity of proposals for my poetical friends; and to prevent those tedious harangues, which otherwise I would be obliged to deliver at every threshold, I have, according to the custom of the most polite pedlars, committed the contents of my pack to a handbill, though in a style somewhat remote from what I have yet seen.

ADVERTISEMENT EXTRAORDINARY.

Fair ladies, I pray, for one moment to stay,
  Until with submission I tell you,

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* Chambers's Scottish Biographical Dictionary. Vol. i., p. 300.

† Dr Robert Watt, author of the *Bibliotheca Britannica*, who was born in Ayrshire, in 1774, was very anxious when a boy to embrace the pedlar craft, from a desire to do something for himself, and to extend his knowledge of the country. "When very young," he says, "my great ambition was to be a chapman; and it was long before the sneers of my friends could drive me from this favourite project."

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What muslins so curious, for uses so various,
A poet has here brought to sell you.

Here 's handkerchiefs charming; book-muslins like ermine,
Brocaded, striped, corded, and check'd;
Sweet Venus, they say, on Cupid's birth-day,
In British-made muslins was deck'd.

If these can't content ye, here's muslins in plenty,
From one shilling up to a dozen,
That Juno might wear, and more beauteous appear,
When she means the old Thunderer to cozen.

Here are fine jaconets, of numberless sets,
With spotted and sprigged festoons;
And lovely tambours, with elegant flowers,
For bonnets, cloaks, aprons, or gowns.

Now, ye Fair, if ye choose any piece to peruse,
With pleasure I'll instantly shew it;
If the pedlar should fail to be favour'd with sale,
Then I hope you'll encourage the poet.

But this "one bold push for the united interests of pack and poems" proved a failure. Bitterly did he feel the degradation of

Crouchin' to ev'ry wretch to speir,
Mem ! will ye buy a bargain
Right cheap, the day ?

He tells us—" I have this day measured the height of an hundred stairs, and explored the recesses of twice that number of miserable habitations; and what have I gained by it ?—only two shillings of worldly pelf !' And again—" My occupation is greatly against my success in collecting subscribers. A *packman* is a character whom none esteem and almost every one despises. The idea which people of all ranks entertain of them is, that they are mean-spirited, loquacious liars, cunning and illiterate, watching every opportunity, and using every mean art within their power, to cheat." Several of his poetical pieces depict the incidents of chapman life as he experienced it :—*The Pack ; Apollo and the Pedlar; The Loss of the Pack; The Insulted Pedlar.* Ill luck drove him from the road—drove him across the Atlantic. Even after he reached the United States (where the first thing he did on landing was to shoot a redheaded woodpecker), his untoward fate again reduced him to the old make-shift, which, however, he

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soon abandoned for the ferule of the schoolmaster. It was while living in retirement near Philadelphia that he conceived the idea of the *Ornithology*. But we need not follow the after-career of this chapman bard, whose self-educated genius sheds a halo around the history of the pack. His great work brought him imperishable fame, and would have added competence, had he not been suddenly cut off in the midst of his labours, and in the flower of his days.

By the beginning of our century, the old race and class of chapmen were fast disappearing from the road and the fair. The Perthshire minute-book bears that at the meeting in Perth, on 6th July 1805, "the Society, considering the low state of their funds, that they are unable to afford the relief they could wish to their distrest members, have agreed to form themselves into a Friendly Society upon the footing of the Act of Parliament past in favour of such societies, and appoint" certain office-bearers and members "as a Committee to draw up articles to that effect betwixt this and Anders-mass next." But nothing more is heard of the proposal. In fact, the Society was now on its last legs. A few *bon vivants* had given it a factitious prolongation of existence for some years, so far as mere forms went, by getting themselves "brothered," and keeping up the farce of annual election, for convivial purposes. The common funds in July, 1807, amounted to £18 13s, after deducting £5 "as election expenses." This balance seems to have been subsequently dissipated, "and there an end." The last entry in the wooden-bound book is the minute of "a Court held in the house of Finlay M'Nab, innkeeper in Perth," on 12th December, 1815, when the Lord-Depute and 6 members attended:—"The Corporation considering that there having been no election of office-bearers since the year eighteen hundred and seven, and the usual time of election for this year being past, they agreed that the next election be held at Crieff, on the day after Douchlich market, eighteen hundred and sixteen;" and they empower the "Lord-Depute to advance two shillings as the expense of the present meeting."

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And so the record of the Perthshire Chapmen closes: and they are heard of no more in their "corporate" capacity.

The Lothian Brotherhood have been more fortunate, inasmuch as their Society still survives and flourishes, being composed of a chosen band of Edinburgh sparks, fond of fun and frolic. The election is held regularly once a-year at Prestonpans, followed by foot-races among the juveniles of the place; and the proceedings of the brethren culminate in a capital dinner.

NOTES.

1. The following extract from the Perth Kirk-session Records furnishes an early example of what has been stated as to charitable people providing for a destitute lad by giving him a pack:—"1595, September 22.—The Session ordains the Master of the Hospital to give to an poor boy, called Alexander Martin, ten merks to help him to an pack for winning of his living."

2. In addition to a former note on "Debates betwixt Brother Chapmen," shewing that the Guildry of Perth had an old law (6 March, 1550), forbidding merchants to summon each other "for ony occasion concerning merchandise, &c.," to any Court, except that of the Dean of Guild, we may say that the Town Council of Perth passed an Act on 13th March, 1705, declaring it "to be unlawful for burgesses to prosecute one another for civil debts before any other Court except before the Provost and Magistrates." Moreover, it was usually a law in each of the Incorporated Trades, that all complaints and disputes between the members should be brought before the Deacon, to the exclusion of any other Judge.

3. The *Liber Vagatorum*, or "Book of Vagabonds and Beggars,"—the earliest work of the kind in existence, supposed to have been written about 1509, and an edition of which was issued from the Wittemberg press in 1529, with a preface by Martin Luther—speaks very disparagingly of the German pedlers of that age:—"*Item*, beware of the pedlers who seek thee at home, for thou wilt buy nothing good of them, be it silver, haberdashery, spicery, or any other wares."

THE CHAPMEN.—Referring to the very interesting papers on the ancient fraternity of the "locomotive merchant," it may be well to notice that the gauge with which the brethren had annually to test their ellwands is still extant in the wall of a house at the Square of Dunkeld. Of course, like all other remains of Perthshire antiquities, it is fast decaying, and some

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dark night may disappear altogether, and be appropriated for a few pence as old iron. It is so obscure that not a few who have gone in its search were unable to find it. Might some wealthy descendant of the ancient fraternity of "*Pilgrims of the Pack*" not encase the curious relic, and place some inscription over it, so as to preserve this rare memorial of times now long gone by?—MONKBARNS MINOR.

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CHAPTER V.

A MURDER IN THE TRAIN BARRACKS OF PERTH.

I can discover all
The unlucky manage of this fatal brawl:
There lies the man, slain by young Romeo.
Romeo and Juliet.

GOWRIE HOUSE underwent various changes of ownership and occupancy during the couple of centuries following the downfall and forfeiture of the noble family of Ruthven. When King James was parting the great patrimony of the unfortunate John, last Earl of Gowrie, amongst the hungry courtiers who had shared in the mysterious fray of 5th August, 1600, he made a grant of Gowrie House to the community of Perth. Subsequently the Town Council sold or otherwise conveyed it to George, first Earl of Kinnoull and Lord-Chancellor of Scotland, who put it (as well as the adjacent Monk's Tower) in a state of thorough repair, so that it was fit for the reception of Charles I., when he visited Perth, on 8th July, 1633. Again the property was acquired by the burgh; and at the Restoration, the Council, in an excess of loyalty, gifted it to Charles II., upon which his Majesty gave them Cromwell's citadel on the South Inch, by royal charter. The Revolution of 1688 threw Gowrie House once more into the hands of the Town Council, who retained it till the month of February, 1746, when the Duke of Cumberland having advanced with his army to Perth, the Magistrates saw meet to present him with this famous building and gardens "as a Testimony of this Town and Corporation their Gratitude for his Royal Highnesses Goodness in exposing his pretious Life for the Deliverance of this part of Great Brittain from the Ruin threatned to us and the whole nation by the present wicked and unnatural Rebellion." The Duke, through ignorance, or perhaps laughing in his sleeve at the

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sycophancy of the civic magnates, asked them, it is said, whether, along with the house, he was not also to receive "the piece of ground called the Carse of Gowrie?" The Carse being out of the reckoning, his Royal Highness lost little time in turning what he had got into hard cash. When he went back to London, bearing the blushing honours of Culloden thick upon him, he disposed of his Perth mansion to the Board of Ordnance, by whom it was converted into barracks for the accommodation of a train of artillery,—Perth being constituted the head-quarters of that force in Scotland.

The Fair City now became a considerable military station, and continued so throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century—much to the promotion of its trade and prosperity.* One or two companies of artil-

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* It would appear that there were "Guard-houses" at the "Ports" of the town immediately after 1688. The Index to the Council Books contains the following entries:

1690, October 20. Allowance to Margaret Gardiner for House belonging to her, at the Highgate Port, occupied by the Guards.
1691, June 1. Act for giving allowance to the daughter of Rev. John Robertson, late Minister, for a House, at the Southgate Port, occupied as a Guard-house.

Pennant declares that "the flourishing state of *Perth* is owing to two accidents; the first, that of numbers of Cromwell's wounded officers and soldiers chusing to reside here, after he left the kingdom, who introduced a spirit of industry among the people: the other cause was the long continuance of the Earl of *Mar's* army here in 1715, which occasioned vast sums of money being spent in the place. But this town, as well as all *Scotland*, dates its prosperity from the year 1745; the government of this part of *Great Britain* having never been settled till a little after that time."—*A Tour in Scotland:* 1769. Vol. 1, p. 89. Heron writes in a similar strain:—"The Rebel army, under the Earl of Mar," he says, "is well known to have remained a considerable time in Perth, in the year 1715. There was consequently a great quantity of money expended here, upon that occasion, as well by that army, as by the concourse of people whom their residence attracted hither. From that period, Perth and the adjoining country were long regarded as of suspicious loyalty. This made Perth a permanent station, in a manner, for soldiers. The citizens, whatever they might gain by the necessary expenditure of the soldiers and their officers, were far from fond of these guests. A squabble would, now and then, arise. In one instance, a dancing-master, I think, was killed by an officer. The citizens and their magistrates, fearing that the murder might be overlooked, or the mur-

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lery usually composed the detachment in Perth, "whence many hundreds of fine fellows were sent up to the Regiment. Some seasons they encamped on the South Inch, where they usually exercised, and frequently

derer pardoned by Government, neglected the usual forms, and, in great haste, tried, condemned, and executed him by their own authority. . . . . . .
Having been civilized and instructed in several of the useful arts by Cromwell's soldiers; having been enriched by Mar's army; Perth was to owe its farther improvement to another æra of rebellion and civil war. . . .
The young Pretender was persuaded to try his fortune in Scotland: and the unhappy business of the year 1715 was repeated in 1745. The year 1745 was, however, fortunate to Perth. The progress of armies, while ruinous to a country, is often beneficial to certain individuals, and to particular places. . Perth was in the same manner considerably enriched if not by the expenses of the rebel, yet by those of the loyal, army. The eyes of its inhabitants were opened to see, that they might thrive by trade and industry. A spirit of exertion was roused, which has, ever since, been waxing more vigorous and more active." —*Observations made in a Journey through the Western Counties of Scotland*. Vol. 1, p. 74. According to Arnot's *History of Edidburgh*, the murder of the dancing-master happened in 1723, and the hasty trial and execution of the murderer gave occasion for the passing of the Act 11 Geo. I., cap. 26, whereby it was enacted that, in Scotland, no entence of death, or corporal punishment, should, on the south side of the Forth, be put in execution in less than thirty, and on the north than forty days. The story of the murder is given by Arnot (*History*, edition of 1816, p. 376); another version appears in a note (one of those furnished by Mr David Morison, Perth) to *The Fair Maid of Perth;* and a third in Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, p. 99. We shall close these random jottings respecting Perth as a military station, by quoting a circumstance mentioned by the Rev. Andrew Ferrier, in his *Memoirs of the Rev. William Wilson, M.A.*, minister of Perth, and one of the Fathers of the Secession. About the year 1716, "the external observance of the Lord's-Day," in the town of Perth, "was remarkable and exemplary. On one occasion it happened that, either through inadvertency or design, an English Regiment, which was quartered at Perth, paraded the streets playing on their musical instruments, on the Sabbath-Day. The Provost wrote immediately to the Secretary of War, enquiring if this conduct on the Sabbath, to which they were quite unaccustomed, was authorised by His Majesty. He soon received a letter expressing extreme sorrow that such a thing had taken place, empowering him to put an immediate stop to it; and intimating that the officers would be deprived of their commissions, if his orders were not strictly observed." (P. 137.)

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practised ball-firing at a mark set up on the Friarton brae," where the General Prison now stands. The detachments were seldom changed: one of the commanding officers continued upwards of a dozen of years on the station; and, we are told, that "the large pot," used for making the men's broth, "was hired at a penny a-week, from an old man in the Watergate, who drew this sum for fifty years."* At the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War, the head-quarters of the artillery were transferred to Leith. Only a small detachment, "seldom exceeding a dozen of men,"† with four guns, were left in Perth, till the year 1805, when they were finally removed, and Government sold the barracks to the town. In 1807, Gowrie House was pulled down to afford a site for the County Buildings and Jail—the materials being sold for the sum of £597 3s 7d. What avails our regret that so little regard was evinced by the public of Perth—a city once the capital of the kingdom—for the preservation of an edifice celebrated in Scottish history, and which strangers viewed as one of the chief attractions of the town!

O weary Time, as thou rin'st roun',
Fell change thou bring'st to our guid toun,
Thy ruthless han' is tearin' doun
Our auld-warld relics ane and a'!

Everybody knows how Earl Gowrie and his brother perished under their own roof; but the story which we are going to tell of a murder in the Train Barracks will be new to most of our readers.

In the summer of 1757, two officers of the train of artillery—Robert Ewar and Thomas Robinson—joined their corps at Perth. Both bore the rank of Lieutenant, and both were quite young—nearly of the same age, not much exceeding nineteen. Whether they had ever been "friends in youth" is uncertain; but they had not been long members of the same mess, in Gowrie House, when ill-blood arose betwixt them, and their life in quarters exhibited a succession of senseless quarrels. Ewar was the taller and stouter of the two,

* Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, pp. 43, 45.
† *Memorabilia of Perth*, p. 27.

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which personal advantages perchance encouraged him to browbeat and attempt to domineer over the other, who seems to have borne much provocation with exemplary equanimity: and the wonder is, that no senior officer interposed to put a stop to Ewar's insulting behaviour before it reached its fatal climax. On the morning of 2d December, Major Cleveland, commanding officer of the detachment, directed Lieutenant Hill, with Lieutenants Robinson and Ewar, to hold a court-martial—on some regimental affair. Lieutenant Hill presided. Mr Robinson, as next in command, had the title to sit on his right hand; but this chair was taken by Mr Ewar, who would not quit it till the opinion of Major Cleveland had been obtained. The Major's opinion was, of course, adverse to him, and Ewar, in quitting his position, is said to have used scurrilous and threatening language towards his rival, which the latter did not resent, treating it with silent contempt. Such conduct as that of Lieutenant Ewar could not occur in military circles of the present day; but, as has been observed by a favourite writer,* we must not judge of the military officers of George II., as we would judge of those of his successors; for it was in that Sovereign's reign that Swift, in his letter to the Chevalier Wogan, speaks of the British army as a fraternity, "where the least pretension to learning, to piety, or to common morals, would endanger the owner to be cashiered."

The business proceeded, without farther fracas, and when the Court broke up, the three Lieutenants proceeded in company to another room in the barracks. Mr Robinson took no notice of the offensive epithets and threats which had been applied to him; but quietly, and unarmed, sat down at a table to write. Unfortunately, however, as it turned out, he did not maintain silence. A chair in the place had been broken, and he charged Mr Ewar with having broken it, which it seems was the case. The latter gentleman swore that the accusation was false. The accusation was repeated.

* Mr Robert Chambers, in his Preface to *Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745.*

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This sufficed to blow Ewar's rage into a furious flame. With a volley of oaths, he started from the chair on which he had seated himself, and exclaimed—"You are a scoundrel, a rascal, and no gentleman; and I will expose you to all the gentlemen of the battalion." Mr Robinson, stung to the quick, sprang to his feet, and instantly pulled or "twisted" his traducer's nose! Now war was declared. Ewar, who had a sword sword at his side, did not, in the hurry, resort at once o the cold steel, but snatched up a poker from the chimney, and aimed a blow at his rival, who parried the stroke with his arm, upon which the assailant letting fall the unsoldierly weapon, clapped his right hand to his sword-hilt. Thus threatened, Mr Robinson, unarmed as he was, receded a few steps, and, seeing a sword lying on a bureau in the room, seized and drew it. Ewar, also drawing, rushed forward, and wounded him on the head; but at the same moment received his opponent's sword through his body. The thrust was mortal, and the fiery youth scarce survived an hour afterwards.

The homicide was arrested, and on 17th January, 1758, brought to trial for the crime of murder before the High Court of Justiciary. He stood on his defence, and his counsel set forth the various circumstances which tended to exculpate him from the capital charge. "In their dispositions," it was stated, the two young men "were greatly different; the panel was studious, applyplying himself to mathematics, and such other branches of science as became a gentleman and a soldier; the deceased, on the contrary, was dissipated, and addicted to idleness and pleasure. The panel was of a mild and gentle temper; the deceased was turbulent, petulant, and quarrelsome. From dispositions so opposite in persons constantly residing together, it was natural to suppose that differences and disgust would ensue. The deceased, upon many occasions, sought to quarrel with the panel, treated him with the utmost contempt, repeatedly reviled him in expressions of the severest, most unprovoked, and most unjustifiable abuse. When the pannel chanced to spill some water on the deceased's

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bureau, the deceased swore, *That one of them should leave his bones in Perth:* he frequently termed the pannel *a scoundrel, rascal, and no gentleman.* . . . The pannel declined every occasion of quarrel with the deceased; when provoked and challenged by him, he overcame the prejudice incident to soldiers; he esteemed it more honourable to decline coming to extremities, than to vindicate himself in that method which the mistaken notions of mankind seem, in some sort, to authorise." Finally, it was pled in point of law—1st, That the pannel "ought not to be found guilty of murder; because he had no malicious intention to kill, which is essential to this crime. 2d, If Lieutenant Ewar was killed by the sword which the pannel held in his hand, yet the pannel ought not to be found guilty of murder; because Lieutenant Ewar rushed furiously against the pannel, and run himself upon the sword."

After pleading was heard, the court found the libel relevant, and allowed the panel to prove facts and circumstances; which proof having been led, the jury returned a verdict of "Not Guilty," and he was dismissed from the bar.*

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* *Maclaurin's Criminal Cases*, p. 181. Penny, in his *Traditions* (p. 45), relates a droll anecdote of another officer, in Perth, who seems to have been too apt to "meddle with cold iron" upon slight occasion of offence :—"About sixty years ago [we presume about 1796], an officer on duty here, of a witty but hasty disposition, employed Deacon Gibson to make a suit of clothes, to be ready for a dinner-party. The Deacon was reputed the first stitch in town, and was the most professional-looking man imaginable. He wore, according to the custom of the trade at the time, a large cushion fashioned on his sleeve, well stocked with the implements of the craft. His short snub nose stood sentry over a sharp chin; his long slender neck was encased in a high white stock, and exhibited something of the appearance of a moulded candle. His legs had the true professional curve, and appeared as if fastened to his body like those of a Dutch doll; and his spare visage was set off surmounted by a full cut wig and cocked hat. The day and hour of dinner had arrived, and message after message had been sent for the clothes, without obtaining any other satisfaction than an assurance that they would be ready in a few minutes. The Captain, fretting and fuming on account of his disappointment, had got into

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a most uncontrollable rage, at the moment the Deacon made his appearance with the suit. Drawing his sword, he threatened instant destruction to the unfortunate fraction of humanity. 'Ay, ay, sir,' boldly replied the Deacon, 'would you draw upon an unarmed man? But I'm a dealer in sharps as well as yourself! And if that's your cue, here's at you!' With that he whipt a needle from his sleeve, advanced with a flourish upon the astonished officer, and fairly pinned him into a corner. The Captain, perceiving the ludicrousness of his position, politely begged pardon. The story afforded a good laugh at the dinner table; and was a subject of lasting triumph to the Deacon, who declared, that having defied all the *ghosts* in Perth, he was not to be daunted by mere flesh and blood."

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CHAPTER VI.

THE LORDS OF RUTHVEN.—Part I.

SIR BERNARD BURKE remarks that the "vicissitudes of great families" form a curious chapter in the general history of mankind; and the interest attaching to individual fortunes is of a more human character, and excites more of human sympathy, than that which belongs to the fate of kingdoms. Need it be said that in all ages and climes great families have exercised commanding influence on the weal and woe of nations? The rise and fall of royal dynasties have frequently depended on the caprice of a powerful subject—witness the career of Warwick the king-maker: and a proud people's independence was sacrificed to the revenge of Count Julian of Spain. But a more striking picture of vicissitude cannot be found in our Scottish annals than is afforded by the noble house of Ruthven and Gowrie, so long and so honourably connected with Perthshire and its capital, and whose "later history comprises, in two generations of Earls, more romance and mystery than have fallen to the lot of any other name in the Scottish peerage."* Let us glance cursorily at a story which has never yet ceased to form the theme of wonder and speculation by its strange contrasts of towering grandeur and sudden disaster.

The line of Ruthven stretches back to the days of David I., when a Saxon or Danish chief, named Thor, settled in Scotland, as did also the ancestors of the houses of Lennox, Maxwell, Elphinstone, &c., about the same period, and from the same quarter. Thor's son, Swain, or Swanus, flourished in the reign of William the Lion, and owned the lands of Ruthven, Tibbermuir, and others, in the county of Perth. Before the end of the twelfth century he made a donation of part of Tibbermuir to the Monastery of Scone; and,

* Cosmo Innes' *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 125.

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again, of another portion to the Monastery of Inchcolm. His grandson, Sir Walter, assumed a surname from the patrimony of Ruthven. The possessions of the family were gradually augmented by various acquisitions, through marriage and otherwise, till it became a popular saying that the Gowries could travel from Ruthven Castle (afterwards Huntingtower) to the English Border, on their own far-extending domains. With the town of Perth, the Ruthvens were intimately associated from an early era. Sir William, the second of that name, and fifth in descent from Swain, swore allegiance, with many of his compeers, to Edward of England, in 1296, but his honest national feeling soon led him to break his enforced fealty to the insolent usurper, and he proved himself "a trew squier"—as Blind Harry styles him—a bold and devoted adherent of Wallace wight, and joined that hero with thirty valiant men at the first siege of St Johnstoun. When the place was taken, Wallace, acting for John Baliol, is said by the minstrel to have highly rewarded Ruthven's services :—

> Ruwan he left yair Captayne for to be,
> In heretage gaiff hym office to fee
> Off all Strathern, and schirreff off ye toun.

From the metrical historian's narrative (which we now follow for a space) transient glimpses are caught of how the "Captayne" performed his devoir in the War of Independence. The jealousy of the nobles causing Wallace to resign the Guardianship of Scotland, he repaired to the Court of France ; and his departure from the scene of his victories was the signal for another invasion of the English, who recovered many of the towns and fortresses which had been wrested from them. Ruthven lost St Johnstoun: but as soon as he knew of Wallace's return, he hastened to his standard. The trusty band marched upon Perth, and, reaching Kinnoull at nightfall, rested under the cliffs. In the morning, six English serving-men from the garrison came to the spot where the Scots lay concealed, bringing three carts to take back hay. The Scots attacked the drivers, and, putting them to death, seized and

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filled the vehicles with hay, but placed five of their own party in each cart underneath the load. Wallace, Ruthven, Guthrie, and three others, assumed the dead men's weeds, and in that guise, followed skulkingly by the remainder of their force, drove the carts to the town, where they obtained ready admittance. The stratagem was successful. St Johnstoun was won. The Governor narrowly escaped. A number of the garrison took refuge in the church, but it was no sanctuary to them: they were all destroyed. Before Wallace departed on other enterprises,

> Schyr Jhon Ramsay gret Captane ordand he,
> Ruwan schirreff,* at ane accord for to be.

But Fortune again frowned on the Scottish cause. Falkirk was fought and lost. Wallace sailed a second time for France. On his return, he discovered the faithful Ruthven, whom oppression had driven from house and hold, lurking in Birnam wood as an outlaw!

> Quhen nycht was cumyn on hand
> To Byrnam-wode, but restyng, ar yai gayne,
> Quhair yai found ye squier gud Ruwayn,
> In outlaw oyss he had lang lewyt yair
> On bestiall, quhill he mycht get na mair.

We can imagine the joy of this chance meeting under the dim and ghostly shade of ancient oaks which erst had yielded green boughs to grace the fated march to Dunsinnane: and we may divine the generous hopes inspired in the breast of the forlorn patriot by the presence of the great Deliverer, whose sun, however, was now near its setting; for Treason was already whispering her fell suggestions in the ready ear of the false Menteith. Hope might well have died with the betrayal of Wallace; but the deathless spirit of freedom laughed Southron power to scorn. Our blind rhymer goes on to

* By a charter of Robert III., dated at Linlithgow, the fifth year of his reign (1394), that monarch granted to the Provost, burgesses, and community of the burgh of Perth, that they and their successors should have perpetually a Sheriff of their own burgesses and inhabitants of the said burgh, whom the aldermen of their own free and voluntary liberty should make choice of, and to continue for so long time as they pleased, &c. Accordingly, the Provosts, as Sheriffs, acted as criminal judges, and could pass sentence of death, of which various instances are on record.

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tell how Perth was again attacked and taken by Wallace; but he does not mention any renewal of Ruthven's appointment as Sheriff. We know that the Birnam outlaw survived the long and glorious struggle for his country's rights, and saw the Bruce of Bannockburn firmly established on the Scottish throne. It was not till 1320 that Sir William died, leaving three sons. Walter, the eldest, succeeded him. The two younger were both slain at the Battle of Dupplin, fighting on the side of David Bruce. Their brother accompanied that Monarch on his invasion of England, and fell at Durham, 17th October, 1346, probably among the circle of nobles who vainly strove to save their King from being taken prisoner. His grandson, Sir William, was one of the Scottish Commissioners appointed to treat with the Court of England for the release of James I., and was also one of the hostages for the royal ransom.

The son of the hostage, named after his father, was ennobled, as *Lord Ruthven*, by James III., on Jan. 29, 1487, and received a charter for the office of Hereditary Sheriff of the shire of Perth. He supported his Sovereign's cause against the combination of Barons who placed at their head the youthful heir-apparent to the crown, and led the men of Strathearn and Stormont to the fatal field of Sauchieburn, where the King was not only defeated, but assassinated in his flight. Lord Ruthven's eldest son, the Master of Ruthven, fell at Flodden; and the Master's son, William, succeeded to his grandfather's title and estates in 1528,* and likewise

* William, first Lord Ruthven, appears as a party to, at least, two Indentures regarding the Perth Mill-lead and Low's-wark. The first is dated 24th November, 1494, and is entered into by Lord Ruthven and William his son and apparent heir, on the one part, and the Burgh of Perth and John Eviot of Balhousie, on the other part, to the effect—1st, That the community of Perth and John Eviot of Balhousie shall have liberty to take earth and stone of the lands of Ruthven to mend and uphold the mill-lead, wherever it should happen to break forth within said grounds: and, 2nd, that the several parties to the Indenture shall repair Low's-wark, in proportion to the profit of their mills. The second—dated 23rd November, 1513—is between Lord Ruthven, the Burgh, and John Eviot, and relates to the repair of Low's-wark.

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rose to be Lord Privy Seal,—retaining that honour till his death. His lady was a daughter of Lord Halyburton of Dirleton, and this union brought him a great territorial accession. He is described as having been "a man of parts and learning." In 1527 he or his grandfather had purchased from the heirs of the Countess-Dowager of Huntly that famous mansion in Perth, eventually known as Gowrie House or Palace. Having thus a residence in the town, and his Castle of Ruthven (the original seat and place of strength of the family), being in the vicinity, and as he held the Hereditary Sheriffship of the County, Lord Ruthven was led to take considerable interest in civic affairs. He was chosen Provost of Perth in 1529; again in 1546; and likewise from 1548 to 1553, when he died. The same dignity was frequently held by his descendants down to the year 1600. His family consisted of two sons, Patrick (his heir) and Alexander (from whom came the Freeland branch), and seven daughters.

In 1544, during his father's lifetime, Patrick, Master of Ruthven, became Provost of Perth. By this time it was no secret that the family favoured the Reformed doctrines, and, in consequence, the Master's election and official conduct gave great umbrage to Cardinal Beaton. This unscrupulous and tyrannical churchman, having come to Perth that year, condemned several of the inhabitants to death for heresy; and instigated the Regent Arran, who accompanied him on his "bloody circuit," to exclude Ruthven from the Provostship, and confer it on John Charteris of Kinfauns, his immediate predecessor in the office, and who came of a race that had often given Provosts to the town. The citizens, not having been consulted in the affair, were indignant at such high-handed procedure, and resolved to support the man of their own free choice, and to refuse Charteris entrance within the ports. Urged on by his sacerdotal patron, and obtaining warlike aid from certain of his friends, the Laird of Kinfauns advanced upon Perth to expel Ruthven, and instal himself in the civic chair. The

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sturdy burghers flew to arms, under the command of their Provost: and the issue has been thus related by Archbishop Spottiswoode:—

And for that it was thought, after the Governor and Cardinal was gone, that the townsmen should withstand their Provost, the Lord *Gray* and *Normand Lesley*, son to the Earl of *Rothes*, were desired to give their assistance.

It falling out as was expected, *Kinfaunes* convened his friends, to advise how the townsmen might be forced to obey. The Lord *Gray* undertaking to enter the town by the bridge, *Normand Lesley* and his followers were appointed to enter at the south gate, and *S. Magdalen's Day* [22d July] appointed for their meeting. The Lord *Gray* came early in the morning, but *Normand*, who brought his company by water, was hindred by the tide; yet all being quiet in the town, and no appearance of stir, the Lord *Gray* resolved to enter, esteeming his own forces sufficient: but he was not far advanced, when in the street called *Fish Street*, the Master of Ruthven, with his company that lay close in some houses near by, issued forth upon him, and compelled him to turn back. The disorder in the fight was great, every one hindering another, so as many were trod to death, and some threescore persons killed.

The Cardinal wished rather the loss had fallen on the Lord *Ruthven's* side, yet he was not ill pleased with the affront that *Gray* had received; for he loved none of them: and so making no great account of the matter, he went on with his work, and in the country of *Angus* calling many in question for reading the New Testament in *English*, which as then was accounted an hainous crime.*

It is said that Norman Lesly was bringing up heavy pieces of ordnance in his boats to assault the south port of the town; but the tide did not serve his purpose, and to all appearance he never landed at Perth. The bridge, which then crossed the Tay at the foot of the High Street, was defended on the town side by a strong tower; but the approaches, on that summer morning, had been purposely left unguarded, to lure the enemy into an ambush. The *Fish Street* mentioned by Spottiswoode must have been the usual place of the fish market, in the neighbourhood of the bridge. Henry Adamson, the poet, who could not fail to be familiar with accurate accounts of the event, has introduced the

* *History of the Church and State of Scotland* (Edition of 1677), p. 75.

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conflict among the other historical reminiscences of his native city in the *Muses Threnodie**:—

So in that morning soon by break of day,
The town all silent did beset, then they
To clim the bridge began and port to skall,
The chains they break, and let the drawbridge 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 entring, though well straitly, one did call,
All is our owne, come fellow-soldiers all,
Advance your lordlie pace; take and destroy,
Build up your fortunes; Oh, with what great joy,
These words were heard! Then did they proudly step
As men advanc'd on stilts, and cock their cap.

* * * * * * *

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,
Alongst the bridge they merche in battle rank,
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,
Too strong they were, therefore some did leap over,
Some crept below, thus many passe in by them,
And in their high conceat they do defie them.
Foreward within the town a space they go,
The passage then was strait, as well ye know,

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* The Rev. James Scott, of Perth, in his *History of the Life and Death of John, Earl of Gowrie*, states his reason to believe that Mr George Ruthven, chirurgeon in Perth, where he lived to a great age, and who is the ostensible narrator of the historical portion of Adamson's poem, was a son of the Master of Ruthven. The old man says in the *Muses*, "that, in 1559, he was twelve or thirteen years of age. He was, therefore, born in the year 1546, two years after the Battle of the Bridge of Tay, in which, he says, his father (who must have been Patrick, then Master of Ruthven) signalized himself. Mr George was a peaceable, inoffensive man, and addicted to study. He had great knowledge of history, and had the character of being a virtuoso. In his cabinet or museum, he had a large collection of natural curiosities, particularly the preserved bodies and bones of animals of various kinds." Mr Scott adds that "he [Mr George] was brought into no great trouble" by the Gowrie Conspiracy, "but made his innocence evident to all parties. The Perth Literary and Antiquarian Society have in their museum, as a relic of this venerable gentleman. the wainscot armed chair in which he usually sat. The shield of the Ruthven coat-of-arms is carved on the back, and over it this inscription, 'Mr G. R.' (Mr George Ruthven) '1588.'"—Pp. 83, 84.

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Made by a wall, having gain'd so much ground,
They can exult: Incontinent did sound
A trumpet from a watch-towre; then they start,
And all their blood do strike into their heart.
* * * * * * *

Our soldiers then, who lying were a darning,
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 born, much blood was shed,
He was the prettiest man that fastest fled.
Yea, happie had they been, if place had served
To flee, then doubtlesse more had been preserved.
Within these bars were kill'd above threescore,
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,
Which to the town was brought as lawfull prey.

The effect of this victory was to show the utter futility of any further attempt to thrust Charteris into power over the heads of the citizens. The Master of Ruthven was left secure in his office, which he occupied for the usual space of one year. He was elected a second time in 1547. He succeeded his father in 1553, as third Lord Ruthven, and in 1554 as Provost of Perth, continuing as such, by the goodwill of the town, for the next twelve years, till he died in 1566. A hearty friend of the Protestant interest, he stood forth as one of the foremost Lords of the Congregation. In 1559, previous to the arrival of John Knox in Scotland, and when the religious troubles were gathering thickly, the Queen Regent, Mary of Lorraine, chagrined and angry on hearing that the good people of Perth had openly embraced the new faith, commanded their Provost to suppress the heresy. Ruthven's reply can never be forgotten. He told the irritated Princess "that he could bring the bodies of his citizens to her grace, and compel them to prostrate themselves before her till she was fully satiate of their blood,—but over their consciences she had no power." Mary called his language "malapert," and issued her behest that the inhabitants of all the towns which had revolted from the Church should attend mass at Easter.* Easter

* Tytler's *History of Scotland* (Edition of 1864), vol. 3, p. 91.

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came: and May brought Knox to shake down the crumbling fabric of Romish domination in Scotland.

The Lords of the Congregation triumphed. Stirring events crowded on each other. The youthful Mary, the widowed Queen of France, came back to Scotland to fill her father's throne. Her reign opened under promising auspices,—destined, however, to be speedily overclouded. She saw, and loved, and wedded Darnley : and then her sorrows began. The froward youth grew giddy with the greatness which his fair mistress thrust upon him. Rizzio was suspected as his grand enemy, and Rizzio must die. On Saturday night, the 6th of March, 1565–66, the Queen's supper party, in old Holyrood, was rudely disturbed by the abrupt entrance of Darnley and the rush of conspirators, among whom appeared Ruthven, clad in armour, his raised visor disclosing an aspect pale and ghastly; for he had risen from a bed of sickness to come on an errand of murder. He was attended by his son. The fierce Baron proclaimed his intent by drawing his dagger, and in hollow accents denouncing the trembling Italian to death. All became furious confusion, and the unhappy victim was dragged away, and despatched with fifty-six wounds. When the deed was done, and he saw Rizzio weltering in a pool of blood, Ruthven retraced his faltering steps to Mary's chamber, and, sinking down exhausted on a chair, called for a cup of wine. It was brought, and, when he had drank, he told the distracted Queen that her own husband was the deviser of the plot. At the same moment, the cries of her servants apprised her that Rizzio had perished. "And is it so ?" she exclaimed. "Then, farewell tears; for we must now think of vengeance."

Darnley, unstable as water, soon deserted the leaders of the assassin band, and they fled to England. But the arrest of death was on Lord Ruthven, and the summer saw him in his grave. He died at Newcastle, on 13th June, 1566. The only persons who were tried and executed for the slaughter in Holyrood were Thomas Scott, Sheriff-depute of Perth, a dependant of

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the House of Ruthven, and Sir Henry Yair, formerly a priest.

Lord Ruthven was twice married; his first lady being Jean Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus; and the second, Janet, daughter of the Earl of Athole and widow of Henry, Lord Methven. He had five sons and two daughters, all by the first marriage, and was succeeded by William, the elder born. Lord Ruthven's memory is deeply stained by the blood of Rizzio, and it would almost seem that retributive justice avenged the dastardly crime in the violent deaths of the Gowries and the utter extinction of their honours.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE LORDS OF RUTHVEN.—Part II.

WILLIAM, fourth Lord Ruthven, son of Lord Patrick and Lady Jean Douglas, was born about the year 1541; so that he was four- or five-and-twenty at the date of David Rizzio's assassination. On 17th August, 1561, when probably twenty, he had married Dorothea Stewart, daughter of Henry, first Lord Methven, and the same Lady Janet Stewart who, on being left a widow by Lord Methven's decease, became the second wife of Lord Patrick Ruthven, and consequently the step-mother of William, his heir. As Lord Methven had been twice married, the maternal parentage of his daughter Dorothea became an important question at a subsequent stage of the Gowrie history, when a false impression concerning it getting afloat in the public mind seemingly helped to compromise the peace and safety of her surviving sons. The appearance of her husband at the murder of Rizzio must have been in obedience to his stern father's behest; and the names of both father and son are inserted in the first part of the list of "Names of such as were consenting to the death of David," which was found pinned to a letter of Randolph to Cecil, 21st March, 1565-66, preserved in the State Paper Office. Their names occur in the following order, among those of the chief conspirators :—

TH' ERLE MURTON
THE L. RYVEN
THE L. LYNNESEY
THE SECREATORY
THE MR OF RYVEN.

But surely this was an ominous beginning of the young man's public career. He fled, along with his dying father, to England, whence he returned on the Queen's pardon being procured for him, through the good offices of the Earl of Morton. The Provostship of Perth falling vacant on Lord Patrick's demise, the citizens

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elected Sir William Murray for the next year; but in 1567 they chose Lord Ruthven, and he continued to hold office uninterruptedly for the remainder of his life.

Lord William never wavered in his attachment to the party of Moray and the nobles adverse to the Queen. But, though an accomplice in the slaughter of Rizzio, he was clear of the murder of Darnley : *that* enormity was wrought in the dark by Bothwell, whilst Morton, and Lethington the Secretary, and others in the guilty knowledge, looked quietly through their fingers. Darnley removed, his assassin seized Mary's hand, and immediately his former prompters rose upon him. Ruthven bore arms in their ranks at Carberry Hill, on Sunday, 15th June, 1567, when Bothwell, after a vauntful challenge to any of his enemies to meet him in single combat, in view of both armies, lost heart, sheathed his sword, and slunk away at the head of his mosstroopers, leaving his ill-starred wife to her fate. The deserted Queen surrendered on terms which were shamelessly broken; and her captors, dreading lest the unworthy treatment she received should excite the populace of Edinburgh in her favour, formed the resolution of immuring her in the secluded Castle of Lochleven, which belonged to Sir William Douglas, one of themselves. Next night she was conveyed to her islet-prison by Lord Ruthven and Lord Lindsay of the Byres. "In her journey thither," says the historian, "she was treated with studied indignity, exposed to the gaze of the mob, miserably clad, mounted on a sorry hackney, and placed under the charge of Lindsay and Ruthven, men of savage manners even in this age, and who were esteemed peculiarly fitted for the task."* It has been asserted, that in interviews with the royal captive, for the purpose of procuring an abdication of the crown in favour of her young son, Ruthven joined Lindsay in the use of menaces and violence; but this charge may be set down, we think, as exaggerated, if

* Tytler's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii., p. 257.

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not altogether unfounded. The English Ambassador, Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, writing to Queen Elizabeth, of date 14th July, 1567, states, among other scraps of news—"The quene of Scotland remeynethe in good helthe in the castle of Loughe Leven, garded by the lordes Lynsey and Lougheleven, the owner of the house, for the lord Rutheven is employed in another comissyon, because he began to shew favor to the queen, and to geve her intellygence."* Mr Scott says that Ruthven was so much overcome by the Queen's tears that "the other lords of his party resolved never again to employ him in any errand of such a kind."† It may, therefore, be fairly assumed that Ruthven had no prominent part in Mary's compulsory resignation. Nevertheless, he made no scruple to swear, at her son's coronation, what was essentially false (whether he knew it to be so or not), namely, that she had surrendered her crown without compulsion. This circumstance was communicated by Throckmorton to his Sovereign in a letter of 31st July, 1567, describing the ceremonial at Stirling:—"The lordes Lindseye and Rutheven dyd by theyre othe testefye publycklye that the quene theyre soveraigne dyd resigne wyllyngelye, without compulcyon, her estate and dignytye to her sonne, and the governemente of the realme to suche persons as by her severall comissyons she had named, which were there publykelye red, together with her resignation to her sonne."‡ Political necessity, doubtless, constrained Ruthven to such a step. But that his manners were "savage," even for that period, we cannot admit. He had been well educated; he was a classical scholar, and evinced a considerable taste in the arts of architecture, music, and painting. True, he was popularly styled among his contemporaries by the *soubriquet* of *Gray-steill*, after a fierce champion of romance; but this must have been earned by personal stalwartness and hardihood, and by valour in battle,

* *Illustrations of the Reign of Queen Mary*, 1543–1568. Maitland Club: 1837, p. 205.

† *History of John, Earl of Gowrie*, p. 85.

‡ *Illustrations*, p. 257.

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as was the case with Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie, whom James V., "when he was a child, loved singularly well for his activity of body, and was wont to call him his *Gray steill.*"* For Ruthven was a stout soldier when the push came. He followed the Regent Moray to Langside, and otherwise served in the field with much distinction.

Gray-steill did not lack promotion. The year 1571 saw him elevated to a great office of State—the Lord High Treasurership of Scotland, which he held till 1583, when it was transferred to the Earl of Montrose. This office brought Ruthven to heavy loss, in consequence of the beggarly state of the national finances; for he paid out money faster than it came in, and ultimately had super-expended £48,063 4s 8d Scots, for which the King was debtor, but which he never reimbursed! In 1578, Ruthven had many honours. He was sworn in as a Privy Councillor. He received the Lieutenancy of the Borders. He was appointed an extraordinary Lord of Session, in room of Sir John Wisheart of Pitarrow. Moreover, the town of Perth, of which he was Provost, chose him as Commissicner to the Parliament which assembled at Stirling, and which (through his exertions, we may well suppose) granted 10,000 merks for the reparation of the Bridge of Tay. Two years afterwards—in 1580—he was at bitter feud with his neighbour, Laurence, fourth Lord Oliphant of Aberdalgie, who had been an adherent of Queen Mary,

* Godscroft's *History of Douglas and Angus* (edition of 1743), vol. ii., p. 107. The metrical romance of "Sir Eger, Sir Grahame, and Sir Gray-steel" was extremely popular in Scotland about the early part of the sixteenth century, as is evident from the manner in which it is mentioned in the *Complaynt of Scotland*, first published in 1549. The romance was reprinted at Aberdeen so late as 1711. Gray-steel lived in the "Land of Doubt" (reminding us of Bunyan's Doubting Castle and Giant Despair)—the country being so called from the number of knights whom the hero had successively destroyed. He wore red armour, and rode a bay horse, whose trampling shook the earth. He was slain in combat by Sir Grahame. See Ellis's *Early English Romances.* In the *Icelandic Edda*, the sword of Kol, which was fatal to the owner, was called *Gray-steel* Itpassed to several hands, and always brought ill-luck.

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and whose seat was at Dupplin. The occasion of the quarrel was a dispute about teinds; and, like most other differences of that time, it ended in bloodshed and loss of life. This affair acquired a special importance from the fact, that it caused an irremediable breach in the long-standing friendship betwixt Ruthven and the Earl of Morton, formerly Regent, who was now tottering to his fall, with the guilt of Darnley's murder on his conscience. We shall let Hume of Godscroft tell what happened on the 1st of November :—

The Lord Ruthven having been in Kincardine, a house of the Earl of Montrose, at the marriage of the Earl of Mar: as he returned to Perth, his way lying near to Duplin, which belonged to the Lord Oliphant, and there being deadly feud betwixt Oliphant and Ruthven; Ruthven, notwithstanding, rode that way in view of Duplin: Oliphant took this as done in contempt of him, and therefore issuing forth with some horsemen, followed him, and came upon him so unexpectedly, that Ruthven's men fled presently, and their Lord was forced to do the like; only one Alexander Stewart (of the house of Traquair, and a kinsman of Ruthven's) staid behind the rest, partly to keep off the pursuers, partly to speak with Oliphant in fair terms, and was slain by a shot from one that knew him not, sore against Oliphant's mind, and to his great grief. The Lord Ruthven, seeking by order of law to repair his credit, and to be revenged for the killing of his friend, causes summon Oliphant to answer criminally before the Justice General. This Oliphant had married Margaret Douglas, daughter to William Douglas of Lochlevin, and now being pursued upon his life, was assisted by his father-in-law. The Earl of Morton would gladly have agreed the parties; but the fact being recent, and the Lord Ruthven, together with the friends of the gentleman that was slain, having received such an affront, there was no possibility to take it away, save by law. Wherefore Morton joined with the party that was pursued for his life, which hath ever been accounted most noble, and free from exception. Besides, Oliphant had not commanded his servant to shoot, neither did he approve it in his heart; but he thought he could not with his honour deliver one who followed him, and had done this rash fact in his service, but was bound to protect him from all danger, according to his power. Notwithstanding this, Ruthven was mightily displeased with Morton, for countenancing Oliphant against him; and Mr John Maitland and Sir Robert Melvil, who took part with Ruthven, blew the bellows so, that they brought him to that length, that he could very well have been contented to see Morton reduced to such a condition, as that he

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might need his help, and be sensible of the loss of so steadable a friend.*

The retinue of Lord Ruthven, when he passed Dupplin, numbered about seventy men, most of whom scampered off on the first alarm, only five or six remaining with their master ;† but these few seem to have killed one of the Oliphant party in reprisal. The next week or two found the two Lords exchanging cartels of defiance, which were stopped by the Privy Council, and both parties were brought to trial in December. Oliphant and forty-one of his followers were indicted for the murder of Alexander Stewart of Schuittingleis, "schot with *ane poysonit bullet;*" and Ruthven and seventy-nine others (among whom was "James Ruthven, callit *Swaddinis Jame*") for the slaughter of John Buchan. But both cases broke down, and the panels were dismissed from the bar.‡ Graysteill's estrangement from Morton, his early friend, who had procured a pardon for him when he was a fugitive in England, threw him into the arms of the ex-Regent's enemies. Morton's hour was not long delayed. He was arraigned for Darnley's death; and on 2d June, 1581, he bent his head to the Scottish *Maiden*. They that brought him to the scaffold obtained their reward; and, on 23rd August, Lord Ruthven was gratified with the *Earldom of Gowrie*.

This man had now attained the height of all reasonable ambition. Fortune had poured her cornucopia at his feet; but her lavish favours should have taught him caution: because she is never less to be trusted than when she smiles. His first entrance on the stage was as a conspirator; and a calm retrospect should have

* Godscroft's *History*, vol. ii., p. 267.

† Moyses' *Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland* (Edition of 1755), p. 45.

‡ Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials in Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 89, 90. As to the poisoned bullet, we may remark that this is the first instance in the Record of Justiciary of so villanous a missile being used, or said to have been used, in Scotland; but a second instance occurred in 1609, when Lord Maxwell was accused of slaying the Laird of Johnstone with two lead bullets which had been previously poisoned.

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restrained him from again dipping his hand in the turgid waters of treason. How had his former associates fared? Darnley perished amid the fire and smoke of Kirk-of-Field. Moray, the "good Regent," who had hunted his sister into the toils of her implacable foe, was shot down, at noonday, on the street of Linlithgow; and the Regent Lennox met the like fate, in the grey of the morning, on the causeway of Stirling. The brave Kirkcaldy of Grange closed his career, in the face of the sun, on an Edinburgh gallows. "The Secretary," the subtle Maitland of Lethington, died in prison by a doze of poison, administered by his own desperate hand. Last of all, Morton's grey hairs were dabbled with his own blood under the heading-axe of the *Maiden.* They had all died by violence: and from their graves came solemn warnings—warnings which Gowrie laid not to heart; for, on the first anniversary of his elevation to the Earldom, he consummated a daring treason, which ultimately entailed his ruin.

The student of Scottish history needs not that we should trace out for him the discontent and plotting that culminated in the *Raid of Ruthven.* Kirk and King were at variance on the subject of the Monarch's ecclesiastical policy. His favourites, Lennox and Arran, were at variance betwixt themselves, and odious to a powerful body of nobility who had espoused the cause of the Kirk. The elements of discord were rife all over the land, and at length a formidable combination was secretly set on foot for the displacement of the favourites from power by the seizure of the King's person, which it was well enough understood would be approved by Elizabeth of England, who still held the helpless Mary in her grasp. In the month of August, 1582, King James, a boy of sixteen, and unsuspicious of any conspiracy, had gone to the braes of Athol, to chase the deer, accompanied by a slender train, but by neither of the minions who had brought his government into odium. Having enjoyed the Highland sport, he was returning towards Perth on the 22d, when he was invited by the Earl of Gowrie to rest for the night at

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Ruthven Castle. In his simplicity, James consented, and found the Castle thronged with nobles—the heads of the confideracy,—among whom was Lord Oliphant, whose feud with Gowrie about the teinds and the onslaught at Dupplin was now staunched. Still, not a shadow of apprehension seems to have crossed the royal guest's mind. But next morning what was his amazement to discover that the Castle was surrounded by a thousand armed men! The truth was bluntly told him that he was a prisoner, and must thenceforth be guided by other counsels than those of the obnoxious favourites. The boyish-prisoner burst into tears; but his tears only drew from the Master of Glammis the scornful exclamation:—"Better that bairns greet than bearded men!"

Were there any chances of rescue? Arran, who was at no great distance, heard the news that day, and, collecting a troop of horse, galloped towards the scene of action. He approached Ruthven Castle about seven o'clock in the evening; but, seeing the enemy in far superior strength, judged it more prudent to venture forward attended by no other than a single page, confiding in the friendship of Gowrie, to whom he was allied. Accordingly he left his horsemen some way off, under the command of his brother, Colonel Stewart, "and came," says Moyses, "only with a page to the gate of Ruthven, before any man knew; where he was laid hands on, and taken at the gate, and confined to ward in a chamber of the same till next day; and then was transported to ward in Duplin." Immediately on this easy capture, a party set out to deal with his brother. "The Earl of Marr and his company encountering with William Stewart, the said Earl of Arran's brother, and his company, the said William Stewart was attacked, fired at, and much wounded, and some of his company were hurt, and taken by the Earl of Marr and his company, who were six score horsemen or thereabout; the said William Stewart having but forty horse. This conflict happened on the fields between

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Perth and Ruthven."* Another and more threatening danger arose. The bold burghers of Perth flew to arms, and advanced to Ruthven on the King's behalf; but they were quieted with fair speeches; and on the 24th August the King was brought to Perth by the confederated nobles, and there issued a proclamation setting forth that they had done and were doing everything by his own free will and command. He remained for about the space of ten months a mere puppet in their hands. At this time Gowrie was in possession of the celebrated *casket*—"ane small gylt coffer, not fully ane fute lang, being garnischit in sundrie places with the *Romane* letter F. under ane Kingis crowne; quhairin wer certane letteris and wrytingis well knawin, and be aithis to be affirmit to have bene writtin with the Quene of *Scottis* awin hand to the Erle Bothwell." Queen Elizabeth, through her ambassador, was exceedingly pressing to obtain these documents—mere copies of which had hitherto seen the light, the originals being carefully kept in the background; but Gowrie would not accede to her Majesty's request—evidently afraid of the papers being proved clumsy forgeries; and "Gowrie's is the last hand into which we can trace those famous letters, which have since totally disappeared."†

At Falkland, in May, 1583, the King effected his escape. When at liberty, and in the midst of his old advisers, he astonished the conspirators and the country by his clemency. No man's life was sought. Gowrie, showing himself anxious to conciliate the King, obtained a remission for all his actings connected with the Raid of Ruthven, and was received at Court. His chief confederates were ordered to banish themselves—a degree of rigour which stirred their suspicions that he had betrayed them. The King's mildness, however, was misplaced; and, encouraged by the English Sovereign and her Ministers, who always had their hands busy in the Scottish pie, the baffled faction fell anew to plotting. Gowrie "repents his repentances, con-

* Moyses' *Memoirs*, p. 62.
† Tytler's *History*, vol. iv., p. 55.

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demns his condemning of the fact of Ruthven. Now he desires his old friends would accept of his friendship, to whom he had made himself justly suspected. It is travelled, that he be trusted : a society bound up betwixt Angus, Marr, and the Master of Glamis, to which he would unfainedlie joyne himself."* To cover his designs, and feeling that the Court party regarded him with evil eyes, he craved the King's license to quit Scotland, by a certain day, with the professed intention of travelling on the Continent. During this interval, the project of a new rebellion was concocted. The Earl, while residing in his mansion at Perth, which he had been at great pains to enlarge and embellish, was visited by an emissary of the party, in the person of his kinsman, David Hume of Godscroft, the historian of "The House and Race of Douglas and Angus,"—who came for the purpose of sounding his views, and who has recorded the interview :—

The gentleman found him greatly perplexed, sollicitous for his estate, besides the affairs of the country, and greatly afraid of the violence of the courtiers. So that looking very pitifully upon his gallery, where we were walking at that time, which he had but newly built and decored with pictures, he brake out into these words, having first fetched a deep sigh; *Cousin*, says he, *is there no remedy? Et impius hæc tam culta novalia miles habibit? Barbarus has segetes?* Whereupon he was persuaded of his upright meaning, and at his return persuaded the Earl of Angus thereof also.†

But as his period of exile drew nigh, the scheming Gowrie lived in daily expectation of the rebellion breaking out, and the Castle of Stirling being surprised.

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* *Calderwood's History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society), vol. iv., p. 21.

† Godscroft's *History*, vol. ii., p. 318. The Latin quotation is from a speech of Melibœus in the first Pastoral of Virgil, and is thus rendered in the translation by Caryll:—

Must impious soldiers all these grounds possess,
My fields of standing corn, my fertile leyes?
Did I for these barbarians plant and sow?

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CHAPTER VIII.

THE LORDS OF RUTHVEN.—Part 3.

It was not till the beginning of April that Gowrie bade farewell to Perth. The Kirk-Session books furnish a curious instance of his judicial procedure as Provost of the town and as a member of the Session, a few days before his final departure :—

March 30, 1584.—Whilk day the minister [Mr Patrick Galloway] accused Thomas Anderson, *alias* Turner, before my lord Gowrie and the elders, for interrupting of the psalm, and speaking in time of sermon; and, immediately after the sermon, calling his minister a drunken minister. The said Thomas declined the judgment of the minister, because he was a party, and appealed unto the Presbytery. Yet, he still giving injurious talk to the minister, he was committed by my lord Gowrie to be put in fast ward, till he should find caution to answer to the kirk.

The Earl repaired to Dundee, ostensibly to find a ship for his voyage to the Continent, but really and truly to linger there for the first blast of the insurrectionary trumpet. He took up his residence in the house of William Drummond, burgess, and doubtless fancied himself in security, as having so artfully masked his machinations. But whispers of the plot reached the ears of the Court : the appointed day for Gowrie's embarkation was past, and he still remained on Scottish ground ; so Colonel Stewart, Arran's brother (who was "hurt and mutilated of two fingers" at the Raid of Ruthven, as Calderwood specifies), was despatched to Dundee, with a hundred troopers, to arrest him. The party, arriving on 13th April, surrounded his lodgings, and called on him to surrender. But he refused, and held out for several hours, till he saw the citizens joining against him, and Colonel Stewart bringing cannon from ships at the harbour to batter down the doors. Thereupon the Earl yielded himself prisoner, and was conveyed by sea to Leith.

A night or two after this arrest, the Earls of Mar and Angus, and the Master of Glammis seized the town

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and castle of Stirling. But the rising totally miscarried, and the rebels dispersed. Gowrie was now plied with inducements to make a clean breast of what he knew of the plot. It was the secret determination of the Court party to bring him to trial; but "there was some want of direct evidence," says Tytler; "and a base device, though common in the criminal proceedings of the times, was adopted to supply it." He was visited in prison by Arran and others, who solemnly assured him of safety if he would write a letter to the King disclosing everything. Gowrie demurred for a moment, but then complied; and the confession sealed his doom. He was impannelled before his peers, at Stirling, on 4th May, 1584—his indictment embodying four charges, namely :—

1. That he intendit and begane a new conspiracey aganist the King, quhom he also had keipt prissoner in his housse befor tyme.

2. That he conferrid by night with the seruants of Angus, to seasse vpone the touns of Perth and Streuelinge.

3. That he resisted the Kings authoritie at Dundie, and had conceaued a conspiracey aganist the lyffe of the King and his mother.

4. That anent the euent of his conspiracey and interprysses, he had consulted with one Maclina, a witche.*

The accusation relative to the Raid of Ruthven he sufficiently met by pleading the King's remission; and the story about the witch he treated with scorn and ridicule. As to the other counts of the indictment, there was a deficiency of evidence against him; but this was dishonestly made up by production of his own letter. He was found guilty, and condemned to death. The execution followed with indecent haste, to prevent the possibility of any interference by the Queen of England, who favoured the conspirators. That same evening, betwixt eight and nine o'clock, he was led out to the scaffold, under the castle wall. Short as was his time, he met his fate with indomitable fortitude. He made a declaration, defending his motives, and impugning the justice of the sentence, but admitted, with

* Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, Vol. i., p. 378.

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a pang, like Cardinal Wolsey in his downfall, "that if he had beene as carefull to advance God's glorie as he was towards the King's estate, he had not suffered that day." After he had thus spoken, he offered up prayer, and "then presented himself to the heading stocke, his eyes being covered with a napkin or cloth by the Justice-Clerk, his sarke necke removed by him, and doublet necke layed doun over from his shoulders, by the handling onlie of the Justice-Clerk. Finallie, with prayer unto God, he randered up his life to Him at halfe (an) houre to 9, or thereby."* His corpse was delivered to his servants, who (as Sir James Balfour notes) "did sow his head to the bodey, and incontinently burried the same." Thus fell the first Earl of Gowrie—whatever his faults, a man of "considerable cultivation and refinement. He was a scholar, fond of the fine arts, a patron of music and architecture, and affected a magnificence in his personal habits and modes of living. Common report accused him of being addicted to the occult sciences; and, on his trial, one of the articles against him was his having consulted a witch; but this he treated with deep and apparently sincere ridicule."†

His Countess was left with a numerous family of sons and daughters to bewail his untimely end, and to suffer, for a space, under the forfeiture of the estates and honours which his sentence involved. While staying in Dundee, previous to his arrest, the Earl had endeavoured, with a foreboding of his coming ruin, to ensure his lands to his eldest son, James, by infefting him therein; but this legal proceeding had none effect. being set aside by the subsequent forfeiture. His children were the following :—

SONS.

1. James : entered in the Perth Baptismal Register—"Perth, September 22, 1573. Pater, William Lord Ruthven. Witnesses—James, Earl of Morton, Regent, and the Earl of Angus. Nomen, James Ruthven.

2. John : born in 1577 or 1578.

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* Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, Vol. iv., p. 35.

† Tytler's *History of Scotland*, Vol. iv., p. 77.

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3. ALEXANDER: entered in the above Register—"Perth, January 22, 1580-1. Pater, William Lord Ruthven. Witnesses, my Lord Atholl, and Alexander, my Lord Hume. Nomen, Alexander Ruthven.

4. WILLIAM: born about 1582.

5. PATRICK: youngest child of the family.

DAUGHTERS.

1. MARY: born about 1562. The Perth Marriage Register contains the following entry:—"Perth, January 24, 1579-80, was married John Earl of Atholl and Mary Ruthven." Moyses, in his *Memoirs*, states that this wedding was solemnised "with great triumph." The Earl of Atholl died in his house in the Speygate, Perth, on 30th August, 1594. His death and funeral are thus recorded in Mercer's *Chronicle*:—"John Earl of Atholl deceased in Perth, on the penult day of August 1594 years. He was honourably conveyed to Dunkeld, the 11th of September thereafter. The Queen's Majesty [Anne of Denmark] being in Perth, in William Hall's fore-chamber, beneath the Cross, beheld the convoy of the corpse." The heiress of Atholl, Dorothea Stewart, was the eldest daughter of the marriage. In July, 1604, she was married to William Murray, the Master of Tullibardine. But according to the Perth Kirk Session minutes of that date, the marriage was much against the will of her mother, the Countess Dowager of Atholl. The Countess entered a most grievous complaint against Mr William Cowper, one of the ministers of Perth, by whom the parties had been contracted. The Master of Tullibardine was one of those who had assisted the King at Perth, on 5th August, 1600, when the Countess' two brothers were slain.

2. JEAN. In 1581 she was married, at Holyroodhouse, to James, Master of Ogilvy, afterwards Lord Ogilvy, ancestor of the Earls of Airlie—"with great solemnity and triumph."

3. SOPHIA.

4. ELIZABETH.

5. LILIAS.

6. DOROTHEA: entered in Perth Baptismal Register—"Perth, April 30, 1570, Pater, William Lord Ruthven. Witnesses, Duncan Campbell and James Haryng. Nomen, Dorothea Ruthven."

7. CATHARINE: entered in said Register—"Perth, February 27th, 1571-2. Pater, William Lord Ruthven. Witnesses, Harry Lord Meffen, and Patrick Lord Drummond. Nomen, Catharine Ruthven." The following memorandum is added to the Register:—"My lord Meffen was slain by an gun out of the Castle of Edinburgh, the fourth day thereafter." Catharine is not mentioned in the Peerage Books—probably dying in infancy or remaining unmarried.

8. BEATRICE *

After the treasons for which Gowrie lost his head,

* See Scott's *Gowrie*, pp. 92-102.

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the Parliament, which met on 22d May, 1584, passed an Act to establish a permanent *Royal Guard* for the better security of the King's person. The Guard was to consist of "fourtie persones, able, honest, and weill horsed, and having sum reasonable livinges of their awin: quhilkis being sworne, and admitted in his Hienes service, sall be unremoveable theirfra during their life-times, without upon worthie and great causes, they sall be justlie deprived." The pay of each man was to be "twa hundreth pounds zierlie"—equal to £300 of modern money—payable at Whitsunday and Martinmas. The first commander was Arran's brother, Colonel William Stewart of Houston, who was also the first that bore the latter military title in Scotland, except the French Colonels in the service of the Queen Regent, Mary of Guise.*

The widowed Countess of Gowrie went to Edinburgh, to the re-assembling of the Parliament, on 22d August same year, with the purpose of personally praying the King for a reversal of the forfeiture. She knew that the young monarch had had no active hand in hurrying her husband to death, being entirely under the influence of those about him, and therefore she hoped for his mercy if she saw his face. She was admitted to an ante-chamber in Holyrood, where she might find an opportunity of making her petition as the King passed through, on his way to the Tolbooth where the Parliament held its sittings. But the heartless, all-powerful Arran, who grasped at the princely domains of Gowrie, caused her to be thrust forth—an object of compassion to all who beheld the indignity. The Countess, with a patience worthy of Griselda in Boccacio's story, waited on the street till James returned to the Palace. As he approached, she threw herself at

* The Royal Guard was largely augmented in 1594. "Upon Moonday, the first of Aprile, the drumme was beatin in Edinburgh, at the King's command, and the trumpet blowne, for taiking up a guarde of foure cornets of horsemen, and four hundreth footmen, to keepe the courteours' heads unbrokin; that is, the chanceller's, the Lord Hume's, and Sir George Hume's."—Calderwood's *History*, vol. v., p. 295.

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his feet, "crying to the King," says Calderwood, "for grace to her and her poore barnes, who never had offended his grace." The King did not get time to answer; for Arran, who walked at his right hand, fiercely pushed the suppliant aside, and throwing her down, trampled on her, "and hurte her backe and her hand!" In an agony of distress, she swooned on the pavement. "Can we wonder," exclaims Tytler, "that the sons of this injured woman, bred up in the recollection of wrongs like these, should in later years, have cherished in their hearts the deepest appetite for revenge!"*

In the beginning of the following month the King sent to Perth an acknowledgment of the loyal services rendered by the citizens on the occasion of the Raid of Ruthven: which missive was in these terms:—

REX. We understanding that the Bailzies, Counsall, communitie, and inhabitants of our Burgh of Perth, immediatelie efter the tressonable surprise, taking, and detentioun of our person at Ruthuen in the month of August, the zeir of God, Jay v^c four scoir tua zeris, reparit to us in arms at the commandment of Charles Geddis, Lieutenant of our garde for the tyme (to quhome we geiff directioun to gyff thame warning sa to do), of deliberat mynde to haue done quhat in thame lay to haue procurit our libertie; like as be our speciall directioun for avoyding of forder inconuenient thai wache at the said place of Ruthuen, and within our said Burgh of Perth certaine days thaireftir, as alsua directit thair commissioneris at oure speciall desyre; quhilkis all thair doingis We acknaulieging to haue procedit upone ane ernist care and luf borne be thame for the suretie of our persone and estait, and of na evil nor malicious mynd and intentioun, thai being altogether innocent of the said tressonable fact, and the samyn be thame reput, estemit, and danysnit as maist tressonable of itself, as appeirit be thair actiouns and behaviour uterit sin syne, in schawing thame selfis reddy to concur with us to the punissment of the chief actouris theirof: Tharfor we haif declairit, and be thir presentis declaris, that the saidis bailzes, counsaill, communitie, and inhabitantis of our said Burgh, in reparing to us in armes to the said place of Ruthuen immediatlie eftir the said tressonable fact, keeping of wache thair, and within our said burgh, and in reparing be thameselfis or thair commissionaris to any uther part be our directioun, hes done the dewitie of gud, trew, and faithful subiectis, and necessar and acceptable service tending to the suretie of our persoun and estait, merityng

* Tytler's *History*, Vol. iv., p. 90.

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thairfore to be weill recompensit and rewardit, and exoneris and dischargis thame of the samyn for euir; promissing to gratifie thame thairfoir housone the commoditie tharto ony wayis may be offerit; Be thir presentis, givin under our signet, and subscryuit with our hand, at Falkland, the tent day of September, and of our regne the xviij zeir, 1584. *Sequitur subscriptiones.*

JAMES REX.
ARRANE.
MONTROISE.
PITTENWEEME.

Rather a tardy acknowledgment of services performed a couple of years before; but, apparently, the courtiers saw cause to keep friendly with the citizens who had lost their Provost by an unjust trial.

Arran's baneful ascendancy in the government was soon on the wane. He had disgraced himself, and disgraced the Court and Commonwealth of Scotland; and he fell to rise no more.* On the decline of his influence the Gowrie forfeiture was recalled, and the estates and honours restored, by two Acts of the Parliament which sat in December 1585: the one a general act of indemnity and restoration of all persons who had been forfeited since the King's coronation, excepting the murderers of Darnley and some others; and the second a special statute in favour of the widow and children of William, Earl of Gowrie.

* Arran's pride and insolence were excessive, and his end was miserable. About 1584, while he was all potent at Court, a minister, Mr John Craig, foretold his downfall:—"Mr Crag at this tyme pronuncit a judgment upon the Erle of Arran, in his face, befor the King, saying, 'As the Lord is just, he will humble yow!' The Erle, mokking him, said, 'I sall mak the of a fals Frier a trew Profet!' and sa, sitting down on his knee, he sayes, 'Now, I am humblit!' 'Na,' sayes Mr Crag, 'mok the servant of God as thow will, God will nocht be mocked; bot mak the find it, in ernest, when thow sall be humblit af the hiche hors of thy pryde!' Quhilk, within a certean [number] of yeirs thairefter (1598) cam to pas, when James Dowglas ran him af his hors with a spear, and slew him; and his carcas, cast in an open kirke besyde, or it was buried, was fund eattin with the dogs and swyne!"—*Autobiography and Diary of Mr James Melvill* (Wodrow Society), p. 198. The slayer of Arran was Sir James Douglas of Parkhead, nephew of the Regent Morton, and the deed was done in revenge for the death of his uncle. Arran's head was carried in triumph through the country on the point of a spear.

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James, the eldest son of the house, a boy of twelve years of age, succeeded his unfortunate father, as second Earl. The town of Perth hastened to do him honour by electing him to the Provostship in 1587; and he was again chosen in 1588; but he died in the end of that year. He was buried in the north-east corner of what is now the East Church of Perth. Sir Robert Douglas (in his *Peerage)* calls him " a youth of great hopes and of a sweet disposition."

The second son, John, became third Earl of Gowrie, when he was only about ten years old. Could any of those witches and wizards whom his father was said to have consulted on matters of state, have ventured to predict for this young boy a brief life of the highest promise and a sudden death of mystery?

The vacant Provostship of Perth was given to the Earl of Athole, who held it till 1592. That year, young Gowrie, then fourteen, was made Provost; and like his brother, father, and grandfather, continued in office till his death. In August 1594, he intimated to the Town Council his intention of going abroad to prosecute his studies, whereupon that body, unanimously resolved to re-elect him at the ensuing Michaelmas, and became bound for their successors in office to choose him annually as their Provost till he should return to his native country. This voluntary obligation was subscribed by the whole Town Council, and witnessed by Mr Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth, the King's Chaplain, and Henry Elder, the Town Clerk. It is worthy of notice that when the Earl was re-elected at Michaelmas 1596, he was styled "Provost, Sheriff, and *Coroner;*" this third designation being then for the first time attached.

The Earl's immediate younger brother, Alexander, the Master of Ruthven, was early appointed a gentleman of the Bedchamber to King James.

The marriages of two of the daughters of Earl William have been already noted; but other four of the ladies were married after their father's death.

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SOPHIA gave her hand to Ludovick Stewart, second Duke of Lennox, about the year 1590.

ELIZABETH, sometime before the year 1600, married John Graham, Master of Montrose, who on the death of his father, in 1608, became the fourth Earl of Montrose. Their eldest son was the "Great Montrose." The death and burial of this lady are recorded in Mercer's *Chronicle:* "April 15, 1618. Elizabeth Ruthven, Countess of Montrose, was buried at Aber-ruthven."

LILIAS was married to Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, ancestor of the Viscounts of Kenmure, and who, in his younger days, was celebrated for his great bodily strength.

DOROTHEA became the wife of Sir John Wemyss of Pittencrieff.

BEATRICE became a Lady of the Bedchamber to Anne of Denmark, Queen of James VI. Sometime after 1600 she married Sir John Hume of Coldingknows, and their son, or grandson, succeeded to the Earldom of Hume, in 1635.*

In quitting this part of the subject, we may simply refer to the well-known local tradition of the *Maiden's Leap* at Ruthven Castle, as related by Pennant.† "A daughter of the first Earl of Gowrie" met with her lover, by stealth, in a chamber of the Castle; and to avoid being seen by her mother, the Countess, whom she heard approaching, she went out on the top of one of the towers, and leaped across to the opposite battlement—a space of nine feet four inches over a chasm of sixty feet. She alighted in safety, and "the next night eloped, and was married."

* Scott's *Gowrie.*

† Pennant's *Tour in Scotland: 1772.* Vol. iii., p. 110.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE LORDS OF RUTHVEN.—Part IV.

JOHN, EARL OF GOWRIE, went through the ordinary curriculum of education at the Grammar School of Perth, and afterwards attended the College of Edinburgh, where he gained the degree of Master of Arts. But it so chanced that in the same year (1593) in which he was laureated he ran the hazard of being attainted as a traitor: for he was drawn into a rebellion, set on foot by the Earl of Athole (his brother-in-law) and the Earl of Montrose, in favour of Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell. The insurgent forces were defeated at Doune; but no proscriptions followed. Athole and Montrose came to terms with the King; and Gowrie, a boy of fifteen or sixteen, was forgiven on the score of his tender age. Next year he left Scotland, and proceeding to Padua, in Italy, entered himself at the famous University there, and ultimately rose to be its Rector. When his studies were concluded, he visited some of the Continental Courts, and returned home in May, 1600.

The strange fate of the last Earl of Gowrie, and his brother, Alexander, forms an every-day tale, familiar to everybody; and therefore we shall not enter into the multifarious details of that remarkable episode in Scottish history. A few gleanings will suffice to keep the links of our narrative unbroken. It was alleged against the Earl that he aspired to the throne of England or of Scotland—perhaps to both: in the one case by endeavouring to obtain the hand of the Lady Arabella Stewart; and in the other by pretending that he was of kin to the royal house of Scotland. Possibly the prospect of a matrimonial alliance with the Lady Arabella had been presented to the youthful Earl's ambition; but the story of his royal descent was altogether erroneous. As already shewn, his father married Dorothea, daughter to Henry, Lord Methven,

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whose first wife was Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII., and widow of James IV., and who, after marrying the Earl of Angus, was divorced from him. But it has been clearly demonstrated that Dorothea came of Lord Methven's second marriage with Janet Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Athole.* There is no evidence that the Earl ever made any assumption of royal parentage: still, it has been conjectured, that the supposition becoming prevalent may have aroused the fears of the King. "Likewise it is said that whilst he [Gowrie] was at Padua, performing his exercises, he had caused draw in the Fencing School, for his device, a Hand and sword aiming at a Crown;" † which was thought to shadow forth a treasonable intent. In truth, however, this suspicious device had been part of the armorial bearings of the first Lord Ruthven; and if young Gowrie used it he had a perfect right to do so, without sinister motives being imputed to him.

So startling an event as the Gowrie Conspiracy could not fail, in a credulous age, being apparently attended with supernatural occurrences and wonderful phenomena. Thus, the Kirk historian, Calderwood, gravely records:—

Upon the Sabboth day, the tenth, which was the Sabboth after the murther, there were seene in the loodging where the fact was committed, men opening and closing the windowes with great flaffing, comming to the windowes, looking over, and wringing their hands; and the day following, suche mourning heard, that the people about were terrified. . . . . Upon Moonday, the elleventh of August, the King boated at Clanesse, by east Bruntiland, about twelve houres, but landed not at Leith till betweene foure and five. It was marked that there was ebbing and flowing three tymes at that tyde; that the water betwixt Leith and Bruntiland was blackish; that the shippes in Leith haven were troubled with the swelling of the water.—*History*, Vol. 6, p. 49.

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* See "An Examination of the alleged descent of John Earl of Gowrie from Margaret Queen of Scotland, Widow of James the Fourth," in the Appendix to Mr Maidment's edition of the *Chronicle of Perth*, printed for the Maitland Club, 1831.

† David Scott's *History of Scotland*. Westminster: 1727; p. 553.

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And James Melvill writes in his *Diary*:—

A litle befor, or hard about the day of this accident, the sie (sea) at an instant, about a law water, debordet and ran upe abon the sie-mark, hier nor at anie stream-tyd, athort all the cost syde of Fyff; and at an instant reteired again to almaist a law water, to the grait admiratioun of all, and skathe don to sum.—p. 485.

The Gowrie tragedy threw an abundance of work on the hands of the Privy Council, and among the many orders which they issued was one of the following tenor:—

CHARGE, for keiping of the corpis of vmq[le] the Erll of Gowrie and his bruither.

APUD FALKLAND, *septimo die mensis Augusti, anno* 1600

SEDERUNT.—Lennox, Cancellarius, Mar, Thesaurarius, Secretarius, Computorum Rotulator, Spot, Kinloss.

FORSAMEKILL AS vmquhill JOHN ERLL OF GOWRIE and MR ALEXANDER RUTHVEN, his brother, being in the actuall executioun of a maist horrible and traterous conspiracie aganis the Kingis Maiesteis royall persone, within the said Erllis awin ludging, within the burgh of Perth, it hes pleisit God, maist miraculouslie to deliuer his Maiestie fra thair intendit treasoun, and to turne thair traterous practizeis vpoun thame selffis, quha hes worthelie sufferit death, as they wer in the actuall persute of his Maiesteis persone. Quhairfore, necessar it is, that the corpis of the saidis vmquhill Erll and Mr Alexander be keipit and preseruit, quhill forder ordoure be tane on this matter, as appertenis. AND thairfore, Ordanis Letteris to be direct to Officeris of airmes, Schereffis in that pairt, chairgeing thame to pas, command, and charge the bailleis of the burgh of Perth, to preserue and keip the corpis and bodyis of the saidis vmquhill Erll and Mr Alexander, vnburyeit; ay and quhill they vnderstand forder of his heynes will and pleasour thairanent. As they will ansuer to his Maiestie, vpoun their obedience, at thair heiçhest charge and perrell.*

The two dead bodies were accordingly kept unburied in Perth till the 30th of October, when they were transported to Edinburgh that they might be brought to the bar of Parliament (according to a barbarous legal usage of the period), and tried for treason. The Parliament sat down on 1st November, in a large hall of the Tolbooth, but adjourned to the 4th, and then to the 15th, on which day "the King and nobilitie," says Calderwood, "came to the Tolbuith upon foote, becaus of muche snowe which had fallin, and the great

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii., p. 233.

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frost." The trial of the dead then proceeded in due and competent form. The doom of forfeiture was pronounced: the surname of Ruthven was proscribed: even the name of Ruthven Castle was changed to Huntingtower: "and, to conclud the last acte of all this tragidey, the 19 of this same mounthe the bodies of Gourey and his brother wer draged throughe the streitts of Edinburghe, to the gallows, and hangett and boulled, and ther heads sett one tuo iron pins one the pinackells of the comon jayle of Edinburghe, with this sentence, ther to stand, till the wind did blow them offe."* The quarters of the victims were sent to Stirling, Perth, and Dundee, as appears from entries in the Books of the Lord High Treasurer:—

Item, for carying the quarteris of the lait Erle of Gowrie and his brother, to be affixt on the maist eminent places of Striuiling, Perth, and Dundie; and for a creill, hay, and salt, viij li vijs.
Item, to ane boy passand with his Maiesteis Warrandis, to be delyuerit to the Magistrattis of the saidis burghis, for this effect, iiij li.†

Other two sons of the house of Gowrie, William and Patrick, were still alive. At the time of the conspiracy, William, the elder, may have been about eighteen, and was then with his mother and brother at Dirleton. On the evening of the 6th of August, the brothers fled to England. William afterwards went to foreign parts, where he lived and died, celebrated, according to Bishop Burnet, for his skill in alchemy, and he was even reported to have discovered the Philosopher's Stone. Patrick remained in England, and

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* Sir James Balfour's *Annales of Scotland*, Vol. i., p. 408.—"Upon Moonday, the 19th of November, the same day that Gowrie and his brother's carcasses were dismembred, the Queene was delivered of a sonne, who now raigneth under the name of King Charles, about ellevin houres at night. The King himself observed, that he himself was borne the 19th of June, Prince Henrie, his sonne, the 19th of Februar, his daughter, Ladie Elizabeth, the 19th of August; and that he himself saw the Queene in Denmark first upon the 19th day of the moneth, and that now she is delivered in Dunfermline upon the 19th day." Calderwood's *History*, Vol. vi., p. 100.

† Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii., p. 241.

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King James, after his accession to the English throne, committed him to the Tower of London, where he remained a prisoner many years. After the death of James, the captive was liberated from confinement, and a small pension settled upon him. According to Sanderson, an English historian, Patrick, in the year 1652, was walking on the streets of London, as a poor gentleman, "but well experienced in chymical physick, and in other parts of learning." He had wedded a wife while he was prisoner in the Tower of London; and he left a daughter, who was married to Sir Anthony Vandyke, the famous painter. There is a tradition that a sister of these two brothers, the Lady Sophia, Countess of Lennox, went distracted on hearing of the catastrophe in Perth, and died soon after.*

And with this, the curtain falls on the history of the Gowries. To arrive at sound conclusions on the subject of the Conspiracy, more facts are needed. As yet, we look for more light in vain. But, encouraged by the saying which was inscribed over a mantle-piece in the Castle of Ruthven—

Vera diu latitant, sed longo temporis usu,
Emergunt tandem, quæ latuere diu.†

—let us hope, in the interests of historic truth, that some day the deep mystery which enshrouds the fate of the Gowries will be dispelled.

At the distance of half-a-century from the date of the last attainder, the title of *Lord Ruthven* was revived in the Freeland line.

The head of this branch of the ancient family was Alexander, youngest son of William, second Lord Ruthven. The lands and barony of Freeland were given him by his father; and from his nephew, William, the first Earl of Gowrie, he had a charter of part of the lands of Forteviot. He afterwards obtained a charter, under the great seal, of certain lands and an orchard

* Scott's *Gowrie*, pp. 94–98.
† The inscription has been translated thus:—
Truths which were long conceal'd emerge to light,
And controverted facts are render'd bright.

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lying on the side of the water of Earn, with a fishing on that river. He had three sons, William, Alexander, and Harry, and three daughters. One of his daughters, Barbara Ruthven, married Henry Rattray of that Ilk, ancestor of the Rattrays of Craighall. The Laird of Freeland died sometime in the year 1600.

Two of his sons, Alexander and Harry, were in Gowrie House, on the 5th of August, aud took part in the disturbance which followed on the slaughter of their kinsmen. Alexander cried repeatedly for fire and powder that he might force an entrance into the mansion, after the King's party had barricaded the doors. Furthermore, it was deponed by Janet Elder, spouse of Blaise Powrie, merchant in the High Street, near the Cross, that "all the tyme of the tumult, scho wes at her buyth-dur" (booth or shop-door); and that "Alexander Ruthuene yonger com to hir, with ane drawin suorde, and cravit for powder; quhilk scho alluterlie refuisand, he perforce tuik fra hir keyis, and rypit the buyth; quhair, he finding nane, ran away with the keyis, and he keist thame fra him wpone the calsay." Alexander and his brother Harry, "sonne to vmq[le] Alexander Ruthvene of Freland," along with Hugh Moncrieff, brother german to Sir William Moncrieff of that Ilk, and Patrick Eviot, brother to Colin Eviot of Balhousie, were proceeded against by Summons of Treason. They all fled the country, and in their absence were declared traitors, and all their goods confiscated. Harry Ruthven and Patrick Eviot (and, we presume, Hugh Moncrieff, likewise) speedily made their peace with Government and returned home. But Alexander Ruthven was a marked man, for his "fire and powder." He, too, came back to Scotland, and had to skulk here and there in danger of his life. One, at least, of his friends was brought into trouble for harbouring him. On 17th November, 1609, David Spalding of Essintullie was prosecuted for "the allegit tressonable ressetting, supplieing, and maintening of Alexander Ruthven, burges of Perthe, his maiesteis declarit tratour, within his duelling places of Essin-

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tullie and Enoche." But the case was not proceeded with. Again, however, on 7th November, 1611, Spalding was charged with a repetition of the same offence; and, once more, the prosecution came to nothing.*

The Laird of Freeland's eldest son, William—who had nothing to do with the Conspiracy—was allowed quietly to inherit the estate. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Moncrieff of that Ilk, by whom he had a son and two daughters. In 1607 he got a charter, under the great seal, of the lands of Kirkton of Mailor, with a fishing in the water of Earn. He died the same year of the plague.

His only son, Thomas, was fortunate in regaining a portion of the honours of the family. He was first knighted, and then had the Lordship of Ruthven restored in his person. But before following his history, let us see what happened to his uncle Harry.

Harry Ruthven (or Freeland, as he was called), took up his residence in Perth, and married a wife. In April, 1610, a great stir arose about some treasonable speeches which he was alleged to have uttered in conversation with some friends, two years previously, respecting the death of the Gowries; and he was also said to have used threatening language against Andrew Henderson, "the man in armour." Harry was laid under arrest, and depositions of witnesses were taken. Alexander Blair in Colone, who was evidently the informer, through some grudge, swore distinctly to the treasonable and threatening words, and deponed further:—

That after Hary Ruthuen had spokin thir wordis concerning Andro Hendersoun, that Andro Hendersoun and the deponer, being walking together on the brig of Perthe, Andro Hendersoun persavis Constene Hynd vpoun the brig, and left the depouner, and past to Constene Hynd; and as thay war speiking togidder, Hary Ruthuen come by, gaif Andro Hendersoun ane grite touke (a push or shove) and almost putt him over the brig, saying vnto him, "You may hald out of my gait!" And this wes fourtene dayis afoir the falling of the tree-brig (wooden bridge) of Sanct Johnnestoun.

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. iii, pp. 72, 202

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The prisoner (who was described as being forty years of age) was himself examined. He denied the words charged, and explained that in passing along the bridge leading a horse, his shoulder merely touched Andrew Henderson, "who tooke no offens thairat." Having then been demanded what he thought of the Gowrie treason, he gave a cautious answer; and as to his brother Alexander, he declared he had not seen him for eight years past, the last time he saw him being in Hull. Ultimately Harry and his enemy Blair were confronted, and both adhering to their statements, Blair offered to refer the truth of the matter to the issue of single combat with Harry, who answered that he could not be urged in law to fight in such a quarrel, and would abide the ordinary trial of the law, "and refuisit the combatt." The affair appears to have dropped for want of sufficient evidence to substantiate the charges. Even "Constantyne Hynd, in Brigend, vnder the Baillie of Errole," corroborated Harry's version of the incident on the Bridge.*

During the Civil Wars, Thomas, Laird of Freeland, supported the popular side, and was one of the Commissioners at the Treaty of Ripon. In the Parliament of 1641, held at Edinburgh, which was attended by Charles I. with the view of composing all his differences with his Scottish subjects, Sir Thomas Ruthven of Freeland was one of the two Commissioners, or Representatives for the Shire of Perth. Three years afterwards, in 1644, he was Colonel of one of the regiments sent against the royalist Marquis of Huntly; and he was elected, in 1646, a member of the Scottish Committee of Estates. After the King's execution, in 1649, Freeland was one of the Colonels for Perthshire, under the order for putting the nation in a posture of defence; and the same year he became a Commissioner of Exchequer. A Parliament was held at Perth, in 1651, when Charles II. was present; and Freeland again appears as a Commissioner for his native county. This

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, Vol. ii, pp. 325–329.

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year the King created him a Scottish peer by the old title of *Lord Ruthven.* His Lordship saw a good old age, and died on 6th May, 1673. His only son, David, was raised to the dignity of a Lord of the Treasury in the reign of William III.

The second Lord having died without issue, in 1701, a question arose as to the order of succession. The ancient patent of the Ruthven peerage had been destroyed at the burning of the House of Freeland, on 15th March 1570, and its limitations were not entered on record; but they were understood to have been in favour of the heirs-general of the first Lord; and, in consequence, Isabel, niece of the second lord of the new creation, being daughter of his sister, Elizabeth Ruthven, by her husband, Sir Francis Ruthven of Redcastle, a scion of the house of Gowrie, obtained the lands and title. The Baroness had married Colonel Johnston of Gratney; and her descendants have followed in succession to the present day.

No antiquities connected with the Gowries seem to have been preserved at Freeland. What if Queen Mary's casket had been treasured there?—or, even, a copy of the suppressed Answer to the King's Narrative of the conspiracy? But the letters to Bothwell, and the suppressed Defence of Gowrie, are still lost to the world. The only known relic removed to Freeland House was a stone on which the Ruthven arms were sculptured, and which had been placed over the door of Ruthven Castle or of Gowrie House.

It was with a feeling of sincere regret that we heard of the disseverance of the Ruthvens from the county of Perth by the sale of the Freeland estate. Here is a paragraph which appeared in our own columns a week or two ago:—

Sale of the Estate of Freeland.—The estate of Freeland, in the parishes of Forgandenny and Forteviot, has been sold privately to Mr Wood, an English gentleman, for the sum of £155,000. The estate extends to 2600 acres, and the present rental is £4145.

For the memories of "auld langsyne," we could have wished that Perthshire had still retained the

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honoured name of Ruthven amongst those of its resident nobility; as it is, we can only express a hope that happiness may attend the family wherever they go. They may rest assured that they will long be held in kindly remembrance on the banks of the Earn and the Tay.

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SOME TRADITIONARY STORIES.

In winter's tedious nights sit by the fire
With good old folks; and let them tell thee tales
Of woeful ages, long ago betid.

King Richard II.

CULTMALUNDIE'S FEUD.

TRADITION is never very definite in the matter of dates, however authoritatively it may speak about places and persons. As re ards the incidents which we are going to relate, no specific period has been assigned for their occurrence: we are only told that they happened "langsyne." The story goes that the Lairds of Cultmalundie and Newbigging (both properties being in Tibbermuir parish) were once the firmest friends, but unfortunately getting at variance, became bitter foes; and at last their unappeasable feud hurried on a catastrophe fatal to the one and ruinous to the other.

On an evening, in the dead of winter, when deep snow lay on the ground, the Laird of Newbigging was riding home from Perth by himself. The sky was thickly overclouded; but occasionally the full moon broke forth, lighting up the sheeted earth with silvery splendour. The rider was still a good way from home when, as he skirted a straggling wood, he was suddenly beset by a number of Cultmalundie's dependants, who sharing their master's animosity towards him, pulled him from his saddle, and overpowering his resistance, bound him fast, and dragged him into the heart of the wood. There they tied him to a tree, and after gagging him, for the moment, with a hard-pressed snowball, which they forced into his mouth, they took to their heels, leaving him to his fate. His horse, howecer, had gallopped off at the first onset, and instinct led it to his own door, where its appearance caused the wildest dismay. The men-servants mustered, and set out in quest of the missing laird, whom they scarcely

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expected to find alive; but as they ranged hither and thither on the way to St Johnstoun, his voice became discernible on the night-wind that swept the snowy wastes. His incessant calls for help brought them to the spot where he stood a miserable prisoner, half-frozen with cold, and half-frantic with rage. He was released, and assisted home with all speed. A blazing hearth and a hearty modicum of French brandy served to obviate the bad effects that might have followed his exposure in the wintry wood.

Believing that Cultmalundie had instigated the attack and its subsequent indignities (of which, on the contrary, he was entirely innocent, and in fact the perpetrators never acquainted him with what they had done at their own hands), Newbigging vowed a deadly vengeance; and, making no man his confidant, he fulfilled his vow before another moon rose. Next morning was the Sabbath; but the solemn influences of the hallowed day had no power to calm the fury that raged in the injured laird's breast. Give him but "the wild justice of revenge," and he recked not what it entailed. Considerably before the hour of going to church, he skulkingly left his house, with a loaded musquetoon concealed under his cloak. Could there be any doubt about his intent? "The better day the better deed." Taking post behind some trees, at a lonely part of the road by which his enemy usually came to the kirk, Newbigging awaited his approach. Nor did he wait in vain. The Laird of Cultmalundie, with his wife on his arm, and attended by several domestics, appeared in sight round an abrupt turning of the path. As soon as the little party had advanced within range, Newbigging, resting his piece over a low bough, took a deliberate aim and fired, and his unsuspecting foeman fell prone on the road, shot through the head. The assassin fled from the spot, and, proceeding homewards, mounted his horse and rode away. Great hue and cry arose, but he escaped abroad, and spent the rest of his days in exile.

Note.—About the beginning of the seventeenth century,

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a family named Bruce owned the lands of Cultmalundie. At that time they were at feud with the Toshacks, Lairds of Monzievaird; and a fatal broil between them on the streets of Perth has been recorded in Mercer's *Chronicle:*—"Vpoun Midsomer-day, the xx [24th] of Junij, 1618 yeiris, at twa efternoon, Dauid Toscheoch of Monivaird yowinger, slaine in the South-gait of Perth be Lourence Bruce younger of Culmalindeis, his brother, and diuers thair associates. The twa that was with Monyvaird, the ane deidlie hurt, bot deit not; the vther, his richt hand clene strukin fra him. This done in a moment of time. All the committeris thairof eschewit out of the towne, befoir any of the townis-men hard of ony suche thing."

This outrage formed the subject of judicial proceedings in Edinburgh. "Peter Blair, brother-germane to Andro Blair of Gairdrum; William Stewart, at the Mylne of Dalcrove; and Lawrence Bruce, appierand of Cultmalundie; Alexander Bruce, his brother; Williame Oliphant of Gask; Laurence Oliphant, his brother; Alexander Fleming of Moness; Williame Douglas of Annatroche; Johnne New, servand to my Lord Oliphant; Donald Patersone, servand to the Maister of Oliphant; and George Tyrie messinger in Perth;" were delated of art and part of the above slaughter and demembration.. They all failed to appear, and were put to the horn. Subsequently, King James recommended the Scottish Privy Council to use their best endeavours to promote an amicable arrangement between the parties and so staunch the feud. The Council exerted themselves to this end, and their well-meant efforts proved successful. On 21st March, 1622, they reported progress. They said :—

"Cultmalundie eldair exhibit befoir us, OFFEIRS, in write, vnder his hand, maid to the pairtie, contening the sowme of ane Thowsand crownes for the assythement of that slaughter, with the Banishement of Alexander Bruce, his sone, and George Tyrie, Messinger, who wer alledgeit to be the actuall slayaris of Monyvaird, during your Ma[s] plesour: And at that same tyme, we causit him gif satisfactioun to Duncane Campbell and Dauid Malloche, who wer deadlie hurte quhen Monyvaird was slaine, by payment making to thame of twa Thousand pundis: Quhairupoun thay haif gevin ane discharge of thair interesse in that mater; as the same produceit befoir us beiris.

"This ffeade has altogidder vndone Auld Cultmalundie; for his estait is exhaustit and wrackit, and he is become verie waik of his judgement and vnderstanding, by the grief that thir troubles hes broght vpon him; whilkis wer the occasioun of his wyffis deathe; and of the exyle and banishement of his sones and freindis, now be the space of foure yeiris; in the quhilk exyle, twa of his freindis of goode rank and qualitie hes depairtit this lyffe."

The whole case appears to have been finally hushed up on the above offers of "compensation." The David Malloch mentioned was the servant who lost his hand, which

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misfortune has been commemorated in an old Perth rhyme:—

Aff hands is fair play:
Davie Malloch says Nay!

—(See Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. iii., pp. 443, 465, 480, 542.)

THE GOLDEN CRADLE OF ABERNETHY.

Old chroniclers aver that when the Pictish kingdom, which had endured for 1181 years, was subverted by the Scots, under King Kenneth Macalpine, "every mother's son" of the vanquished people perished in ruthless massacre! Be this as it might, our present object is not to quarrel with the misleading tradition, but rather to follow one of its many ramifications.

The last stronghold of the Picts was the royal castle on Abernethy Law, and overlooking the small lake which fills a circular hollow of about sixty yards in diameter on the summit of the hill, where remains are still to be seen of ancient Caledonian fortifications. The water is reputed very deep, and its basin seems the crater of an extinct volcano, the surrounding rocks being evidently of igneous origin. The supposed site of the Pictish castle is pointed out on the east side, where a peak rises from the edge of the loch.

When King Druskin, the last monarch that swayed the sceptre of Pictavia, went forth to encounter the Scots, he left his Queen and his infant son (the heir to the crown) in the Castle of Abernethy. The child lay in a cradle of pure gold, tended by his royal mother and a faithful nurse. Successive disasters in the field of battle prostrated the Pictish power; and the victorious Scots advanced, like ravening wolves, to destroy the Castle and to make prize of the Golden Cradle, of which they had heard wondrous legends. The garrison was weak and disheartened, and murmured about capitulation on promise of life. The Queen was overpowered with grief and dismay—her consort slain and his armies routed. In a paroxysm of desperation, the nurse snatched up the cradle with the sleeping infant in her arms, and issuing from the castle gate ascended

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the rock on the bank of the loch, and there stood for a moment, elevating the cradle above her head in sight of the approaching enemy, who shot off a volley of arrows at her; but every shaft, though apparently winged with death, flew wide of the mark. Uttering a shriek of defiance, which rose shrilly above the shouts of the Scots and the clash of arms, she leaped from the eminence, and disappeared with her precious burden in the quiet waters of the lake! Infuriated by the disappointment, the enemy stormed the Castle, slew all within its walls, and committed it to the devouring flames. They next set themselves to the recovery of the cradle, which they conceived easy of accomplishment. But their labours were interrupted by a terrible tempest; and in a pause of the elemental strife, a gaunt female figure, haggard and wild, emerged into view in the midst of the agitated loch, and chanted, in hollow tones, the following strain—

"Forbear, forbear, or thus feel my power!
The golden cradle can never be got,
Till a mortal, undaunted, at midnight's mirk hour,
Nine times alone shall encircle this spot.
When nine green lines shall encircle me round,
Then, then, shall the golden cradle be found."

Having uttered these words, she sank beneath the waves: and the Golden Cradle has never more been seen.

Not for lack of adventurers to undertake the search, like King Arthur's knights in the quest of the *Sangreal;* but hitherto the difficulties in the way have proved insurmountable. It has been generally believed that if a person proceeded alone, at midnight, to the loch, and encircled it nine times with a green thread, the charm would be complete, and the cradle be obtained; but the experiment has always been baffled by storms, voices, or apparitions. Sometimes a dwarfish man, of brown complexion, with locks and beard of shaggy red hair, and clad in brownish habiliments of an antique cut, and wearing a conical cap, crossed the path of the seeker, and angrily commanded him to desist. This misshapen being seems to have been akin to him who appeared to Keeldar on the Border heath—

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The third blast that young Keeldar blew,
Still stood the limber fern;
And a Wee Man, of swarthy hue,
Upstarted by a cairn.

His russet weeds were brown as heath,
That clothes the upland fell;
And the hair of his head was frizzly red,
As the purple heather-bell.

* * * * *

" Why rises high the staghound's cry,
Where staghound ne'er should be?
Why wakes that horn the silent morn,
Without the leave of me?"

" Brown Dwarf, that o'er the muirland strays,
Thy name to Keeldar tell!"
" The Brown Man of the Muirs, who stays
Beneath the heather-bell.

" 'Tis sweet, beneath the heather-bell,
To live in autumn brown;
And sweet to hear the lav'rocks swell,
Far, far from tower and town.

" But woe betide the shrilling horn,
The chase's surly cheer!
And ever that hunter is forlorn,
Whom first at morn I hear."

Stories have been rife among aged denizens of Abernethy concerning reckless "blades" who essayed the winning of the Cradle. "There was never ane that gaed" —a narrator would say—"but something uncanny befel him. My granny kent twa or three that tried it: and sair did their folk rue that ever they had played siccan a pliskie. The first was a stout, clever fellow, ca'd Matthew Muckley. He was a sailor; and when his ship arrived at Leith, he cam' ower the Forth to see his faither and mither that dwelt in Abernethy. It was about New-Year-time; and Matthew's pouches were weel lined wi' siller; and him and his auld acquaintainces drank helter-skelter, and kicked up the awfu'est dust that ever was seen. Weel, ae nicht the story o' the Cradle cam' aboon board, and the sailor swore he wad gang to the loch-side, and try his luck. As nane o' his drucken cronies durst gang wi' him, they agreed to sit up and drink afore he cam' back, either wi' the Cradle ablo his oxter, or at least an account o' his adventure. Aff he gaed, and they waited till day-

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licht, and nae word o' him; syne aff they set to the Law in search o' him; but their search was a' in vain; for, frae that day to this his disappearance has remained a dead mystery! And, secondly, there was Jock Pilversie wha tried it, and though he cam' back he was an idiot a' his days after't, and could never tell a word about what he had heard or seen. And, again, there was Tam Pitcurran that gaed too, and was deaf and dumb till the day o' his death. My granny kent a' thae three; but how mony tried it afore her day I canna say." And thus the legends run.

At a place called Cairney-venn, situated among the hills south of the Law, several golden keys were said to have been found, and a local rhyme affirms that there lies as much hidden wealth

"Betwixt Castle Law and Carney-vane,
As would enrich a' Scotland ane by ane."

But this treasure is still concealed from mortal ken, like the Golden Cradle of the Pictish Prince.

THE MONEY-DIGGER OF GLENALMOND.

Hidden treasure was also believed to exist in upper Glenalmond at a spot marked by a large stone known as *Clach-a-Buachaille*—the stone of the herdsman. A shepherd of the neighbourhood had dreamed of unearthing a rich *pose* from under this olden landmark, and so strongly did the fancy impress his mind that frequently as he passed the place, morning and evening, his ear seemed to catch the chink of coin beneath the stone. At length he determined to make a thorough search, and with that view repaired to the spot early on a summer morning with the necessary implements. But scarce had he struck his spade into the sod when a shrill voice exclaimed—

Black John! Black John!
Beware of that stone!

Starting back, and letting the spade drop from his nerveless fingers, he gazed tremblingly around; but nobody was to be seen! Perhaps it was the elvish guardian of the treasure who had spoken, as being averse to the discovery of the hoard; and if so, then

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there could be no longer any doubt about the actuality of the pose. Fired with this idea, our hero fell to work with might and main, steeled against the opposition of the unseen world, as though he had laid to heart the advice which the renowned Theophrastus Bombastes Paracelsus gave to all treasure-seekers:—"There is no occasion to make use of any ceremonies, or to draw a circle, or give yourself any trouble of the kind; but dig away right cheerily: and be in no dread of spectres; for although several may appear, yet they are only airy shapes and phantasies, of which you need not be afraid: therefore, dig away, my lads; troll out a merry carol or two; and keep up a lively conversation amongst yourselves; for you are not forbidden to speak, as some fools, who know nothing of the matter, would fain persuade you."

The mystic warning was repeated; but it fell on ears deaf as the adder's—hermetically sealed by the hand of Mammon. The labour proceeded rapidly; but still without any sign of the "kist" or pot against which the breathless herdsman expected every moment to clash his spade. Unwittingly he toiled—never perceiving that he was undermining the huge stone. In an instant down it tumbled upon his back, burying him, a lifeless mass, in the grave of his imaginary riches!

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WINTERS, PAST AND PRESENT.—Part 1

The museful sage : abroad he walks
Contemplative, if haply he may find
What cause controls the tempest's rage, or whence,
Amidst the savage season, Winter smiles.

Rev. Gilbert White of Selborne.

What subject is so constantly and universally discussed, amongst gentle and simple, as the weather? "He, who to Italy of sire Æneas sung," did not deem it beneath the dignity of an epic poet to embody in immortal verse the current weather-lore of his age and country. As for weather expounders since Virgil's day, their number has been legion; and the oddest and most conflicting speculations have been broached in attempting to reduce heat and cold, wind and rain, storm and calm, to the rigid order of a philosophical system, whereby atmospherical changes might be predicted with the same exactitude as the eclipses, or the rising and setting of the sun, moon, and stars. Nay, it has been conceived that the weather may be controlled in some degree by the power of man : witness the old popular belief that moor-burning brought rain. This opinion was publicly countenanced by King Charles I., during one of his progresses; and it still lingers in some districts amongst our peasantry.*

* In the British Museum is preserved the copy of a letter written by Philip Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain, to the Sheriff of Staffordshire, dated 1636, which we shall quote :—"Sr.—His Majesty taking notice of an opinion entertained in Staffordshire, that the burning of Ferne doth draw downe rain, and being desirous that the country and himself may enjoy fair weather as long as he remains in those parts, His Majesty hath commanded me to write unto you, to cause all burning of Ferne to bee forborne, untill his Majesty be passed the country. Wherein not doubting but the consideration of their own interest, as well as of his Maties, will invite the country to a ready observance of this his Maties commands, I rest, your very loving friend, Pembroke and Montgomery.—Belvoir, 1st August, 1636. To my very loving friend the High Sheriff of the County of Stafford." In the Highlands of Scotland, where the heather is burned in spring, and also

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Nearly a century and a half ago, a rev. author promulgated the cognate notion that since the invention of gunpowder, and its general use in warfare, great rains and wet seasons had become much more frequent:* and this theory has been quite recently revived and pressed upon the attention of the American Congress as a means of obviating droughts.† What more nearly

on the Scottish Borders, the same belief obtains. In Australia a hot wind blowing from the north, caused (in part at least) by bush fires in the interior, is invariably succeeded by rain from the opposite quarter. Formerly, in some parts of America, but more particularly in the New England States, it was believed that immediately after a large fire in a town, or of wood in a forest, there would be a fall of rain.—See *Choice Notes from "Notes and Queries": Folk Lore*, pp. 148-150.

* *A Rational Account of the Weather*. By John Pointer, M.A., Rector of Slapton, in the County of Northampton, and Diocese of Petersborough. Second Edition. London: 1738. This writer says:—"Plutarch, in his Life of Marius, makes this observation, that great battles, generally speaking, are attended with great rains. And in this I agree with him; but I do not like the reason he gives for his opinion. He makes the great effusion of blood in time of war to be the cause of these great rains, by reason of the thick vapours that it produces. . . . Whatever might be the cause of great rains in former ages I shall not pretend to determine,, but since the invention and firing of so much gunpowder, in times of war (of which we have had the experience in this last age more than ever), I cannot but think that the elements are much alter'd, and that we have had greater rains of late years than were ever known in former ages; and therefore I cannot but attribute these great rains to the vast quantities of sulphur and nitre occasioned by the continual explosions of such prodigious quantities of gunpowder in time of war. . . . We may call to mind (some of us) the great rains that were in the time of the late Civil Wars. We may easily remember the continual wet years we had during the late twelve years campaign in Flanders, besides those occasion'd by wars likewise in several other parts of the world at the same time. We may still more easily remember the wet summers during the late wars in Poland and Italy, &c., when at one single siege there were at least 5000 bombs fir'd off, many of them 500 lb. weight, and 10 lb. of powder generally used in firing off each single bomb."—Pp. 163-166.

† In January, 1872, the following paragraph appeared in the *New York Tribune*:—THE ARTIFICIAL PRODUCTION OF RAIN.—Edward Powers, a civil engineer of Chicago, has petitioned Congress for aid to enable him to test his method for the artificial production of rain. He wants to be furnished with 300 cannon of not less than 24-pounds

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concerns us—it was only the other day we had news from India, stating that, in prospect of the approaching famine in Bengal, from the scantiness of the rice crop, caused by the dry weather, the natives were urgently suggesting that Government should order the experiment to be tried, whether cannon-firing would bring down rain to refresh the thirsty land, and save myriads from the horrors of starvation; and it was said that one of the native proprietors had offered 500 rupees towards the cost of the gunpowder. To proceed—the lunar influence on the atmosphere continues a fertile topic of controversy—one of the newest schemes being based on the dictum "that the moon never crosses the earth's equator, or reaches her position of stitial colure [or greatest distance from our equator] without a marked disturbance of the atmosphere occurring at the same period." * But the most interesting question in the whole range of weather science is the change which, it is alleged, has been gradually taking place in the climate of the British Islands, and more especially in that of Scotland.

A comprehensive and concise statement of this assumption is given in an article—"Of the Alterations of the Seasons"—contained in a posthumous collection of poems and essays, published at Edinburgh, 1798, being the works of Lord Dreghorn, a Court of Session Judge, who died in 1796, aged sixty-two. The two volumes are now rarely to be met with, except, perhaps, on the least accessible shelves of a lawyer's library; nevertheless, the learned author, who was eldest son of the famous Scottish mathematician, Colin

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calibre each, and 30,000 pounds of powder to fire in them, together with an electrical battery and other appliances, to enable him to discharge all the pieces simultaneously. In support of his theory that rain can be produced by the firing of artillery, he gives a long list of battles, including nearly every important engagement during the Rebellion, each of which was followed, he alleges, by a heavy rainstorm.

* *Saxby's Weather System; or, Lunar Influence on Weather.* By S. M. Saxby, Esq., R.N. London: 1864; pp. 100.

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Maclaurin, possessed great talents, and occupied a distinguished position among the contemporary men of eminence who gave fame to "Edina, Scotia's darling seat." Let us see what he said on this climatic point:

It is long since many, of whom I am one, have maintained, that the seasons are altered: that it is not so hot now in summer as when we were boys. Others laugh at this, and say, that the supposed alteration proceeds from an alteration in ourselves; from our having become older, and consequently colder.

In 1783, or 1784, in the course of a conversation I had with my brewer, who is very intelligent and eminent in his way, he maintained that an alteration had taken place. This observation he made from a variety of circumstances; the diminution of the number of swallows, the coldness that attends rain, the alteration in the hours of labour at the time of sowing barley, which a great many years ago was a work performed very early in the morning, on account of the intenseness of the heat after the sun had been up for some time. He added, that for many years past, he had found that the barley did not malt as formerly, and the period he fixed on was the year [1755] in which the earthquake at Lisbon happened.

I was much surprised at this last observation, and did not pay much attention to it till last summer, when I happened to read "Les Annales Politiques" of Linguet, a very scarce book, which I was sure my brewer had never read; for there, to my astonishment, I found the very same opinion, with this additional fact, that in Champagne, (where he was born) they have not been able, since that earthquake, to make the same wine. He says too, that he has seen the title-deeds of several estates in Picardy, which proved, that, at that time, they had a number of excellent vine-yards, but that now no such crop can be reared there. He also attempts to account philosophically for that earthquake having such effects.*

Many of our readers may smile at this, and declare that the Lisbon earthquake had probably as much to do with the malt and the vintage, as Tenterden Steeple had with Goodwin Sands! But we know that Lord Dreghorn and his brewer were not unsupported in their doctrine. Various parties were speaking of the same apparent facts. An agricultural essayist of the period remarked that "there is reason to think that the seasons were warmer formerly than they are at present: at any rate, the quantity of wood which was then growing in the country would tend to keep what was

* The Works of the late John Maclaurin, Esq. of Dreghorn, vol. ii., pp. 302-3.

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in grain and grass warm, and be a good shelter from the cold winds."* Indeed, the theory of climatic change is no *outre* one. We are assured that there is perhaps nothing more clearly established in geology than the fact of great changes of climate having occurred over the same area in different periods of the world's history. Undoubtedly many European countries now enjoying mild winters at one time experienced severe cold during that season. The Euxine Sea was frozen over every winter during the time of Ovid; the rivers Rhine and Rhone used to be frozen over so deep that the ice sustained loaded waggons; and the Tiber at Rome was also often frozen, and snow at one time lay for forty days. The waters of the Tiber, Rhine, and Rhone now flow freely every winter; ice is unknown in Rome; and the waves of the Black Sea dash their wintry foam upon the rocks. Such changes could scarcely be produced on the climate of any country by agriculture; and no such theory can account for the contrary change of climate—from warm to cold winters —which history tells us has taken place in other countries.† Certain modern philosophers have maintained that the seasons in the British Islands are tending towards one unvaried spring; and it has been conjectured that an alteration has begun in the Gulf Stream, which is understood to exercise a potent effect upon our climate. The compiler of a popular Manual of the Weather, issued in 1856, says that "so far at least as Scotland is concerned, every one allows that there has been, during the last twenty or thirty years, a marked alteration in the temperature of the seasons, to such an extent, indeed, as to make us believe that the climate of this country has undergone a most material change to the worse. That we are gradually losing the benefit of a prolonged summer is undeniable."‡

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* National Improvements upon Agriculture, in Twenty-seven Essays. By David Young, Perth. Edinburgh: 1785, vol. i., p. 24.

† Timbs' *Curiosities of Science*: First Series, p. 148.

‡ *The Weather Indicator*, p. 64.

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A later and competent authority—Mr James Macnab, Curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens,—in an address which he delivered before the first meeting of the Edinburgh Botanical Society, in November 1873, stated the following facts :—

Caledonia, "stern and wild" as she is, has witnessed during the last 50 years much lessening of the summer heat. From this cause peaches and nectarines cannot but ripened to the same perfection in the open air as formerly; while asparagus, mushrooms, and tomatoes, are gradually disappearing. The rock rose and the common myrtle are rarely to be met with; and the almond which at one time flowered as luxuriantly as in the suburbs of London, will not now set its flower-buds. The larch, in spite of the enormous quantities of seed annually imported, is declining in vigour; and there is a talk of substituting for it the Wellingtonia as a nurse-tree. Forty years ago the black Hesperian grape, the black mulberry, and the fig ripened on the southern exposure of Edinburgh as well as in London; but now fire flues are an essential condition to their coming to maturity. With this change of climate there has been an alteration in the type of disease; but we are still in need of authenticated data as to the extent to which this has taken place; and a Central Committee should be appointed to investigate the whole subject.

From a review of these and similar testimonies (for we are simply citing authorities, not propounding any theory of our own), we might be led to the conclusion, that since the early part of last century, at least, a considerable modification of the temperature of our seasons has been going on. It is a common tradition, that previously much of the summer labour in the fields had to be performed, as Lord Dreghorn mentions, in the mornings, to avoid the intense heat of the meridian sun. But the worthy Judge seems to have inaccurately fixed the beginning of the change: for at the very time when he was a boy, loud complaints were making about the climate's ungeniality. Mr Melmoth, in his *Fitzosborne's Letters*, writes, under date 4th July, 1743:—

Whilst you are probably enjoying blue skies and cooling grots, I am shivering in the midst of summer. The *molles sub arbore somni*, the *speluncæ vivique lacus*, are pleasures which we in England seldom taste but in description. For in a climate where the warmest season is frequently little better than a milder sort of winter, the sun is much too welcome a guest to be avoided. If ever we have occa-

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sion to complain of him, it must be for his absence: at least I have seldom found his visits troublesome.

And Dr Armstrong, in his poem, *The Art of Preserving Health*, published in 1744, expresses himself thus:—

> Scarce in a showerless day the heavens indulge
> Our melting clime, except the baleful East
> Withers the tender Spring, and sourly checks
> The fancy of the year. *Our fathers talk*
> *Of summer, balmy airs, and skies serene.*
> Good heavens! for what unexpiated crimes
> This dismal change? The brooding elements,
> Do they, your powerful ministers of wrath,
> Prepare some fierce exterminating plague?
> Or is it fixed in the decrees above
> That lofty Albion melt into the main?

On the other hand, several men of science have endeavoured to demonstrate, by investigations extending over long spaces of time, that the seasons have generally remained unchanged. But in the face of this, it is pertinently observed by a leading journalist of the day that when England was essentially merry England the seasons cannot have been like those of which we have had so many unhappy experiences; for old books and drawings depict lords and ladies walking about in costumes which would be now impossible; and no doubt many of our changes of costume have been forced upon us as much by the fresh exigencies of climate as by the mere whims of fashion. Finally, "there were the poets unhesitatingly proclaiming that Winter would be crowned with ice and snow; that Spring would be a mild maiden, scattering flowers on the earth; that Summer would be fervid and sultry; Autumn lovely in death." How rarely do we behold the realization of those vivid natural descriptions with which the pages of our old poets are garnished! Whether the summer heat has, or has not been gradually declining with us, it is quite evident, we submit, that on an average of years the winters have been much milder than they once were. Formerly, a winter seldom passed without heavy falls of snow and continuous frosts. Snow was usual at Christmas-tide; and "a green Yule" was reckoned a calamity—erroneously, be it said, as statistics prove that "a fat kirk-

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yard" is rather the result of dry than of humid cold. The coldest Christmas of the present century was that of 1860. The severest wintry storm of our own times was that in the beginning of 1838, which lasted for the space of ten weeks—the 20th of January being the coldest day. Murphy's *Weather Almanac* made a great hit that year, by the indication for 20th January—"Fair. Prob. lowest deg. of Winter temp."—which proving a correct guess, the sale of the almanac for 1838 realized a profit of £3,000! The snowfall at Perth was prodigious, rendering the streets ever and anon almost impassable. The Tay was frozen hard, and a public dinner was held on the ice near the head of Moncrieffe Island. But the fact is worth noting that the previous part of the winter was characterised by fresh, open weather such as that of the season now passing over our heads.

And as we are thus contrasting the past with the present, we shall pursue the task a little further by selecting some striking examples of the hard winters endured by our forefathers.

The winter of 1607, was so bitter as to find a record in the *Chronicle of Perth* :—

1607, Dec. 1.—There was ane continual frost from that day foresaid till the 21st of March, and passage upon the ice over Tay all the time, and passage ower and ower at the Mill of Errol.

The winter of 1615 was at first very wet; but ultimately there was a protracted storm. The same *Chronicle* says—

Upon the —— day of Januar, 1615 years, being Thursday, the Water of Tay, be weittis and sleit, waxed so great, that it covered haill our North Inch, the Mortoun haugh, and almaist all the South Inch. [It] continued fra Thursday, in the morning, to the morne thereafter. Men rowing with boats in the same North Inch, taking forth scheip that war in peril of drowning.

Feb. 21.—This year preceding, the frost was lang looked for before it came. Quhen it came, it continued sa lang, that the water of Tay being all frozen above and beneath the Brig, that there was daily passage above the Brig next the North Inch bayth for horse and men, and beneath the Brig fornent the Earl of Errol's Lodging and the Shore for men. [It] continued sa quhill the twenty-five day of Februar, that the Cobellaris [ferry-boatmen, Mylne's

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Bridge being as yet unfinished] quha rowit on the water, being thereby prejudgit of their comoditie, in the nicht time brak the ice at the entry, and stayed the passage. Upon Fastingis Evin, being the 21 of Februar, there was twa puncheons of Burdeous wine carried, sting on ling, on men's shoulders on the water of Tay on the ice, at the mideis of the North Inch, the weight of the puncheon, and the bearers, estimat to three score twelve stane weight.

Upon Monanday at nicht the 6 day of March, ane vehement snaw came on. [It] lasted all the nicht, and continued to Wednesday thereafter, at quhilk time, by 12 hours in the day, it begouth of new, and continued so vehement, nicht and day, to the —— day of March, that during the haill time, mixtit with frosts, no travel or little passage was there either for horse or men; on the quhilk Wednesday, divers horse and men perished and died.

Upon the sevint day of May, great snaw and frost, whereby na travel for horse nor men.

This great storm is also mentioned by Sir James Balfour in his *Annales of Scotland* :—

The 17 of Jarij, this zeire, began a froste, with extreame snow, wich continewed till the 14 of Februarij; and albeit the violence of the froste and snow abbated some thinge, zet it continewed still snowing, muche or lesse, till the 7 of Marche, quherby much catell perished, alsweill olde as young; and in some places diuers dewised snow ploughes to cleire the ground and fodder catell. This snow wes werey dangerous to all trauelers.

The inditer of the *Chronicle of Perth* found abundant cause to make an entry relative to the winter of 1623–24 :—

1623–4.—This year was such ane frost, that the ellyke has not been seen in our days, for from Mertymas to the 30 of Januar, there was passage over the Tay upon the ice. And thereafter dissolved and freezed again to the 23d of February, that eleven carts, with 21 puncheons of wine, came over upon the ice from Dundee here.

Spalding's *History of the Troubles in Scotland* tells of "a great storm of snow," in the winter of 1633. This fall began on Thursday, 7th February, "with horrible high winds, which was noted to be universal through all Scotland;" and which "outrageous storm stopped the ordinary course of ebbing and flowing on sundry waters by the space of 24 hours."

Another severe winter—that of 1635,—has been described in the *Chronicle of Perth* :—

In Januar 1635, from the 26 day thereof, till the 16 day of Februar, there fell furth such ane hudge snow, that men nor women could not walk upon our streets. It was

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ten quarter or twa ells heiche through all the town. Tay was 30 days frozen over. There was ane fast appointed, and there came a gentill thow, blessed be God. There was great skairstie of victual and elding, mills gaed out, and there was no passage nor travelling to bring ony in. At that time all was waid skant. They knokit malt in knoking stones.

Sir James Balfour notices the season—

The spring, this zeire, was cold and dray; no raine for sewin weekes, wich in maney places hindred the halffe of the seed springing.

The somer, this zeire, was werey hote and plesaunt.

The haruest resonbley good.

The winter the most tempestuous and stormey that was seine in Scotland thesse 60 zeires past, with such aboundance of snow, and so rigide a frost, that the snow lay in the plaines from the 9 of December, 1634, to the 9 of Marche, 1635, almost three els heigh in maney places. Many bestiall, both wylde and teame, deyed, ouerthrowen with the snow; the flockes of sheepe in the low landes, and the goattes in the montanes, went al in effecte to destructione.

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WINTERS, PAST AND PRESENT.—Part 2nd.

In winter, when the rain rain'd cauld,
And frost and snaw on ilka hill,
And Boreas, wi' his blasts sae bauld,
Was threat'nin' a' our kye to kill.

Old Scots Song.

The winter of 1664–5 was long and severe. Snow fell thickly at Yule, and lay on the ground till the 14th of March. According to Lamont's *Diary* (or *Chronicle of Fife)*, some honest folks "began to say there would hardly be any seed-time at all this year; but it pleased the Lord, out of his gracious goodness, on a sudden to send seasonable weather for the seed-time, so that in many places the oat seed was sooner done this year [than] in many years formerly; for the long frost made the ground very free, and the husbandmen, for the most part, affirmed they never saw the ground easier to labour." Many sheep perished during the storm, and the frost was keen enough to kill the broom and whins in many parts of the country.

Ten years afterwards—in 1674—came a far more destructive storm, the violence of which was heavily felt on the Border, causing unparalleled losses among the sheep stock in that pastoral region of romance and minstrelsey.

1674, Jan.—At this time commenced a stormy period, which was long memorable in Scotland. It opened with a tempest of east wind, which strewed the coasts of Northumberland and Berwickshire with wrecks. During February, the rough weather continued; and at length, on the 20th of the month, a heavy fall of snow, accompanied by vehement frost, set in, which lasted for thirteen days. This was afterwards remembered by the name of the *Thirteen Drifty Days.* There was no decided improvement of the weather till the 29th of March. "All fresh waters were frozen as if in the midst of winter; all ploughing and delving of the ground was marred till the aforesaid day; much loss of sheep by the snow, and of whole families in the moor country and highlands; much loss of corn every-

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where, also of wild beasts, as doe and roe." (Law's *Memorials.*) This storm seems to have fallen with greatest severity upon the southern Highlands. It is stated in the council books of Peebles, that "the most part of the country lost the most part of their sheep and many of their nolt, and many all their sheep. It was universal, and many people were almost starved for want of fuel for fire."

James Hogg [the Ettrick Shepherd] has given a traditionary account of the calamity. "It is said that for thirteen days and nights the snow-drift never once abated: the ground was covered with frozen snow when it commenced, and during all that time the sheep never broke their fast. The cold was intense to a degree never before remembered; . . . and the final consequence was, that about nine-tenths of all the sheep in the south of Scotland were destroyed. In the extensive pastoral district of Eskdale Moor, which maintains upwards of 20,000 sheep, it is said none were left alive but forty young wedders on one farm, and five old ones on another. The farm of Phaup remained without a stock and without a tenant for twenty years subsequent to the storm. At length one very honest and liberal-minded man ventured to take a lease of it, at the annual rent of a *gray coat and a pair of hose.* It is now rented at £500. An extensive glen in Tweedsmuir, belonging to Sir James Montgomery, became a common at that time, to which any man drove his flocks that pleased, and it continued so for nearly a century. On one of Sir Patrick Scott of Thirlestane's farms, that keeps upwards of 900 sheep, they all died save one black ewe, from which the farmer had high hopes of preserving a breed; but some unlucky dogs that were all laid idle for want of sheep to run at, fell upon this poor solitary remnant of a good stock, and chased her into the lake, where she was drowned."*

The closing years of the seventeenth century became equally memorable in history, for the dearth arising from bad seasons. In the *Seven dear Years,* as they were called, the harvests were invariably late, and the early winters blasted the unreaped crops. The scarcity increased till the barest necessaries of life could scarcely be procured for money, even in those districts which

* Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. ii., pp. 365–367.

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were esteemed the most fertile. Prices rose enormously. Inferior barley-meal brought a merk per peck, and oatmeal could not be had. Many expedients were adopted to mitigate the pressure of the famine. In some places, greens boiled with salt became the common sustenance. The cattle, destitute of fodder, perished both in the stall and in the field. Great sums of money were drained out of the country in bringing supplies of grain from abroad. The unwholesome victuals generated diseases, which, conjoined with sheer famine, caused a lamentable mortality. "The Farmer was ruined, and troops of poor perished for want of bread. Multitudes deserted their native country, and thousands and tens of thousands went to Ireland." The miseries of the time have been delineated by Patrick Walker, the Cameronian Packman, in his *Life and Prophecies of Mr Donald Cargill,* with a graphic power and a thrilling pathos which would do honour to any pen:—

These unheard-of manifold judgments continued seven years, not always alike, but the seasons, summer and winter, so cold and barren, and the wonted heat of the sun so much withholden, that it was discernible upon the cattle, flying fowls, and insects decaying, that seldom a fly or gleg was to be seen: Our harvest not in the ordinary months; many shearing in November and December, yea, some in January and February; the names of the places I can instruct: Many contracting their deaths, and losing use of their feet and hands, shearing and working amongst it in frost and snow: And after all, some of it standing still, and rotting on the ground, and much of it for little use either to man or beast, and which had no taste or colour of meal.

Meal became so scarce that it was at two shillings a peck, and many could not get it. It was not then with many, "Where will we get siller?" But, "Where will we get meal for siller?" I have seen, when meal was all sold in markets, women clapping their hands, and tearing the clothes off their heads, crying, "How shall we go home and see our children die in hunger? They have got no meat these two days, and we have nothing to give them."

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Through the long continuance of these manifold judgments, deaths and burials were so many and common, that the living were wearied in the burying of the dead. I have seen corpses drawn in sleds; many neither got coffin nor winding sheet. I was one of four who carried the corpse of a young woman a mile of way; and when we came to the grave, an honest poor man came and said, "You must go and help me to bury my son, he has been dead this two days; otherwise I will be obliged to bury him in my own yard." We went, and there were eight of us had two miles to carry the corpse of that young man, many neighbours looking on us, but none to help us. I was credibly informed, that in the north, two sisters on a Monday's morning were found carrying the corpse of their brother on a barrow with bearing ropes, resting themselves many times, and none offering to help them.

I have seen some walking about sun-setting, and to morrow about six o'clock in the summer morning, found dead in their houses, without making any stir at their death, their head lying upon their hand. . . . The nearer and sorer these plagues seized, the sadder were their effects, that took away all natural and relative affections, so that husbands had no sympathy with their wives, nor wives with their husbands, parents with their children, nor children with their parents. These and other things have made me to doubt if ever any of Adam's race were in a more deplorable condition, their bodies and spirits more low, than many were in these years.

. . . .

There was a farmer in the parish of West Calder (in which parish 300 of 900 examinable persons died), who at that time was reckoned worth 6000 merks of money and goods, that had very little to spare to the poor; the victual lay spoiling in his house and yard, waiting for a greater price; and two honest servant-lasses, whose names were Nisbet, being cast out of service (for every one could not have it; many said, they got too much wages that got meat for work), these two lasses would not steal, and they were ashamed to beg; they crept in into an empty house, and sat there wanting meat till their sight was almost gone; and then they went about a mile of way to that farmer's yard, and cut four stocks of kail to save their lives: He found them, and drave them before him to the Laird

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of Bawd, who was a Justice of Peace, that he might get them punished. The Laird enquired what moved them to go by so many yards, and go to his: They said these in their way were in straits themselves, and he could best spare them. The Laird said, "Poor conscionable things, go your way, I have nothing to say to you." One of them got service, and the other died in want; it was her burial I mentioned before, who was buried by us four. But lo! in a very few years, he and his were begging from door to door, whom I have served at my door, and to whom I said, "Who would have pity and sympathy with you, who kept your victual spoiling, waiting for a greater price, and would spare nothing of your fulness to the poor, and were so cruel to the two starving lasses that you took prisoners for four stocks of kail to save their lives? Ye may read your sin in your judgment."

In the month of September 1699, during the dearth, a poor man, belonging to Crieff, named Duncan Chapman, broke into a lockfast place there, and stole some cheese, a sugar-loaf, and about four shillings sterling: his motive for the misdeed, as he afterwards pled, being the desire of relieving his starving family. On being apprehended, he confessed what he had done, and restored the spoil: but he was brought to trial before the Commissioner of Justiciary for the Highlands, and condemned to death. On a petition, the Scottish Privy Council commuted the sentence to scourging through the town of Perth, and banishment to the plantations.

Passing from the sorrows and horrors of the *Seven dear Years*, we find record of many hard winters during the eighteenth century. The winter of 1708–9 was one of intense frost all over the Continent, but only partially so in the British Islands. The frost prevailed in the southern counties of England; and the Thames was frozen, and passable on the ice above London Bridge: while in the northern counties, and in Scotland and Ireland, the storm was scarcely felt! In 1740 the Scottish people were visited with as great a scarcity as in any of the "Dear Years." The year opened amid frost and snow. The harvest was late, and the crops very scanty. Oatmeal rose to the price of two shillings

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per peck and even higher: and the hungry mob of Edinburgh broke into granaries and meal-shops in Leith, seizing several hundred bolls of grain, and being fired on by the military!

1740, Jan.—A frost, which began on the 26th of the previous month, lasted during the whole of this, and was long remembered for its severity, and the many remarkable circumstances attending it. We nowhere get a scientific statement of the temperature at any period of its duration; but the facts related are sufficient to prove that this was far below any point ordinarily attained in this country. The principal rivers of Scotland were frozen over, and there was such a general stoppage of water-mills, that the knocking-stones usually employed in those simple days for husking grain in small quantities, and of which there was one at nearly every cottage-door, were used on this occasion as means of grinding it. Such mills as had a flow of water, were worked on Sundays as well as ordinary days. In some harbours, the ships were frozen up. Food rose to famine prices. and large contributions were required from the rich to keep the poor alive.

The frost was severe over all the northern portion of Europe. The Thames at London being thickly frozen over, a fair was held upon it, with a multitude of shows and popular amusements. At Newcastle, men digging coal in the pits were obliged to have fires kindled to keep them warm; and one mine was through this cause ignited permanently. In the metropolis, coal became so scarce as to reach 70s per chaldron; and there also much misery resulted among the poor. People perished of cold in the fields, and even in the streets, and there was a prodigious mortality amongst birds and other wild animals.*

The most active exertions were put forth throughout the kingdom for the relief of the poor who were reduced to extreme necessity. In the town of Perth, the Managers of King James the Sixth's Hospital gave "extraordinary supplies" to the persons on their roll, in consequence of "the present dearth and scarcity of grain." The Justices of Peace for the county of Perth passed an Act, which they directed to be read in the several parish kirks, appointing the heritors, minis-

* Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, Vol. iii, pp. 605-6.

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ters, and elders of each parish to meet and inspect the funds for supply of the poor, and to make adequate provision for the emergency : moreover, to keep down vagrant mendicancy, it was ordered that lead badges should be given to "the children of each parish who were begging" within their own bounds, "to distinguish them from others" who might come from surrounding parishes.

In December, 1773, about a couple of years after the opening of the present Bridge of Perth, a storm came on, the breaking up of which threatened destruction to the newly-erected fabric. First there was a hard frost, which was followed, in January, by a heavy fall of snow; and by the 10th of that month the Tay was frozen for eight miles—from Luncarty down to the mouth of the Earn. No thaw took place till the 11th of February, when the spring tides commenced. The thaw continued until the 16th, when the tide raised the ice about four feet, loosing it at the sides; but at the ebb, it fell back again unbroken. The tributary rivers came down in full spate, bearing huge icebergs, and the effect of this was to tear the ice asunder above the Bridge. The waters, now finding vent, spread over the North Inch, breaking down the White Dyke, and overthrowing the trees along the Dunkeld Road, which then passed from the North Port up the middle of the Inch. The raging flood ran through the Castlegable and north end of the Skinnergate, inundating the houses, from which many sick and infirm people had to be removed by boats. The torrent also took its course through the Blackfriars, driving down a stone wall that divided these grounds, and thence rushed onwards to the Mill Wynd and Newrow, laying the houses in that quarter under water. The immense blocks of ice broke the stone walls of the Deadlands garden, below the bridge, and the houses there were only saved from destruction by the intervention of the trees. The parapet walls at the North Shore were thrown down, and the water rushing through the two arches under the Council House, deposited large blocks

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of ice as far up the High Street as the first shop above the Skinnergate. During the height of the inundation, when the utmost alarm prevailed in the town, it was the general expectation that the Bridge would give way; but notwithstanding the pressure upon it, and the incessant shocks of the icebergs, it stood firm, receiving no injury. The end of one of the fish-houses was carried off. Five ships were thrown upon the quay : four of which were got off without damage, but the other suffered considerably. About eleven o'clock same night the Tay began to clear and subside. No lives were lost in the town. Curiously enough, whilst the houses at the west end of the town were inundated to the depth of six feet, there was no water in the Watergate; but the garden walls at the east back of that street were destroyed.*

In the year 1794, the Tay was frozen over for many weeks. Early in the spring the ice gave way, but the frost returning, it closed again, the rough masses piled upon each other, in which state they remained till the middle of March. When the thaw came, some of the vessels lying in the river were much cut about the bows by the floating shoals of ice.

The winter of 1813–14 saw the Tay again closed for weeks. The frost set in bitterly towards the end of December, and continued for more than a month. A gradual thaw came on early in February, and on Friday, the 12th, about noon, the ice on the Almond broke, and coming down to the Tay, was speedily followed by the ice from the higher streams. About three o'clock in the afternoon, which was very rainy, the ice above the Bridge of Perth was observed to move : the nearer portion broke against the cut-waters, and much of it passed down through the arches, but was soon obstructed by the solid sheet below, extending from bank to bank, which had not yet yielded. From the Deadlands to the Friarton, there was no passage for the fast-accumulating ice above; consequently the river began to rise to an alarming height, and at length a considerable

* *Memorabilia of Perth*, pp. 220–3.

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portion of the town was inundated. About midnight the pent-up waters directing their course across the North Inch, flooded Rose Terrace, Barossa Street, the North Port, Castle Gable, and the Skinnergate—advancing in that direction within 95 yards of the High Street. The South Inch was several feet under water, and the Edinburgh Road was impassable, so that the Mail had to be conveyed by the Leonards and Craigie, to the Upper Friarton. The Newrow and the Hospital Gardens were completely inundated: so was Canal Street. One family living in a gardener's house behind Marshall Place, had to take refuge on the top of the house until relieved in the morning. In Rose Terrace, a supper party were enjoying themselves, when their mirth was unexpectedly interrupted. An old gentleman was in the act of dancing *Sean trius* ("Old trowsers," the native Highland Hornpipe), when the flood streamed into the room! The party endeavoured to escape by the back door; but there they were met by an equally strong current, and it was with difficulty they got up stairs! The water continued to rise during the night, and next morning boats were rowing along the Terrace. Many families there removed from their houses; to those who remained, supplies were brought by the boats. In this state the water continued to flow during the whole of Saturday. The weather was now fair. Boats were sailing in Canal Street: and in the Curfew Row many persons were rescued from the imminent peril of their situation by such means. At the foot of the High Street the water came up to the King's Arms close. Immense damage was done to goods of all descriptions lodged in vaults and cellars, or in warehouses in the less elevated localities. Great fears were entertained for the stability of the Bridge, and several cannon were brought to bear upon the masses of ice which had accumulated high upon the piers. Late in the evening, however, the ice at the Friarton, which was the chief cause of the inundation, by obstructing the flow of the river, fortunately gave way; and when this took place, and the river got clear, the current rushed through the

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arches of the bridge with such impetuosity, carrying huge icebergs along with it, that the fabric shook from end to end, though sustaining the immense pressure uninjured. The inundation then speedily subsided. The height is marked on the index on the Bridge as 23½ feet. Most of the sheep and cattle on Moncreiffe Island were drowned; and five ships were thrown out of the river upon the Old Shore, where they lay high and dry after the Tay had resumed its ordinary channel. The North Inch was covered with immense blocks of ice, from the quantity of which it was feared the summer pasturage would be worth little or nothing; but under the genial influence of the spring sun and the western breezes, the ice rapidly disappeared, and a finer crop of grass has not since been seen on the Inch.*

John Frost was triumphant throughout England that season. The storm was preceded in London by dense fogs, which caused a darkness that might have been felt. The fall of snow was heavier than had been within the memory of man. Early in February a "Frost Fair" was held upon the Thames, and eight or ten printing presses were erected on the ice, issuing various broadsides commemorative of the occasion,—one of which addressed the spectators in the following terms:—

Friends,—Now is your time to support the freedom of the press. Can the press have greater liberty? Here you find it working in the middle of the Thames; and if you encourage us by buying our impressions, we will keep it going in the true spirit of liberty during the frost.

The "Lord's Prayer" and several other religious pieces were produced from these icy offices, and commanded a great sale. Owing to the snow, the internal communication of the country was brought to a stand till the roads could be somewhat cleared. The Post-office authorities exerted themselves to have the roads cleared

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* Marshall's *History of Perth*, p. 464; Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, pp. 154–5; Peacock's *Perth: its Annals and its Archives*, p. 470.

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for the conveyance of the mails, and Government sent out instructions to every parish to employ labourers in re-opening the highways. In Dublin the snow lay in greater depth than for half-a-century; and the number of deaths from cold and distress more than equalled that at any other period, unless in the time of the plague.

One of Thomas the Rhymer's prophecies was believed to have been fulfilled in 1818-20. The Sage of Ercildoune is said to have uttered the following metrical prediction:—

A windy winter, and a wet spring:
A bluidy summer, and a dead king.

The series of circumstances referred to in this couplet, were understood to be the stormy winter of 1818-19, the humid spring of the latter year, "the Peterloo massacre," in the summer, and the death of King George III. in January, 1820.*

The storm of 1838 concludes the list of our hard winters. The frost and snow commenced shortly after the New Year, and lasted for the next ten weeks. The Tay was frozen from Scone down to the mouth of Earn for nearly eight weeks. All navigation was stopped. The extent and thickness of the river-ice were as great as in 1814; but it broke up in such a manner as to cause no inundation. The weather, though frosty, was often remarkably fine; and winter sports were enjoyed on the bosom of the Tay. Dinner parties on the ice were common. The enterprising Messrs Graham, merchants and shipowners, entertained upwards of 200 of the principal citizens to a dinner on the deepest part of the river, opposite to the Water Reservoir, with bands of music, &c. The dinner, varied and substantial, was cooked on the ice and the water for the negus, toddy, &c. (which were also liberally distributed to hundreds of spectators), was boiled on furnaces burning around the party on the frozen element. In the following week the sailing-

* Chambers's *Popular Rhymes of Scotland*. Edin: 1826, p. 81.

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masters of the vessels then shut up in the port entertained a numerous party on the ice, between the ship-building-yards and Moncreiffe Island. Shortly afterwards a large number of the inhabitants of Bridgend enjoyed themselves in a similar manner on the branch of the river betwixt the "Stanners" Island and Bridgend shore.

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WINTERS, PAST AND PRESENT.—Part 3d.

> *2d Witch.* I'll give thee a wind.
> *1st Witch.* Thou art kind.
> *3d Witch.* And I another.
> *1st Witch.* I myself have all the other,
> And the very ports they blow,
> All the quarters that they know
> I' the shipman's card. *Macbeth.*

HAVING expatiated at such length on the exceptionally hard seasons of our own country, let us glance for a moment at those which have occurred on the continent of Europe.

In the year 452, the River Danube was frozen, so that an army marched over it on the ice to Swabia. In 642, the cold was so intense that the Strait of Dardanelles and the Black Sea were entirely frozen over. The snow, in some places, drifted to the depth of 90 feet, and the ice was heaped in such quantities on the cities as to cause the walls to fall down. In 850, the Adriatic Sea was entirely rozen over. In 892 and 898, the vines were killed by frost, and cattle died in their stalls. In 1207, the cold was so intense that most of the travellers in Germany were frozen to death on the roads. In 1233, it was excessively cold in Italy; the River Po was frozen from Cremona to the sea, while the heaps of snow rendered the roads impassable; wine casks burst, and trees split by frost with a great noise. In 1234, a pine forest was killed by frost at Ravenna. In 1236, the Cattegat was frozen over between Norway and Jutland. In 1292, the Rhine was frozen: and in 1314, all the rivers in Italy. In 1384, the winter was so severe that the Rhine and Scheldt were frozen, and even the sea at Venice. In 1467, the winter was so frosty in Flanders that the wine was cut with hatchets to be distributed to the soldiery. In 1580 the frost was very intense in Denmark, so that both the Little and Great Belt were frozen over. In 1592, the winter was so cold that the starved wolves entered Vienna, and attacked both men and cattle. The Zuyder Zee was entirely frozen over in 1692; and in 1776, the Danube bore ice five feet thick below Vienna.

As a counterpart to this cheerless record, take the

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following enumeration of Winters memorable for their mildness in Germany, &c.

In the year 1172 the German temperature was so high that leaves came out on the trees in January, and birds hatched their broods in February. In 1241, the trees were in bloom in March, and cherries were ripe in May. In 1289 there was no winter, so to speak, at all, and the temperature was so very spring-like at Christmas, that the young maidens of Cologne decorated themselves with violets at that festive season. In 1538 the gardens were green in December, and in full bloom in January. In 1572 the trees were covered with foliage in February; the same took place in 1588. There was likewise no winter in the years 1607, 1609, and 1617. In 1659, no snow fell, and there was no frost. In January of 1722, people were able to dispense with firing, and all the trees were in bloom in February. In 1807 there was also almost no winter. The mild winters of 1834 and 1846 are still remembered. Even in higher latitudes similar phenomena have been observed. In St Petersburg, for example, on New-Year's-Day of 1870, the thermometer stood at eight degrees (Reaumur) above freezing point. There was in France neither snow nor frost throughout the winters of 1538, 1607, 1609, 1617, and 1659. The winter of 1846–47, when it thundered at Paris on the 28th of January, and that of 1866, the year of the great inundation of the Seinè, may be mentioned as exceptionally mild.

It has been already said that the comparative mildness of our Scottish winters, and the diminished warmth of our summers,* in recent times, point to the conclusion that there has taken place a material alteration of the seasons, whereby the temperature is becoming more and more equalized throughout the year. We have also indicated different causes which have been assigned for the palpable change: and we may add, in farther

* A curious proof of the drought of the "Dry Summer of 1826" may not be out of place: In the month of June, Loch Tay discharged no water by the bed of the River Tay. It was not remembered by the oldest inhabitants in that quarter that they had at any prior period seen a less body of water than three feet deep issuing from the Loch by the Tay: thus the evaporation from the lake must have exceeded in 1826, that of any previously known season by about 180,123,560 cubic feet.

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illustration, that the ungeniality of most part of the summer of 1869, was attributed by some philosophers to the occurrence of an unusual number of spots on the sun's disc! In June that year, the *Giornale de Roma* published a communication from the celebrated astronomer, Father Secchi, in which the savant said—

The sun is at this moment at a period of unusual prevalence of spots. On the morning of the 7th, 33 principal ones were counted, disposed in 7 or 8 groups. Their number is rapidly approaching a maximum. The whole surface of the luminary is covered with them, and it appeared to us several times to present the aspect of a mass of white flakes on an ash-coloured ground.

Perhaps, however, the "alteration of seasons" may be found explainable on the hypothesis of *Cycles*—namely, that after a certain number of years, the same succession of weather recurs, and periodically repeats itself. Cycles of 9, 18, 36, and 54 years, and so forth, have had their several advocates; and in Scotland, 19 years have been generally believed to form a cycle, on which account leases of farms are commonly granted for that period, in order to give the agriculturist the benefit of a complete round of weather. But while speaking of cycles, it would be unpardonable in us to neglect noticing that a prominent apostle of this theory was a respectable residenter in the good city of Perth, where, indeed, he had the fortune to stumble on what he believed was the discovery of the true laws that regulate the weather and the seasons.

There must be few of our town readers who do not retain a vivid recollection of Lieutenant George Mackenzie, of the Royal Perthshire Militia, with whom the philosophy of the weather was the study and pride of his life. Well do we remember his stiff, pompous figure, as, muffled in a long blue cloak, and wearing double green spectacles, he was to be seen daily promenading the High Street, frequently in company with his brother officer, the well-known "Lang Gibbons," as Adjutant John Gibbons, of the same local corps, was familiarly called, from his great stature. It was

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in the days of the old Militia when Lieutenant Mackenzie and Adjutant Gibbons wore the red coat. During the last embodiment, the regimental band used to beat the *tattoo* down the High Street, on the summer evenings, starting from Mr Gibbons' close, which was the first above the north end of the Meal Vennel. The Adjutant was a thorough master of drill and a strict disciplinarian; but we know not if his confrere's military attainments ranked so high. One day when the corps was exercising on the North Inch, the commanding officer observed that one of the companies presented a very unequal front, and exclaimed—"Lieutenant Mackenzie! look at your men! they are out of line." The Lieutenant started, and glancing about him (but he was always weak-sighted) replied—"Ay, ay, to be sure—the fellows! but they're aye screw-screwing back and forward, whether I will or no. Stand steady, I say." Many a droll anecdote might be given of the old Militia; but we forbear. For nearly twenty years, Mr Mackenzie was one of the notabilities of the Fair City—aptly recalling the memory of Uncle Toby and his vagaries. Both veterans had their hobby-horses; and as Sterne says, if we get but a description of the nature of a man's hobby-horse, we may form a pretty exact notion of the genius and character of the man himself.

Mr Mackenzie belonged to the extreme north of Scotland, where he was born in 1777. He was engaged in farming operations for about thirty years, being tacksman of Cyderhall and other places, in the parish of Dornoch, Sutherlandshire. While the war with revolutionary France was progressing, he became Captain of the Caithness Volunteers, and also Lieutenant of the Caithness Legion Regiment of Fencibles. But amidst his multifarious duties, at a time when the brave volunteers of Britain lived in hourly expectation of the enemy's descent upon our shores, Mr Mackenzie, strong in his penchant for meteorological science, commenced at Cyderhall, on 1st November, 1802, a Journal of the Weather and the course of the winds—the first day of

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November being, in his opinion, the beginning of the weather year, and "the only day which divides the east and west wind, exactly equal upon both the seasons, which is indeed a matter of course. Hence, it may be inferred," he proceeds, "that the elements were originally set in motion about this day. Chronologers, therefore, have been wonderfully near the truth, in giving the 23d October as the probable date of creation" *(System*, p. 6). Continuing his self-imposed labours with indefatigable care and industry, the statistics which accumulated on his hands ultimately afforded data for the formation of the system which he fondly hoped would "gild his humble name" through all succeeding ages. On 24th May, 1809, he obtained a Lieutenant's commission in the Royal Perthshire Militia, then lying at Dover. It was long afterwards till he took up his residence permanently in Perth; but his regimental duties brought him occasionally to the town, which, indeed, was destined to become the scene of his famous discovery of the Wind Cycle of 54 years. He had written a bulky treatise on the weather, designed to inform the world of his views; but just as this work was ready for the press, the new discovery, which happened on 12th July, 1817, necessitated the total remodelling of the manuscript. We shall let him describe, in his own words, what were his emotions when the wondrous light broke in upon his mind :—

When the 54-year course of the lots of the winds was discovered, it so overcame the author that he instantly left his work, and scampered over the country for three days like a person bereft of his wits; but the thing durst not be mentioned at the time, though the discoverer had arrived at the discreet age of forty years. But at that time weatherwise folk were not considered overwise, while in the current times no reflection is thrown upon the most enthusiastic observer of the phenomena of the weather. The feat of the discovery of the cycle was accomplished in the Fair City of Perth, which will be ever distinguished on this account, though as yet but little conscious of having this merit. But not only will Perth be thus distinguished —Scotland, England, the British Empire itself will deem

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it no small honour to have the problem of the weather solved within its bounds; and the more so that these islands own the most variable climate on the face of the globe—the very reason why these laws were detected therein. (*Elements*, p. 91.)

Here, in this picture of the studious Militia Officer scampering over hill and dale, three long summer days, like a daft man, in the bewildering glow of a new scientific truth, we have a perfect parallel to the case of Archimedes, who having accidentally hit upon a sure method of testing the purity of King Hiero's golden crown, could not contain himself, but leaped out of the bath, and ran naked through the streets of Syracuse, crying—"*Eureka! Eureka!*" When our friend's jumbled wits got settled, he recast his lucubration, and sent it to the press. In 1818, it was published at Edinburgh, forming a quarto-volume (of 224 pages) entitled—*A System of the Weather of the British Islands*, and illustrated with copperplates of the Cycle and a Scale of the Seasons. Thus the discoverer made his *debut* before the public.

It would be little better than waste of time and space to attempt an analytical resume of Mr Mackenzie's weather-scheme. Its principles, he confessed, would prove puzzling, if not altogether unintelligible, to ordinary capacities. It "cannot be understood" he said, "without a degree of attention which casual readers are seldom inclined to bestow." He guarded against a demand for evidence in its support by assuming that "the reader who knows what a system means, will not require proof, nor even so much as think it necessary, if the system is consistent throughout." Moreover, "the properties of the system are truly wonderful and god-like; for the sum of the weather is at once the system, and is its own solution. Again, the system moving in a circle, is necessarily without beginning or end; yet every year begins a revolution, and every year ends a revolution. Further, every year may be any year whatever of a revolution." This grand system, as he ultimately worked it out, branched into "Five Primary Cycles," viz.:—

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1. Cycle of the Winds by annual rate—54 years.
2. Cycle of the Winds by Winter and Summer, or the Seasons—216 years.
3. Cycle of the Weather of 54—year Cycle of the Winds.
4. Cycle of the Weather of 216—year Cycle of the Winds of the Seasons.
5. Cycle of the Cheap and Dear Prices of Wheat—54 years.

In short, the elaborate scheme is wholly based on the blowing of the Winds. "Excess" and "Deficiency" are its Alpha and Omega, meaning the excess or deficiency of the winds east and west. This is "the key to the weather," and "the great secret." Still, the terms Excess and Deficiency become very slippery and uncertain in Mr Mackenzie's dealing; for he tells us that "from the long continuance of the wind either in excess or deficiency, it frequently happens that an excess may become virtually a deficiency, and a deficiency virtually an excess." In his own eyes, the air-built fabric was without a flaw; and this is how he trumpeted its praises :—

The discovery of the cycles of the wind, weather, and prices of corn, is like a removal into a new world, wherein every great physical change is anticipated, and all th was known before is there known in a different light from previous experience. Moreover, the value of the world will be increased in a high degree, since little will be left to be determined by chance; and further, these discoveries will have a strong tendency to bind the nations of the earth in a closer bond of friendship. In truth, there is no end to the beneficial consequences which these new and ample sciences offer to the world. (*System*, p. 100.)

Yet in a previous part of the work from which the above quotation is taken, he admits that "it will take ages to come before" his cycles of the weather, "are generally known, *if ever they become generally known or understood!*" (p. 92.)

Years before and after our sage began his observations, the *sale of winds* was going on briskly not very far from his native district. As late as 1814, an old crone, named Bessie Miller, of the village of Stromness, on the Orkney main island, Pomona, eked out a subsistence

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by the selling of favourable breezes to mariners, in the fashion of the Lapland witches. "He was a venturous master of a vessel who left the roadstead of Stromness without paying his offering to propitiate Bessie Miller; her fee was extremely moderate, being exactly sixpence, for which, as she explained herself, she boiled her kettle, and gave the bark advantage of her prayers; for she disclaimed all unlawful arts. The wind thus petitioned for was sure, she said, to arrive, though occasionally the mariners had to wait some time first."* Bessie Miller, trafficking with her kettle and her prayers, was popular in her day and generation. On the contrary, Mr Mackenzie's "wonderful and god-like" philosophy of the winds, found little acceptation with the world. It was so involved and so abstruse as to be incomprehensible to commom intellects; and men of science who did, perchance, comprehend it, gave it the cold shoulder. It has no place in the meteorological science of the present day. In fact, it has been thrown aside and forgotten—consigned to that wallet which Time wears at his back, wherein he puts "alms for oblivion." Forecasts or prognostications drawn from the cycle generally proved fallacious. Still, we distinctly remember that at the beginning of the great frost of 1838, our weather-seer stated in Perth (where he had recently pitched his camp for good and all), that the storm would probably last for the next ten weeks; and so it did.

Undaunted by neglect or ridicule, Mr Mackenzie kept the even tenor of his way, never allowing a day to pass, up to the time of his last illness, without recording its characteristics in the set of seven books, which he has thus specified:—

First, there is the Register of Observations. Second, the Receivers. Third, Book of Tables of the Phenomena. Fourth, Book of Plus and Minus. Fifth, Book of the Four Winds. Sixth, Book of Full Statement of Prognostics; first abridgment; second abridgment. And seventh, the Report of the Weather. Hence there are seven sets of books required in conducting the subject of the Weather

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and at present consist of about eighteen folios and quartos. The labour in preparing these books has been immense, but yet necessary for the working of the weather, which has now become a comparatively easy task, yet a task it must prove, nevertheless; in short, these books, as to bulk at least, resemble those required for a great mercantile concern. (*Elements*, p. 86.)

Truly, the "working of the weather" by means of seven portly folios and quartos, seems to us a herculean undertaking; and we must award Mr Mackenzie the credit of having been a most industrious and unwearied Weather Clerk. He issued various independent disquisitions in elucidation of his theories, after the publication of his *System* in 1818. One of the latest and most considerable appeared in 1846—a thick pamphlet of 120 closely-printed pages, entitled *Elements of the Cycles of the Winds, Weather, and Prices of Corn.* These publications must have cost him a good deal of money, as they were not of a sort to meet with a remunerative sale. Mr Mackenzie died at Perth, on 13th May, 1856, at the ripe age of 79. It is a strange coincidence that in the Table of Rains appended to the *Elements*, he gave the results for the years 1803 to 1845, and left blank columns for the results of the eleven years to 1856; and it was in 1856 that he died. He sleeps in the Greyfriars' Burying-ground, where the winds blow freshly over his head, and "many an evening sun shines sweetly on his grave." The spot is marked by a monumental stone bearing the following epitaph (under a wreath enclosing a hand pointing to the moon and stars, and flanked by a comet and a telescope) :—

In Memory of
Lieutenant George Mackenzie,
of the Royal Perth Militia.
Died 13th May, 1856,
Aged 79.

Who, with unwearied attention, a great share of original genius, and energy of mind, devoted upwards of half-a-century of an inobtrusive and irreproachable life, to the advancement of philosophical investigation, producing among a variety of periodical essays, valuable treatises on the "Cycle of the Seasons," and the "Elements of the

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Weather," forming an entirely new "System of Meteorology," from which future generations may profit. *Requiescat in pace!* We may never look upon his like again.

With the exit of our local philosopher, we close our rambling memorabilia,—leaving all questions about alteration of seasons, changes of climate, &c., to the consideration of those among our readers who are better acquainted with the right investigation of such subjects; but expressing a hope that Mr Macnab's proposal for the appointment of a commission may ere long be carried into effect.

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KINCLAVEN CASTLE- Part 1st.

Kynclewyn, a castell wondyr wycht.
Blind Harry's "Wallace."

CROWNING an eminence which rises from the western bank of the Tay, opposite to the embouchure of the tributary Isla, stands a venerable ruin, which in everything but the situation recals Tannahill's picture of the castle in the "hauntet wud":—

Thou seeist far down yon buschye howe,
An eldrin castil greye,
With teth of tyme, and weir of wyndis,
Fast mould'ryng yn decaye.

This hoary remnant of antiquity, overlooking the murmurous course of Scotland's noblest flood—this undisturbed abode of owls and bats, once knew proud and palmy times, when it formed part of a stately strength--nay more, of one of the royal castles of Scotland, to which kings and queens occasionally retired, "far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife," eagerly seeking repose amid scenes of wood and water, fruitful fields, and hilly wastes of heath, girdled by the blue mountains in the horizon — scenes where the silence was broken only by the craiks among the corn, the warblers on the boughs, and the laverocks poised in the empyrean—scenes where the mystic spirit of Nature might wean even the most ambitious minds from the gaudy and alluring but essentially empty baubles of rank and power. Kinclaven was built by King Malcolm Canmore—so, at least, tradition asserts; and we shall accept the story, without setting ourselves to ransack those musty records which so often dispel long-cherished popular errors. Malcolm III., son of the gracious Duncan, reigned in Scotland from 1057 to 1093, when he was treacherously slain at the surrender of Alnwick. His consort was Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling, the last of the Anglo-Saxon princes, who was forced to fly before the conquering

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arms of William the Norman. The personal charms, the gentle nature, and the shining virtues of the fair Saxon won the hearts of the Scottish King and his subjects. Her daily walk and conversation diffused a civilising influence among a rude people; and so profound was their sense of her piety and good works that she was canonized after death, and her festival was assigned a place in the Scottish Calendar. We can fancy thi s lady of the land visiting Kinclaven when summer was in its prime—wandering pensively by the bonny banks of Tay, and gazed on with admiration by savage chiefs and thanes, as they inly confessed

How fair Goodness was,
And Virtue in her shape how lovely !

Centuries upon centuries have since rolled away. But as long as the waves of the Firth of Forth foam and fret between the shores of Fife and Lothian, the name of the exiled Pearl of England, who crossed the angry waters at "the Queen's Ferry," seeking refuge in the wild northern land, will never cease to be held in affectionate remembrance.

Kinclaven continuing as a Royal Castle, various early Charters of lands bear to have been granted there by successive sovereigns. Neither history nor tradition, however, has preserved any other fact of importance concerning it till we reach the reign of Alexander III.—an eventful era, first glorious, and then doubly calamitous for Scotland. It is then that a monkish chronicler associates Kinclaven, in a measure, with the fate of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, the leader in the War of the Barons, and the founder, so to speak, of the English House of Commons.

This Earl's deeds, as well as those of his father, fill a large space in the chequered annals of that period. The father was a French noble—infamous in history as the Captain of the murderous crusade against the Albigenses. By his marriage with an English heiress, he acquired great domains and lordly dignities in England, which, on his death at the siege of Toulouse, in 1218, fell to his son, who was named Simon, after himself. The Eng-

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lish inheritance brought the heir across the channel. At the Court of Henry III., De Montfort became enamoured of that monarch's sister, Eleanor, widow of William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke; and though she had taken a vow not to enter again into the bonds of matrimony, she gave her hand to the ardent suitor. But the union was regarded with so much displeasure by the king, that the happy bridegroom thought meet to quit the realm. He went to Palestine, where he zealously engaged in the war of the Crusades, and fought bravely under the Christian flag. Returning to England, in 1241, he regained the favour of the King, and subsequently rendered him good service on the battlefields of France. Soon, however, De Montfort found a better cause in which to exert his indomitable energies. England groaned under regal oppression. The Charters of the national rights were in abeyance. Discontent was widely spread. Yet King Henry knew no pause in his tyrannical career, relying on the swords of the foreign mercenaries whom he kept in his pay : and so he provoked a rebellion and a revolution which laid the foundation of English liberty. A strong league was formed among the Barons, with the avowed purpose of redressing every grievance of which the country complained. Terrified by the bursting storm, the King yielded, but afterwards sought and obtained a Papal brief absolving him from all his oaths ! No faith could be placed in such a monarch. The popular party mustered their forces, and appointed De Montfort as their leader. The two armies of the King and the Barons having encountered at Lewes, on Wednesday, 14th May, 1264, there was a hotly-contested battle, in which the Royal troops were totally routed, and Henry himself, his son Edward (who succeeded him as Edward I.), and his brother Richard, King of the Romans, became prisoners. Again came negotiations—the Barons claiming concessions, in which the *plebs plurima* or general body of the people were to share. The captive King granted everything that was sought—confirmed former Charters, and signed new—stripped himself, in fact, of

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almost the last shreds of his power and prerogative. Finally a Parliament was summoned, in which, for the first time, representatives of boroughs were introduced along with the nobles and clergy. Such was the result of the Barons' War; and it may well be contrasted with that of the Commonwealth of the seventeenth century, when, under the iron rule of Cromwell and his horde of fanatics, the liberties of the people were curtailed and trampled on, instead of being respected and enlarged. Think of De Montfort bringing the borough representatives into the Senate: and of Cromwell forcibly expelling the Parliament, locking the door, and carrying home the key in his pocket!

But all was changed, like a pantomimical transformation, when the King found himself at liberty to choose his own policy. He broke his word, and let slip the dogs of war. The Barons unfurled their victorious banner under the leadership of their old and trusty Captain; and the Battle of Evesham was fought on Tuesday, 4th August, 1265. Fickle Fortune now deserted her former favourites, and smiled on the royal deceiver. The Baronial army was defeated, and De Montfort slain. He met his fate with the courage of a Paladin of romance. In the headlong hurry of the fight, when his squadrons were giving way on every hand, and pennon after pennon went down as in a whelming tide, and when his good steed fell dead under him, tidings reached his ear that his best-beloved son, Henry, had bitten the dust. "Is it even so?" exclaimed the hero. "Then, by the arm of St. James! the time has come for me to die!" Grasping his sword with both hands, he rushed forward against the foe, hewing right and left with such rapidity and vigour of stroke, that an eye-witness said that had Leicester but had eight followers equally valiant as himself, he would have changed the issue of the day. But followers he had done. Wounded at last by a blow from behind, which was dealt by a young esquire who attended Prince Edward, the gallant Earl sank to the ground, and was instantly despatched by the thronging swords

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and spears. Not content with having reft him of life, his slayers were base enough to mutilate his corpse in the most barbarous manner; "for," says an ancient *Chronicle of England*, "thei smet of first his hed; and than his armes, and than leggis: and so lay the body lich a stok." Thus fell the patriotic leader, and with him fell for a time the party of the Barons. But the public liberties which De Montfort had won survived the vicissitudes of confederations and dynasties, becoming the alienable birthright of future generations of England.

The star of the field, which so often had pour'd
Its beam on the battle was set;
But enough of its glory remained on each sword,
To light them to victory yet.

Considerably prior to the battle of Evesham, King Henry, who had long hatched schemes against the national independence of Scotland, gave his daughter, the Princess Margaret, in marriage to Alexander III. of that kingdom. In the year 1270, Henry's son, Edward—the future "Hammer of the Scots"—being on the eve of setting out for the Holy Land, accompanied by a gallant array of knights and nobles, eager to do battle with the Saracen, paid a hasty visit to Scotland, to take farewell of his sister, the Queen. They met at Haddington, and before he took leave, the Prince recommended to his sister's service a faithful esquire in his train—the same venturous youth, who had struck down De Montfort at Evesham, and who had ever since prided himself on that achievement. The squire was accepted, and eventually, in the course of his duty, accompanied his mistress to Kinclaven Castle where, for a time, she chose to hold her state. One summer eve, after supper, the Queen and her ladies, together with her father-confessor and the English squire, strolled out along the side of the Tay, to enjoy the beauty of the gathering gloaming, when the zephyr, cool with the dews, breathed of the mingled fragrance of the wild flowers. Margaret and her fair attendants sat down by the river, to watch its tranquil flow, and listen to the mellow notes of the merle echoing from bank to

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bank, and perchance to beguile a quiet hour with tale, and simple jest, and song. The Southron youth went down to the margin of the water to wash his hands, which had become soiled with mud in some pastime. As he bent over the stream, laving his hands in the crystal element, a giddy damsel stole behind him, and in mere playfulness pushed him in. He plunged over head, but instantly rose again, taking the joke in good part as coming from a lady. "What do I care?" he cried. "Even if I were further out, I can swim." But while, amid the laughter of the spectators, he splashed about in the water, he suddenly found himself sinking, and shouted for help. His boy, who was amusing himself near at hand, heard his master's cries, and running down the bank, hurried into the river to rescue him. They grappled together; but the treacherous current was strong, and they were both swept away and drowned? And thus, quoth the chronicler of Lanercost, the enemy of Simon, and servant of Sathan, who boasted that he was the cause of the death of a valiant knight, perished in sight of all!

This accident—which, as we have seen, a partizan of Dr Montfort's party regarded as a judgment—will perhaps remind the reader of the legend in which a lady was the cause of her lover's death for the sake of the little flower called the *Forget-me-not.* "It is related that a young couple, who were on the eve of being united, whilst walking along the delightful banks of the Danube, saw one of these lovely flowers floating on the waves, which seemed ready to carry it away. The affianced bride admired the beauty of the flower, and regretted its fatal destiny, which induced the lover to precipitate himself into the water, where he had no sooner seized the flower than he sank into the flood, but making a last effort, he threw the flower upon the shore, and at the moment of disappearing for ever, he exclaimed "*Virgils mich nicht.*" since which time this flower has been made emblematical of, and takes the name of 'Forget-me-not.'"*

* Phillips' *Flora Historica*, vol. 2, p. 248.

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Many years had not flown when the old red lion was banished from the battlements of Kinclaven and the English leopards usurped its place. For great bereavements had befallen the regal house of Scotland. The king lost his consort, and all his children, only one of whom—Margaret, the Queen of Norway, left issue, namely, an infant daughter. At the urgent entreaty of his subjects, Alexander wedded a second time, leading to the altar the beautiful Ioleta, daughter of the Count of Dreux. The nuptials were celebrated in the border town of Jedburgh, on 5th April, 1285, with much splendour and rejoicing. But at the moment when

> A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
> Music arose with its voluptuous swell,

the pompous festivities were strangely marred by a dread apparition. "At night, when joy was at its height, when the floor was thronged with maskers, and the minstrels made the arched roof echo to their music, a spectre like Death suddenly glided in amongst the revellers, and approaching the beautiful Ioleta, invited her with a silent and fearful motion to join the dancers. All were horror-struck, a loud shriek from the Queen announced the extremity of her terror, and falling into the arms of her husband, the music ceased, and the entertainment abruptly broke off, amid the sighs and the tears of the Queen's female attendants, and the indignant inquiries of the prince and his nobles. It was, indeed, soon discovered that the whole was only a well-acted piece of 'mumming;' but a feeling of superstitious dread and dark presentiment had taken hold of the minds of the assembly, and the death-like mask at Jedburgh seems to have been universally considered as ominous of some deep national calamity."* In less than a year after the spectre-dance, the King met his death, in the darkness of night, by a fall from the cliffs of Kinghorn—a disaster which had been dimly foreshadowed by the Scottish Seer, Thomas the Rhymer. "He did foretell the same to the Earl of March the day before it fell out," writes Archbishop

* Tytler's *Lives of Scottish Worthies*, vol. 1., p. 78.

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Spottiswoode, following Boece, "saying, That before the next day at noon such a tempest should blow as Scotland had not felt many years before. The next morning, the day being clear, and no change appearing in the air, the nobleman did challenge Thomas of his saying, calling him an impostor. He replied, that noon was not yet passed. About which time a post came to advertise the Earl of the King his sudden death. Then, said Thomas, this is the tempest I foretold, and so it shall prove to Scotland. Where or how he had this knowledge can hardly be affirmed; but sure it is that he did divine and augur truly of many things to come."* To add to the country's troubles, the "Maiden of Norway," a little girl of eight years, in whom the hopes of Scotland centred, breathed her last in Orkney while on her way to receive her grand-sire's sceptre. It was a gloomy day when the last representative of the royal family was laid in the tomb. Then came the time of the competition for the Crown before Edward of England as arbiter. The mock-king, John Baliol, was set up, and soon goaded into revolt, and ignominously deposed. Baliol thrown aside, the English over-ran his kingdom. But now the War of Independence began. The flash of Wallace's sword kindled the beacon of freedom; and one of that patriot hero's earlier achievements was performed at Kinclaven Castle.

In recounting this brilliant exploit we shall adopt as our chief authority and guide the metrical history of Henry the minstrel, which although containing manifold errors and exaggerations, narrates "circumstances unknown to other Scottish historians, yet corroborated by authentic documents, by contemporary English annalists, by national muniments and records, only published in modern times, and to which the minstrel cannot be supposed to have had access."†

The year 1296 saw the surrender and deposition of John Baliol, and the subjugation of Scotland under the

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* *History of the Church and State of Scotland.* Edition of 1677, p. 47.

† Tytler's *Scottish Worthies*, vol. 3, p. 300.

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English yoke. Still the dark cloud had its silver lining. Hope had not bidden our country farewell. The following spring saw the beginning of that partizan warfare, under the leadership of Wallace, which rapidly grew into a national struggle for liberty.

> Yet Freedom! yet thy banner, torn, but flying,
> Streams like the thunder-storm *against* the wind.

Wallace won the fight of Loudon Hill, where a strong English party, bringing provisions and treasure to Earl Percy, Governor of Ayr, were utterly defeated, and lost all their valuable convoy. By the month of September, the victor extended his operations into Stirlingshire, where he took the Peel of Gargunnock, a solitary tower held by a small English garrison. Having destroyed the fortalice, he directed his way towards the good town of St Johnstoun where the enemy, seeing no foes, were unsuspicious of danger. The Scottish party, after feasting on venison which they had killed on the banks of the Teith, crossed that river and entered Strathearn. There they slew such of the enemy as crossed their path, particularly a squire and four followers, "at yai Blackfurd," who were riding to Doune. Making no farther tarry, "yir werlik Scotts" passed the Earn, and taking a northerly course, reached the wood of Methven, where they halted for the night.

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KINCLAVEN CASTLE.—Part 2d.

—— He strode o'er the wreck of each well-fought field,
With the yellow-hair'd chiefs of his native land;
For his lance was not shiver'd, or helmet, or shield,
And the sword that seem'd fit for Archangel to wield,
Was light in his terrible hand.

Campbell's "*Dirge of Wallace.*"

THE rosy dawn—"the breezy call of incense-breathing morn"—with its awakening melodies of forest and field, found Wallace on the alert, surveying the adjacent country, which, as it showed plenty of animals wild and tame, he was satisfied would afford ample sustenance for his company, though their stay in that quarter should be somewhat prolonged. The Minstrel tells us that his hero was ever indifferent to delicate living—

Of dyet fayr Wallace tuk neuir keip,
Bot as it cum welcum was meit and sleip.
Sum quhill he had gret sufficience within,
Now want, now has, now loss, now can win,
Now lycht, now sadd, now blissful, now in baill,
In haiste now hurt, now sorrowfull, now haill,
Now weild and weylle, now cald weddyr, now heit,
Now moist, now drowth, now wawer and wynd, now weit.
So ferd with hym for Scotland's rycht.

But, as an experienced leader, Wallace looked carefully to the due maintenance of his followers, knowing well that a good commissariat was necessary to keep soldiers together and in right heart. In present circumstances everything seemed auspicious for the prosecution of his enterprises.

The personal appearance and noble qualities of Wallace, have been vividly pourtrayed in Fordun's *Scotichronicon*: "He was a man, indeed, tall in stature, gigantic in body, of serene countenance, agreeable features, broad shoulders, large bones, of broad and full chest. While his countenance was pleasing, his eye was keen and penetrating. He was of great strength in the arms and legs, firm and well-knit in all his joints, and very powerful in fight. Moreover, the

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Almighty had so distinguished him by a countenance brightened with a peculiar gracious smile, that all his words and actions were graced as if by a heavenly quality; so as by his looks and presence alone to win to confidence and trust in himself the hearts of all faithful Scotsmen. And no wonder; for he was most bounteous in his gifts, in his decisions most upright, in consoling the distressed most compassionate, in his counsels most sagacious, in suffering most patient, in speech most persuasive; he was especially severe in reproving falsehood and deceit, and 'abhorred a traitor like the gates of hell.' "* At this period of his career, he habitually wore secret armour, as the Minstrel tells us: His "gown" or tunic concealed a habergeon or shirt of mail; his cap was lined with a plate of steel; around his throat was a steel gorget or collar, under the neck of his doublet; and his iron gauntlets were covered with cloth; but

> Hys face he kepyt, for it was euer bar,
> With hys twa hands.

His chief companions at Methven were Stephen of Ireland and William Ker, otherwise Kerlie, the ancestor, it is believed, of the Kers of Kersland. There was also in his band an Irishman, named Fawdoun, who was subsequently slain by Wallace, on suspicion of treason, in a moment of extreme peril, when the patriots were pursued by a bloodhound along Earnside.

The capture of Perth was an object contemplated by the Knight of Elderslie in coming to Methven. This town, which then occupied the position of the Scottish capital, was well fortified with a high wall, at the base of which, on three sides of the place, ran a deep fosse or ditch filled by the waters of the ancient aqueduct from the Almond, and on the east side rolled the broad Tay. As a large shipping port and the key of the Highlands, Perth was a city of the first importance. It was held by a strong garrison of the English, under the command of Sir Gerard Heron, the head of the old family of

* Goodall's Fordun, chap. 28 (translated from the Latin).

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Heron owning Ford Castle in Northumberland—the same baronial seat where King James IV. was betrayed to his ruin by the Lady Heron, who figures in *Marmion.* Moreover, the royal Castle of Kinclaven had become an English outpost, kept by a fierce old knight, Sir James Butler, who is mentioned as keeper thereof in the "Rotuli Scotiae:" and he had a son, Sir John Butler, serving under Heron in Perth. If Perth was a mark beyond Wallace's reach, Kinclaven offered a fair chance for surprisal. Wallace judged it a wise, though rather perilous, course that he should proceed to the town in disguise, and endeavour to glean all possible information about the English and their strength. Calling his adherents together, he disclosed his plans, which met their approval; upon which he directed them to remain in the wood till his return, and appointed Stephen of Ireland as interim-captain. He now assumed the dress of a Borderer, and set forward to St Johnstoun. On arriving there, he was taken before the "Mayor" (Provost, or Alderman), and strictly questioned as to who and what he was—the troublous times rendering it necessary that all strange wayfarers appearing in the town should be narrowly looked after. He had a ready answer: his name was Will Malcolmson (son of Malcolm, which was his father's name), and he was come from Ettrick, designing to settle in the north country. This explanation was deemed satisfactory, and he was permitted to lodge within the walls.

Wallace had now the best opportunities of making a deliberate espial of the garrison, and he was aided, apparently, by the friendly communications of a fair dame who dwelt in what Henry calls the "South gait." After a short sojourn, he learned that on the next morning, the Keeper of Kinclaven, the "agyt cruell knycht," Sir James Butler, who was then in the town, would lead out a party of ninety or a hundred horsemen to reinforce his garrison, which had recently been much weakened. No sooner was this made known to the assumed Borderer, than he determined to intercept and destroy the squadron. He quietly left Perth, and

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hurried to Methven Wood, where a blast of his bugle-horn brought his men around him. A council of war was held: the Scots, weary of their inactivity, were overjoyed at the thought of measuring swords with the enemy: and instant preparation was made for the exploit.

The patriots, numbering about sixty stout warriors, quitted their leafy covert, and marched, by unfrequented ways, towards Kinclaven. On reaching a "waill," or ancient Caledonian fortification, they halted to refresh themselves, and then pushed on, with invigorated energies, to the banks of the Tay. They chose their ambush in a thick dark wood, within sight of the Castle, and awaited the appearance of the enemy. About noon, "three fore riders" (an advanced guard, or *avant-couriers*) went bye. These were allowed to pass, and soon the main body approached, consisting of ninety well-appointed soldiers, with stout old Butler, at their head, in his knightly panoply. On came the English cavalry, "all lykly men of wer," with banner displayed, and lances and helms glittering in the ruddy Autumn sun, and plumes nodding in the breeze that gently curled the blue waters of the river. Little dreamt they that the path was beset. Astonishment marked each war-worn visage when, with a loud shout the Scots burst out of their concealment. But the Southrons, though startled, had no reason to dread so small a party of footmen, and continuing their advance, they flung some spears, thinking that the Scots would give way. Suddenly the latter charged with wild impetuosity, and the squadron was broken, and several soldiers were struck from their saddles. Wallace's spear being shivered at the first shock he drew his burnished brand, and cut his way thrice through and through the confused ranks of the army. Sir James Butler, unable to make way in the press, alighted from his steed, and rushed valorously into the thick of the conflict, dealing death at every stroke. But his career was closing. Wallace encountered him, and after a few blows, clove him through helmet and brain, stretch-

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ing him dead at his feet. Although disconcerted by the loss of their commander, the English fought with great hardihood; but they could not withstand the desperate onslaught of the Scots. Fighting like a lion, Wallace was powerfully seconded by his coadjutors, Stephen of Ireland and Kerlie—the latter wielding the steel mace which had belonged to the warder of the Peel of Gargunnock. At last, after sixty of the Southrons had fallen, the remaining handful fled in the direction of Kinclaven.

The Scots were at their heels. Pursuers and pursued, commingling, rushed on pell-mell. The weak garrison of the castle, witnessing the fray and the flight, lowered the drawbridge to admit their friends. Better for themselves had they kept the bridge up and the postern secure; for the Scots, pouring upon the bridge, along with the fugitives, seized the gate, and the castle was their own! No quarter was given. All the men of war within the place were massacred. The "Captain's wife," and other women, with two priests, had their lives spared, but were committed to durance. Wallace ordered the dead to be buried out of sight, and the drawbridge to be raised, that the catastrophe might not become speedily known through the neighbouring country.

Nor was it known for the next seven days, during which space the Scots held the castle, leisurely despoiling it of everything valuable, which they conveyed to a wood in the vicinity, known by the name of Shortwood Shaw, where they buried the plunder in the earth. This they did with the view of evacuating the place, which they were not strong enough to hold against the English power. "The concealing of money and other valuables in the earth appears to have been a very common practice in Scotland, during the calamitous periods of her history; and many an instance has been recorded of little deposits coming to light, which it is very probable were composed of the hard-earned plunder of the military adventurer, whose ambition, avarice, or duty called him off to other fields, where

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he and his secret perished together."* Having completely despoiled the fortress of everything which could be carried away—even "out of wyndowis stansours all yai drew"—the Scots set it on fire in the night-time, and retreated to Shortwood Shaw, liberating the captive women and priests. The flames of the burning castle reddened the night-heavens, and when morning came it was but a pile of smoking "walle and stane."

The news was brought to St Johnstown by the "Captain's wife" and the others. Great was the indignation of the Governor, and woeful was the calamity to Sir John Butler, the son of the fallen keeper. Vengeance was the cry. Scouts were sent out, and it was soon ascertained that the Scots had fled to Shortwood Shaw. Forthwith a formidable array of horse and foot marched out of the garrison, led by Sir Gerard Heron, Sir John Butler, and Sir William de Lorayne, a knight who had held post in the Carse of Gowrie, and who stood in the relationship of nephew to old Butler. Wallace, anticipating attack, had lost no time in strengthening his position in the forest. He constructed "a number of rustic fortifications, in the form of squares, communicating with each other, the walls of which were made by affixing two rows of planks to the trees, and filling up the space between with thorns. Each of these squares had a small opening towards the enemy, and another at the opposite side, for the purpose of retreat; while the advance towards them was intersected by defences, formed in a similar manner, in order to break and otherwise prevent the approach of too great a body of the enemy. By this means, when the Scots found themselves obliged to retire for shelter to these intrenchments, they could only be pursued in broken and straggling detachments."† These defences were still unfinished when the English came in sight, and Wallace, to gain time by drawing off their attention from the work, appeared at a different part of the wood, full

* Carrick's *Life of Wallace*, vol. ii., p. 158.
† Carrick's *Wallace*, vol. 1., p. 161.

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in their view. The feint succeeded. The English were divided in three bodies, one of which, under Butler, advanced to assail the brave Scot and his few followers. Arrows began to fly like a hail-storm, and Wallace, plying a bow, which "no man was yair mycht draw" except himself, was the first to shed blood,—and shot several of the enemy; but as he incautiously left cover, a Lancashire archer discharged a shaft, which pierced his gorget, and wounded him in the neck. In a moment, like a flash of lightning, Wallace darted out upon him, and struck his head from his shoulders. The conflict deepened. The second party of the Southrons commanded by De Lorayne, attacked the other side of the wood, while the Governor kept the third division as a reserve to cut off the retreat of an enemy whom he considered to be now hemmed in. Notwithstanding, however, the great disparity of numbers—scarce fifty men against some hundreds—the Scots, having all the advantages of position, fought stubbornly, and the battle raged throughout the wood. Wallace encountered Butler, and would have cloven him, as he clove his father, had not a branch broke the force of the stroke; but as it was the English knight was prostrated, severely wounded. De Lorayne hurried to the rescue; but his path was crossed by the Scottish leader, whose trustworthy blade laid him headless on the sod. These disasters damped the ardour of the English: they were fain to fall back slowly upon their reserve; and this slackening of hostilities enabled the Scots to make a safe retreat to Cargill Wood.

When the English, again advancing, entered the deserted enclosures, they found nothing in any of them save the favourite steed of old Butler, which they took to carry his wounded son to the garrison. They made keen search after the pits in which the Scots had secreted the plunder of Kinclaven; but failing in this object, they disconsolately retraced their steps to St Johnstoun, seeking no further rencontre with the enemy. On the second night after the battle, the Scots returned to Shortwood Shaw, and dug up the hidden spoil, which

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they bore back with them to the wood of Methven. Thence they departed on new adventures.

Probably, for a considerable time after its conflagration, the Castle of Kinclaven remained a blackened ruin; for it is not mentioned again in the annals of Wallace's days; but subsequent to that era, it rose from its desolation, and became once more an important garrison. In the early part of the reign of David Bruce, when Edward Baliol, backed by English aid, grasped at the Scottish crown, the Castle of Kinclaven was held for that usurper's interest, till it was captured by the national party. The brave Sir Andrew Murray "came forth out of the mountains, into the which he was before withdrawn to escape the furie of the Englishmen, and by the assistance of sundrie of the nobles of Scotland, he wan the Castle of Kinclaven, and razed it to the earth."* After this defeat, the Castle disappears from Scottish history, and seems never to have regained its proud name as a royal residence. Its crumbling walls, eight or ten feet thick, still attest its pristine strength. The casual visitor may fancy that he beholds the ancient stronghold in much the same irremediable dilapidation as when the destroyer left it in Edward Baliol's time; and as he muses in its sombre shadow, while the ivy rustles weirdly around him, the lines of Ossian may rise to his lips:—"I have seen the walls of Balclutha, but they were desolate. The fire had resounded in the halls: and the voice of the people is heard no more. . . The thistle shook there its lonely head: the moss whistled to the wind. The fox looked out from the windows, the rank grass of the wall waved round its head. . . . Why dost thou build the hall, son of the winged days? Thou lookest from thy towers to-day: yet a few years, and the blast of the desert comes; it howls in thy empty court, and whistles round thy half-worn shield."

The Castle has long been the property of the family of Aldie, while the Dukes of Athole have held the honorary office of Keeper and Constable.

* Hollinshed's *Scottish Chronicle* (edition of 1805), vol. 2, p. 12.

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In conclusion, we may add that the parish of Kinclaven is distinguished in our ecclesiastical history on account of its intimate connection with the rise of the first Secession from the Church of Scotland. Mr James Fisher (son of Mr Thomas Fisher, sometime incumbent of Rhynd), who was licensed by the Presbytery of Perth, and ordained minister of Kinclaven parish in 1726, became the son-in-law of the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, and one of the founders of the Secession Church. It is also a remarkable fact that the first Lay Elders sent to the Associate Presbytery—which had had no such members for the space of four years after its original formation—were Thomas Watson from Kinclaven, and George Dron from Abernethy, who were both admitted and placed on the roll, 5th January, 1737. We are further told that "as the population of the parish of Kinclaven was small, the crowds of worshippers, that came from a distance to attend" Mr Fisher's "sacramental occasions, could not be accommodated in dwelling-houses. They were obliged to take up their abode, during the evening, in the parish church; and companies occasionally lodged in an adjacent wood called the Hill of Kinclaven." Mr Fisher was the author of several religious works, such as a large portion of the *Exposition of the Shorter Catechism;* a review of the preface to Mr Robe's narrative of the Kilsyth Revival; Sermons, &c.*

* M'Kerrow's *History of the Secession Church*, pp. 173–4, 832–5.

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POOR LAWS AND MENDICANCY IN PERTHSHIRE A CENTURY AGO.—Part 1st.

The last o't, the warst o't,
Is only but to beg.

Burns.

NOTHING in the shape of a Poor-law, or statutory provision for the support of the poor, was known in Britain until after the Reformation. Prior to that memorable epoch, all *claim* on the part of the indigent to pecuniary or other relief was unrecognised by our laws. To this day, in most of the Roman Catholic States on the Continent, the poor are chiefly cared for by the Church, which dispenses the bounty of the rich and benevolent. This was the system which anciently obtained in our own islands. The clergy, more especially the monks of the religious houses, were the great almoners ; but their charity was administered upon no principle of discrimination, and though proving a blessing to the truly necessitous—the infirm labourer, the lone widow, and the friendless orphan—must have tended to encourage the growth of pauperism : nay, Thomas Fuller, with his irrepressible sarcasm, asserts that this misplaced charity both "*made* and maintained the poor." Under such a state of things, the life of an able-bodied vagrant, strolling through the country, and always sure of a meal or a dole at some monastery, and a straw pallet for the night in an hospital or a barn, offered strong inducements to the idly-disposed to follow the same reckless course. In this way, mendicancy became a cloak for vice and crime. The wandering beggar was frequently a robber in disguise ; and scenes far worse than that in *Gil Blas* were enacted on many a solitary road-side :—"Suddenly my mule raised her head, and pricking up her ears, stopped in the middle of the highway. Imagining that she was frightened at something, I looked about to see what was the matter ; and perceived on the ground an

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old hat turned up, with a rosary of large beads lying over it. At the same time, I heard a lamentable voice pronounce these words : 'Mr Traveller, for God's sake have pity on a poor disabled soldier ; drop, if you please, a few pieces of money into the hat, and you will be rewarded in heaven." I turned my eyes immediately to the side from which the voice issued, and saw at the root of a bush, about twenty or thirty paces from me, a kind of soldier, who upon two crossed sticks rested the muzzle of a carabine, in my apprehension longer than a pike, with which he seemed to take aim at me. At this sight, which made me tremble for the Church's money, I stopped short, pocketed my ducats in a great hurry, and took out some reals ; then approaching the hat I dropped them into it, one after another, that the beggar might see how nobly I used him. He was satisfied with my bounty, and gave me as many blessings as I bestowed kicks on the sides of my mule in order to get out of his sight." Early English law stigmatised pauperism as villainy. Yet there was an honest mendicity which appealed to the best sympathies of human nature, and "the long-remember'd beggar," the victim of misfortune, was kindly received by the people wherever he went. Scottish song and story have been indebted to the droll sayings and doings of the gaberlunzie—a character assumed by James V., in his nocturnal rambles about Falkland, Stirling, and other royal palaces, and who is supposed to have composed the songs of "The Jolly Beggar" and "The Gaberlunzie Man"—though the authorship of the latter piece has been also ascribed to some unknown bard of the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The pauper-question seems to have forced itself, for the first time, upon the attention of the Scottish legislature in 1424, when the first Parliament (held at Perth) of James I., who had been recently restored to his native country from a captivity of eighteen years in England, passed two Acts on the subject. One was against Sorners or Sturdy Beggars, who went in "companies"

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with horses, forcing entertainment from the lie.es. The other drew a distinction between able-bodied, idle vagabonds, or "thiggers," and those helpless persons who could procure no subsistence unless by the seeking of alms. The former class were not to "be thoiled to beg;" the latter were to receive and wear a token or badge; and all mendicants going about without tokens were to "be charged be open proclamation to labour and passe to craftes, for winning of their living, under the paine of burning on the cheike, and banishing of the countrie." These enactments were followed by a third, in 1425 (Parliament held at Perth), empowering Sheriffs to arrest all idle men, and after making due inquisition as to their means of livelihood, to release them on "gude and sicker burrowes" or caution, that within forty days they should "fasten them to lawful crafts;" and providing that if, after the lapse of said space, they were still found idle, they should be arrested again and imprisoned, and be "punished at the King's will." Evidently the Magistrates of Burghs, in particular, neglected their duty in not enforcing the laws against beggars; for the Parliament held at Perth, in 1427, directed inquiry to be made in the matter, and all defaulting Magistrates to be fined 40s. This was but a *brutum fulmen*, and still the laws were left to enforce themselves. When James II. came to the throne, gangs of Sorners and masterful beggars were passing through the country with "horse, houndes, and uther gudes"—a glaring proof that mendicancy had become organized and highly profitable. In 1449 an Act directed that such rogues should be taken and put in ward till the King had "said his will on them," and that their horses &c be escheated; while the vagrants who feigned themselves to be fools, or were *Bards* (alas! for Scottish minstrelsy!) should be taken and kept in confinement as long as they had any means of their own to live upon, and that then their "eares be nailed to the trone or till ane uther tree, and their eare cutted off," and they banished the country, "and gif thereafter they be founden again, that they be hanged."

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Small chance was there of such a fulmination producing the desired results. An attentive study of the Scottish Statute Book will shew that the severity of the legislature always kept pace with the weakness of the executive power. Parliament repeatedly returned to the charge, issuing additional Acts in 1455, 1457, and 1477—the first one ordering every sorner to be summarily put to death as a thief and reiver! It was all in vain. Draconian decrees were treated as so much waste paper. The rural districts continued to be overrun with swarms of thiggers and sorners; and the towns and villages were full of indigence, real and assumed. The general poverty of the kingdom—the stagnation of trade and industry caused by internecine troubles, feuds, and wars—and the oft-recurring famines that afflicted the land,—continually kept large numbers of the population in a state of abject want. At the close of the fifteenth century—in 1497,—the capital, the city of Edinburgh, had more poor than it could well feed, and was compelled to make an extraordinary effort. The revenues of the Hospital in St Mary's Wynd—kept by nuns of the Cistertian order—were so inadequate to the support of its "beads-people," that the Town Council ordered the most respectable citizens to beg daily through the streets of the city, in aid of the funds, and that every person who refused to collect should be fined forty pence Scots, to be applied to the same purpose.

Up to this time the only Act which recognised the regular poor as being entitled to beg was that of 1424, chap. 25; but the like principle was embodied in the Act of 1503, which declared that the only parties allowed so to do should be "cruiked folk, seik folk, impotent folk, and weak folk;" and the next Act of 1535, ordained "that na beggars be thoiled to beg in ane parochin that are born in another; and that the headesmen of ilk parochin mak takinnes and give to the beggars thereof, and that they be susteined within the bounds of the parochin; and that nane others be served with almous within the bounds of that parochin, but they that bearis that takinne allanerlie." *Compulsory aid* was still to come.

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We now reach the period of the Reformation, when the dissolution of the Religious Houses, whence so much charity had been dispensed for long ages, subjected Britain to an enormous increase of lawless mendicancy. The great revolution occurred sooner in England than in Scotland. The sudden drying up of all the monastic sources of supply, conjoined with the social changes which had been some time in progress, covered England with paupers as with a cloud of locusts. To mitigate so scandalous and intolerable a scourge, the first English Poor Law was enacted in 1535, immediately after Henry VIII. had shaken off the Papal yoke. It introduced the principle of compulsory assistance, though only by way of voluntary alms. Parishes and towns were to provide for the impotent poor by collecting alms for their support, and also to compel the able-bodied beggars to work for their own living. Another step in the direction of compulsion was taken during the short reign of Edward VI. The Collectors for the Poor were gently to ask every man and woman at church what they would give, and if any could not be persuaded, the Bishop was to send for the recusant, and endeavour to get him to comply, through "charitable ways and means." Queen Elizabeth went farther. Her act, of 1563, provided that any person refusing to give to the Collectors, should be handed over to the Justices, who were empowered to tax him at their discretion, and imprison him if still obstinate; and in 1572, the power of compulsory assesssment was conferred upon the Justices, and abiding-places were directed to be instituted for the aged and infirm poor. The condition of England, however, was not much ameliorated. A memorial to Lord Chancellor Burleigh, in 1596, draws a sad picture of the vagrancy and robbery oppressing the kingdom:—

"God is my witness, I do with grief protest, in the duty of a subject, I do not see how it is possible for the poor countryman to bear the burdens daily laid upon him, and the rapines of the infinite numbers of the wicked, wandering, idle people of the land; so as men are driven to watch their pastures, their woods, their corn-fields; and I may

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justly say that the infinite numbers of the idle, wandering people, and the robbers of the land, are the chiefest cause of the dearth; for though they labour not, yet they spend double as much as the labourer doth, for they live idly in the ale-houses day and night, eating and drinking excessively. This year there assembled sixty in a company, and took a whole cart-load of cheese from one driving it to a fair, and dispersed it among them. Within this three months I took a thief that confessed unto me that he and two more lay in an ale-house three weeks, in which time they eat twenty fat sheep, whereof they stole every night one. It is most certain that if they light upon an ale-house that hath strong ale, they will not depart until they have drunk him dry. And they grow the more dangerous in that they find they have bred that fear in the Justices and other inferior officers, that no man dares call them into question."

It was calculated that there were three or four hundred sturdy vagrants in every county; and "there was not a year commonly wherein three or four hundred of them were not devoured by the gallows in one place or another." But something else was needed as a curative besides the rough regimen of the hangman; and, therefore, in 1601, the English Poor Law was formed on the broad basis which has endured to our times.

The English Act of 1572 obviously suggested to the Scottish government the adoption of a similar measure. The church door collections had come in the place of the monkish doles, and there were other benefactions; but the "plantation of kirks" had gone on very slowly, and all the funds available for the maintenance of the poor were insufficient to meet the clamant need everywhere abounding. The Scottish Act of 1579, chap. 74, was the foundation of the system of Poor-laws which prevailed in Scotland down to 1845. While this statute established a compulsory assessment on parishes and burghs, it did not order work to be found for able-bodied vagrants; though, strangely enough, it contemplated that "aged and impotent persons, not being sa diseased, lamed, or impotent, bot that they may worke in sum maner of wark, sall be, bee the overseeres in

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ony burgh or parochin, appoynted to wark." The able-bodied vagrant, on being apprehended as such, might be taken as a servant by "sum honest and responsal man for an haill zier," and if he deserted the service he should be scourged and burned through the ear; and if after the lapse of sixty days, he were found to have fallen again into his old habits, he was to suffer the pains of death as a thief. Beggars' children could be taken by any of the lieges, and kept as servants—the boys till they were twenty-four years of age, and the girls till they were eighteen. The main object of the statute was to put an end to the plague of begging, for which end all poor people as necessarily required to be sustained by alms, within the parish of their birth, or where they had resided for the past seven years, were to be visited by the competent authorities, in order to enquire "quhat they may be maid content of their awin consentis to accept daylie to live unbeggand, and to provide quhair their remaining sall be, be them-selves, or in hous with others, with advise of the parochiners, quhair the saidis pure peopil may be best ludged and abyde." Any person giving alms or lodging to vagabonds, or setting houses to them, should forfeit a fine of £5 Scots to the poor of the parish. The Act is of considerable length, and we need not enter more minutely into its details; but the description which it contains of the various sorts of cozening vagabonds is well worth quoting, as the genuine successors of most of them are common at the present day:—

All idle persons, ganging about in ony countrie of this realme, using subtil, craftie, and unlauchful playes, as juglarie, fast-and-lous, and sik uthers. The idle people calling themselves *Ægyptians*, or any uther that feinzies them to have knawledge of charming, prophecie, or uthers abused sciences, quhairby they persuade the peopil that they can tell their weirdes, deathes, and fortunes, and sik uther phantastical imaginations; and all persones being haill and starke in body, and abill to worke, alledging them to have been herried or burnt in sum far pairt of the realme, or alledging them to be banished for slauchter, and uthers wicked deides; and uthers nouther havand land nor

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maisters, nor using ony lauchful merchandice, craft, o occupation, quhairby they may win their livings, and can give na reckoning how they lauchfullie get their living; and all minstrelles, sangsters, and tale-tellers, not avowed in special service, be sum of the lords of Parliament or great burrowes, or be the head burrowes and cities, for their commoun minstrelles ; all commoun labourers, being personnes abill in bodie, living idle, and fleeing labour; all counterfaicters of licences to beg, or using the same, knowing them to be counterfaicted; all vagabound schollers of the Universities of *Saint Andrewes*, *Glasgow*, and *Abirdene*, not licensed be the rector and deane of facultie of the Universitie to ask almes; all schipmen and mariners, alledging themselves to be schipbroken, without they have sufficient testimonials.

There is some dubiety as to the exact period when the Gipsies or *Egyptians* first came to Scotland. According to a tradition in Crawford's *Peerage*, a company of Gipsies or Saracens were committing depredations here before the death of James II., which took place in 1460, being forty-six years after the tribe appeared on the Continent. The first authentic notice of their arrival in Scotland occurrs in 1506, when they were protected by James IV., between which date and 1579 they remained in the country without molestation at the hands of the law. *Vagrant Scholars*, were known in England and other European countries, as well as in Scotland. An act of Richard II., in 1388, speaks of them—"*Qe les cleres des universities qe vout ensy mendinanz aient lettres, le tesmoigne de lour chancellor sur mesne le peyne.*" The German *Liber Vagatorum*, or Book of Vagabonds and Beggars, an edition of which was edited, with a preface, by Martin Luther, and published at Wittemberg, in 1529, delineates the self-same class under the name of *Kammesierers*, or Learned Beggars. "These beggars are young scholars or young students, who do not obey their fathers and mothers, and do not listen to their masters' teaching, and so depart, and fall into the bad company of such as are learned in the arts of strolling and tramping, and who quickly help them to lose all they have by gambling, pawning, or selling it, with drinking and revelry. And when

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they have nought more left, they learn begging, and *Kammesiering*, and to cheat the farmers; and they *Kammesier* as follows : *Item*, that they come from Rome, studying to become priests; *item*, one is *acolitus*, another is *epistolarius*,, the third *evangelicus*, and a fourth *clericus ; item*, they have nought on earth but the alms wherewith people help them, and all their friends and family have long been called away by deaths' song," &c.*

The Act of 1579 was supplemented from time to time; but for more than a century the general effect of legislation for the poor was unsatisfactory. Occasionally burghs and parishes, overburdened with a dead weight of pauperism, sought relief by banishing all strange beggars beyond their bounds : some examples of which procedure are furnished by the books of the Kirk Session of Perth :—

1604, March 11.—Because that the town is overburdened with strange beggars resorting in great numbers out of the Highlands, who trouble honest men in the streets, especially on the Sabbath-days, and are a great hindrance to the collection for the ordinary poor, therefore the Session ordains John Jack, officiar, to search and apprehend them, and with all diligence to remove them out of the town.

1616, July 29.—The Session ordains the haill Poor Folks resident within this Burgh be convened within the New Kirk [what is now known as the West Church] the next Thursday, that so many of them as are aliens, strong beggars, and vagabonds, may be banished of this Burgh, and the remnant may be authorised to remain.

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* Luther, in his Preface, points out the desirability of each town or parish supporting only its own poor:—"Every town and village should know their own paupers, as written down in the Register, and assist them. But as to outlandish and strange beggars, they ought not to be borne with, unless they have proper letters and certificates; for all the great rogueries mentioned in this book are done by these. If each town would only keep an eye upon their paupers, such knaveries would soon be at an end. I have myself of late years been cheated and befooled by such tramps and liars more than I wish to confess. Therefore, whosoever hear these words let him be warned, and do good to his neighbour in all Christian charity, according to the teaching of the commandment."

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1620, November 13.—Ordains that the Council and Session be warned to conveen the morn, immediately after the Sermon, for order taking with the Beggars within the town, to expel the strangers of them, and to give the Town's Mark to the natives of the town, whereby they may be licentiate to beg.

1636, September 12.—The Session has made new paction with Oliver Lathrisk, and has appointed him to have Twenty shillings weekly for his service, to be paid equally betwixt the Thesaury and the Masters of Hospital; and he is admonished to be more diligent in his service nor he has been heretofore, and not to give oversight to strong beggars to receive and beg in this town for black maille, as his bruite (report) goes; who constantly affirmed the contrary. He is ordained to put his son to the school, and not to suffer him to pass begging thro' the town; and the Session promises to give him an new coat conditionally that he hold him at the school.

In 1661, after the Restoration, Justices of Peace were empowered to make up lists of the poor in each parish twice in the year, to appoint overseers, to receive and distribute the collections and other funds, and generally to have the whole management of the poor; and another Act was passed the same year, for the employment of idle persons in the manufactories of the kingdom. The latter measure had been unsuccessful; for a new Statute in 1663, authorised persons or societies engaged in manufacture to seize, at their own hands, all vagabonds and idlers, and employ them as they should see fit, "the same being done with the advice of the respective magistrates of the place where they shall be seized upon." The system of Correction Houses, in which the able-bodied vagrants should be set to work, was the grand specific put forth by an Act of 1672;* but

* The plan of Correction Houses was not new in Scotland at this time. "In the year 1636, the Magistrates" of Aberdeen "obtained from King Charles the 1st a patent for establishing a House of Correction; chiefly with the view of reforming the morals, and of promoting good order and industry among a certain description of the inhabitants, who were to be employed in manufacturing broad cloths, kerseys, serge, and other coarse cloths. . . . The manufacture of cloths was carried on in the House of Correction for several years by a joint-stock company to a

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this, too, failed. It would appear from the Act that the levying of an assessment, authorised in 1579, had not been brought into general practice, as it is declared that if the parish collections were not sufficient to maintain the helpless poor, they should be provided with a badge to ask alms within their own parishes; thus returning to the old privilege of begging in substitution for the assessment. So far as the building of Correction Houses was concerned, the Act of 1672 was generally evaded by the burghs, notwithstanding the severe penalties denounced against default.* Every specific failed; and by the end of the century, the Privy Council of Scotland found themselves confronted by a wandering, festering mass of destitution and vagrancy such as had never been seen at any former period of the nation's history.

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pretty considerable extent."—*Annals of Aberdeen*, vol. i., p. 257.

* Dunlop's *Treatise on the Law of Scotland relative to the Poor.* Edin., 1828; pp. 18, 19.

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POOR LAWS AND MENDICANCY IN PERTHSHIRE A CENTURY AGO.—Part 2nd.

A merry core
O' randie, gangrel bodies.

Burns.

THE old Poor Laws of Scotland were completed by four proclamations of the Privy Council and three Acts of Parliament, between the years 1692 and 1698, after which last date till 1845 the Legislature interfered no more with the subject. The severe famine of the "seven dear years" called for strenuous exertions throughout the kingdom to mitigate a distress which threatened to unloose the very bonds that held society together. The prolonged scarcity of food gave a vast impetus to the spread of vagrancy, so that the country seemed in a fair way to be eaten up of a wild, multitudinous pauperism, which the common means of supply could not relieve, or the power of law repress. A description of the roving hordes (which has been often quoted) was given by the patriot, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, in his "Second Discourse concerning the Affairs of Scotland, written in the year 1698." Saltoun paints in dark but not less truthful colours, producing a *tout ensemble* peculiarly repulsive :—

There are at this day in Scotland (besides a great many poor families very meanly provided for by the church-boxes, with others, who, by living upon bad food, fall into various diseases) two hundred thousand people begging from door to door. These are not only no way advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country. And though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly, by reason of this present great distress, yet, in all times, there have been about one hundred thousand of those vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection to the laws of the land, or even those of God and nature. . . . No magistrate could ever discover, or be informed, which way one in a hundred of these wretches died, or that ever they were baptized.

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Many murders have been discovered among them; and they are not only a most unspeakable oppression to poor tenants (who, if they give not bread, or some kind of provision, to perhaps forty such villains in one day, are sure to be insulted by them), but they rob many poor people who live in houses distant from any neighbourhood. In years of plenty many thousands of them meet together in the mountains, where they feast and riot for many days; and at country weddings, markets, burials, and other the like public occasions, they are to be seen, both men and women, perpetually drunk, cursing, blaspheming, and fighting together.

Assuming the correctness of this writer's calculations, it would appear that the number of beggars, in 1698, had reached to about one-fifth of the entire population of Scotland! But unquestionably a very considerable proportion of the usual number, before the dearth, was composed of the gipsies, who had multiplied largely during the preceding two centuries. Looking back to the Act of 1579, which authorised the seizing of beggars' children and putting them in service for certain periods, and also to the subsequent Act of 1597, which extended those periods of servitude to the whole term of life, Fletcher suggested that all sturdy vagabonds should at once be reduced to *absolute slavery*, as the only efficacious remedy, in his judgment, for an otherwise incurable social ulcer.

Now, what I would propose upon the whole matter is, that for some present remedy of so great a mischief, every man, of a certain estate in this nation, should be obliged to take a proportionable number of those vagabonds, and either employ them in hedging and ditching his grounds, or any other sort of work in town and country; or if they happen to be children and young, that he should educate them in the knowledge of some mechanical art, that so every man of estate might have a little manufacture at home which might maintain those servants, and bring great profit to the master, as they did to the antients, whose revenue, by the manufactures of such servants, was much more considerable than that of their lands. Hospitals and alms-houses ought to be provided for the sick, lame, and decrepit, either by rectifying old foundations,

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or instituting new. And for example and terror, three or four hundred of the most notorious of those villains, which we call jockies, might be presented by the Government to the state of Venice, to serve in their gallies against the common enemy of Christendom.

Affairs must have been at a sad pass, when a gentleman of Saltoun's standing openly propounded measures so harsh and unprecedented; but his busy brain concocted various strange schemes, and as a fitting pendent to the slavery proposal, he recommended the forcible transplanting of the Highland population (whom he sweepingly denounced as being "an inexhaustible source of beggars," and as living chiefly upon robbery) to the low country, and the supplying of their places with lowland settlers! That is to say, he wanted to imitate the wonder-workers at the Court of the Queen of Whims, in Rabelais' story, by throwing his house out at the window, that it might be purged of pestilential air! The Scottish Privy Council, however, were not disposed to go to such extreme lengths. They issued four successive proclamations, which were fully ratified by Parliament, enforcing the observance of former statutes, which they fancied would sufficiently meet the urgency of the crisis. The special measures to be observed were the laying on of an assessment for the poor upon heritors and householders in equal portions; the setting of the able-bodied poor to labour; the transmission of paupers to their own parishes; the imposition of penalties on those persons who should refuse payment of the assessment, or give alms to beggars beyond their own parishes; and the building of Correction-houses, under penalties for failure.

The provision as to Correction-houses was again almost universally ignored—only a few places, (and among these was Perth, we believe) setting up such establishments. But the law as to beggars being confined to their own parishes, seems to have been put in force, so far as was practicable, all over the country. As shewing the steps adopted, with that view, in the Burghs, we may quote the following ordinance from the Council Book of Hawick, on the Border:—

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1699, April 7.—The quhilk day, the bailies and town council of this burgh, taking to their serious consideration, and merciful commiseration, the very sad caise and lamentable condition of many indigent and distressed familys and persons within the said town, in this time of so great scarcity, and extreme dearth, and that the same are daily upon the growing hand, by the frequent confluence and thronging in upon the said town of many mendicating persons and familys from landward, and of their being sheltered within the same, by at least hiring, or making ane fashion of hiring, of houses to dwell therein, whereby the awncient poore of the said burgh, to their utter ruin, are altogether frustrated and disappointed of the ordinar free and gratuitous contributions of their Christian and charitable neighbours, which, with the blessing of Almighty God upon the said acts of charity, was ane great pairt of their substance and livelihood: Do, therefore, enact, statute, and ordain, that no other toune or landward heritor of tenements and houses within the said burgh, under whatsomever colour or pretext, for short space or long space, maill, or maill free, set, let, or hire any of their houses, high or laigh, back or fore, to any families or person, strangers, whatsomever, without the first acquainting the present Magistrates therewith, to the effect timeous tryall and inspection may be taken, whether such families or persons can live and subsist upon their own, without being troublesome and burdensome to the said incorporation: certifying all persons that shall happen to contravene this act, and do on the contrair, shall lose their house-rents so set, and be fined likewise in £10 Scots, *toties quoties*, by and attour the expelling instantly out of the liberties of the said toun the said persons and families, strangers, as said is.*

After all, the well-meant efforts of Government did not nearly serve the purpose. There was a lamentable suffering during those bleak, weary years, and great was the mortality. But that frightful curse of cleanness of teeth was at last removed. The famine-time went bye; plenty began to smile on fields recently mildewed and blasted; and, of course, the surging tide of

* *Annals of Hawick.* By James Wilson, town-clerk Edinburgh: 1850, p. 105.

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pauperism subsided to its old level. Still, the unsettled and often turbulent state of the kingdom down to the suppression of the rebellion of 1745 gave good encouragement to the sorning vocation. It was only after the inauguration of an era of peace that Scotland reaped the advantages of her union with England. The rise of the spirit of enterprise, the increase of trade and commerce, and the growth of manufactures, testified the rapid advancement of the national progress and well-being, and tended to diminish the worst class of the pauper population. Moral and religious causes, likewise, exercised a powerful influence; and, as Mr Dunlop has remarked, the elevation of the masses was to "be chiefly attributed to the excellent adaptation of the ecclesiastical establishment of Scotland, and the system of parochial schools;" for, "pauperism decreased exactly in proportion as the inhabitants advanced in moral improvement."

Captain Burt, the officer of Engineers, who was in Scotland, about 1730, and wrote the well-known *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, states that he had been told that "before the Union," beggars "never presumed to ask for more than a *bodle* (or the sixth part of a penny), but now," says he, "they beg for a *baubee* (or halfpenny). And some of them, that they may not appear to be ordinary beggars, tell you it is to buy snuff. Yet still it is common for the inhabitants (as I have seen in Edinburgh), when they have none of the smallest money, to stop in the street, and giving a halfpenny take from the beggar a *plack*, *i.e.*, two bodles (or the third part of a penny) in change. Yet, although the beggars frequently receive so small an alms from their benefactors, I don't know how it is, but they are generally shod, when the poor working women go barefoot. But here are no idle young fellows and wenches begging about the streets, as with you in London, to the disgrace of all order, and, as the French call it, *police*."* It was long after the '45 till mendicancy of the accustomed stamp ceased to be so

* *Letters.* Edition of 1822, Vol. i, p. 139.

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very prevalent as it had been in all quarters. The "old, familiar" gaberlunzie-man (so called from the *wallets* which he carried) traversed his stated rounds, usually meeting with kindly consideration on the part of the farmers and the peasantry. Dr Somerville, of Jedburgh, while recording his recollections of Scottish life and manners from 1741, mentions that "before the general establishment of poor's-rates, the country was overrun with vagrant beggars. They had access to every house, and received their alms, in meal and bread, which were deposited in bags or wallets, as they were called, hung over their shoulders, Strolling beggars often travelled in companies, and used to take up their night quarters at the houses of the tenant-farmers in the country, who, after entertaining them with a supper of porridge, conducted them to the barns and outhouses for their night's rest. Even so late as 1773, when I came to reside in Jedburgh, this kind of hospitality was continued by a few of the old tenants." The author furthermore tells us that though the real *sorner* had disappeared, the designation was inherited by another class of individuals: "It was another proof of the prevailing hospitality of those times, that there then existed a description of persons called 'sorners,' who, though the name survives, have no modern representatives—persons destitute of a fixed home, and possessing slender means of subsistence, who used to lodge by turns, and for many days, or even weeks, at a time, at the houses of their acquaintances, and were treated with as much attention and generosity as if they had been capable of making a return in kind."* Mary Somerville, too, in cursorily noticing the mendicity of former times, speaks of a species of beggar of high antiquity: "If a man were a cripple, and poor, his relations put him in a hand-barrow, and wheeled him to their next neighbour's door, and left him there. Some one came out, gave him oat-cake or peas-meal bannock, and then wheeled him to the next door; and in this way, going from

* *My Own Life and Times:* 1741-1814; pp. 369, 370.

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house to house he obtained a fair livelihood." * No doubt, the begging trade, in many cases, proved highly remunerative to its professors ; so that careful, sober, saving wanderers have been known to amass considerable sums of money. For a good story, somewhat in point, a Perthshire man is responsible. It occurs in *Travels in Scotland*, by the Rev. James Hall, A.M. London, 1807. The true author of this amusing work was William Thomson, LL.D., an industrious miscellaneous writer, who was born, in 1746, in a cottage in the parish of Forteviot, and died at Kensington in 1817. He was much indebted in early life to the generous patronage of the Earl of Kinnoull, and might have made a figure in the world had he been guided by ordinary circumspection ; but he threw away his best opportunities.

Not many years ago, a young man, in the mercantile line, having occasion to go frequently between Edinburgh and Leith, was in the habit of giving charity to a poor man that stood generally near the middle of Leith Walk. Upon the young man not giving the poor man as formerly, one day, when nobody happened to be passing, the poor man said, "Pray, young man, has any misfortune happened to you, that you have not of late given me sixpence as usual?" The young man confessed there had. The poor man then whispered, specifying the number, "Call for David Black, at the head of Leith Walk, to-morrow, or any evening, at eight, and you will hear of something to your advantage." The young man smiled at this, and had no intention of attending; however, as his curiosity was roused, he thought there would be no great harm in calling at the poor man's house. Upon touching the knocker, a neat servant opened the door, and ushered him into the parlour, where the old man, to whom he had given many a sixpence, was sitting in an elegant elbow-chair at the one side of a good fire, and Mrs Black in one of the same kind at the other. Upon the young man's entering, Mr Black, dressed in an elegant wig, and a suit of neat brown clothes, though a little old-fashioned, rose, and bowing,

* *Personal Recollections from Early Life to Old Age*. By Mary Somerville. Edited by her daughter, Martha Somerville. London, 1873.

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desired him to sit down, saying, he was glad to see him. When Mrs Black retired, which she soon did, Mr Black rose, went to a drawer, and taking from thence a two hundred pound note, put it into the young man's hand, saying, "Sir, I have been often obliged to you, nay, more so than to any that passed. You are welcome to this; and if you think it will be of any use to you, upon calling for me any evening at this hour, you may have more." The young man, looking at the note, was surprised; but was prevailed upon to put it into his pocket, and asked to stay supper, which he did. Mr Black added, "I have nobody to care for but myself and Mrs Black. My girl is provided for. You must not be angry with me. Having got the habit of begging, I cannot give it over. I have been three times prevailed upon to do this, but always found myself unhappy. I made four thousand pounds by selling gingerbread in the Parliament Close, where people pass to and from the courts of law, with a basket on my arm; but a stout young fellow, with a similar basket, by degrees, jostled me out of that place; after which, I took up my station where you daily see me, and where I have collected some thousands of pounds." The young man called some evenings after, and found the old couple as formerly, with the addition of Miss Black, their daughter and only child, a fine, modest, accomplished young woman, about seventeen years of age, just returned from the boarding-school at Musselburgh. The young man, having been highly pleased with the prudence, appearance, and amiable conduct of this young lady, at length obtained her consent, and married her; and, having retrieved his losses, which were much less than he once supposed, he found himself extremely happy. The only inconvenience attending his new state was, the difficulty of hindering Mr Black from putting on old tattered clothes above his ordinary apparel, and going out a-begging, which he sometimes did, notwithstanding all they could do to prevent it.*

Is this story fact or fiction? At all events Mr Black bears close resemblance to the Beggar of Bednall Green, in the ballad, who gave his daughter, "pretty Bessie," a marriage portion of three thousand pounds—

> Her father he had no goods nor no lands,
> But begged for a penny all day with his hands,

* Hall's *Travels*, Vol. ii, p. 622.

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And yet for her marriage gave thousands three,
Yet still he hath somewhat for pretty Bessee.

An ancient and privileged class of strolling mendicants —the very aristocracy, so to speak, of mendicity—were the King's Bedesmen or *Blue Gowns*, a representative of whom has been immortalised by the magic pen of the author of *Waverley*, in the person of Edie Ochiltree. The name Bedeman or Beadsman signified a person residing in a Bede-house or Alms-house, or supported from the funds thereof, and also a person employed to pray for another, From practices of the latter kind there sprang up a custom in Scotland of appointing Beadsmen with a small royal bounty, who ultimately degenerated into authorised beggars. "These Bedesmen," says Sir Walter Scott, "are an order of paupers to whom the Kings of Scotland were in the custom of distributing a certain alms, in conformity with the ordinances of the Catholic Church, and who were expected, in return, to pray for the royal welfare and that of the State. Their number is equal to the number of years which his Majesty has lived; and one Blue-gown additional is put on the roll for every returning royal birth-day." Until recent times, as long as the order was kept up, the Beadsmen assembled annually at the Exchequer Office in Edinburgh, on the King's birthday, and received each a blue greatcoat or gown, with a pewter badge attached to the breast of it, upon which the name of the wearer and the words *Pass and Repass* were inscribed, this token being a testimonial of right to go and ask alms through the length and breadth of the land ; together with a loaf of bread, a bottle of ale, and a leathern purse containing a penny for every year of the King's age : and, as already said, every birthday a new member was added to the number of brethren as a penny was added to the salary of each. After the distribution, one of the Royal Chaplains preached a sermon to the recipients, who habitually shewed little decorum as hearers, being impatient for their breakfast of bread and ale. An early record of the fraternity appears in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of

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Scotland, under date 1515–16, when James V. was but an infant of four years:—

1515, Mar. 18. *Item*, for xvj elne of claith, callit mylk and watter, to be iiij *Almos Gownis* and hudis for the Kingis Almos, one Cena Domini, price of ilk elne iiijs, *summa*.................................. ...iijli iiijs
Item, for ye fassoune of ye saids iiij gownis and hudis ....viijs
Item, to ane man and horse, to turse thame and ye said clathis furth of Edr. to Striuiling........................iiijs
Item, to Henry Dempstare, quhilk gaif to ye iiij Almosaris iiij pursis, and ilk ane iiijs, *summa*... .xvjs viijd

Such entries are regularly repeated annually, with additional gowns, purses, and money, for each year of the King's age.* In the introduction to *The Antiquary* extracts are given from the Books of 1590 and 1617, when 23 "auld men" in the one year, and 51 in the other received gowns of "blew clayth" and purses, but in the latter year "breid and drink" are added to the benefaction.

These mendicants, says Mary Somerville, "were always welcome at the farm-houses, where the gudewife liked to have a crack with the blue-coat, and in return for his news gave him dinner or supper as might be." The order has now become a thing of the past. The practice of appointing Beadsmen was discontinued in 1833, at which time there were sixty on the roll. By the year 1860, the whole brotherhood had died out, save one member who still called at the Exchequer Office in Edinburgh, and received his alms. This "last man," we should presume, has now been gathered to his fathers, where the weary are at rest.

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* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. 1 p. 263.

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POOR LAWS AND MENDICANCY IN PERTHSHIRE A CENTURY AGO.—Part 3d.

The pawky auld carle cam ower the lea,
Wi' mony guid e'ens and days to me,
Saying, Guidwife, for your courtesie,
Will ye lodge a silly puir man?
The Gaberlunzie Man.

The prototype of Edie Ochiltree was Andrew Gemmels, who drew his livelihood as a privileged beggar, during the greater part of half-a-century, from the Border districts. In his best days he had served in the army as a "bold dragoon," and fought at various battles in the wars of Queen Anne and Georges I. and II.—the last engagement in which he shared being that of Fontenoy (11th May, 1745), where the British troops were defeated. After his discharge from the ranks, he obtained admission into the Blue-gown fraternity (as a reward, belike, for his bravery), and made the vale of Tweed and Northumberland his own particular haunts, where he speedily gained favour among all ranks and conditions of people. His life in the "tented field" had furnished him with an inexhaustible store of stirring reminiscences; he could sing a good song; and he possessed a rare fund of dry, caustic humour, which gave point and pungency to his jests. An anonymous contributor to the *Edinburgh Magazine* (a new series of the old *Scots Magazine*) for 1817, whose father and grandfather had known Andrew well, gives a graphic account of him, from which we shall select the more interesting passages, adding a trait or two from the recollections of Sir Walter Scott, as preserved in the Introduction to *The Antiquary.*

Andrew always travelled on horseback over the Border hills and dales, and was a welcome guest where-ever he drew bridle,—free quarters being cheerfully accorded to him whether at cottage or farm-town. Certain places were what he called his "Saturday-night houses," where he staid over the Sabbath, and

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sometimes longer; but he was never burdensome in his visits, which were made only once or twice a year, and generally at regular intervals. On his arrival at a house, he usually put up his horse without previously requesting quarters, and he preferred to have his straw bed made under the same roof with the horses or cattle. Sir Walter Scott, who remembered Andrew, describes him as "a remarkably fine old figure, very tall, and maintaining a soldier-like or military manner and address. His features were intelligent, with a powerful expression of sarcasm. His motions were always so graceful, that he might almost have been suspected of having studied them; for he might, on any occasion, have served as a model for an artist, so remarkably striking were his ordinary attitudes." He was a capital hand at cards and dice, and also an expert player of draughts, According to the magazine correspondent, Andrew "appeared to prosper in his calling; for, though hung round with rags of every shape and hue, he commonly possessed a good horse, and used to attend the country fairs and race-courses, where he would bet and dispute with the country lairds and gentry, with the most independent and resolute pertinacity. He allowed that begging *had* been a good trade in his time, but used to complain sadly in his latter days, that times were daily growing worse. My father remembers seeing Gemmels travelling about on a blood mare, with a foal after her, and a gold watch in his pocket. On one occasion, at Rutherford, in Teviotdale, he had dropt a clue of yarn, and Mr Mather, his host, finding him rummaging for it, assisted in the search, and having got hold of it, persisted, notwithstanding Andrew's opposition, in unrolling the yarn till he came to the *karnel*, which, much to his surprise and amazement, he found to consist of about twenty guineas in gold."

Many of Andrew's droll and satirical sayings were long current on the border. One day, at the fair of St Boswell's he turned the laugh against a recruiting sergeant named Dodds—a person who afterwards rose by his own merit to an appointment in the War Office,

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The sergeant was magniloquently descanting, to the rustics ranged around, on the glory of a soldier's life, and "had just concluded, in a strain of more than usual elevation, his oration in praise of the military profession, when Gemmels, who, in tattered guise, was standing close behind him, reared aloft his *meal-pocks* on the end of his *kent* or pike-staff, and exclaimed with a tone and aspect of profound derision, "*Behold the end o't!*" The contrast was irresistible—the *beau ideal* of Sergeant Dodds, and the ragged reality of Andrew Gemmels, were sufficiently striking, and the former, with his red-coat followers, beat a retreat in some confusion, amidst the loud and universal laughter of the surrounding multitude. Another time, Andrew went to visit one of his patrons, a poor Scotch laird, who had recently erected an expensive and fantastic mansion, of which he was very vain, and which but ill corresponded with his rank or his resources. The beggar was standing leaning over his pike-staff, and looking very attentively at the edifice, when the laird came forth and accosted him:— 'Well, Andrew, you're admiring our handiworks here?' 'Atweel am I, Sir.'—'And what think ye o' them, Andrew?'—'I just think ye hae thrown away twa bonny estates, *and built a gowk's nest.*'"

The old Bluegown died, at Roxburgh-Newton, near Kelso, in 1793, at the advanced age of 105 years. A lady, who resided there at the time, has left the following narrative of his death.

He came to Newton at that time in a very weakly condition; being, according to his own account, 105 years of age. The conduct of some of the country folks towards poor Andrew in his declining state was not what it should have been; probably most of his old patrons had died out, and their more genteel descendants disliked to be fashed and burdened with a dying beggar; so every one handed him over to his next neighbour; and he was hurried from Selkirk to Newton in three days, a distance of sixteen miles. He was brought in a cart and laid down at Mr R——'s byre-door, but we never knew by whom. He was taken in, and laid as usual on his truss of straw. When we spoke of making up a bed for him, he got into a rage,

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and swore (as well as he was able to speak), "That many a clever fellow had died in the field, with his hair frozen to the ground—and would he submit to die in any of our beds?" He did not refuse a little whisky, however, now and then: for it was but cold in the spring, lying in an outhouse among straw. A friend who was along with me, urged him to tell what cash he had about him, "as you know," said she, "it has always been reported that you have money." Andrew replied with a look of derision, "Bow, wow, wow, woman! women folk are aye fashing theirsels about what they hae nae business wi'." He at length told us he had changed a note at Selkirk, and paid six shillings for a pair of shoes which he had on him; but not a silver coin was found in all his duddy doublets,—and many kind of odd like pouch he had:—in one of them was sixpence worth of halfpence, and two combs for his silver locks which were beautiful. His set of teeth, which he had got in his 101st year, were very white. What was remarkable, notwithstanding all the rags he had flapping about him, he was particularly clean in his old healsome-looking person. He at last allowed the servants to strip off his rags, and lay him in a bed, which was made up for him in a cart, in the byre. After he was laid comfortably, he often prayed, and to good purpose: but if the servants did not feed him right, (for he could not lift a spoon to his mouth for several days before his death) he would give them a passing ban. He lived nine days with us, and continued quite sensible till the hour of his decease. Mr R—— got him decently buried. Old Tommy Jack, with the mickle nose, got his shoes for digging his grave in Roxburgh kirk-yard. Andrew was well known through all this country and great part of Northumberland. I suppose he was originally from the west country, but cannot speak with certainty as to that; it was, however, commonly reported that he had a nephew or some other relation in the west, who possessed a farm which Andrew had stocked for him from the profits of his begging.*

A famous Gaberlunzie was *Jock o' the Horn*—a wanderer of extraordinary pretensions. Previous to the rising in '45, he was actively employed as a messenger and spy, by the Jacobite gentry of the low country and along the borders of the Highlands. It was his fashion

* *Edinburgh Magazine*, vol. 1., pp 103—106.

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o journey on a small grey horse, and he went armed with a formidable dirk or dagger, eighteen inches long, while he wore a cap of badger's skin, and carried slung under his arm a prodigious horn, a prolonged blast of which (harsher than any blown by Jack the Giant-killer, when he roused Cormillan to rush forth heedlessly to his fate, or dissolved the foul enchantment at Galligantus' stronghold) announced his appearance at castle or ancestral mansion; for Jock's dealings were with men of high degree, and he never deigned to halt at the humble cottage. On dismounting from his Rosinante, he was straightway conducted to the presence of the lord of the house, to whom he communicated his gleanings of information; but in the master's absence, the chief domestic became the confidential recipient of the news. "He always used terms of the most distant respect in addressing his lordly host, and paid infinite attention to every requisite punctilio when their meeting took place in the presence of the servants; but when his news or his messages were delivered in private, the utmost familiarity prevailed: or Jock, if occasion required it, assumed the tone of a counsellor. In receiving the hospitalities of the castle, and giving his news in exchange, he rather seemed to consider himself the obliging than the obliged party. He sat stiff and pompous upon his chair, giving forth intelligence of the most varied description—while numerous attendants listened around—to all appearance as important a personage as the baron whom he addressed." He was often the safe and speedy medium through whom letters from St Germain's, which had been brought by smuggling craft to the coast-side, reached their respective destinations. But with the failure of the rebellion, Jock's main occupation was gone, and he seems to have vanished from public view. We have some idea, however, that he is the hero of the racy Scots song called "The Humble Beggar"—as the personal accoutrements specified in it are exactly those which were worn by Jock.

His wallets afore and ahint did hing,
  In as good order as wallets could be.

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A lang-kale goolie hung down by his side,
And a muckle nowte-horn to rout on had he.

It happened, says the song, that this humble beggar died, as many greater men of his day did; and he was duly laid in his coffin; but in the midst of the merry lykewake,

Up he started, the gruesome carle—
I rede ye, gude folks, beware o' me!

. . . . .

They howket his grave in Douket's kirkyard,
Twa ell deep—for I gaed to see—
But when they were gaun to put him in the yird,
The fient a dead nor dead was he.

They brought him down to Douket's kirkyard;
He gae a dunt and the boords did flee;
And when they gaed to lay him in the grave,
In fell the coffin, and out lap he!
He said, I'm cauld! I'm unco cauld!
Fu' fast ran they, and fu' fast ran he;
But he was first hame at his ain ingle-side,
And he help'd to drink his ain dredgie.

Jock was a *bona fide* emissary of the Jacobites; but in the summer of 1745, when the air was getting thick with rumours about plots, insurrections, and invasions, a small party of sharp-witted vagrants played a dexterous game upon the credulity of some of the Chevalier's adherents in the Scottish capital.

EDINBURGH.—One David Gilles, born in Fife, having assumed the name and character of *Charles Stuart, Prince of Wales,* went about here privately among weak people, and, by conferring honours and places, 'tis said got a good deal of money. Hearing that warrants were issued for apprehending him, he went to the country; but was taken up at Selkirk, and committed to jail, together with his accomplices. The Justices of Peace of the county, having sent to the crown lawyers for their opinion, were advised that it would be taking too much notice of such a rascal, to try him in the Court of Justiciary; and that therefore the Justices might punish him as they thought proper.—*P.S.* On the 2d of July, the Justices sentenced the mock Prince, who called himself David Hay, together with his court, consisting of two men and two women, to be ba-

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nished the shire by tuck of drum, attended by the hangman, as vagrants; which was accordingly execute on the 4th.*

Another worthy of the same period conducted the mendicant trade upon a most extensive and thoroughly-organised scale, in the west of Scotland. He went by the name of *Cabbage Charlie.* His system of operations was to retain a number of beggars in his pay, who yielded up to him their whole earnings, and in return received stated weekly wages, in such proportions as these:—"An industrious single man, with a good faculty for groaning, had perhaps 10s per week; if blind, he was worth 2s 6d more. One with a wife that could tell fortunes was worth 13s or 14s; if with eight or nine children, they were no bad bargain at £1." In the country places alms were given generally in meal, which a mendicant, working on his own account, could only get sold at much under the usual price, there being a prejudice among the common people against buying *beggars' meal.* But Charlie's plan obviated this difficulty. He made up his collections of meal into bolls for the regular market where it realized about the current rate. If any of his men proved unfaithful and were discharged or forsook his service, he was able to make the district where they were known too hot to hold them, by prejudicing everybody against such rogues and impostors, so that it was sheer ruin to quarrel with Charlie. He was undoubtedly a genius in his way, displaying great shrewdness and a determined force of character in maintaing sway over so ragged a regiment.†

The occupation of Edinburgh by the rebel army in the autumn of 1745 occasioned a stoppage of the church-door collections for the poor of the city, and filled the streets with strange beggars. In consequence, the following notification was issued:—

October 17, 1745.

The weekly Directors of the *Charity Work-house* in Edinburgh, do hereby assure the Publick, That the Poor in the

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* *Scots Magazine*, for 1845: p. 296.

† *The Caledonian Mercury*, for Friday, October 18, 1745.

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said House are still maintained, and employed in all Respects as formerly, and that those People who are now become the publick Nusance, by begging on the Streets, have no Title to the Charity of the Inhabitants of the City; and in regard the Funds have suffered by want of publick Worship in the Churches for some Weeks past, it is intimated that all charitably disposed Persons will send what they can spare for the support of the said House to any one of the weekly Directors afternamed, &c.*

It is believed that prior to 1740, not more than eight parishes were assessed for the relief of the poor. But subsequently the effects of the secession from the Church of Scotland began to be felt in a pecuniary point of view as leading, in various quarters, to the diminution of the kirk-collections. "As long as there was no secession of Presbyterians from the Established Church, the weekly collections, under the management of the kirk-sessions, were in general found sufficient for the maintenance of the poor. In some years of peculiar hardship or scarcity, such as the four last years of the seventeenth century, or the year 1740, voluntary assistance was no doubt given, and in some instances temporary assessment was resorted to, to enable the kirk-sessions to meet with unusual emergencies. But on all ordinary occasions, the resources of the kirk-sessions

* For the materials of the sketches of Jock and Charlie we are indebted to an article in *Chambers's Pocket Miscellany*, vol. 1, p. 85. We may notice that Charlie's system of organised mendicity has been practised in London of recent years, and is propably in full operation there at present. "It will appear a startling statement to those who have never paid any attention to the subject, but it can be proved to be a fact by several of the police magistrates, that in street-mendicancy, as in almost everything else, there has been a great deal of speculation and several co-partneries of late years. Two or three persons take a house and receive into their keeping a number of beggars. . . . . They take them on the condition of receiving every day all they collect, they providing them with bed, lodging, &c., and allowing them, in some cases, though not in all, a certain per centage on what they receive. One inducement to the working mendicants to accept these terms, is that they have a sort of home to remain in, at least for some time, if they are unable to ply their vocation, or if not successful in it."—*Sketches in London.* By James Grant. Second Edition. London: 1840, p. 36.

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were considered as sufficient; and continued to be so at least as late as 1755."*

The year 1740 saw gaunt Famine stalking once more over Scotland. There was a severe winter. The river Tay was frozen nearly to the bottom, and an ox was roasted upon the ice, and sold at a shilling per pound. Spring was bleak, summer ungenial, and the harvest ended in general dearth. The poor suffered extremely, and animals died in great numbers of starvation. There was an old weaver in Perth, who had his loom in one end of his house, and daily when his dinner of kail was served up on the lid of a chest beside him, out rushed a host of hungry rats, which he had to drive away with his ellwand, otherwise he would have gone dinnerless. Latterly, the vermin learned to wait for a portion of the cheer, which he was kind enough to allot them; but when the hard time wore away, "the brutes," said the old man, "flitted frae me." To assist in alleviating the destitution in Perth, the Town Council commissioned 200 quarters of oats, and 600 quarters of pease from England (where there was no such scarcity), and borrowed £800 from the old local Banking Company to pay the price. As there was a great deficiency of the smaller copper coinage in the town, the Council also procured £150 worth of halfpence, and £50 worth of farthings.†

After this long and discursive, though essentially necessary introduction, we shall turn to the measures which were adopted in Perthshire, about the middle of last century, for the management of the poor.

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* *Account of the Life and Writings of John Erskine, D.D.* By Sir Henry Moncrieff Wellwood, Bart., D.D.; p. 409.

† Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, pp. 138, 150.

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POOR LAWS AND MENDICANCY IN PERTHSHIRE A CENTURY AGO.—Part 4th.

Your burgh of beggars is ane nest;
To shout thae sweyngeours will not rest;
All honest folk they do molest,
Sae piteously they cry and rame:
 Think ye not shame,
That for the poor has nothing drest,
In hurt and slander of your name?
 Dunbar—"To the Merchants of Edinburgh."

By the middle of the eighteenth century, Scotland had recovered from the throes of the Rebellion, although the public mind was frequently alarmed by vague reports of Jacobite machinations to bring about a second landing of the Prince, supported by a French army. The nation had entered on "a transition state," which was to evolve great improvement and prosperity. Still, mendicity showed little abatement; and in various parishes the diminution of the kirk-door collections resulting from the gradual extension of the Secession Church, left the regular poor insufficiently provided for, in the absence of assessment. About 1755 or 1756, a general movement seems to have been initiated to put the whole matter on a better footing. The administration of the existing laws relative to the poor and to vagrants lay with the Heritors and Kirk-Sessions, and the Magistrates of burghs, on the one hand, and with the Sheriff and Justices of Peace, on the other—their provinces and jurisdictions being distinct; but all of them were subject to the control of the Court of Session, and certain powers were also vested in the Court of Justiciary. An illustration of the working of the system by the action of the Sheriff and Justices of a shire is afforded by proceedings which took place in Perthshire, in 1756.—

Act of the Justices of the Peace of the Shire of *Perth*,
For the proper Maintenance of the Poor, and for the Suppression of Vagrants and Sturdy Beggars.

At *Perth*, the twenty-first Day of *September*, One thousand seven hundred and fifty-six Years. In the Quarter-sessions

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by Adjournment, the Sheriff-depute represented, That, in conformity to the Resolution of the Quarter-sessions on the fourth Day of *May* last, concerning the State of the Poor in this Shire, he did convene at *Edinburgh*, on the twenty-third of *July* last, such of the Justices of this Shire as he could then find in *Edinburgh*, as a Committee on that Affair; who agreed to several Resolutions to be reported to this Quarter-session; and which the Sheriff reported accordingly. And thereon the Justices, considering, that the Shire is grievously infested with Vagrants and sturdy Beggars; and that the really indigent and necessitous Poor are not properly supplied and maintained, but allowed to beg over the whole Shire; by which means many of them perish for Want; and their Children are brought up in Idleness, Vice, and Wandering, which early evil Habits they can never leave off; so that the Work of many useful Hands is lost to the Public, and a heavy Burden is laid upon the Shire: Therefore the Quarter-sessions came to the following Resolutions, and appointed the same to be carried into Execution, *viz.* :—

1mo, That from and after the first Day of *December* next, all Stranger Poor who belong to other Shires, and all Vagrants, sturdy Beggars, and idle Persons, should be banished from the Shire.

2do, That the truly indigent and necessitous Poor should be maintained in the respective Parishes where they have been born, or where they have had their chief Residence and Resort for the three last Years.

3tio, That in such Parishes where the Interest of the Poor's Stock, and the Collections and other Casualties, are not sufficient for the Support of their whole Poor, the Heritors, and the Minister and Elders, should meet half-yearly, and either stent themselves in such further sums of Money or Meal as may be necessary for the ensuing Half-year, one Half upon the Heritors, and the other Half upon the Inhabitants, in terms of Law: Or if the said Heritors, Minister, and Elders, shall think it unnecessary to lay on the said Stent, they may allow their Poor to beg within their own Parish only; such Poor receiving from them a Leaden Badge, having the Name of the Parish stamped upon it; which Badge such Poor shall at all Times, while authorised to beg, be obliged to wear fixed upon some conspicuous Place of the Outside of their Cloaths : And that none should receive such Badges who are able to work.

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4to, That after the said first Day of *December*, all Beggars whatsoever that shall be apprehended, not wearing a Badge as aforesaid, or, though they have a Badge, who shall be apprehended without the Limits of their respective Parishes, shall be held to be Vagrants, and be carried before the nearest Justice of the Peace, or the Sheriff, or his Substitute, and by their Warrants brought to the Gao of *Perth*, and there fed on a small Allowance of Meal and Water, and otherwise punished according to Law; and thereafter be sent back to their respective Parishes, or banished the Shire, and conducted to the Limits thereof.

5to, That all persons who shall give Alms to such Vagrants, or to any Poor not wearing a Badge, or to any who, though they have a Badge, are without the Limits of their respective Parishes, shall be fined as the Law directs.

6to, That it be recommended to the Freeholders, to impose upon the County such Sum, in name of Rogue-money, as shall be sufficient for apprehending, maintaining, and prosecuting all Vagrants, and other idle Beggars, and for all the contingent Expences of this Scheme; and to instruct their Collector to pay the same.

7mo, That one or more Constables shall be appointed in every Parish for apprehending and committing all such Vagrants according to the Instructions to be given them; and that such Constables shall be allowed out of the Rogue-money of the Shire, as a Premium, two Shillings and six Pence for the first five miles, and three Pence for each mile further they shall carry their Prisoners, besides the Expence of Assistants, when found necessary.

8vo, That in respect it appears by the Report made to the Sheriff of the State of the Poor and their Funds, in the different Parishes of the Shire, that in the thirteen following Highland Parishes, *viz.*, *Balquidder*, *Killin*, *Kenmore*, *Fortingall*, *Weem*, *Dull*, *Blair-Atholl*, *Moulin*, *Logierait*, *Little Dunkeld*, *Kirkmichael*, *Callender*, and *Combrie*, the Number of Poor is very great, and the Funds for their Maintenance very small; and that at first the Burden of their Maintenance in terms of Law may be very heavy: That therefore, for encouraging the said Thirteen Parishes, and for assisting them towards the Support of their Poor, the Quarter-sessions do resolve to recommend to the other Parishes in the Shire, who will thereby be relieved of the Burden of Beggars from the

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Highland Parishes, to make a voluntary Contribution in Proportion to their valued Rents, or in any other Way they shall think proper, to be paid in to the Collector of the Land-tax, towards the Assistance of the said Highland Parishes. But in the mean time, the Justices recommend to the Heritors of the said thirteen Parishes, that the said Parishes do severally maintain their own Poor: And they likewise recommend to them, to meet within their own Parishes, and voluntarily assess themselves towards the Maintenance of their Poor; and to report their Proceedings and their several Assessments to the Quarter-sessions the first *Tuesday* of *April* next. And the Justices delay till then the Consideration of what further Sums will be necessary to be raised by voluntary Contributions in the other Parishes of the Shire, for the Maintenance of the Poor in these Highland Parishes.

9no, Provided always, That in respect some parts of the said thirteen Highland Parishes, are not only very distant from other Parts of the same Parish, but are also almost surrounded with Parts of others of the said Parishes; therefore any two or more of the said thirteen Parishes, if they shall so agree among themselves, may allow their respective Poor, without Molestation, to beg with Badges through such of the said thirteen Parishes, or Parts thereof, as the respective Heritors and Kirk-Sessions shall specially agree among themselves for that effect; the Badges always bearing the names of the Parishes or places through which such poor are to beg.

10mo, The Justices recommend to the Sheriff-depute, to see the Laws relating to the Poor and Vagrants strictly put in Execution; and that he should by Letters to the several Parishes inform them of the above Resolutions, and send to them Copies of the Rules hereto subjoined for their Direction, for carrying the same into execution: of which Rules the Tenor follows, *viz.*

Rules to be observed by the Heritors, Minister, and Elders, at their Parochial Meetings, for the Maintenance of the Poor.

1mo, THAT previous Notifications be made at the Kirk of each parish, from the Reader's Desk, to the Heritors, Minister, and Elders of the Parish, to meet together at the Parish-kirk, upon a day certain, in order to make up lists of their Poor, and to provide for their Maintenance

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as the Law directs : And this Notification ought to be made on the two Sundays immediately preceding the Day of Meeting.

2do, At the said parochial Meeting, any Number of Heritors, Minister, and Elders present, may and ought to proceed to Business ; and, for Order's sake, should first elect a Preses and Clerk to the Meeting.

3tio, That the said Meeting shall make up a List of all the Poor, young and old, which have either been born in the Parish, or have had their chief Residence and Resort therein for the last three Years.

4to, That the Meeting shall compute and estimate what Sum may be necessary for the Maintenance of each poor Person, whose name shall be entered upon said List, according to their different necessities, until the first *Tuesday* of *February* next, and shall then sum or cast up the Quota which shall be found necessary for theMa intenance of the whole.

5to, That the Meeting shall call upon the Minister and Elders of the Parish, to lay before them a State of the Funds mortified to the Poor of the Parish, and of all Sums belonging to the Poor ; and that the yearly Interest or Income of such Funds be, in the first place, appointed for answering the Quota or Sum found necessary for the Maintenance of the Poor of the Parish, as above.

6to, That the Half of the weekly Collections shall, from Time to Time, be paid in to the Collector to be named by the Meeting ; and that the sum be applied for the Maintenance of the stated or listed Poor of the Parish : And that the other Half of the said Collections shall be left in the Hands of the Kirk-session, as a Fund for answering such occasional Charities as may occur within the Parish.

7mo, That if these two Funds shall not be sufficient for answering the Quota ascertained for Maintenance of the Poor, then the Meeting shall come to a Resolution, whether to make up the Remainder by the Stent after mentioned in terms of Law, or by allowing such of their Poor as they think proper, to beg within the limits of their Parishes with Badges : And if the Stent is chosen, then the Meeting shall proceed to cast the one Half of the Sum deficient upon the Heritors of the Parish, according to the Valuations of their respective Lands within the Parish, and the other Half upon the Householders within the

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Parish, according to their Circumstances and Substance without Partiality.

8vo, That the Meeting appoint an Overseer or Collector, to receive the said Maintenance for the Poor, from the Kirk-session, Heritors, and Householders, liable therein; and that weekly, monthly, or quarterly, as the Meeting shall appoint: And also to distribute the said Maintenance to the Poor, according to the Proportions that shall be appointed to them by the Meeting. And the said Meeting may likewise (if they find it necessary) appoint an Officer to serve under the Overseer, for inbringing of the Maintenance, and for expelling Stranger Poor from the Parish; and the Fee of this Officer shall be stented on the Parish as the Maintenance of the Poor is stented.

9no, That if the Meeting shall judge the Stent to be unnecessary, then they may apply their present Funds above mentioned to such Poor only as are unable to maintain themselves: And for the Maintenance of the remaining Poor, who, though not entirely debilitated, are yet incapable of procuring Subsistence by their Labour, the Meeting shall distinguish them in the Lists, and shall deliver them a Leaden Badge, having the Name of the Parish stamped upon it; which Badge such Poor shall at all times be obliged to wear fixed upon their Breast, or some conspicuous Part on the Outside of their Cloaths, under the Penalty of being apprehended, and treated as Vagrants. And the Meeting are not, upon any account whatever, to enter upon any List, or to give Badges to such as are able to work, or who have Parents or Children to maintain them.

10mo, That all Ministers and Heritors, or any of them, shall give timeous Notice to the Justices at their Quarter-sessions, and to the Sheriff-depute or his Substitutes, if the parochial Meetings, or the Heritors or Householders, have failed to perform their duty; that so the Justices of the Peace, or the Sheriff, may, without Delay, proceed to execute the Law against all such as shall fail in this important and Christian Work, *viz.*—by fining the Heritors, Minister, and Elders, who shall fail to meet and provide for the Poor, as aforesaid, in the Sum of two hundred Pounds *Scots*, one third to the Informer, and the remaining two thirds to the Poor of the Parish; and that monthly, *toties quoties*, as they shall fail in their Duty; and by fining the particular Persons who shall fail to make payment of the

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Sums or Quota's assessed upon them, in the double of such Quota's.

11mo, In order to lessen the Expence of maintaining the Poor, the said Meeting are authorised and required to put such of the Poor of the Parish as are able, to work according to their Capacities, either within the Parish, or in any adjacent Manufactory, as they shall think expedient.

12*mo*, That the parochial Meetings for making up Lists of the Poor, and providing for their Maintenance, shall in all subsequent Years be held upon the first *Tuesday* of *February*, and first *Tuesday* of *August*; of which Notification shall always be given from the Reader's Desk as aforesaid; and upon these Days shall consult and determine upon the aforesaid Matters relating to the Maintenance of the Poor for every ensuing Half-year, and shall make such Alterations upon the Lists of Poor, and Assessments for their Maintenance, as the Change of Circumstances may require

Extracted by

PAT. MILLER, Dep.

N.B.—*The Laws relating to the Poor and Vagrants are,* 1579, cap. 74; 1592, cap. 149; 1597, cap. 272; 1600, cap. 19; 1617, cap. 10; 1663, cap. 16; 1672, cap. 18; *and, lastly, King* William's *Proclamations*, annis 1692. 1693, 1694, 1698, *which are ratified and confirmed by King* William, parl. 1, sess. 5, cap. 43; sess. 6, cap. 29; sess. 7, cap. 21.

Respecting the carrying out of the foregoing regulations, we have but little information. As the century advanced, however, bringing increase of trade and manufacture and various other beneficial changes, the mass of pauperism which had so long oppressed the nation, sensibly declined. When Mr Pennant visited Scotland, the first time, in 1769, he remarked that "notwithstanding the common people are but just rouzed from their native indolence, very few beggars are seen in *North Britain:* either they are full masters of the lesson of being content with very little; or, what is more probable, they are possessed of a spirit that will struggle hard with necessity before it will bend to the asking of alms."* But, we should suspect, the range of the traveller's vision had been rather circumscribed; for the

* Pennant's *Tour*, vol. 1, p. 102.

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mendicant tribe was still sufficiently numerous. The parish beggar made his regular call: infirm creatures were carried from door to door in hand-barrows, as Mrs Somerville describes: the Gipsies, whom no law could curb, made a good living by inspiring the minds of the rural population with a vague dread of their mystic power and their revenge: the Bluegown, invested with an air of respectability, met with general consideration: and hundreds of nondescript wanderers were scattered over the country, but congregated in droves at the markets and public gatherings. The condition of Fortingal parish, in the Highlands of Perthshire, about 1791, in relation to the poor, has been described by Mr M'Ara, the minister, in the old *Statistical Account of Scotland* (vol. 2, p. 455):—

The poor beg from house to house. Such as are deemed fit objects, have assistance from the funds, according to their necessities. The funds arise from the weekly collections, and from small fines. The amount of the stock at present is £92. Collections are about £36 *per annum.* Three different and distinct places in the parish have each their kirk-sessions, and boxes, as they are called. At three different times, when meal was uncommonly scarce, from £10 to £15 at a time was expended, to bring meal to the country. This was sold to crofters and tradesmen, at the Perth prices, which to them was a saving of half a crown per boll. The begging poor have a share of everything the tenants can afford ; meal, wool, milk, &c. They go about twice or thrice a year, lay by a little, then apply themselves to spinning, or some little industry, to procure themselves some of the necessaries or conveniences of life. It would be deemed impious to refuse an alms, or a night's quarters, to a poor person. There are a great many beggars from other places. The only grievance, in this respect, is from swarms of tinkers, sailors, and vagrants, from the great towns, who, by dreadful imprecations and threatenings, extort charity, and immediately waste it in drunkenness and riot. These are often guilty of theft, sometimes of robbery.

It will be noticed that here, in contradistinction to the oft-reiterated complaint about the efflux of pauperism from the rural districts towards the towns, the minis-

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ter's statement is exactly the reverse, and carries the semblance of truth with it.

The supplies for the poor, derivable from voluntary sources, were always scanty, and the pittances doled out by the Kirk Treasurers were, in the best of cases, little else than a mockery. Yet assessment was of slow adoption in Scotland, seeming, in fact, as though repugnant to the spirit of the people. A strong love of honest independence existed amongst the lower classes, causing them rather to submit to any privations than sink to the degrading level of pauperism. It was this laudable feeling, honourable to the genius and habits of a nation, which helped to keep Scotland for so lengthened a period above the necessity of a general Poor's assessment.* Ultimately, however, assessment became

* Many persons in Scotland could relate interesting anecdotes illustrative of the virtuous poverty of poor neighbours, which, it is to be regretted, is now on the decline. An exceedingly honourable one has fallen under our own notice. A very industrious, sober, and honest man, a diaper weaver by profession, in a country town, having many years since, by a variety of unforeseen misfortunes, fallen into poverty, and what he considered worse, into insolvency, when upwards of sixty years of age, enlisted into a militia regiment, purely for the purpose of paying his debts, at a time when the army gave high bounties, and was not scrupulous in accepting of men. With the bounty-money in his hand, he commenced paying at the one end of the town, and did not leave off at the other, till all claimants were satisfied, and his own heart lightened. This truly honest man had been a dragoon in his youth, and altogether served his Majesty as a soldier with extreme credit for about twenty years; yet, in his old days, after receiving his last discharge, when no longer fit for service, he received no pension, and till lately continued to support himself decently by the work of his hands. Even this source of living gradually dried up, and though more than once urged to stay in the place of his birth, and allow his name to be put on the poor roll, he spurned the suggestion, and now, at the advanced age of seventy-eight, along with a sister nearly as old as himself, has sailed for the United States of America, where he has some relatives, and where, when no longer able to sit on his loom or handle an axe, according to his own words, "he will at least have a good chance of succeeding by the *meal pocks*, because, as there's nae beggars in that country as yet, the first that begins will have the best luck." . . Fully as gratifying an instance of self-dependence occurred a few years since at Greenock. An industrious carter in

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imperative in many places. In the year 1839, a Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland drew up a Report on the subject. Of the 879 parishes from which returns were obtained, 643, containing a population of 1,178,280, were not assessed and 236, containing a population of 1,137,646 were assessed. The number of poor in the 643 parishes not assessed was 40,073; and the number of poor in the 236 assessed parishes was 39,356. The voluntary contributions for the poor in the unassessed parishes amounted to £39,969 18s 6d, while those in the assessed parishes amounted to £17,307 1s 10d. Down to 1845, various conflicting schemes were propounded for the support of the poor; but the most absurd, as it was certainly the most heartless of all, was one which might have emanated from Mr Bumble, the Beadle. It came, instead, from Dr Chalmers. He suggested that voluntary collections should be the sole fund for relief;—that elders should take all charge of the poor; that they should, in the first place, when a claim was made, endeavour to make the parties help themselves by their labour; if totally unfit for work, then throw the burden upon relatives; if there were none such with any means, then upon neighbours, no matter how poor; and only when all such means failed, was any public relief to be given. And this was the proposal of a great man!—this was how the projector of the Sustentation Fund meant to deal with the poor and needy of the land!

The present Poor-laws of Scotland are scarcely so satisfactory as could be wished. The "Poorhouse test," as it is called, is far from being generally approved. Mr Milne Home of Wedderburn, in a recent

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that place, having had the misfortune to lose his horse by death, was unable to raise funds to purchase another, and the minister of the parish meeting him one day after he had been necessitated to dispose of his cart, suggested to him the propriety of applying to the parish for relief. "Na, sir," said he, "I hae still the four *shoon* and the hide to the fore, and maybe something may cast up before they are dune."—*The Book of Scotland.* By William Chambers. Edinburgh: 1830; p. 223.

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pamphlet,* contends that enquiry by an efficient Inspector would prove a better mode, and that a system of outdoor relief, organized after adequate enquiry into the condition of those claiming to be paupers, would be more economical, more humane, and more Christian-like than our present system; while, specially as regards Poorhouses, he condemns the confinement, the separation of husband and wife, of parent and child, and the degradation brought upon one and all of the inmates. But our limits are exhausted, and we must quit the field; trusting, however, that the genuine philanthropy, the heart-felt Christian charity of the nineteenth century will maintain the cause of the afflicted and the right of the poor, against the devices of cold, calculating expediency.

O, rich man's son! there is a toil,
That with all others level stands;
Large charity doth never soil,
But only whiten, soft, white hands,—
This is the best crop from thy lands;
A heritage, it seems to be,
Worth being rich to hold in fee.

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* *Scottish Poorhouses and English Workhouses.* By David Milne Home, Esq. of Wedderburn. Edin.: 1874.

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THE SEARCH FOR SCOTTISH GOLD IN OLDEN TIMES.—Part 1st.

> Of everilk mettell we have the riche mynis,
> Baith gold, silver, and stanes precious.
> *Sir David Lindsay's "Dream."*

THE mines of tin and lead, which had attracted the ancient Phœnician voyagers to the British shores, were subsequently worked, under an improved process, by the Romans, who are said to have employed convicted criminals in the labour. But it would appear that, during the Roman occupation, tin and lead were not the only known metallic products of our island. "*Britain yields gold and silver*, with other metals, all which prove the prize and reward of the conquerors." So wrote Tacitus, in his *Agricola*: and it is not to be conceived that the grave historian set down so important an assertion at random. Moreover, Strabo had declared that "*Britain produceth* corn, cattle, *gold, silver*, iron; besides which skins, slaves, and dogs, naturally excellent hunters, are exported from that island." Founding on these classic authorities we might reasonably infer that the native ore furnished the rings, bracelets, armlets, and *torques* or necklaces, all of pure gold, which were worn amongst the Britons; the golden ornaments and implements used by the Druidical Priesthood—their tiaras, crescents, and breast-plates, and their knives or sickles for cutting down the sacred misletoe on New-Year's Eve; and likewise the heavy chains of gold which were taken from Caractacus, and carried in triumph to the Eternal City. A conjecture such as this may be quite natural in the circumstances; but we have no inclination to push it farther. Leaving those dark and mythic ages, and coming to others dimly illumined by the dawn of authentic history, we find the gold and silver-smiths of Britain famous for their skill, though whether they wrought to any extent in native metals is not said. "The art of working in gold and

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silver was known in Britain at a very early period, and in the reign of Alfred the British goldsmiths had attained such perfection in working the precious metals, that they had become celebrated in all parts of Europe. Gold and silver cups, and other articles for use in gold and silver, were in great request, and certain caskets adorned with the precious metals and set with jewels, for containing the relics of saints, were especially prized. They were known on the continent as *Anglia opera* (English works), and were carried there by pilgrims as valuable treasures. The art of gilding wood and metal was also practised in Britain in Alfred's reign. The precious metals must have been comparatively abundant in those times, for gold and silver cups and dishes are frequently mentioned as in use among the higher classes; and in the reign of King Edgar a silver table is noticed that was made by a workman named Ethelwold, and valued at £300."*

Perhaps the first special notice of gold being found in Scotland occurs in a Charter by King David I. to the Abbey of Dunfermline. That "sair sanct to the crown," who reigned from 1124 to 1153, granted to the Abbey the tithe of all the gold that might be produced by Fife and Fothriff or Forthrev—the latter district, as distinguished from Fife, comprehending the upper part of Fifeshire, with Kinross-shire and the parishes of Clackmannan and Muckhard. The King had likewise a silver mine in Cumberland.† It has been surmised that from David's great liberality towards the Church, the grant of the tenth of the Fife gold must have been a considerable benefaction, and, at least, it seems to establish the existence of the auriferous deposit in that province. Centuries, however, pass away without affording another glimpse of the Scottish gold-fields —obviously because the returns had been unremune-

* Philip's *History of Progress in Great Britain.* Vol. 1. p. 11.

† Cosmo Innes' *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 230; Chalmers' *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline*, p. 214.

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rative: and we may notice, as a somewhat cognate fact that Scotland had no gold coinage till the reign of David II., who died in 1370-1. The first Scottish gold coins were struck in imitation of the English noble of Edward III. (value 6s 8d, and coined about 1344), from which they differed in no respect except in the substitution of the arms of Scotland for those of England on the shield, and the name and titles of the Scottish king in the legend. Only three specimens of these Scottish coins are known to be extant. Fifty years bring us to the days of James I. In that sovereign's first Parliament, which met at Perth, on 26th May 1424, the following Act was passed:—

Mines of Gold and Silver perteinis to the King.

ITEM, Gif onie mine of gold or silver be founden in onie Lordis Landes of the Realme, and it may be prooved that three halfe pennies of silver may be fined out of the pound of leade: The Lordes of Parliament consentis that sik mine be the King's, as is usuall of uther Realmes.

A statute was also enacted prohibiting the export of gold and silver,—except under payment of custom:—

That na man have out of the Realme gold nor silver.

ITEM, It is statute and ordained, that na man have out of the Realme gold nor silver, bot he pay fourtie pennies of ilk pund of custome to the King, under the paine of tinsel of all gold and silver that beis funden with him, and X pundes to the King for the unlaw.

Further enactments against the exportation of the precious metals followed in 1425 and 1436; but with that subject we have nothing to do. Notwithstanding the royal claim to the mines, there is really no evidence that any substantial wealth flowed from such a source into the Exchequer; and we hear no more about them till James IV. comes upon the stage.

At this era the search for gold by occult and other methods held learned Europe in a ferment. The Alchemical folly was at its height. All over Christendom the wild theories of the Quintessence or Philosopher's Stone, the Alkahest or Universal Solvent, and the Elixir of Life—these three undiscovered agents, being

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essentially one and the same thing—engrossed the studies of men of science, who prosecuted their laborious enquiries under the munificent patronage of princes and kings; for philosophers and monarchs were alike hopeful of acquiring treasures inexhaustible as the Wizard of the North's dram-bottle. Patents for the discovery of the Philosopher's Stone were granted to adepts by Henry VI. of England, in the belief that it would greatly benefit the realm, and enable his Majesty "to pay all the debts of the crown in real silver and gold." The fame of the celebrated "Magician," Cornelius Agrippa, induced Henry VIII., Charles V., and Margaret of the Netherlands to invite him to their respective courts, at the moment when the death of his second wife had overwhelmed him with the most poignant sorrow, for she had borne a long and bitter adversity with him, and was taken away when the sun of better days was rising. Invitations, which at another time would have inspired his soul with the proudest hopes, he now received without emotion. "Which I shall choose, I know not," said the Master. "I would rather be free than go into service. It becomes me, however, to consult not my own pleasure, but the well-being of my children." He did not choose to transfer his household gods to an English home, though perhaps it might have been more auspicious for his after-career had he done so; and bluff King Hal was disappointed of a golden harvest. But Hal's brother-in-law, King James, in his northern region of pride and poverty, was more lucky in securing the services of "a cunning man." Apparently, in the first year of the sixteenth century, an Italian empiric, named John Damidne or Damian, belonging to Lombardy, came over from France to Scotland, and was cordially welcomed by the king. The stranger vaunted his skill in medicine, and in the power of "multiplying," or the transmutation of metals, and also in discovering mines of gold and silver. The lofty pretensions of Master John, the French leech, passed unquestioned. He became a prominent member of the royal household—he and his servants being kept

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at the King's expense; and forthwith the search for the "*Quinta-essencia*" was begun.

The books of the Lord High Treasurer show many sums of money paid to, and on account of, the adept. Much outlay was incurred in providing the requisite apparatus for his work, such as bellows, mortars, stillatours, and other vessels, and in supplying wood and coals for the furnaces, and various materials described as quicksilver, aquavite, litharge auri, fine tin, brint silver, alum, salt, eggs, salpeter, salaramoniack, &c. And so the profound sage went on—now plying his craft as a leech, when occasion offered; now amusing and cheating the King at cards; and now shut up in his laboratory, amid filthy fume—with meagre aspect, sooty hands and face, his hair and beard long, ragged, and singed, like the man in the grand Academy of Lagado, who had been eight years upon a project for extracting sunbeams out of cucumbers, which were to be put in phials, hermetically sealed, and let out to warm the air in raw inclement summers. Thus he must have looked as he tended his retorts and crucibles and stills, and puffed with his bellows, and sweltered before his furnaces, and perchance pored with bleared eyes over the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius, which his fellow-votaries fancied to contain the mighty secret of their science—toiling hard for the great consummation, which he ever and anon sought to hasten by fresh inroads upon his royal patron's purse. Still, no success rewarded his pains; and in the end of May 1502 he found it advisable to proceed to the Continent for the purpose of procuring certain drugs necessary for his experiment. At his departure, the King presented him with his own horse and three hundred French crowns (or £210 Scots money). The quack soon returned to his good quarters, and as an earnest, we presume, of his abstruse avocations abroad, introduced to the Scottish Court a new kind of Morris-dance popular in France. It is mentioned in the Treasurer's pay-book :—

Item, payit to John Francis, for twenty-one elne

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of red taffeta and blue, quhilk was sax dansing cotes in Maister Johne's dans, 13li. 13s.

Item, for five elne blue taffeta to the woman's goune in the said dans, ... 3li. 10s.

Sir Christopher Hatton danced himself into the Chancellorship of England, as history relates; but Master John set the example of dancing into high office. The Abbacy of Tungland, in Galloway, falling vacant in 1504, by the death of the Abbot, King James proferred his "multiplier" to this ecclesiastical dignity. Secured of a fat living, the new-made churchman resumed his scientific quest, and the King grudged no cost. One day the Treasurer paid £6 for a puncheon of wine to aid in the preparation of the Quintessence: and possibly the Abbot abstained from making merry over "the rosy." Gold coins, too, were given to put into the crucibles, and we will not accuse his reverence of slipping the yellow boys into his own pocket instead, Sometimes, however, he borrowed money, which he forgot or refused to pay,—as witness the Treasurer's entry:—

1507, July 27. *Item*, lent be the kingis command to the Abbot of Tungland, and can nocht be gottin fra him, 33li· 6s 8d.

Nothing, indeed, could be got from him,—and the *Quinta essencia* was as much an affair of noxious vapour as ever it had been. But eventually his presumption or his empty-headedness brought upon himself a ludicrous humiliation.

An embassy from France arrived at the Scottish Court, in the month of September 1507. The consequent negotiations were probably of high import to both Governments; for shortly previous a solemn embassy from Pope Julius the Second had been in Scotland with the intent of detaching King James from the French interest, and obtaining his adhesion to an alliance with His Holiness, the Emperor Maximilian of Germany, and the Venetians, for the purpose of curbing the French power in Italy. The Papal envoys brought with them a consecrated hat and sword, as a

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present from the Father of Christendom to the King. The hat was of purple, flowered with gold ; and the sword is the sword of State, which is still kept in Edinburgh Castle as part of the Scottish Regalia. "The workmanship of the sword is of a fanciful and elegant description, resembling the style of Benvenuto Cellini, and belongs to the period when the art of sculpture was rising in Rome. The whole sword is about five feet long, of which the handle and pummel occupy fifteen inches. They are formed of silver gilded, highly carved and ornamented. The cross of the sword is represented by two dolphins, whose heads join at the handle. The scabbard is of a crimson velvet, covered with filigree work, and silver ; the prevailing ornament being oak-leaves and acorns, which was the emblem of Julius II."* Notwithstanding the gift, and the many subtle considerations laid before him with all the insinuating arts of Italian diplomatists, James would not abandon his ancient ally, even to please the martial pontiff; and as soon as the ambassadors had departed, he sent to King Louis XII., offering him a body of 4,000 Scottish soldiers to serve in his Italian wars. It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the French representatives found no difficulty in arranging matters with the Scottish sovereign. But as there was no electric telegraph in those days, to flash across to Paris the tidings of how the Embassy had sped, the Abbot of Tungland boasted—surely in a moment of sportiveness, as we should think—that he was able to furnish himself with a pair of wings, and fly over the sea to France with the news, long before the inconstant breezes could waft the bark of the envoys to a French haven ! Very likely he argued the feasibility of his notion in much the same strain as the philosopher who dwelt in Prince Rasselas' Happy Valley :—"I have been long of opinion, that instead of the tardy conveyance of ships and chariots, man might use the swifter migration of wings; that the fields of

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* *Description of the Regalia of Scotland* Edin.: 1824 p. 13.

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air are open to knowledge, and that only ignorance and idleness need crawl upon the ground. . . . He that can swim needs not despair to fly : to swim is to fly in a grosser fluid, and to fly is to swim in a subtler. We are only to proportion our power of resistance to the different density of matter through which we are to pass. You will be necessarily upborne by the air, if you can renew any impulse upon it faster than the air can recede from the pressure." The Abbot was taken at his word. His reputation was at stake ; and the dread of public disgrace forced him to undergo the *experimentum crucis.* He got himself fledged ; the Court assembled to behold the wonder ; and the issue of the first attempt at flying in Scotland has been faithfully recorded by the pen of Bishop Lesly :—

This time there was an Italiane with the king, who wes made Abbot of Tungland. He causit the king believe that, by multiplying, and uthers his inventions, he would make fine gold of uther metal, quhilk science he callit the Quintessence: quhereupon the king made great cost; but all in vain. This abbot tuik in hand to flie with wingis, and to be in France befoir the saidis ambassadouris. And to that effect he causit mak ane pair of wingis with fedderis, quhilkis beand fessinit apoun him, he flew of the Castell wall of Strivelling, bot shortlie he fell to the ground, and brak his thie bane; bot the wyt thairof he aescryvit to that thair was sum hen fedderis in the wingis quhilk yarnit and covet the mydding and not the skyis. In this doinge he preissit to conterfute ane king of Yngland callit Bladud, quha, as their histories mentionis, decked himself in fedderis, and presumed to flie in the aire as he did, bot, falling on the tempell of Apollo, brak his neck." *

Let us say that the adroit theory of an attraction existing between the hen-feathers and the midden was not unfeasible in an age when the doctrine of *Sympathy* (which Sir Kenelm Digby afterwards elaborated into a system for the healing of wounds) was an article of faith with the learned. But it is strongly to be suspected that the breaking of his thigh-bone was not the worst part of the flying Abbot's mischance. The

* *Historie of Scotland*, p. 76.

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ignoble fall of "the Fenyeit (mad) Friar of Tungland' —the imitator of Icarus and Bladud—from the battlements of Stirling, roused the satiric muse of William Dunbar, the poet, who having likely been a spectator of the farce, commemorated it in one of the drollest and most pungent of his effusions. The merry poet depicts the feathered quack setting forth on his adventurous flight, which, however, was instantly interrupted by all the birds of the air, whose plumage he had borrowed, attacking him fiercely with beaks and claws.

> And evir the cuschettis at him tuggit,
> The rukis him rent, the ravynis him druggit,
> The hudit crawis his hair furth ruggit,
> The hevin he micht not bruke.
>
> The Myttaine and Saint Martynes fowle,
> Wend he had bene the hornit howle,
> They set upon him with a yowle,
> And gaif him dynt for dynt.
> The golk, the gormaw, and the gled,
> Beft him with buffets quhill he bled;
> The spar-halk to the spring him sped,
> Als fers as fyre of flynt.
>
> Thik was the clud of kayis and crawis,
> Of marleyonis, mittanis, and of mawis,
> That bikkrit at his berd with blawis,
> In battell him abowt.
> They nybbillit him with noyis and cry,
> The rerd of thame raise to the sky,
> And evir he cryit on Fortoun, Fy,
> His lyfe was into dowt.

And so he was thoroughly plucked, like Esop's vain Jackdaw that decked herself in peacocks' feathers ,and down he came tumbling head over heels,

> And in a myre, up to the ene,
> Among the glar did glyd.

After this terrible failure the Abbot was fain to seek withdrawal from the scene of his disgrace, as soon as his broken thigh would permit him to take the road. He fortunately recovered the bodily injury; but he had no screen against the lampooning pen of the Court *Makkar*. On the 8th September, 1508, the unlucky Multiplier obtained the royal license to spend five years on the Continent in philosophical research, without prejudice to his status and rights in the Abbacy of

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Tungland. He left Scotland. But true to his tryst, he reappeared at the end of the five years, ready to devote himself, with increased knowledge and experience, to his old search for the Philosopher's Stone, which was yet a sealed mystery.* It might be that the King had now grown somewhat sceptical about pure Alchemy; for he assigned a more rational and advantageous task to the returned wanderer. On the 29th March, 1513, Abbot John was paid £20, "to pas to the myne at Crawfurd-moor." There, in that desert quarter of Scotland, gold-seeking was busily going on: of which operations we shall next speak.

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* We may ridicule the absurdities of the Philosopher's Stone; but a modern Professor has predicted that the transmutation of metals will be one of the grand discoveries of the nineteenth century! Dr Christopher Girtanner, an eminent Professor of Gottingen, in a memoir on Azote, in the *Annales de Chimie*, No. 100, delivered the following opinion:—"In the nineteenth century, the transmutation of metals will be generally known and practised. Every chemist and every artist will make gold: kitchen utensils will be of silver and even gold, which will contribute more than anything else to prolong life, poisoned at present by the oxides of copper, lead, and iron, which we daily swallow with our food."—See *Curiosities of Science: Second Series*, p. 38.

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THE SEARCH FOR SCOTTISH GOLD IN OLDEN TIMES.—Part 2d.

> Instead of yellow harvests, now we seek
> For solid gold, and thro' earth's entrails break.
>
> *Ovid.*

During the five years which the "fenyeit Frier of Tungland" spent abroad, brooding over the Quintessence and the art of flying, there had been a grand discovery in Scotland, which occasioned a mania as to her supposed mineral riches in gold and silver; and the King himself entered heart and soul into the speculation which promised to realize unbounded wealth.

Grains of pure gold had been gathered out of the sands of the streams that water the district of Crawford, in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire; and we, who have lived in the days of the Californian and Australian gold-discoveries, can readily fancy the excitement which must have thrilled through Scotland, in an early year of the sixteenth century, when the marvellous news became generally known. The parish of Crawford is a wild and bleak region of towering hills, and deep stony glens, and heathy moors—the rugged face of the country looking bare, desolate, and dismal, as if it were thunder-blasted, with scarce a green tree shaking its foliage in the sun and wind to break the sterile uniformity of the scene. The name of the parish seems derived from the British term *Craw-fordd*, signifying the road or passage of blood, and may have been applied in commemoration of some deadly struggle between the Roman legionaries and the Caledonians: moreover, the old castle and Church of Crawford were situated near the Clyde, at the point where the great Roman road crossed the river by a ford. But this mountainous and gloomy country, though irreclaimable by the plough, was long ago found to possess vast and peculiar wealth of its own, namely in its lead-mines, which were esti-

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mated as the greatest in the world. No record shows that any distinct trace of the auriferous deposit was observable in this quarter until the reign of James IV., when some keen, inquisitive eyes perceived golden particles glittering in the sandy beds of the burns, having been washed down from the hills: and the business of gold-seeking, under the auspices of the Scottish government, seems to have commenced about 1511.

The Lord High Treasurer's accounts bear that for the years 1511, 1512, and 1513, a certain knight, named Sir James Pettigrew, acted as master or overseer of the mine at Leadhills, a village on Crawford-moor, perched twelve hundred feet above the level of the sea, and where the ruins of an old house, said to be the highest human habitation in Britain, still attract the stranger's eye. Various sums were paid to Sir James and the workmen, some of whom were foreigners, engaged in the enterprise. German miners had been always in high request; and a number of them were brought to England by Henry VII., for the purpose of exercising their reputed skill in gold-finding, but their efforts, well or ill directed, proved unproductive. The Treasurer enters wages paid to Sibald (or Simon) Northberge, the master-finer; to Andrew Ireland, the finer; and to Gerard (or Gerald) Essemer, a Dutchman, the melter of the mine. In 1512, the operations were extended to Wanlockhead, on the Nithsdale side of the hills, where a lead-mine was wrougnt. We are not informed what exact success attended these labours; nor do we know whether any good result followed from the visit of the Flying Abbot. That worthy disappears from the record after receiving the royal order to pass to Crawford-moor, and is met with no more. At all events, his last term of service under James IV. was necessarily brief; for war suddenly broke out with England, and the chivalrous king fell on that fatal field where

> The flowers of the forest, that aye shone the foremost,
> The pride of the land, lay cauld in the clay.*

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* In the end of the century, an Italian of much the same

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The King's death put a stop to the search for gold, and the national troubles throughout the minority of James V. prevented its resumption until the year 1526, when an energetic movement was inaugurated for the efficient working of the mines at Leadhills and Wanlockhead. The *Acta Dominorum Concilii* shows that in 1526 a Company of German adventurers, who had come to this country, obtained a grant or lease from King James of the gold and silver mines in Scotland, for the space of forty-three years, and were much encouraged in the prosecution of their undertaking. Bishop Lesly says that these foreigners worked for many months most laboriously in Clydesdale, seeming to the spectators to be only employed in rolling up great balls of earth, from which, however, they enriched themselves by extracting quantities of the purest gold. The preface to the translation of a French "Life and Death of King James the Fifth of Scotland," published at Paris in 1612, and which has been included in the valuable Collection of Tracts on Scottish History and Antiquities, known as the *Miscellanea Scotica*, contains the following statement, based on an old MS. in the Cottonian Library:—"In this King's reign, gold mines were found in Crawfurd moor by the Germans, which afforded him great sums; they would not refine it in Scotland, but, after they had bargained with the King, they carried over the ore with them to Germany. Besides those mines in Crawfurd moor, we have an account of others not far from it. In King James IV.'s reign, the Scots did separate gold from sand by washing. In King James

name as the Abbot, was in Scotland, practising unlawful cures; and for aught that appears, he may have been a kinsman of the latter. On 12th November, 1597, Janet Stewart, in the Canongait of Edinburgh, arraigned with other three women for witchcraft, was libelled "for hailling of women of the wedonynpha, and speciallie of Bessie Aitkyn and syndrie vtheris, be taking of ane garland of grene-wodbynd, and causing of the patient to pass thryise throw it; quhilk thairafter scho cutted in nyne peices and cast in the fyre; quhilk scho affirmit scho lairnit, with the rest of hir cures, fra ane Italian strangear callit *Mr Johnne Damiet*, ane notorious knawin enchanter and sorcerer."—See Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii., p. 27.

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V.'s time, three hundred were employed for several summers in washing of gold, of which they got above a hundred thousand pounds of English money; by the same way, the laird of Marchestone got gold in Pentland hills; great plenty has been got in Langham water, fourteen miles from Leadhill-house, in Crawfurd moor, and in Megget water, twelve miles, and over Phinland, sixteen miles from that house; and in many other places, where pieces of gold of thirty ounces weight have been found, which were flat, mixed with the spar, some with keel, and some with brimstone."* Referring, in 1772, to the alleged pieces of thirty ounces, Mr Pennant says "the largest piece I ever heard of does not exceed an ounce and a-half, and is in possession of Lord Hopetoun, the owner of these mines." The Laird of Merchiston, named above, was obviously Sir Archibald Napier, father of the famous John Napier, the inventor of Logarithms. Sir Archibald began public life as a lawyer, and for some time filled the office of Justice-Depute, but afterwards forsook his legal avocations for the attractive profession of gold-seeker in the Scottish mines, and finally became "General Maister of the Cunzie-hous," or Mint, under James VI., in which position he latterly experienced a great deal of trouble in maintaining himself against rivals.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Crawford-mines yielded considerable quantities of the precious ore. "Sir David Lindesay of the Mount, Lord Lion King-at-Arms," boasts of the native gold and silver, in his earliest poem, *The Dream*, which dates about 1528:—

Of every metal we have the rich mines,
Both gold, and silver, and stones precious;
Albeit we lack the spices and the wines,
Or other strange fruits delicious,
We have as good, and more needful for us:
Meat, drink, fire, cloaths might there be caus'd abound,
Which else is not into the map found.†

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* *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. 4, p. 100.

† We have quoted the passage from a modernised version of Lindsay's works, which is curious on account of its

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Of course, if Sir David stood alone he might be suspected of poetical exaggeration, designed, in Caleb Balderstone's spirit, to rebut all sneers at the scant resources of his "auld, respected mither." But he does not stand alone, and his boast was supported by the plainest facts. The district of Crawford came to be called the "Golden Area," and "God's treasure house in Scotland;" and the four burns in which the precious yellow grains were found—Glengonar, Short Cleuch, Mennock, and Wanlock—were compared to the four rivers that watered the Garden of Eden—Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates! Of part of the gold obtained, money was minted, namely, the well-known *bonnet-pieces*, which were so designated from the cap, beret, or bonnet which James V. wears in his portrait on the obverse of this coin, which was probably executed by an Italian artist, as the style of the bust resembles those of the continental princes of that time. Pieces of two-thirds and one-third of this coin were issued at the same time. A bonnet-piece, dated 1540, bears the following inscription around the King's head:—*Jacobus.* 5. *Dei. Gra. R. Scotor.* 1540. The fame of the bonnet-pieces was spread beyond Scotland. On the 1st of September, 1536, King James sailed from Leith, with a squadron of seven ships, on a matrimonial expedition to France. He espoused the Princess

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being published by Peter Williamson and C. Elliot, Parliament Square, Edinburgh, in 1776-7,—one of those cheap editions which found their way into many a humble Scottish home, there to be highly prized; for, a hundred or more years ago, the name of Davie Lindsay was a household word among the common people, many of whom had "blads" of his poetry by heart. The publisher, Williamson, was Fergusson's "Indian Peter," who kept a tavern and coffee-room in the "Outer House," where the poet had often, during the "sitting of the Session," seen

> In wine the sucker biskets soum
> As light 's a flee.

Peter was a *lion* in his day, for his captivity among the North American Indians. He was the first to establish a penny post and publish a Street Directory in Auld Reekie. The conjunction of Peter and Davie Lindsay is rather odd, and it is for that reason that we quote the quondam Red man's edition of the poems.

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Magdalene, only daughter of the French King, a fair girl of sixteen, but over whose young head the shadow of Death was already gathering. At the marriage feast, the royal bridegroom caused a vessel to be placed on the table before each guest, filled with bonnet-pieces, and told them that these were the choice fruits which grew in his own country—a boast which must have impressed the French Court with an exalted but fallacious idea of the wealth of Scotland. Unhappily, Queen Magdalene died shortly after arriving in her consort's dominions; and "there was such an universal and real grief over all the kingdom, upon the news of her death, that to testify the sense the court, and other persons of note, had of the great loss, they went into mourning, which was the first time that ever that custom had been used in Scotland."* The demand for black cloth was consequently extreme; and a pursuivant was sent to Dundee, ordering the people of that town to bring all their black fabrics to Edinburgh. Great quanities of black Scottish cloth and French black were purchased for gowns, coats, hoods, bonnets, &c., to the royal retainers. The King, amongst numerous other articles, had a "coat with sleeves," of fine Paris black, at the price of £3 per ell—total, £11 5s; a riding-coat and shoes of the same material; a riding-gown and a hood; a riding-cloak; a pair of hose and mail; and a dule (mourning) coat and hood, all of Paris black; together with a saddle, covered with black, "of the new fashion," and a harnessing of black of the French fashion. The sum expended by the Treasurer on the Queen's funeral was £4737 18s 1d; and the expense of the King's visit to France amounted to £7949 7s 7d.†

A few months flew bye, and the widowed monarch sought and won the hand of Mary of Guise, with whom he was married by proxy in France; and she reached Scotland in May 1538. Next year a band of French

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* *Miscellanea Scotica*, vol. iv., p. 131.

† *James the Fifth; or, The "Gudeman of Ballangeich."* By James Paterson. Edin.: 1861; p. 188.

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miners, for Leadhills and Wanlockhead, were sent over by the Duke of Lorraine, the Queen's father, at the special request of King James. Various Flemish and German workmen were already employed; and his Majesty's goldsmith, John Mossman, was overseer of the foreigners. To facilitate oral communication between the latter and their Scottish masters and comrades, interpreters were appointed: for the French there was "ane Scottish boy that speaks French, to serve them till they get the Scottish language." The huts in which the miners lodged were sheltered by a group of ash trees still surviving in the valley of the Glengonar — at least, the local tradition assigns this antiquity to the existing trees on the spot. King James took his Queen on a visit to the gold-region, on which occasion she was presented with a piece of ore weighing three ounces. But we shall now have recourse to the Lord Hi_h Treasurer's Books for particulars about what was done with portions of the produce of the mines. In June 1538, "ane Terget of gold" was made, "with ane Marmadyne in it of dyamontis, of ye Kingis awin gold." Then follow these entries :—

1539. Oct. 5. *Item*, gevin to Johnne Mosman, for making of the *Quenis Crowne*, and furnesing of stanis yairto, quhilk weyit xxxv vnce of Gold of Mynde, ... xlv li

,, Oct. 9. *Item*, gevin to ane boy yat come fra Lundoune, fra the *Duche Mynowris*, in drink silver, ... xxijs

1539–40. Jan. 6. *Item*, gevin to John Mosmane for ye making of ane *Belt of Gold* of the Mynde to the Quenis Grace, weyand xix vnces half vnce, xv li

,, Jan 15. *Item*, for making and fassoun of the *Kingis Crown*, weyand iij pund wecht x vnces, and yairof Gold of ye Mynde xlj vnce quarter vnce, ... xxx li

,, Feb. 14. *Item*, gevin to Johnne Mosman, to pay for *ane pece of vnwrocht Gold of the Mynde*, whilk was send to the Duke of Guyse, in France, ... xliiijs

,, Mar. 24. *Item*, for ye fassoun of lxvij vnces ekit to *the Kingis grace chenze* [chain], of ye quhilk yair wes xvij vnces of gold of ye Mynde, &c.,

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1540. May 14. *Item*, gevin to Balsar Howstar, Ducheman, and Richard Wardlaw, to pass to Campbell, to serche the Metallis and *ore of Silver*, xij li iiijs

„ Jul. 30. *Item*, to Johnne Mosman, goldsmyth, for ye making of *ane Quhissill of Gold of Mynde*, weyand iiij½ vnces half Vnicorne wecht, with ane Dragoun anamulet, deliuerit to ye Kingis grace ye penult day of Julij, ... iiij li

„ Sep. 25. *Item*, gevin to George Carmichaell for *ane peee of Gold of the Mynde*, deliuerit be him to ye Kingis grace of befoir, in Sanctandrois, weyand twa vnces quarter vnce grote wecht, price of ye vnce vj li viijs, *summa*, ... xv li iiijs

„ Oct. 9. *Item*, gevin to Johnne Mosman to be ane Relique to ane Bane of Sanct Andriane of May, vj vnces quarter vnce *Gold of Mynde*, ... xl li

1541. Feb. 14. *Item*, deliuerit to George Carmichaell, sone to ye Capitane of Crawfurd, for *thre vnce of Gold*, quhilk he deliuerit to ye Quenis grace, the tyme scho wes in Crawfurd-Johnne, price of ye vnce vj li viijs, *summa*, ... xix li iiijs

1542. June 27. *Item*, gevin to ye Capitane of Crawfurd, for fyve score xij¼ vnce *vnmolting Gold of Mynde*, price of ye vnce vj li viijs, quhilk wes deliuerit to Johnne Mosman, and disponit vpone the King and Quenis graces Crownis, weyand the Kingis Crowne, xlj¼ vnce; the Quenis Crowne, xxxv vnce; and to yke ane grete chenze to his grace, xvij vnce, and ane Belt to ye Quene, weyand xix½ vnce, ... vijc xviij li viijs*

The King's crown specified in this last entry is the present Crown of Scotland. It was originally made by command of Robert Bruce, in lieu of the ancient crown carried oft by Edward I., and never returned, and was first used at the coronation of David II. This crown was of the open or diadem order, which had been the fashion from all antiquity, being in imitation of a silken or linen fillet, which Pliny supposes was the general ensign of kings from the days of Bacchus. In the fif-

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, vol. 1, pp. 293-322.

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teenth century when closed or arched crowns were adopted by foreign potentates as emblems of imperial dignity, the Scottish crown underwent some alteration to that style. Both James III. and James IV. appear on their coins with close crowns; but the arches were not actually added until the reign of James V., as appears from the characters inscribed upon them. Lord Fountainhall, in his *Diary*, says that "the Crown of Scotland is not the ancient one, but was casten of new by King James V." But the difference between the ancient diadem and the arches bearing the latter sovereign's cipher, both in workmanship and fineness of metal, plainly shows that Lord Fountainhall was under a misapprehension, and that King James only added the arches, without remoulding or altering the form of the original diadem.* The arches, therefore, may be regarded as composed of genuine Scottish gold of the mine. King Edward IV. was the first English monarch who had the arched crown engraved upon his great seal.

Although, as we have said, the gold yielded by the Scottish mines was considerable in amount, during the period spoken of, yet the cost of production apparently counterbalanced the actual value of the ore, so that when the novelty of the thing was over, the gold-fever subsided.

The last days of the King were now at hand. He could not survive the disgraceful rout at Solway Moss, and he died, of a broken heart, at Falkland, on the 13th December 1542, muttering in his last moments, that the crown of Scotland came with a lass and it would go with a lass.

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* *Description of the Regalia of Scotland*, p. 11.

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THE SEARCH FOR SCOTTISH GOLD IN OLDEN TIMES.—Part 3rd.

Now, you set your foot on shore
In *Novo Orbe;* here's the rich Peru:
And there within, sir, are the golden mines,
Great Solomon's Ophir!

Ben Jonson—" *The Alchemist.*"

For five and twenty years after the demise of James V., the history of the Scottish gold-mines presents a blank. The gold-fever had subsided. Queen Mary's return from France, however, was speedily followed by an attempt to develop the lead-mines in the Crawford district. On the 23d January, 1561–2, the Queen granted license to John Acheson, master-cunzier (coiner), and John Aslowan, burgess of Edinburgh, empowering them to work the lead-mines of Glengonar and Wanlock-head, and carry as much as 20,000 stone weight of the ore which they might obtain to Flanders or other parts abroad, upon condition that they should deliver at the Queen's cunzie-house (or Royal Mint) in Edinburgh, before the 1st of August then next, forty-five ounces of fine silver for every thousand stone-weight of the ore, "extending in the hale to nine hundred unces of utter fine silver." This undertaking was carried on for years; but no information can be found as to the actual results,—although it has been conjectured that profits must have accrued, as the name Sloane, which seems only another form of Aslowan, continued to flourish at Wanlock-head down to the time of Robert Burns. The two contractors were prosecuting their work, when, in August 1565, Queen Mary and her consort, Darnley, granted a license to John, Earl of Athole, "to win forty thousand trone stane wecht, counting six score stanes for ilk hundred, of lead ore, and mair, gif the same may guidly be won, within the nether lead hole of Glengoner and Wanlock:" and the Earl became bound to deliver to the Crown fifty ounces of fine silver for every thousand stone-weight of the

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lead ore. Other three parties, James Carmichael, Master James Lindsay, and Andrew Stevenson, burgesses of Edinburgh, also obtained a license, on the same terms, to win lead ore from any part of the kingdom, save and except "the mine and work of Glengoner and Wanlock."

A short time brought a noted gold-seeker upon the stage in the person of Cornelius de Vois, a Dutchman, who was a painter, and possessed great skill in "the trial of minerals and mineral stones." Having gone to England to push his fortunes, he formed a strict friendship with Nicholas Hilliard, goldsmith and miniature-painter to Queen Elizabeth, and eventually came into favour at Court. Hearing stories about the reputed wealth of Scotland in precious ores, a seductive field of enterprise opened before him like a vision of Fairyland. Procuring from his royal patroness a letter of recommendation to the Regent Moray, he crossed the Border,—his brain teeming, like Alnaschar's, with golden anticipations. He presented his credentials; and on the 4th March, 1567–8, Moray gave him a nineteen years' license to search for gold and silver throughout Scotland, and for that end to "break the ground, mak sinks and pots therein, and to put labourers thereto," as might be necessary; under the full protection of the Government; upon condition of Government being paid at the rate of eight ounces for every hundred ounces of gold or silver which would be purified by washing; and of four ounces for every hundred ounces of the same which required the more expensive purification by fire. Cornelius set to work; and his career has been traced to some extent by the pen of a later brother of the craft, named Stephen Atkinson, in a strange, bombastical work—*Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland*,—written in 1619, and which, after reposing in MS. for a couple of centuries (part of that period in the Advocates' Library of Edinburgh) was printed in 1825 for the Bannatyne Club. "Cornelius," says this authority, "went to view the said mountains in Clydesdale and Nydesdale, upon

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which mountains he got a small taste of small gold. This was a whetstone to sharpen his knife upon; and this natural gold tasted so sweet as the honeycomb in his mouth. And then he consulted with his friends in Edinburgh, and by his persuasions provoked them to adventure with him, showing them at first the natural gold, which he called the temptable gold, or alluring gold. It was in sterns, and some like unto birds' eyes and eggs: he compared it unto a woman's eye, which entiseth her lover into her bosom." Prospects were temptable; but Cornelius was either a cautious man who acted on the same principle as Bailie Jarvie's father, the Deacon, never to put out his arm farther than he could easily draw it back again; or he was unprovided with sufficient funds of his own to meet preliminary working expenses; for, after completing his survey, he endeavoured to form what we would call a joint-stock company. He did so, by holding out the assurance that his scheme would prove an infallible remedy for pauperism, by affording useful employment for the greater proportion of the host of mendicants wandering over the country. There was much in this to think of; and the experiment seemed worthy of a trial; for the vast increase of beggary and vagrancy, since the Reformation, was engaging the attention of the Scottish and English rulers. The Dutch lapidary declared that if he had been able to show in his own land such indications of mineral wealth as he had found in Scotland, "then the whole country would confederate, and not rest till young and old that were able be set to work thereat, and to discover this treasure-house from whence this gold descended; and the people, from ten years old till ten times ten years old, should work thereat: no charges whatsoever should be spared, till mountains and mosses were turned into vallies and dales, but this treasure-house should be discovered"—meaning the source in the mountains whence the gold was washed down into the glens. With what wondering interest would the proposition be discussed among the sagacious moneyed men of the day: the question

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of the suppression of mendicancy being mixed up with speculations concerning the "saxere stones," and the "calamineere stones," and the "salineere stones as small as the mustard seed, and some like meal; and the sappar stone in lumps, like unto the fowles eyes, or bird's eggs; and the most strangest of all, natural gold linked fast unto the sapper stone, even as vaines of lead-ewer and white spars do grow together!" But the enthusiastic representations of De Vois produced some effect. A "confederation" was formed, with a capital stock of £5,000 Scots, equal to about £416 sterling; and the mining commenced. Cornelius "had sixscore men at work in vallies and dales. He employed both lads and lassies, idle men and women, which before went a-begging. He profited by their work, and they lived well and contented." They washed the debritus in the vallies, and were paid with a merk sterling for every ounce realized. In the space of thirty days, eight pound weight of gold was sent to the Mint at Edinburgh—a quantity which would now bring £450 sterling. The gold was generally found in small pieces; and so late as 1619, an old man, named John Gibson, who still lived in the village of Crawford, used to tell how he had gathered gold in the glens in pieces "like birds' eyes and birds' eggs," the best being found, he said, in Glengaber water, in Ettrick, which he sold for 6s 8d sterling per ounce to the Earl of Morton. But, after a while, clouds and darkness enwrap the founder of the confederation. Perhaps he had accumulated a fortune, with which he decamped, apprehending that he had sucked the orange dry. Perhaps the yield of gold showed signs of exhaustion before much profit was realised. Whatever was the cause, Cornelius forsook the "golden area" for good and all.

Another Dousterswivel — another Dutchman next came forward, named Abraham Grey, who had also lived some time in England. He was a *kenspeckle* figure, by reason of his enormous beard, which, it is said, reached to his girdle—hence he was popularly

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nicknamed *Great-beard.* This worthy, with his "hairy meteor" fluttering in the breezes of the golden glens, paid his labourers weekly wages at the rate of four-pence per day, for washing the gold at Wanlock; and seems to have produced some amount of pure ore. Out of this, as we are told, a fair and deep bason was fashioned, without the addition of any other gold, by a Scottish goldsmith, in the Canongate of Edinburgh. The bason was of a capacity to contain an English gallon of liquor. Being filled to the brim with gold pieces coined from Scottish ore, it was presented to the King of France. So the story goes,—though we cannot vouch for its accuracy. The bason was presented to the French king by the Regent Morton, who signined upon his honour, saying—"My lord, behold this bason, and all that therein is: it is natural gold got within this kingdom of Scotland, by a Dutchman, named Abraham Grey." Abraham was standing by, and affirmed it upon a solemn oath; but he said unto the said king, that he thought gold did engender and increase within the earth, and that he observed it so to do by the influence of the heavens. The Earl Morton stood up, saying—"I also believe that gold engenders within the earth, but only of the two elements, water and earth; and that it was made perfect malleable gold from the beginning by God; and I am certain that this cup, and all the pieces therein, are of natural Scots gold, without any other compound or addition." Many were the theories about the origin and nature of gold propounded in that age. But no notion was too fantastical for the Alchemical adepts. Most of them regarded gold as a concretion or concentration of Light, or rather Fire. Van Helmont called the sun "a living and spiritual gold, which (gold) is a mere Fire, and beyond all, thoroughly refined gold:" and Barton held that "gold is no more than mercury with abundance of light or fire in it."

Having said his say about the engendering of the precious metal, *Great-beard* quits the busy scene—betaking himself, like his immediate predecessor, we

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know not whither. His room was soon filled by an English adventurer, George Bowes, who, fortified, as usual, with a recommendation from Queen Elizabeth, obtained authority from the Scottish Privy Council to search for gold in the old places. He is said to have sunk shafts and discovered a small vein of gold at Wanlock-head. He "found oftimes good feeling gold, and much small gold, of which he gave ten or twelve ounces to make friends in England and Scotland. He had both English and Scots workmen, and paid them with the same gold. And when he and his men had filled their purses, then he caused the shaft to be filled up again, swearing his men to secrecy, and keep it close, from the King of Scotland and his Council. This was confessed by some of Mr Bowes's chief servants, since his death. On his return to England, he shewed the Queen a long purse full of the gold found in the vein he had discovered, and it was valued to be worth seven score pounds. He told her majesty he had made it very sure, and hid it up till next going there. She liked well thereof, promising him a triple reward, and to prepare himself next spring to go there at her majesty's charge alone, to seek for a greater vein." But his secretiveness availed him nought. We all know the sudden fate which overtook Mr By-ends, Mr Money-love, and their fellows in Bunyan's immortal dream: "Now at the farther side of that plain was a little hill called Lucre, and in that hill a silver mine, which some of them that had formerly gone that way, because of the rarity of it, had turned aside to see; but going too near the brink of the pit, the ground, being deceitful under them, broke, and they were slain." Master Bowes, with his long purse, returned to his own home in the north of England. He afterwards went to see the copper mines at Keswell, in Cumberland; but "as he was going down into the deep," his ladder broke, the earth fell in, and he perished in the midst of the mineral treasures!

An unquestionable proof that quantities of gold continued to be gathered in Scotland is furnished by an Edict of the Privy Council, issued in the summer of

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1576. It forbade the gold-seekers in Crawford-moor, Roberton, and Henderland, to sell their gold, as they had been doing, to merchants for exportation, and ordered them to bring in all, according to law, to the King's Cunzie-house, there to be sold, at the accustomed prices, for the use of the State.

The quest was now taken up by Stephen Atkinson himself, who found gold, but not, apparently, in such quantity as was "temptable" to perseverance; and he made way for Arthur von Bronckhorst. But though this new contractor had some success, the terms of his bargain with Government left him the narrowest margin for profit, and consequently he was driven from the work.

Despite discouragements and failures, still another foreigner was attracted to the "Treasure-house" of Scotland. This was a Fleming,—Eustachius Roche, by name, and a mediciner or physician by profession, with a competent knowledge of mineralogy. On the 22nd October, 1583, he entered into a contract with King James VI. of the following tenor, viz.:—Master Roche was to be allowed to break ground anywhere within Scotland in search of minerals, and to use timber from any of the royal forests, in furtherance of the work, without molestation from anyone, during the space of twenty-one years, on condition that he should deliver for his Majesty's use, seven ounces for every hundred ounces of gold found, and ten ounces for every hundred of silver, copper, tin, and lead, and sell the remainder of the gold for the use of the State at £22 per ounce of utter fine gold, and 50s per ounce of silver. The business, however, did not thrive in the mediciner's hands. By the 3rd December 1585, he was immersed to the chin in a flood of difficulties. He had formed a copartnery with several Englishmen; but they had broken their contract, and he represented to the Privy Council that he had "as yet made little or nae profit of his travel, partly by reason of the trouble of this contagious sickness, but specially in the default of his partners and John Scolloce their factor," and thereby, "the haill

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work has been greatly hinderit." Scolloce had been arrested, at his instance, and put in prison at Edinburgh; but was now, by his Majesty's special command, "latten to liberty, without ony trial taken." Moreover, the Lord High Treasurer had "causit arrest the leid ore whilk the complener has presently in Leith, and whilk was won in the mines of Glengoner Water and Winlock:" and which lead was the portion set aside for the Earl of Arran, in virtue of a contract for the protection of his Lordship's rights to certain of the lead-mines. This arrestment was loosed by the Council; but their act of grace seems to have been only a temporary relief to Roche; for when he is subsequently found seeking another method of making a livelihood, we may conclude that his mining speculation never became remunerative. On the 4th September 1588, he entered upon a different undertaking, which was the making of a superior kind of salt by a cheap process. For this he obtained the exclusive privilege, by royal authority, assigning the profits to the king, excepting a tenth to himself and his heirs, "unsubject to confiscation for ony offence or crime:" and he estimated that the project would yield 100,000 merks annually to the King's revenue. We fear Eustachius had as bad luck with his salt as with his minerals.

Master Roche was followed in the search for metals, not by another adept from beyond seas, with an empty pocket and a divining rod, but by a substantial goldsmith of Edinburgh—one of that wealthy knot of citizens, some of whom acted, on occasions, as money-lenders and pawnbrokers to sage King James, who was frequently as needy as the neediest of the Dousterswivel race. Thomas Foulis, a brother-craftsman of Jingling Geordie, became a leading creditor of the king, and in that capacity he would have no difficulty in getting a twenty-one years' lease of the gold, silver, and lead mines of Crawford-moor and Glengonar. The tack was signed on 21st January, 1593-4. In the ensuing September his advances to the King reached £14,598, and soon afterwards he lent £12,000 more, making a total

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of £26,598. About two years previously, the "melting and refyning of all and quhatsumevir vris (ores) won and wrocht within this countrie" was committed to him by Act of Parliament, because he had "found out the ingyne and moyne to caus melt and fyne the vris of metallis." The goldsmith had the good sense, after a time, to turn his attention chiefly to the working of the lead ore, which ultimately formed a source of great wealth to his descendants, as the sequel of our history will abundantly show.

The grant to Foulis of the refining, and the appointment by the King in favour of Mr John Lindsay (of whom hereafter) as "Master of the Metallis," in another Department of the Scottish Mint, roused the jealous indignation of Sir Archibald Napier of Merchiston, the "General of the Mint," who conceived these proceedings to be infringements of his rights. A keen paper war broke out. Napier derided the qualifications of Foulis and the strangers in his employ, as refiners, and urged that "the said affyning aucht to be maid in presens of the wardens and essayer of the Cunziehous onlie; for gif sum controlement heirof be not usit be the maist expert of the Cunziehous, the saids effyneris may mak mair nor xl^m pundis (£40,000) of proffeit to themselffis, and never kennell ane fyre for effyning thairof. . . . . . And in caice the said Thomas Fowlis will object, that his saidis straingearis will permit na qualifeit officiar of the Cunziehous to see and controill their said wark, it is answerit, we desire not to see thair craft of effynings, but allanerlie how mekle and quhat spaceis of guid money they demoleis, seeing lair can do the samin." Both Foulis and Lindsay, however, held their ground, and Sir Archibald had to content himself with his circumscribed duties as best he could.*

But other stranger-adventurers were still to come: and one of them none other than the originator and Grandmaster of the order of *Golden Knights*, or *Knights of the Golden Mines.*

* See Chambers' *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. 1. p.p. 17, 50, 107, 151, 189, 253: and Napier's *Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston*, p.p. 227--234.

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THE SEARCH FOR SCOTTISH GOLD IN OLDEN TIMES.—Part 4th.

I have but little gold of late, brave Timon,
The want whereof doth daily make revolt
In my penurious band. *Timon of Athens.*

It was in 1592, as already stated, that the new office of "Master of the Metallis" was conferred, by Act of Parliament, upon Mr John Lindsay, who belonged to the ancient house of the Lindsays of Edzell, and in the outset of his public life was commonly called Parson of Menmuir, from holding that rectory. He rose to the judicial bench as a Lord of Session, and subsequently became Lord Privy Seal, and then Secretary of State as one of the Octavians, or eight Commissioners of Exchequer, who for a season ruled Scotland under James VI. He was the father of David, first Lord Lindsay of Balcarras. "He was of good learning, but sickly body," says Scotstarvet: and the Act of 1592 testifies to his "travellis in seiking out and discovering of dyvers metallis of great valor within this realme." He died in 1598; and the cynical Scotstarvet adds that "his conquests"—or the property which he acquired—"were not thought very lawful; for having married the wife of umquhil Mr David Borthwick, the King's advocate, and that way got the sight of the writs, he conquest the lands of Balcarras from David's son, being a spendthrift. His haill conquest was about threscore ten chalders of victual."*

The Parson, or Lord Menmuir, as we ought to style him, had evidently some share in the discovery of "minerals of gold, silver, brass, and tin" in the lands of Lindsay, about the time when he received his mint appointment. His elder brother, Sir David, and himself were anxious to ascertain the extent of these mines, and entered so eagerly upon the work, that they brought miners from Germany and elsewhere. Smelting-houses

* *The Staggering State of the Scots Statesmen*, p. 58

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were erected in various parts of the district, and the work was carried on with great spirit by a German of the pugilistic name of Fechtenburg, whom Lord Menmuir strongly recommended to his brother as being "perfyt in kenning of ground and discovering of metals." This happened in 1593–4, and it would appear that the operations had been remunerative, for on the 12th October, 1602, Sir David let to Hans Zeigler "and his companions all and sundry the mines of gold, silver, quicksilver, copper, tin, and lead, and all other minerals (except iron and marmor) within all the bounds of the barony of Edzell and Glenesk," for the space of twenty-five years, for which they were "thankfully to pay and deliver the fifth part of all and sundry the saide metals of gold, silver, &c., whilk the said Hans, his partners, shall happen to dig, holk, work, and win out of the said mines;" and from that period down to the close of the seventeenth century, they were steadily wrought, with, at least, partial success; for, after the lead was extracted, and the metal properly refined, some portions were found to yield a sixty-fourth part of silver. These mines appear, however, though their fame had become so great that they were noticed in all topographical books of the period, to have fallen into disuse during the time of the last laird, and were not again wrought until 1728, when the South Sea Company tried to find silver in the mine at Craig-Soales; but the overseer of the work being bribed, as the common tradition runs, the undertaking was given over, as an irremunerative concern, and neither gold nor silver, nor mineral of any sort, save lime, has since been tried for. According to some accounts, silver is also to be found near the castle of Invermark; and the still more precious metal is said to be abound in the Tarf, particularly at Gracie's Linn (a place so called from a person of that name being drowned there), where it is said to have been so plentiful at one time, that a lucky lad, in passing the ford, gathered his pockets full of it! Iron also is said to abound here, as well as at Dalbog, and a vein of copper is said to be in an old quarry at Dalbrack

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—yet, with all these temptations, and in the rage for gold-digging, even some of the inhabitants of Glenesk showed a preference for the distant mines of Australia; and it is not now likely, without the revival of some such "bubble" as that of the South Sea, that those of Glenesk will again be wrought.*

Whilst Herr Fechtenburg was straining every nerve to win a Golden Fleece for the lord of Edzell Castle, the Edinburgh goldsmith was closely engaged with his mines at Crawford. Certainly honest Foulis did not find the yield of gold very encouraging; but he was soon joined by a pretentious, high-flying coadjutor. Bevis Bulmer, an Englishman, was smitten like others of his countrymen, by prospects of a golden harvest across the Border; for in those times the high-road to fortune seemed to point in the opposite direction to what it did in the days of Dr Johnson. Bulmer took the usual step of getting a recommendatory letter from his Queen to King James; and down he came to Scotland, dreaming that, like Midas of Phrygia, he should turn everything he touched into gold. Apparently by some arrangement with Foulis, he obtained a patent or licence from the Scottish Government to seek for the precious metals. He accordingly broke ground in five places, namely, Mannoch Muir and Robart Muir in Nithsdale, the Friar Muir on Glengonar Water, and Crawford Muir in Clydesdale, and Glengaber Water in Henderland, Peeblesshire. "Upon Glengonar Water," says Atkinson's account, "he builded a very fair country-house to dwell in; he furnished it fitting for himself and his family; he kept therein great hospitality; he purchased lands and grounds round about it; he kept thereupon many cattle, as horses, kine, sheep, &c. And he brought home a water-course for the washing of and cleansing of gold; by help thereof he got much straggling gold on the skirts of the hills and in the valleys but none in solid places; which maintained himself then in great pomp, and thereby he kept open house for all

* *The History and Traditions of the Land of the Lindsays.* By Andrew Jervise. Edin: 1853, p. 82.

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comers and goers; as is reported, he feasted all sorts of people that thither came." A verse which was inscribed upon the lintel of the door of his Glengonar house has been preserved—

> Sir Bevis Bulmer built this bour,
> Who levelled both hill and moor;
> Who got great riches and great honour
> In Short-cleuch Water and Glengonar.

He also set regular apparatus at work in Short-cleugh Water and Long-cleuch Braes, in Crawford Moor, and often found considerable quantities of the golden ore. In the latter place, his people found one piece of six ounces weight within two feet of the mosses. "On Glengaber Water, Inderland, in the Forest of Ettrick, he got the greatest gold in Scotland, like Indian wheat or pearl, and black-eyed, like beans. He did not mind to settle there till a fitter time, being driven away by force of weather. Mr Bulmer presented Queen Elizabeth with as much gold as made a porringer:" upon which he caused to be engraved the following lines:—

> I dare not give, nor yet present,
> But render part of that's thy own:
> My mind and heart shall still invent
> To seek out treasures yet unknown.

But the ostentatious and prodigal style of living in which Bevis indulged went beyond his resources. Debts accumulating upon his head, his embarrassments obviously induced him to seek closer relations with Thomas Foulis; and accordingly some time before 1597, Foulis assumed him as a partner in the working of the lead-mines at Crawford, which were beginning to prove of much value.

The lead-ore was carried in horse-loads to sundry parts of the kingdom, but the most part of it to Leith, where it was disposed of for exportation. Just, however, as all the mining difficulties had been overcome, the enterprisers found difficulties of another kind. The broken men of the Borders had heard of this valuable metal passing along the uplands of Clydesdale, and it seemed to them not too hazardous an adventure to cross the hills, and make a dash at such a booty. In June, 1597, complaints were heard that the carriers of the lead, servants of

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Thomas Foulis, were occasionally beset on their way, and robbed by the borderers of "horses, clothing, and their haill carriage." Nearer neighbours, too, respectable men, burgesses of Lanark and Glasgow, were accused, in the following October, of lawlessly helping themselves to the lead won from the Crawford mines, while on its passage to Leith, and disposing of it for their own benefit. Moreover, they were charged with appropriating two horse loads of rye and white bread on the way to the mines, and within six miles of them, thereby hindering the progress of the work itself. The Privy Council issued a threatening proclamation against the Border plunderers; and as the others represented themselves as having lawfully purchased the lead in question, an order was issued that they should either return or pay for it to Thomas Foulis, the rightful owner.

But whatever profits arose from the lead-mining, the Edinburgh goldsmith's affairs fell into great disorder, in consequence of his monetary transactions with the king. Thomas could get no payment from his Majesty, and his own creditors were pressing hard for their money. In the midst of his troubles, "Thomas Foulis conceivit sickness," as Birrel notes in his Diary, under date, 16th January, 1597–8; and the sick man was soon thereafter seized with a "phrenzie," brought on by his entanglements. In June following, the Parliament, however, agreed "that the debt awand by his Majesty to Thomas Foulis be payit in six years, namely thirty thousand merks every year"—showing a debt of 180,000 merks! As an additional *solatium*, Thomas was appointed Master of the Mint.*

It had fared hard with the goldsmith, as we have seen; but his partner, Bevis Bulmer, got himself into still worse plight. Unbounded extravagance was this adventurer's bane. Having exhausted every means of keeping up his prodigality, he bade adieu to Crawford and its treasures, and returned to England. There, it

* Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, Vol. i., pp. 254, 291, 295.

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is said, he wrote a book of all his arts, works, and devices, called *Bulmer's Skill*, and then another great book on silver-mines, minerals, mineral stones, tin-mines, coal-mines, and salt-works, in which he ennumerated the following productions of Scotland as found by him: natural gold, great and small; natural silver; copper-stone; lead-ore; iron-stone; marble; stone-coal; beds of alabaster; amethyst; and pearls. His heart still yearned towards the north. After his literary labours were out of hand, his restless and fertile brain concocted a fresh project, which he propounded to Queen Elizabeth's Council; and it was to this effect:—A company or confederation should be formed, consisting of four and twenty landed gentlemen, each drawing £500 of annual rental, who were to disburse £300 each, "in money or victuals," for the maintenance of gold-seeking operations in Scotland. Furthermore, as an inducement to such gentlemen to venture their means, an order of knighthood should be instituted under the title of the Order of the Golden Knights, or Knights of the Golden Mines, in which all the speculators should be included. A couple of knights, it seems, were actually made—Bulmer himself and a certain John Claypool. The lat er may have been some connection to the Claypole family which was subsequently related by marriage to Oliver Cromwell; but at all events the first knight of these Claypoles was Sir James (son of James Claypole, Esq., who deceased in 1599), and he was knighted by King James, at Greenwich, on the 18th June, 1604.* The two knights were made; but the progress of the scheme was suddenly "crossed" by the influence of the Earl of Salisbury, and the alluring superstructure fell to the ground. The Queen seems to have appointed Sir Bevis as her Master of the Mint; and we shall meet with him again in connection with silver-mining in Scotland.

The fame of the "Golden Area" of Crawford now

* Noble's *Memoirs of the Protectoral House of Cromwell*. Vol. ii., p. 370.

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underwent a rapid decline. The rich ore might still be gathered there; but the average quantity was not great, and a rise which took place in the wages of labour rendered the pursuit unprofitable. According to General Dirom, in his remarks on the map of Dumfriesshire, as long as wages remained at fourpence per day, Scots money, the search was remunerative; but on an increase to sixpence, the work was abandoned, except by some old men unfit for other labour, who for a time continued it.* The great Civil Wars distracted men's thoughts from Gold-seeking; but about the middle of the eighteenth century the search was resumed, and small pieces of gold were occasionally picked up in the Crawford glens; but the general result was abortive. Again, at the beginning of the present century some efforts were directed towards this object, but without success; and we are assured, by Dr John Brown, that to this day "the glittering sand is still occasionally to be found, and every now and then a miner, smit with the sacred hunger, takes to the deluding, feckless work, and seldom settles to anything again." Dr Watson, author of *A Brief Historical Account of the Mines of Wanlockhead*, collected a good deal of gold, some of it in small grains, and some in pieces of nearly the size of a garden-pea. A casual visitor to the place in September 1853 gathered as much, in grains and flakes, as would make a tolerable-sized brooch, and this after a few days' searching.

Various places in Scotland, other than those already named, have been traditionally and otherwise reputed as possessing the auriferous deposit. Mr Pennant quotes an old memorandum of minerals found by Colonel Borthwick, which was originally communicated to Sir Robert Sibbald :—

1. A silver-mine on the north side of the hill S. Jordin, in the parish of Foveran.
2. Gold found about Dunidur, beyond Aberdeen.
3. Silver called golden bank, at Menzies, in the parish of Foveran.

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* Forsyth's *Beauties of Scotland*, Vol. ii., p. 252.

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4. Silver, at the back of a park, where there is a well that serves Disblair's household, parish of Fintra, eight miles north by Aberdeen.
5. Gold in the boggs of New Leslie, at Drumgarran, two miles from Dunidur.
6. Iron at the well of Sipa, west side of Woman hill, near Gilkomstone miln, quarter of a mile from Aberdeen.
7. Gold, very rich, in a town called Overhill, parish Beehelvie, belongs to L. Glamis, fourteen fathoms below the kiln.
8. Lead, at the head of Loughlieburn, north side of Selkirk.
9. Copper in a place called Elphon, in a hill beside Allen Laird of Hilltown's lands.
10. Silver, in the hill of Skrill, Galloway.
11. Silver in Windyneil, Tweedale.
12. Gold, in Glenclought, near Kirkhill.
13. Copper, in Locklaw, Fife.
14. Silver, in the hill south side Lochenhill.
15. Lead, in L. Brotherstone's land.
16. Several metals near Kirkcudbright.
17. Copper, north side Borthwickhill, Hawick, and Branxome.
18. Silver, in Kylesmoor, Sorn, and Machlin, Airshire.
19. Several Ores in Orkney.*

The discovery of gold in Sutherland has been a recent occurrence; but the people of Eddrachillis parish, in that county, had long asserted that gold existed in the part of Durness forming the estate of Ballinakill; and the reason assigned for the non-working of the alleged mine was this :—From the time that Charles I. created the Chief of the Mackays (Donald, son of Hugh Mackay) Lord Reay, with the possession of the tract of land known as the "Reay Country," the family forbade any digging for gold or other metals at the place in which it was said to be found, from an apprehension that the Crown would appropriate the land in question to itself. Perthshire, too, can put in a claim to be reckoned within the "Golden Area." The writer of the new Statistical account of Dunkeld and parish of Dowally says :—"Gold in grain has been occasionally found in a sandbank about three miles above Dunkeld, and fully twenty feet above the level of the Tay. A few small trinkets were made of it, but the quantity of gold was so small, and the expense of extracting so great,

* Pennant's *Tour in Scotland*, Vol. 3. p, 420.

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that no attention is now paid to the discovery."* Glenturret and Glenquaich have likewise been indicated as containing the golden ore; and so has Longforgan Moor.

The lead-mines at Crawford ultimately became the property of the Foulis family; and the goldsmith's grand-daughter, Anne, who married Sir James Hope, sixth son of Thomas Hope, the Lord-Advocate of the Covenanting era, and author of the *Minor Practicks* (an obsolete law-book), brought with her the rich heriage of the Leadhills. Her husband is described by Douglas, in his *Peerage*, as a great lawyer, "also a good Alchymist, and the first who brought the art of mining to any degree of perfection in Scotland." The grandson of Anne Foulis became the first Earl of Hopetoun.

One or two circumstances connected with Leadhills, seem sufficiently deserving of notice. Leadhills was the birthplace of Allan Ramsay, the poet, and it was there that he spent his boyhood—his father, Robert Ramsay, being the manager of the lead-mines in the district under Lord Hopetoun. A remarkable instance of longevity among the miners has been recorded by Mr Pennant:—"About two years ago died, at this place, a person of primæval longevity: one John Taylor, miner, who worked at his business till he was a hundred and twelve: he did not marry till he was sixty, and he had nine children: he saw to the last without spectacles; had excellent teeth till within six years before his death, having left off tobacco, to which he attributed their preservation: at length, in 1770, yielded to fate, after having completed his hundred and hirty-second year."†

* The Statistical Account of Perthshire, p. 965.
† Pennant's *Tour*, Vol, 2. p. 114.

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THE SEARCH FOR SCOTTISH GOLD IN OLDEN TIMES.—Part 5th.

Bell, book, and candle shall not drive me back,
When gold and silver becks me to come on.
King John.

THE progress of Scottish gold-seeking having been traced with sufficient amplitude of detail—though the narrative has been advisedly kept free of the geological or mineralogical aspects of the subject,—we shall now proceed with a concise account of the search for silver ore, so far as not already given.

Linlithgow, though a small county, abounds in minerals, and its pit-coal is said to have been dug five hundred years ago; for, indeed, the first mention of coalworks in Scotland occurs in a charter, of 1291, by the Laird of Pettincrieff to the Abbey of Dunfermline. In an early year of the seventeenth century, a poor Linlithgowshire collier, named Sandy Maund—and colliers were then and for long afterwards thralls or serfs, and, according to the kindly Scots law, could be bought and sold, like the commonest chattels, along with the mines to which they belonged—a poor collier, we say, wandering by the green burn-sides about Hilderstone, in Linlithgow parish, happened to light upon a strange-looking stone lying in his way, which attracted his eye because showing veins of some clear metal. His curiosity was aroused; for in all his mining experience he had never once come across anything similar. He carried the stone to a learned gentleman of Linlithgow, who on examining it seemed distrustful of his own skill to judge, and counselled honest Sandy to take the rarity to the Lead-hills, on Crawford moor, and submit it to Sir Bevis Bulmer, who had returned from England, a Knight of the Golden Mines, and resumed his former vocation under Thomas Foulis. The collier trudged to Leadhills, and saw the Golden Knight, who instantly pronounced the clear vein in

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the stone to be genuine silver ore, and declared that a silver mine must necessarily exist somewhere about the spot where it was picked up. This should have been gladsome news to the finder, and probably visions of manumission and high pecuniary reward filled his heated imagination as he hastened home to Hilderstone.

At this momentous juncture, the lands of Hilderstone were owned by a Scottish judge and statesman, remembered in history and tradition by the sobriquet of *Tam o' the Cowgate*, which was bestowed upon him by his facetious master, King James VI. Thomas Hamilton, the grandson of "a merchant at the West-bow in Edinburgh," as the snarling Scotstarvet notes, was descended from a branch of the noble house of Hamilton. Choosing the profession of law, he was created a Senator of the College of Justice, under the title of Lord Drumcairne, and soon entered on a career of promotion to the highest offices. He became King's Advocate and an Octavian, in 1595; Lord Clerk Register, and Secretary of State in 1612; Lord Binning and Byres, in 1613; President of the Session, in 1616; and subsequently Earl of Melrose, which title he changed to that of Earl of Haddington, when he became Lord Privy Seal. This was a man upon whom Fortune showered her favours profusely. He was "very learned," says Scotstarvet, "but of a cholerick constitution." Arthur Johnston, the Latin poet, speaks of him thus—

> *Plus nulli Fortuna dedit de gente Britanna*
> *Fortunam nemo tam reverenter habet.*

His learning was combined with great industry, keen sagacity, and not a small share of a Courtier's wiles. He rapidly amassed riches; and a trait of his character may be found in the fact that the crimson-velvet breeches of his State-dress which is still preserved at Tyningham, contain not fewer than *nine pockets!* His unvaried round of prosperity led many of his contemporaries to suspect that his luck lay in possessing the Philosopher's Stone, which when King James one day jocosely enquired after, while dining in our worthy's

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mansion, Tam assured him that the secret of his success consisted in the strict adherence to two simple maxims:

Never put off till to-morrow what can be done to-day.

Never trust to another's hand what your own can execute.*

Tam was Lord-Advocate and Octavian when the silver discovery burst upon his ears, and he was just the man to snatch at the chance. The lands of Hilderstone were searched, under the special directions of Sir Bevis Bulmer, and the mine was found. What bounty the poor collier obtained we know not; but we would fain hope that Cowgate Tam was grateful. The services of Stephen Atkinson were secured, and the mining started. The yield of silver was so great as to excite the cupidity of the King, who forthwith appointed a Commission on the matter, with the view of testing the quality of the metal at the royal mint. In the month of January, 1608, thirty-eight barrels of ore, weighing in all 20,224 lb., were raised, packed, and sent off to the Tower of London. It is said that this ore gave about 24 oz. of silver to every hundredweight, while some portions gave double that quantity. Atkinson, who personally wrought the mine, states that on some days he won £100 worth of silver. The shaft, indeed, received the name of *God's Blessing*, as expressive of its fertile character. The whole results appearing so favourable, the King easily fell into the proposal of the astute proprie-

* King James, who was the author of the Earl's popular appellation, "*Tam o' the Cowgate*," had a custom of bestowing such ludicrous *sobriquets* on his principal counsellors and courtiers. Thus he conferred upon that grave and sagacious statesman, John, Earl of Mar, the nickname, *Jock o' Sklates*,—probably in allusion to some circumstance which occurred in their young days, when they were the fellow-pupils of Buchanan. On hearing of a meditated alliance between the Haddington and Mar families, his majesty exclaimed, betwixt jest and earnest, "The Lord haud a grup o' me! If Tam o' the Cowgate's son marry Jock o' Sklates' daughter, what's to become o' *me?*" The good-natured monarch probably apprehended that so close a union betwixt two of his most subtle statesmen, might make them too much for their master—as hounds are most dangerous when they hunt in couples.- Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh.* Edition of 1856, p. 236.

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tor, to become the purchaser of *God's Blessing* for the sum of £5000, and work it at the public expense. Scotstarvet, with his habitual ill-nature, avers that the Advocate sold his mine after having "digged the best part" out of it. The King, however, concluded the bargain; and Sir Bevis Bulmer was named governor of the mine. There were "drawers up of metal, drawers up of water, and lavers up of water to the pumps under the ground, shedders and washers, washers with the sieve, dressers and washers with the buddle, and washers with the canvas, quarriers, shoolmen," and many other workers of different kinds. A mill for melting and fining the metal was established at Leith—probably at the place called Silver Mills, on the Water of Leith, now involved in the suburbs of Edinburgh. Another fining-mill and a stamp-mill, with warehouses, were built on the water running out of Linlithgow Loch. Some Brunswick miners were brought to give the benefit of their skill. But all was of no avail. From the time of the transference of the mine into royal hands, it did no more good. After a persevering effort of two years and a-half, the King gave up the adventure, having lost a large sum of money. In 1613, the same mine was granted to Sir William Alexander, Thomas Foulis, and Paul Pinto, a Portuguese, to be wrought by them on the condition of their paying a tenth of the refined ore to the crown; but we have no record of what success attended their efforts. The scene of the mining operations is still traceable in a hollow place to the east of Cairnapple hill, four miles south of Linlithgow. A neighbouring excavation for limestone is named from it the *Silver-mine Quarry;* and such is almost the only local memorial of the affair now existing.*

The writer of the old Statistical Account of the parish, says that silver won from this mine was coined at Linlithgow, "during the residence of the royal family"—which we apprehend is an anachronism—"and some of the groat pieces are still in the repositories of the curious. The place used for smelting the metal lies to

* Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. 1, p. 411.

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the westward of the town; and, from the use to which it was applied, still bears the name of Silver Mill. That mine, with the track adjoining it, belongs now to the Earl of Hopetoun. Search has been repeatedly made, but the contents must either be exhausted, or the right vein not struck."* A vein of silver was also discovered in a limestone rock, in Bathgate parish, but the produce did not pay the expense of raising the ore.

A lengthened interval passes, and then we stumble upon another grand silver-discovery. This time it occurs among the Ochill hills, in the parish of Alva, on property belonging to Sir John Erskine. About the year 1700 a vein of silver was discovered, by means of some miners from Leadhills, in a glen of the Ochills, separating the Middle-hill from the Wood-hill. The ore made its appearance in small strings, which being followed, led to a very large mass: part of this looked like malleable silver, and was found upon trial to be so exceedingly rich, as to produce 12 oz. of silver from 14 oz. of ore. A sum not greater than £40 or £50 had been expended when the discovery was made. During the space of thirteen or fourteen weeks, as was credibly affirmed, ore was produced to about the value of £4000 per week, and it has been conjectured that Sir John drew from £40,000 to £50,000, besides much ore which was supposed to have been purloined by the workmen. When this was exhausted, the silver began to appear in smaller quantities, and symptoms of lead, with other metals, became manifest: the consequence of which was that all further researches were at that time given up. It is added that on an after occasion when Sir John was walking with a friend over his estate, he pointed out a great hole, and remarked, "Out of that hole I took fifty thousand pounds." Then, moving on, he came to another excavation, and, continued he: "I put it all into that hole." His younger brother, Charles Erskine, Lord Justice Clerk, who acquired the Alva property by purchase, thought pro-

* Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. 14, p. 531.

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per to revive the working of the silver mines about 1759. A company, consisting of some gentlemen, kinsmen and friends of the family, was formed, and a moderate capital subscribed. The work was carried on with much industry: the course of the vein was pursued a great way beyond the former workings; but though appearances were favourable, and small strings of metal sometimes discovered, these were not followed by such results as to encourage the continuance of the work, though quantities of cobalt were extracted, which helped to repay the outlay. Lord Alva, the son of the Justice-Clerk, had long in his possession several pieces of silver ore which had been got in the time of his uncle, Sir John; and out of these, in 1767, he caused a pair of communion cups to be made, for the use of the parish church of Alva, bearing the following inscription:—

Sacris in Ecclesia, S. Servani, apud Alveth, A.D. 1767, ex argento indigena, D.D.C. q—— JACOBUS ERSKINE.*

But the story of the Alva silver-mining seems to have been associated with the latest instances of native slaves on Scottish soil, other than the colliers and the salters, whose "servile chains" continued unbroken till 1775. Centuries had now elapsed since the days of general villeinage; for the last case known of proceedings under the brief for recovering fugitive slaves, was in the court of the Sheriff of Banffshire, in 1364.† It was reserved for the first year of the eighteenth century to witness a restoration of servitude. In the month of December, 1701, the Commissioners of Justiciary for securing the peace of the Highlands, held a Court at Perth, when four men were condemned to death for theft: but their Lordships commuted their punishment to perpetual slavery at home, and adjudged each of the culprits to a master or owner. The Dunkeld Charter Chest has supplied the following document, which shews the destination of one of these men:

* Sinclair's *Statistical Account*, vol. 18, pp. 140-142.
† Innes' *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 145.

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GIFT OF DONALD M'DONALD, AS A PERPETUAL SERVANT TO THE EARL OF TULLIBARDINE.

December 5, 1701.

AT PERTH, the fifth day of December, 1701 years. The Commissioners of Justiciary of the South District, for securing the Peace of the Highlands, considering, that Donald Robertson, Alexander Stewart, John Robertson, and Donald M'Donald, prisoners within the Tolbooth of Perth, and indicted and tried at this Court, are, by verdict of the inquest, returned GUILTY OF DEATH:—and that the Commissioners have changed their punishment of death to perpetual servitude; and that the said pannells are at the Court's disposal. Therefore, the said Commissioners have given and gifted, and hereby give and gift the said Donald M'Donald, one of the said prisoners, as an perpetual servant to the Right Honourable John, Earl of Tullibardine; recommending to his Lordship, to cause provide an collar of brass, iron, or copper, which, by his sentence or doom, (whereof an extract is delivered to the Magistrates of the said burgh of Perth), is to be upon his neck, with this inscription, "DONALD M'DONALD, FOUND GUILTY OF DEATH FOR THEFT, AT PERTH, DECEMBER 5, 1701, AND GIFTED AS AN PERPETUAL SERVANT TO JOHN, EARL OF TULLIBARDINE:" and recommending also to his Lordship, to transport him from the said prison once the next week, and the said Commissioners have ordained, and hereby ordain the Magistrates of Perth, and Keepers of their Tolbooth, to deliver the said Donald M'Donald to the said Earl of Tullibardine, having the said collar and inscription conform to the sentence of doom foresaid.

Extracted furth of the Books of Adjournal of the said District, by me, James Taylor, Writer to his Majesty's Signet, Clerk of Court. (Signed) JA. TAYLOR, Clk.*

Another of the prisoners, Alexander Stewart, by name, was gifted to Sir John Erskine of Alva, who doubtless employed him in the working of the silver mine. Many years ago a brass collar was brought up from the bottom of the Firth of Forth, upon which was this inscription—

Alex. Steuart, found guilty of death for theft, at Perth,

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* *Transactions of the Literary and Antiquarian Society of Perth*, vol. i., p. 104.

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the 5th of December, 1701, and gifted by the Justiciars as a Perpetual Servant to Sir John Areskine of Alva.

Very probably the wearer of the collar—evidently a Highlander, and accustomed to rove the dark heath in wild freedom—had sought release from his hopeless bondage under the waves of the Scottish sea. The collar is deposited in the Antiquarian Museum of Edinburgh,‡ as a memorial of those "good old times," which, as Sismondi says, "can only teach us one lesson—to avert at all price their return."

A few more silver mines, in different parts of the country, remain to be enumerated, from notices in the old *Statistical Account.*

In the united parishes of Kingussie and Inch, Inverness-shire, "a mine was opened several years ago, where some specimens of very rich silver ore were dug up; but the work was soon discontinued; and no attempt has been since made to discover whether it was worth working or not." (Vol. iii. p. 36.)

In the united parishes of Lochgoil-head and Kilmorack, Argyleshire, "there is a lead mine near the head of Loch-fine, but it has never been wrought. Some years ago, a company, who were concerned in lead-mines in other parts of Argyleshire, sent persons to open up and examine the place, in this parish, where the lead was supposed to exist. These persons found that there was a lead mine, and carried away some of the ore; which, upon trial, was found to contain a greater proportion of silver than any lead ore in the west of Scotland. The company were upon terms with the proprietor for a lease of the mines, but no bargain was concluded." (Vol. iii. p. 165.)

In the parish of Logie, Stirlingshire "there are appearances of silver and copper mines. Some of them have been wrought, but with little profit to the adventurers. The only one that seemed to prove advantageous was that on the estate of Aithrey, belonging to Mr Haldane. In the years 1761, 1762, 1763, and 1764, a company of gentlemen from England, along with the proprietor, laid out a considerable sum of money in

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working this mine; and they got about 50 barrels of silver ore, of which four barrels made a ton, and each ton was valued at London at £60 sterling. One Dr Twisse, to whom the ore was consigned, became bankrupt, which put an end to the adventure." (Vol. iii. p. 288.) The date of the first working of the Airthrey copper mine cannot be accurately ascertained; but a tradition exists in the neighbourhood that the *bawbees* coined at Stirling after the baptism of Prince Henry, son of King James VI., were of copper from this mine; and if the tradition be correct the mine must have been opened before the close of the sixteenth century.* About the middle of last century a contractor from Wales having realised £1000 by sinking a single shaft, resolved on sinking another, in which he buried the whole amount of his gains, and thus was compelled to abandon his operations.†

In the south-east of the united parishes of Essie and Nevay, Forfarshire, "a small vein of silver ore, too inconsiderable to be wrought, was discovered several years ago." (*Stat. Acc.*, vol. xvi. p. 217.)

In Midlothian, "at the head of the North Esk, on the south side of the Pentland Hills, at Carlips, on the borders of Tweedale, lead was in former times found, from which silver was extracted. The different spots where the mines were formerly put down are to this day distinguished by appellations descriptive of the mineral obtained there. One place is called the Lead Flats, another is called Leadlawhill; and the excavations in general are still called by the inhabitants the *siller* (silver) *holes*.‡

Our task is done. The numerous examples we have adduced speak for themselves, demonstrating clearly that the "puir auld Scotland" of other days enjoyed substantial fame as a gold-and-silver-producing region. And truly, even in his time, might our local poet of the *Muses Threnodie* exclaim—

* Roger's *Week at the Bridge of Allan*, p. 5.
† Chambers's *Domestic Annals*, vol. iii., p. 247.
‡ Forsyth's *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 279.

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> Let scoffers say that neither wine nor oyle
> (Whose want stay'd conquest) growes within this soyle,
> Yet if gold, pearl, or silver better be,
> As most men them account, it doth supplie.

No silver mines of any importance are now wrought in Great Britain; but a fair amount of silver is obtained by the process of desilvering of lead, introduced in 1829 by Mr H. Pattinson of Newcastle-on-Tyne—the annual produce being about 600,000 ounces of silver.

Appendix.

THE GOLD MINES OF IRELAND.

It may have now passed out of general remembrance that in modern times the county of Wicklow yielded a large quantity of native gold. We are indebted for the following summary of the facts to *A Guide to the County of Wicklow*, by G. N. Wright, A.M., Professor of Antiquities to the Royal Hib. Academy, a second edition of which was published in 1827:—

The discovery is supposed to have taken place about 1775, and was totally accidental. The knowledge of it was confined to the neighbouring peasantry for many years. An old schoolmaster is supposed to have been the first discoverer, whose golden prospects were ably ridiculed in O'Keefe's dramatic piece *The Wicklow Gold Mines*. In the year 1796, a piece of gold, weighing about half an ounce, was found by a man crossing the Ballinvalley stream, the report of which discovery operated so powerfully upon the minds of the peasantry, that every employment was forsaken, agriculture abandoned, and the fortunes of Aladdin, or Ali Baba, were what they hoped to equal. Such infatuation called for the interference of Government, and accordingly a party of the Kildare militia were stationed on the banks of the rivulet, to preserve the peace. During the short space of two months, it is supposed that 2,666 ounces of pure gold were found, which sold for about £10,000.

From this time until the eventful period of 1798, when the works were destroyed, government took the management under its own control. The mine was afterwards wrought under government direction, and for some time produced a profit; but the quantity of gold was smaller

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than that collected by the peasantry, amounting only to the value of £3,675 7s 11½d: and ultimately the produce proved insufficient, and the works were stopped.

It is generally believed in the adjacent country that native gold was found here centuries ago; and the ancient Irish are said to have worn golden ornaments before this precious metal had been discovered on the European continent.

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VISITATION OF THE CHURCH OF PERTH UNDER ARCHBISHOP SHARP.

To rule and to be ruled are distinct
And several duties, severally belong
To several persons, can no more be link'd
In altogether, than amidst the throng
Of rude unruly passions, in the heart,
Reason can see to act her sovereign part.
Christopher Harvey—"*The Synagogue.*"

The re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland after the Restoration of Charles II. did not cause so great a change in the Presbyterian forms as superficial students of our ecclesiastical annals are apt to suppose. If we followed one class of writers, whose productions overflow with blind partizan zeal, we might conclude that an utter revolution in the doctrine, worship, government, and discipline of the Church of Scotland was consummated by the Act of 8th May, 1662, restoring the Bishops, and that the feelings of the Scottish people were outraged by the introduction of the rankest Popish principles and usages. Candid history, however, shews a different picture. Bishops were set over the Church, and the General Assembly was abrogated. But there was no Liturgy; for Laud's Scots Service Book, which had evoked the bloody turmoil of the Covenant, was allowed to repose in the obscurity to which Jenny Geddes had relegated it; and public prayers continued, with few exceptions, to be extemporaneous. The Presbyteries assembled as usual, though not officially recognised by that designation, but only as meetings of the clergy. The functions of Kirk Sessions were unimpaired.* Synods were occa-

* The powers of Kirk Sessions ranged over a pretty wide field, in which civil affairs were often confounded with ecclesiastical. It may be of interest to know how a rural Perthshire Session of the period acted with reference to the sale of drink on Sunday. The Book of Findo-Gask contains the following ordinance, under date 12th February, 1671:—"The Session inhibits and discharges the Brewaris within the Parioch of Gask to selle Ale to anie

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sionally held. The old doctrines were upheld; and the order of worship was very much the same as in the "best and purest days" of the Kirk. The Five Articles of Perth remained unenforced; but the Bishops insisted that the Lord's Prayer and the Doxology should invariably form part of the ordinary services of the sanctuary. Visitation of kirks—which was authorised by the old Presbyterian polity—was also observed: and our present object is to lay before our readers the record of a Visitation of the Parish Kirk of Perth (now for the first time printed *in extenso* from the Books), which took place during the latter years of the famous Archbishop Sharp, Primate of Scotland, and which furnishes a fair illustration of how such matters were managed under Prelatic sway.

At Perth, the third day of August, One thousand six hundred and seventy-six years:

The said day, after Sermon preached by Mr John Liddel, Minister in Scone, convened for a Visitation of the Church of Perth, according to the appointment of the Lord Archbishop and Synod of St Andrews, and by virtue of a Commission from the Lord Archbishop for that effect:

Mr Hugh Ramsay, Minister of Methven, Moderator for the time; Mr Alexander Balneavis, Minister of Tibbermuir; Mr William Barclay, Minister of Forteviot; Mr James Carnegie, Minister of Redgorton; Mr David Lauder, Minister of Aberdalgie; Mr Thomas Fowler, Minister of Kinnoull; Mr John Balneavis, Colleague Minister of Tibbermuir with his father; Mr Gabriel Semple, Minister of Rhynd; Mr Andrew Hardie, Minister of Forgandenny; Mr Robert Geddie, Minister of Arngask; Mr George M'Gruthar, Minister of Collace; Mr Robert Jenkine, Minister of Abernethy; Mr George Drummond, Minister of St. Madoes; Mr John Murray, Minister of Kinfauns.

After invocation of the name of God, they enquired of the Ministers if due intimation had been made of the diet of the Visitation to all concerned; who answered, it had, upon the Lord's day was a fortnight. Whereupon they were required to give in an List of their Elders and Deacons, which being done, and they removed,—

First—the Elders were called, every one of them, man by man all alone, and interrogate whether or not their

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person or persones within or without the Parioch, after fowre a clock on the Sabath night, certifying them if they do in the contraire they salle not onlie be lyable to the Church censure, but also paye halfe a mark toties quoties."

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Ministers were faithful and diligent in all the parts of their Ministry; and particularly whether or not they did preach sound doctrine, and that constantly at all the ordinary accustomed diets; and whether or not they were careful to visit the sick, to keep home, to catechise the people, and administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at least once in the year; as also whether or not they did walk exemplarly in their lives and conversation.

To all which questions every one of them answered, giving their Ministers an ample testimony that they were both faithful and diligent in the above specified and all other parts of the Ministerial function, and that they were exemplary amongst them in the piety and blamelessness of their lives and conversations.

And being every one of them farther interrogate whether their Ministers and fellow Elders were careful and diligent in the exercise of discipline against Scandalous persons, —answered that they were careful, as much as in them lay, to suppress vice.

Being also interrogate whether their Ministers, themselves, and the rest of their fellow Elders and Deacons, were careful of the Poor, particularly whether money was carefully collected for their behoof, and conscientiously distributed according to their exigencies: [answered] That [there] were always before Sermon, both upon the Sabbath and week days, Collections made for the Poor; and what was so collected or otherwise given, they were careful to distribute, conform to the several necessities of the Poor, according to the best of their knowledge.

And being further more interrogate, whether there were any Mortifications or other Sett Rents amongst them appointed to the maintenance of the Poor and other pious uses? Answered that there were several Altarages and Chaplanries, as also several Feu duties and ground annuals, belonging in the time of Popery to certain Religious Houses, which after the Reformation were by a Gift and Charter from King James the Sixth bestowed to maintain an Hospital for the poor of the place.

And being interrogate how these Rents were employed? Answered that though they had now no Hospital House, it having been pulled down by the Englishers, and never yet rebuilt, yet those of the Rents that were in the hands of the Session and at their disposal were employed for the behoof of the Poor.

But withall most of them declared that there was a very considerable part of the Hospital Rent, called Blackfriars and Charterhouse, amounting to one hundred bolls Bear, which had been these many years bygone, and was yet still at present, possessed by the Magistrates and Town Council, and uplifted yearly by their Thesaurer: and how they had intended Process, and what the issue of it was they referred the Visitors to the Session Book, which they said would give an full account of the affair.

Thereafter all the Deacons were called *in cumulo*, and all these same interrogatories put to them. They answered upon the very same thing with the elders.

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And then again were called the Magistrates and Heritors: whereupon compeared Sir Patrick Threipland, Provost, together with James Sheoch and David Monteith, two of the Bailies; and all the forementioned Interrogatories being put to them, they answered upon the matter the same thing that the Elders and Deacons had done before them, except only that they spoke nothing about the Blackfriars and Charterhouse.

And withall the Provost represented that there were severals in the congregation, and some of them members of the Session, who out of a peike absented themselves from the public worship of God when Mr Alexander Ross preached; which he desired the Visitors to take to their consideration.

After, the Ministers were called [namely, the Ministers of Perth, Mr William Lindsay, and Mr Alexander Ross or Rose, of the Kilravock family], and being interrogate concerning their Elders and Deacons, and whether or not they were men of circumspect and blameless lives, and useful and assistant unto them in the exercise of discipline, and faithful in representing the necessities of the Poor, and in making Collections for, and distributions, to them? Answered, that they had nothing to say against either of them, but that they were bound to give them a good testimony, as men that were careful to do what was incumbent for them in their places. Only Mr Alexander Ross declared that he was credibly informed, and had some reason to believe it a truth, that Matthew Chaip, one of their present Elders, did constantly absent himself from Church when he preached.

And being further interrogate concerning the Patrimony of the Poor, and how it was improved and employed—Answered that their weekly Collections were weekly distributed amongst a certain number of Pensioners, according to a Roll that they had of them; and that out of penalties, pew-mailles, fallen pledges, contract money, and sicklike, they did supply as well as they could the necessities of other poor persons who were not their constant Pensioners: and that as for their Hospital Rent, they had Masters of Hospital chosen yearly, who did collect it, and pay it termly to certain persons, according to the appointment of the Session.

And for the Blackfriars and Charterhouse, Mr William Lindsay declared upon the matter that same which most of the Elders formerly declared.

They being also interrogate concerning the fabrick of their Church, if it were sufficiently upheld, and if it was provided with sufficient Utensils for the Holy Communion—Answered that the fabrick was very well upheld, and that their Church was very decently furnished with all things necessary for the Holy Communion.

After all this, the Church Officer called three several times publickly at the Church door, If there were any person or persons that had anything to object against their Ministers, either as to their doctrine, or as to their lives and conversations, or against any of the Elders or Deacons,

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either as insufficient for their employment, or scandalous in their lives, that they might forthwith compear, and make their objections; but none compeared.

Last of all, an account of the Session Book was called for from Mr Thomas Fowler and Mr David Lauder, that had been appointed to visit the same, who reported it to be very formal and exact.

And as for the business of the Blackfriars and Charterhouse, they declared they find in the year of God One thousand six hundred and sixty nine, Archibald Chrystie and John Drummond being Masters of the Hospital, there is a Process commenced by them, according to a vote of the Kirk Session, before the Lords of Council and Session, for recovering of the saids Lands from the Magistrates and Town Council; but that the same Process was immediately sisted ay while application should be made to the Lord Archbishop of St Andrews.

And the Minister, Mr William Lindsay, who was then also Minister, being enquired anent the reason of their sisting that Process—Answered that it was upon the account of a Letter from the Lord Archbishop to the Ministers, desiring them to forbear going along in that Process, until the affair should be represented and stated before him, which has never as yet been done.

The Brethren of the Visitation, therefore finding that the Lord Archbishop has been desirous to take cognizance himself of that affair of the Blackfriars and Charterhouse, judges it not convenient for them to meddle in it any farther, but to enjoin, which by this Act they do, the Ministers and Elders of the Kirk Session of Perth, to represent the said affair to the Lord Archbishop with all convenient diligence, and, as they will answer, not to be neglective of it.

And as to that affair anent Matthew Chaip, they appoint the Minister and the rest of the Elders to call him before them, and try what truth is in the matter; and if he be convict, and wilfully persist in his fault, that he be forthwith deposed from his Eldership.

The Ministers, Elders, and Deacons, together with the Magistrates and Heritors, were again called all together, and the Acts of the Visitation submitted to them; and it was declared what good testimony they had mutually given to each other; and they were exhorted to go on in the way of duty, strengthening one another's hands in the work of the Lord.

A few words are necessary respecting the claim of the ministers and elders, as managers of King James the Sixth's Hospital, against the Town Council of Perth. The lands belonging to the Blackfriars Monastery and the Charterhouse (Chartrieux) or Carthusian Monastery, were included in the original grant by the royal founder of the hospital; but the Town-Council contrived to get

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the management of these properties into their own hands, and drew the rents, which they retained as part of the burgh revenues. This ultroneous procedure was frequently challenged by the hospital managers; nevertheless, the Council refused to disgorge, and were eventually sustained in their dishonesty by a re-constitution of the Kirk-session, whereby the whole Magistracy were declared members of that body—an arrangement which was effected in 1616, according to the following minute:

> Monday, penult day of December, one thousand six hundred and sixteen years:
>
> Present—Mr John Malcolm, Minister. Item—the haill Elders were present, except David Sibbald:
>
> In the New [West] Kirk, with the Bishops and Council:
>
> The Persons present:
>
> [James Spottiswoode] Archbishop of St Andrews; James [Law] Archbishop of Glasgow; Alexander [Lindsay] Bishop of Dunkeld; William [Cowper] Bishop of Galloway; and Adam [Bellenden] Bishop of Dunblane; William, Lord Crighton of Sanquhare; and David, Lord Scone; Mr John Malcolm, Minister; the Bailies, Council, Deacons of Crafts, and Elders thereof.
>
> Whilk day it was agreed for better ordering of all matters in the Kirk and Session, that the Provost and Baillies hereafter shall always be elected and chosen Members of the Session, and that for the present year James Adamson and Constantine Malice be added to the present Session, and give their assistance and concurrence to the Minister and rest of the Elders: as likewise that the Masters of the Hospital, present and to come, shall contribute and dispence nothing but (without) advice of the Ministers and Magistrates; and that they make yearly compt to them and others three or four of the most discreet of the Council and Session that shall be named by the Ministers and Magistrates; and the said Provost and Bailies be joined to the rest this present year; as also that no price be sett upon the Farm bear of the Blackfriar and Charterhouse lands to the occupiers thereof without the special advice of the Council had thereto.
>
> (Signed) JOANNES DAVIDSONE, Notarius.

Archbishop Sharp (who was not present at the Visitation of 1676) seems never to have adjudicated between the Council and the Hospital Managers, and the matter lay over for a long series of years. After the Revolution, the constitution of the Kirk-session was reformed, according to constitutional principle, on 4th June, 1690. But though the Magistracy were then excluded from that judicature, the Town Council continued to keep fast hold of the Blackfriars' and Charterhouse

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rents until about the year 1728. The matter having come before the General Assembly, the Presbytery of Perth, in their own names and those of the Ministers and Elders of Perth, raised an action in the Court of Session for recovery of the said lands. The Council's influence was now exerted to induce the Kirk-session to disclaim the action as unauthorised by them, and in this they succeeded. But on 12th July, 1728, after the point of objection had been stated on report by Lord Newhall, the Court pronounced this interlocutor:

Find that the Ministers and Elders of Perth cannot disclaim the present process, and sustains process at the Presbytery's instance, in order to exclude any interest the Magistrates of Perth can pretend to the Hospital lands.

Against this decision the Session lodged a Reclaiming Petition of date, 19th July, in which *inter alia* they complained that through "the collusion of one of the Hospital masters, the rights of the mortification were taken out of the Charter Chest, which belonged to your Petitioners, and given away to some one person or other, as for the behoof of the Presbytery," who had made use of said Writs in their action: and it was "an unprecedented thing, that your Petitioners should have their Rights kept up from them, and at the same time be ordered to bear part in a process upon these Rights, and not be permitted to disclaim the action." The Session, however, gained nothing by their reclaimer: the law-plea ran its course, and a judgment was obtained by which the Hospital was found entitled to the rents in dispute since the institution of the process, and in all time coming. About the middle of the century the Town Council were again dragged into the Court of Session, and forced to make accounting to the Hospital Managers of an annual sum of £66 6s 8d, formerly paid by the burgh to the Exchequer, but which had been gifted to the Hospital by King James VI. in his great Charter of 15th November, 1600.

It deserves to be noticed, that one of the Bishops present at the sederunt of December, 1616, had previously been a minister of Perth, and another had been

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minister of St Madoes. Nor was the former the only Perth minister who was raised to Episcopal dignity in the seventeenth century. "The worthy burgesses of the 'Fair City' unanimously conformed to Episcopacy after 1610," says Mr Lawson, in his *Book of Perth*, "and it is remarkable that a greater number of their ministers became Bishops of the first and second Consecrations than those of any other city in Scotland" (p. 253). The following is a list of the Perth ministers who became dignitaries of the Church of Scotland under Episcopacy:—

1. WILLIAM COWPER—admitted to the Kirk of Perth, 23d June, 1595, and created Bishop of Galloway, 31st July 1612.

2. JOHN GUTHRY—who succeeded Bishop Cowper, was inducted 20th February 1617, and became Bishop of Moray, in November 1623, retaining the See till the Glasgow Assembly of 1638, when he was deposed.

3. GEORGE HALYBURTON—admitted 1st August 1644, and created Bishop of Dunkeld, 18th January, 1662.

4. WILLIAM LINDSAY—admitted 9th April 1668, and created Bishop of Dunkeld, 7th May 1677.

5. ALEXANDER ROSS or ROSE—admitted 14th November 1672, and nominated Bishop of Moray in 1687; but he could scarcely have entered on the duties, when he was translated to the See of Edinburgh the same year. He was deprived at the Revolution.

6. WILLIAM HAY—admitted in March, 1684, and created Bishop of Moray in 1688, but deprived at the Revolution.

The St Madoes minister was Alexander Lindsay, of the Evelick family, who was admitted to that parish in 1591. He was created Bishop of Dunkeld in 1607. He continued to discharge the duties of his See till 1638, when the Glasgow Assembly deposed him from the office, but permitted him to be reinstated in the parish of St Madoes, where he died sometime in 1639.

Another point of local interest claims attention. Archbishop Sharp was assassinated on Magus Moor, 3d May, 1679, scarcely three years after the Perth Visitation. The band of murderers immediately dispersed, and four of them found concealment, for a short season, in the neighbourhood of Perth. These four were James Russell, belonging to Kettle (who penned the narrative which we follow); George Balfour in Gilston; David Hackston of Rathillet; and John Bal-

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four of Kinloch—the redoubted Burley of *Old Mortality*. They "went near to the bridge of Erne," but fearing to meet enemies there, "turned into a widow's house be-east the bridge on the side of Erne, where they staid all Sabbath, Munday; and Tuesday afternoon they saw a squad of the king's guard coming alongst the bridge from Perth, when they were looking forth in the yard, who had been searching for them, and a footman who lived thereabout, being an enemy to the good cause, seeing George Balfour with their landlady's brother go into St Johnstone the day before, and getting some intelligence, ran after the king's guard to tell them that they were into that house at the waterside, but they riding so fast away did not reach them." The soldiers hurried on to Abernethy, and the fugitives decamped, and "rode all to Diplen Mill—and they staid in a house of —— be-west Diplen place all Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, and coming back to the first house; but they fearing, went away to the Ochills. Saturday morning came to an honest man's house called Munday, and after they had slept a little, Rathillet went towards Balvaird, and George Balfour went to a smidey with John Balfour's horse." Rathillet went from Balvaird to Lindores, and thence to his own house, where he staid all Sabbath, shifting at night to a tenant's house, where he spent Monday "doing his affairs," and on Tuesday, accompanied by his man, returned by Balvaird to Dupplin Mill, which he reached after dark. Next day, he "went to the Chingles at Fortawiat kirk, where he got the rest, having gone from Munday on Saturday's night to Laurence Duncan in Aberdaigy, and staid all the Sabbath, and on Monday James Russell and George Balfour went to Duplin miln on their foot to see what news they could hear, and by providence there was a gentleman, one Mr Alexander Dunnier, who invited them to come to a gentleman's house where he staid, beside the castle of Drummond, and staid two-three days, and they went back to Aberdaigy, and told John Balfour, who was very refreshed, being well acquainted with

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the gentleman; and they came to Duplin on Monday night to the old quarters, and on Tuesday's night to the Chingles." There they were joined on Thursday night by William Danziel, "in Caddam," one of their confederates, who had been in hiding at Dysart, and "an honest lass who had sent for him, called Isobel Alison." Danziel assured his four friends "that he had never so much of the presence of the Lord before, for all that 8 or 9 days he was in a rapture, and the Lord had confirmed him, and approved of all that they had done." Thus encouraged, they kept their concealment at the Chingles for about a week, and on Wednesday took horse to the castle of Drummond. There hearing that "the whole country was enraged against them," they passed to Dunblane in the character of King's troopers. Entering Dunblane, they found their way to "the Clerk's house, who sold brandy," and called for a double gill. The clerk brought the liquor, and a crowd gathered about them "regretting the bishop's murder." The assumed royalists enquired if any of the murderers had been "seen that way;" and the jolly Clerk sportively exclaimed "You are all of them," and added to John Balfour—"You shot first at him!" Many a true word is spoken in jest! Rathillet laughing, said—"If all Dunblane were here, they would not have guessed so right." The unsuspecting Clerk pressed another gill of brandy upon them, "and desired them to stay at the bridge of Doune, and he would come to them tomorrow, and give them an account of some whigs that lived thereabout, for he durst not tell them before the people." But they declined the rendesvous, and rode away towards Kippen, which they reached in safety; and shortly afterwards they gained the West country, which was ripe for insurrection. Meanwhile, other three of the band—Andrew Henderson, Alexander Henderson in Kilbrachmont, and George Fleming in Balbathie, together with a student of theology, named James Boig, resorted to Dupplin mill for refuge: "and from thence to Dumblain, and towards Kilsyth, and

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thence to Arnbuckle, and all the way they were taken for those who had killed the Bishop, but the Lord wonderfully carried them through, and they came to the rest, being then in arms, upon the 3d day of June, near Strevan."*

The "honest lass," Isobel Alison, who lived in the town of Perth, ultimately paid the forfeit for her correspondence with the fugitives. She was arrested in her own house, and being taken to Edinburgh under a strong guard, was examined by the Privy Council and brought to trial. Her examination and testimony are included in the *Cloud of Witnesses.*

When I was brought before the Council, they asked me. Whether I lived at St Johnstoun? I answered, Yes, What was your occupation? To which I did not answer. . . . They asked, If I had conversed with David Hackston? I answered, I did converse with him, and I bless the Lord that ever I saw him; for I never saw ought in him but a godly pious youth. . . . . They asked me, When saw ye John Balfour, that pious youth? I answered, I have seen him They asked, When? I answered, Those are frivolous questions; I am not bound to answer them. . . . They asked, If I knew the two Hendersons that murdered the lord St Andrews? I answered, I never knew any lord St Andrews. They said, Mr James Sharp, if ye call him so. I said, I never thought it murder: but if God moved and stirred them up to execute his righteous judgment upon him, I had nothing to say to that.

She suffered in the Grassmarket, along with a sister martyr, Marion Harvie, from Borrowstounness, on the 26th January, 1681. The student, James Boig, likewise died for the same cause on 27th July thereafter.

Before Burley's outbreak on Magus Moor, he appears to have been a customer of one, at least, of our Perth merchants. Two accounts are extant which had been rendered him by John Glass, merchant in Perth, for drapery and groceries, extending from December 1668 to November 1670, amounting together to the sum of £41 3s 4d. In 1677, Balfour was put to the horn by this John Glass for non-payment of £47 3s 4d specified in a

* See "James Russell's Account of the murder of Archbishop Sharp," appended to Kirkton's *Secret and True History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 423–433.

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bond dated 1672. Burley is described as having been "a laigh broad man, round, ruddie faced, dark brown hair," and on the day of the Archbishop's slaughter, he rode a brown horse, and was armed with holster pistols and a shabble or hanger.

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PEARLS OF THE PERTHSHIRE RIVERS.—Part 1st.

Pearl, child of a shell.—*Cowley's* "*Plants.*"

"A PEARL is nothing more than the scurf of an oyster," said Tertullian, in a severe invective against jewels and their use as ornaments by the fair sex. But the learned and eloquent father, before disparaging so beautiful and mysterious a production of Nature—the peculiarity of which is that, unlike all other gems, its beauty and lustre are wholly independent of art,—might have reflected that it had been highly honoured in several passages of Scripture. It was his Great Master who spake the Parable—"The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all that he had, and bought it." And in the Apocalyptic vision of that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven, the beloved Apostle saw that "the twelve gates were twelve pearls; each several gate was of one pearl." The patriarch Job, in reproving Bildad the Shuhite, expatiated on the excellency of wisdom and its value over gold and precious stones, and said that "no mention shall be made of coral or of pearls; for the price of wisdom is above rubies." In the verse of the Song of Solomon—"Thy cheeks are comely with rows of jewels, thy neck with chains of gold,"—there is presumed to be a reference to the head-dress of an Eastern bride. The head-dress used by the Persian ladies consists of two or three rows of pearls, which are worn round the head, beginning at the forehead, and descending down the cheeks and under the chin; so that their faces seem to be set in pearls. From remote antiquity—from the very dawn of history, the pearl was of wondrous estimation in the East, and commanded fabulous prices, according to size and purity of water. Pearls are of various forms: some round, some irregular, and others pear-shaped.

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The Oriental nations have generally preferred those of a yellowish hue; while in Europe the white have been the favourites.

The Pharaohs had a great pearl-fishery on the Red Sea; and it seems to have been from the Egyptians and Persians that the Romans acquired a taste for the lovely children of the shell. The conquerors of the world possessed magnificent specimens. Julius Cæsar presented Servilia, the mother of Marcus Brutus, with a pearl estimated at £48,417 10s of sterling money. When the treasures of King Mithridates—"the Pontic monarch of old days, who fed on poisons"—fell into Pompey's hands, the Roman leader discovered amongst the spoil many pearly diadems, and also a portrait of the king composed entirely of pearls. The story of Cleopatra swallowing a pearl of great price in a cup of vinegar, has been often told. She wore two of those gems as ear-rings, valued at £161,458. At a sumptuous supper given to Mark Antony, she outvied his prodigality at a previous banquet, by disengaging one of the drops from her ear, and throwing it into a cup of vinegar, which she drank off. The pearl was worth £80,724 3s 4d. It has been argued that the story is a fiction for the reason that so strong an acid as would dissolve a pearl would be undrinkable; but the feat could have been accomplished, it is held, if the Egyptian Syren had pounded her pearl in the vinegar, and afterwards diluted the latter with water. The same costly vanity was exemplified by Clodius, the dissipated son of Æsopus, the Roman tragedian, who dissolved in vinegar a pearl worth £8072 18s 4d; for which folly he was ridiculed by Horace—(*Satires*, Book II., Sat. 3d)—

> An actor's son dissolv'd a wealthy pearl
> (The precious ear-ring of his favourite girl)
> In vinegar, and thus luxurious quaff'd
> A thousand solid talents at a draught.
> Had he not equally his wisdom shown,
> Into the sink or river were it thrown?

During the reign of Severus, the remaining pearl-drop which had belonged to Cleopatra was cut in two halves to form ear-rings for the statue of Venus in the Pan-

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theon at Rome. The Roman ladies became exceedingly fond of pearls, spreading them profusely on their attire and persons, and particularly using them as ear-rings —three or four pearls being hung from each ear; hence Seneca tells a Roman husband that "his wife carried all the wealth of her house in her ears." In a different spirit, however, St Francis of Sales moralized on this luxurious fashion—

Ladies formerly, as well as now, were accustomed to wear a number of pearls on their ears, for the pleasure, says Pliny, of the jingling which they make in touching one another. But for my part, as I know that the great friend of God, Isaac, sent ear-rings as the first earnest of his love to the chaste Rebecca, I believe that this mysterious ornament signifies, that the first part which a husband should take possession of in his wife, and which his wife should faithfully keep for him, is her ears; to the end that no other language or noise should enter there, but only the sweet and amiable music of chaste and pure words, which are the oriental pearls of the Gospel: for we must always remember that souls are poisoned by the ear, as the body is by the mouth.*

Pearls were exceedingly plentiful in India from the earliest times. A Mohammedan traveller, who visited that vast empire in the ninth century, thus opens a section of his book:—"Before we speak of pearls, and the manner of their formation, let us praise God, who hath created them by His providence, who hath produced all creatures upon earth, and who even from them produces others, and many and various things which men know not, wherefore do we ascribe unto Him all Majesty, and bless His mighty and glorious name." After this solemn exordium, he proceeds with his task, and relates the history of a large pearl which a merchant bought from an Arab, by whom it had been strangely found on the sea-shore. Here is the Arab's account of the matter:—

I was going along, said he, by Saman, in the district of Bahran, not very far distant from the sea; and upon the sand I saw a dead fox, with something at his muzzle, that held him fast. I drew near, and saw a white, lucid shell, in which I found the pearl I took. Hence he gathered, that the oyster was upon the shore, driven thither by tem-

* *Philothea; or, an Introduction to a Devout Life.* Dublin: 1844; p. 238.

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pest, which very often happens. The fox passing by, and leering at the meat of the oyster, whose shell stood open, did jump thereon, and thrust in his muzzle to seize the fish, who, closing, locked him fast, as has been said. For it is a property of theirs, never to let go their hold of anything, except forcibly opened by an iron at the edges. This is the oyster that breeds pearls, which it as carefully keeps as a mother her child. When, therefore, it was sensible of the fox, it withdrew, as to avoid an enemy; and the fox feeling himself squeezed, did beat the ground on each hand, till he was stifled, and so died. The Arab found the pearl.*

Travellers' tales are proverbial, and the Arab's relation must be taken with a liberal allowance of salt. We are told, in the *Universal History*, that Mahmood of Ghisni, who conquered Hindostan in the beginning of the eleventh century, kept so extravagant a hunting equipage, that he had four hundred greyhounds, each wearing a collar set with jewels and a covering edged with gold and pearls. John Baptista Tavernier, the French traveller of the seventeenth century, saw numerous superb pearls in the East. He bought one at Catifa, in Arabia, valued at £110,000: it was pear-shaped, free from blemish, rather more than half-an-inch in diameter, and nearly three inches long: and it it is now one of the Shah of Persia's rarities. Tavernier mentions "the most wonderful pearl in the world," which belonged to the Arabian Prince of Muscat. It was remarkable "not so much for its bigness, for it weighs not above twelve carats and one-sixteenth, nor for its perfect roundness, but because it is so clear and so transparent that you may almost see through it. The Great Mogul offered him by a Banian forty thousand crowns for his pearl, but he would not accept it." The Emir of Vodana showed the Frenchman a pearl transparent and perfectly round, that weighed fourteen carats and seven-eighths. "I offered him 300,000 piastres, or 60,000 rupees for the same pearl; but the Emir refused to take it, telling me that he had been offered more money for it by several princes of

* *Ancient Accounts of India and China, by two Mohammedan Travellers.* Translated from the Arabic. London: 1733; pp. 95-98.

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Asia, who had sent to him to buy it, but that he was resolved never to part with it."* Some Indian pearls are reputed to have been so lustrous that food could be cooked in their light! And Indian philosophers believed that the Elixir of Perpetual Youth was to be obtained from a preparation of pearls—the recipe being still extant! The Mexicans, of the time of the Spanish conquest, had great store of pearls; and there is a tradition of a palace of Montezuma's, which was decorated with countless pearls and emeralds.

> Now twinkled from soft shade the Emerald tender,
> A drop of cool green splendour.
> Or, with love-drooping eye, the Pearl o' the deep
> Melted in a sea of sleep.

The Venetian Republic presented to Sultan Soliman, of Turkey, a pearl valued at £16,000; and a Venetian jeweller sold to Pope Leo X. a pearl at the price of £14,000. Perhaps the most beautiful pearl known is in Russia. It is called the *Pellegrina*, and weighs nearly 28 carats. Perfectly globular in form, it is so brilliant as at first sight to appear transparent. It was purchased at Leghorn from the captain of an East Indiaman. Pearls were used as amulets, in the shape of crowns, among the Greeks and Romans. Pope Adrian wore an amulet composed partly of pearls. In Christian symbolism, the gem signifies purity, innocence, humility, and a retiring spirit, which significations apply also to all precious stones of the same colour.

Pearls, according to a competent English authority† —who merely repeats what had been said long before by the garrulous naturalist, Pliny—pearls "are next in importance to diamonds, as they constitute the next greatest share of wealth of any other kind." In this particular "share of wealth," ancient Britain is said to have abounded. The better order of pearls yielded by the fresh-water mussel in our lakes, rivers, and lesser streams, seem to have been famed amongst the Ro-

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* *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier.* London: 1678. Part i., p. 95: part ii., p. 145.

† *A Treatise on Diamonds and Pearls.* By David Jeffries, jeweller. London: 1800; p. 96.

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mans ere their eagles swooped upon our shores. Indeed, if we accept a tradition preserved by the historian, Suetonius, the invasion of our "tight little island" by Julius Cæsar was prompted in some degree by the inordinate *penchant* of his countrymen for the British pearls; and it is asserted by Pliny that on the hero's return to Rome, he made a votive offering of a shield or breastplate studded with British pearls to the temple of Venus Genetrix. Solinus affirms that the fact of the pearls being British was attested by an inscription on the gift itself. But, although Albion's "pearly coronet" apparently tempted the Romans to cross the Channel from Gaul, it would seem that "distance" had "lent enchantment to the view;" for after they had seized the coveted prize, they found it to be of less worth than they had anticipated; and Tacitus speaks of it in very moderate terms: "The sea also breeds pearls, but of a dark and livid hue, a defect by some ascribed to the unskilfulness of such as gather them. For in the Red Sea they are pulled from the rocks alive and vigorous. In Britain they are gathered at random, such as the sea casts them upon the shore. For myself, I am much apter to believe that nature has failed to give the pearls perfection than that we fail in avarice." Still, it is certain that during the Roman occupation of the country our British pearls were in fair request in the markets of the Empire. Perhaps the oldest Latin writer who mentions our pearls is Pomponius Mela, who states that some of the seas of Britain produced them. They are noticed, in the second century, by Ælian in his History of Animals, and also by Origen in his Commentary on St Matthew, who describes them as being of a gold colour, and somewhat cloudy, but affirms that they were esteemed next in value to those of India. Some account of the British pearl is given, in the fourth century, by Marcellinus, who says they were greatly inferior to those of Persia. In the same age, the poet Ausonius speaks of the Caledonian pearls under the figure of the white shell-berries: his expres-

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sion being—"*Albentes concharum germina baceas*"—literally, the white berries, the buds of shells. The Venerable Bede, in the eighth century, includes pearls among the products of the British seas and rivers. Moreover, on some of the coins of the olden British king, Cunobeline, who is said to have lived in the time of Augustus, there is a head, probably that of the former, occasionally surrounded with what seems to be a fillet of pearls, in allusion, we may suppose, to the ancient fame of the island for that highly-prized gem.*

The white shell-berries of Caledonia, though inferior to those of Eastern waters, were so plentiful and of so much value, as to form, during many ages, no inconsiderable portion of the country's exports. "It is singular," says Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*, "to find so precious an article as pearls amongst the subjects of Scottish trade: yet the fact rests on good authority. The Scottish pearls in the possession of Alexander the First were celebrated in distant countries for their extreme size and beauty; and as early as the twelfth century there is evidence of a foreign demand for this species of luxury. As the commercial intercourse with the East increased, the rich Oriental pearl, from its superior brilliancy and more perfect form, excluded the Scottish pearl from the jewel market; and by a statute of the Parisian goldsmiths, in the year 1355, we find it enacted that no worker in gold or silver shall set any Scottish pearls with Oriental ones, "except in large ornaments, or jewels for churches."† Nevertheless, though thus displaced by their Oriental rivals, the Scottish pearls were regarded as being fully equal to those of Bohemia, and, therefore, as valuable as the best produced in Europe. About the time of the Reformation, Ludovico Guicciardini, nephew of the Italian historian, in his description of the Netherlands, stated that Scotland exported to Antwerp "vast quantities of peltry [fur-skins] of many kinds, leather, wool, indif-

* Craik's *History of British Commerce*, vol. i., pp. 33, 47.

† Tytler's *History*, vol. i., p. 272. (Edition of 1864.)

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ferent cloth, and *fine large pearls*, though not of quite so good a water as the Oriental ones."

Our old historian, Hector Boece, notices the "horsse muskles," of the Scottish waters, in which "are the pearles ingendered," and also describes the mode of taking them practised in his time.

Certes they love to be resident in the deepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth. . . . . Their shelles also is as it were wrought even from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, wherein (as in yeeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, clear, and calme aire, lift up their upper shelles and mouthes a little above the water, and there receive of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heaven; and afterwards, according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force received, they first conceive, then swell, and finallie produce the pearle.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the braie or banke above them, doo speake never so softlie, or throw never so small a stone into the water, yet they will descrie you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they have as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst us, and therefore so soone as the fishermen doo catch them, they bind their shelles togither, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselves to be pursued. Their manner of apprehension is this, first foure or five persons go into the river together, up unto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another, with poles in their hands whereby they rest more suerlie, sith they fix them in the ground, and staie with one hand upon them: then casting their eies downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and cleerenesse, and with their toes take them up (for the deapth of the water will not suffer them to stoope for them), and give them to such as stand next them.

The pearles that are so gotten in Scotland are not of small value, they are verie orient and bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naile of one's little finger, as I have had and seene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle is found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gethered by such as go in pilgrimage to St James, and brought into Scotland, but they are without pearls, bicause they live in salt water, which is an enemie to the margarite.*

The theory advanced by Boece as to the origin of pearls is so fanciful in its nature as to prove that it arose in the imaginative East, the region of the marvels

* Hollinshed's *Scottish Chronicle*, vol. i., p. 18.

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of the "Arabian Nights;" but whencesoever derived, it was the one generally in vogue throughout classic antiquity, and to this day it prevails among the Ceylonese. Pliny held it firmly. "The pearls," said he, "vary according to the quality of the dew by which they are formed; if that be clear, they are also clear; if turbid, they are turbid; if the weather be cloudy when the precious drop is received into the shell, the pearl will be pale-coloured; if the shell has received a full supply, the pearl will be large; but lightning may cause it to close too suddenly, and then the pearl will be very small; when it thunders during the reception of the drop, the pearl thence resulting will be a mere hollow shell of no consistency." The same theory finds poetic expression in the following fable, imitated from the Latin of Sir William Jones :—

THE PEARL.—A PERSIAN FABLE.

Whoe'er his merit underrates,
The worth which he disclaims creates.

It chanc'd a single drop of rain
Fell from a cloud into the main:
Abash'd, dispirited, amaz'd,
At last her modest voice she rais'd:
"Where, and what am I? Woe is me!
What a mere drop in such a sea!"
An oyster yawning, where she fell,
Entrapp'd the vagrant in his shell;
In that alembic wrought—for he
Was deeply vers'd in Alchemy—
This drop became a pearl; and now
Adorns the crown on GEORGE'S brow.*

Of course, modern ideas on the formation of pearls are of a more rational cast; though we are still in the dark as to some important points in the natural history of the pearl-bearing mollusc. It seems established beyond doubt that the pearl is produced by some species of disease; and probably the peculiar shape and condition of the shell, as afterwards adverted to, are due to the same cause.

There exists a good deal of information on the subject of the Scottish Pearl Fisheries in the seventeenth century. In the "Memoriall of the Most Rare and Won-

* Hone's *Table Book*, vol. ii., p. 471.

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derful Things of Scotland," appended to Monipennie's *Abridgement of the Scots Chronicles* (London: Printed at Brittaine's Bursse: 1612), we read—"In the most of the rivers in Scotland, beside the marvelous plentie of salmond and other fishes gotten there, is a shell-fish, called the horse mussell, of a great quantity, wherein are engendered innumerable fair, beautifull, and delectable pearls, convenient for the pleasure of man, and profitable for the use of phisicke; and some of them so fair and polished, that they may be equall to any Oriental pearls." Mr Jeffries, in his *Treatise*, already quoted, states as the characteristic of true pearls, that "their complexion must be milk-white—not of a dead and lifeless, but of a clear and lively hue;" but the best Scottish pearls have been distinguished by a delicate pinkish tint,—such as evidently suggested the fine simile in Herrick's lines "To Julia, in her dawn, or day-breake":—

If blush thou must, then blush thou through
  A lawn, that thou mayest looke
As purest pearles, or pebles do,
  When peeping through a brooke.

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PEARLS OF THE PERTHSHIRE RIVERS.—Part 2d.

> Good Master Gall, behold I founde a pearle,
> A jewel, I assure you, for an Earle.
>
> *The Muses' Threnodie.*

In the first quarter of the seventeenth century the Scottish Privy Council, under King James, learning that quantities of valuable pearls were being found in certain of the rivers, claimed the right of pearl-fishing as *inter regalia.* Such a claim has never been recognised by the Law of Scotland; but at the period it was put forth it was received without question.

The attention of the King and Council seems to have been first called to the subject, in the year 1620, by the finding of a precious pearl in the burn of Kellie, a tributary of the Ythan, Aberdeenshire. It was so large and beautiful as to be esteemed the best that had at any time been found in Scotland. The Provost of Aberdeen, Sir Thomas Menzies, obtaining this jewel, repaired straightway to London, and presented it to the King, who, in requital, "gave him twelve or fourteen chalders of victual about Dunfermline, and the custom of merchant goods in Aberdeen, during his life." Truly the Provost seems to have carried his pearl to a good market; and according to tradition, this identical gem was inserted in the apex of the crown of Scotland. In January 1621, the Privy Council adverting to the fact that pearl-seeking had for many years been left to nterlopers, who pursued their vocation at unseasonable times, and thus damaged the fishing, to the hurt of his Majesty's interest, he having an undoubted right to all pearls, as he had to all precious metals found in his dominions, issued a proclamation in the King's name, for the preservation of "the waters wherein the pearls do breed;" and took measures to have the fishery conducted on a regular plan. "No pearls," it was declared, were "to be socht or taken but at such times and seasons of the year when they are at their chief per-

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fection, both of colour and quality, whilk will be in the months of July and August yearly." Three gentlemen were commissioned to protect the rivers, and "nominat expert and skilful men to fish for pearls at convenient seasons." Sir Robert Gordon, or his brother, Sir Alexander, was appointed for the rivers of Sutherland; the Laird of Kintail for those of Ross; and Mr Patrick Maitland of Auchincroch, for the waters of Ythan and Don. Mr Maitland was made Commissioner "for receiving to his Majesty's use, of the haill pearls that sall be gotten in the waters within the bounds above written, and who will give reasonable prices for the same; the best of the whilk pearls for bigness and colour he sall reserve for his Majesty's own use."

A letter from the Earl of Melrose (the sagacious *Tam o' the Cowgate*, whose luck in silver mining and otherwise we formerly recounted), addressed to King James, regarding the Royal regulations for pearl-fishing, shews that they had been carried into force so far as within the power of the Privy Council:

Most Sacred Souerane,

Vnderstanding by my Lord Chancelar, that the Earle of Kellie, by his letter, had signified to him, that it wes your royall pleasour, that I sould aduertise what order wes prescriued for the timelie and convenient search of pearles in this kingdome, with the effects thairof. For obedience of your maiesties commandement, by the letter first sent to me for that purpose, I conferred with the Lord Chancelar and Aduocat, and by their aduice and concurrence, directed commissions to Sir Robert Gordon, and, in his absence, to his brother, Sir Alexander, for Sutherland; to the Lord of Kintail, for the waters in Ross; and to Mr Patrik Maitland of Auchincreif, for the waters of Eythen, and others within the schirefdome of Aberdene: with power to Maister Patrik Maitland to receiue all the pearle that sould be found to your maiesties vse, geuing due satisfaction to the takers thairof. I haue not hard of the effects of Sir Alexander Gordon's diligence, but haue of new remembred him, by letter, of your maiesties direction, and his owne dutie. I haue spoken with the Lord Kintail, in this towne, who sayes he hes not hard of any pearle taken, since his commission, in the waters of Ross. Maister Patrik Maitland persewed some men of Aberdene, before the counsell, for thair vnlaufell buyeing of pearles, since the proclamation; who, compeiring, some confessed a small quantitie of pearle of no value, the rest, being sworne and examined, denied. Order wes taken with the contravenars, and they acted vnder great

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panes to absteane from that trade; and the proclamation commanded to be of new published, to restraine the abuse of vnlaufell buyeing. I am informed that their are sindrie other riuers in this kingedome where pearles are found; as the waters of Forth, the waters of Cart beside Paislay, and some waters in Galloway; but I heare not of any pearles of wourth found thairin, except verie rarelie. If it please your maiestie to make choice of any dwelling in those countries, to take charge of the riuers, commissions sall be gevin as they sall be directed. So, prayeing God long and graciouslie to preserue your maiestie, the pearle of Kings, I rest,

Your sacred Maiesties most humble and faithfull subject and band seruant,

Edinburgh, penult of Januar, 1622. MELROS.

The schip of Ostend, which wes at Monross, hes been rencountred at sea be a waghter of the estates, and so miserablie beaten, that scho wes to flie to Stanehyue, vnable to be repaired for vse or seruice, as we hear.

Last of Januar, 1622.

To the Kings most sacred Maiestie.

"Maister Patrik Maitland" evidently tired of his Commission, for he resigned it in the month of July, 1622; and then it was conferred on Robert Buchan, merchant in Aberdeen, who was reputed to be skilful for pearls, and "hath not only taken divers of good value, but hath found some to be in divers waters where none was expected." Among the Acts of the first Scottish Parliament of Charles I., held on 28th June, 1633, was one for the "discharge of Robert Buchan's patent of the pearle, and all other monopolies."*

The great Ythan pearl is said to have been placed in the crown of Scotland; but numerous pearls adorn that diadem, many of which are certainly of native origin. On the 10th July, 1621, the Scottish Regalia was examined by the Privy Council, for the purpose of discharging the heir of Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank, of the keeping of the said honours, which had been in his father's possession as Deputy-treasurer of Scotland; and a minute description thereof was drawn up and recorded in the Books.

Thay sighted the saidis honnouris, and remarkit the same very narrowlie, and fand that the Crowne had in the

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* Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i., p. 517. *Scottish Journal of Topography*, &c., vol. i., p. 286.

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vnder circle thairof nyne garnittis, four jasientis, three counterfute emeraulds, four amatystis, and *twentie-twa pearle;* abone the neder circle, sax small thin triangle diamontis, ten small triangle challoms, filled with blew analyne in steade of stones, twa small emptie challoms, having no thing in thame bot the blak tent, and twa challoms with twa flatt quhyte stones with the boddum upmost; next abone the small challoms *nyntene grite and small say pearle;* and within the Roise, betwix the Flour de Luce, *thretty-fyve pearle*, sum less sum more, with ten quhyte stones in the middis thairof. In the four quartaris of the bonett of the Crowne, *four pearle* sett in four pecis of garnisane of gold enamaled, and in the croce abone the Crowne, ane amatist and *aught pearle.* And that the Sceptour was in three pecis, haveing *ane pearle* in the top, and ane crystell globe benethe, the heade quhairof hes bene brokin, and mendit with wyre. And that the Sword had the plumbett birsit and brokine, with ane voyde place in everie syde thairof, and the scabart thairof riven birsit and brokine, wanting some pecis out of it.

The pearls here specified number eighty-nine. It is a curious coincidence that a native pearl holds a place in the British crown. It was taken from the river Conway, in North Wales—which, in Camden's time, was noted for the production of pearls—and was presented to Catharine, Queen of Charles II., by her chamberlain, Sir Richard Wynn of Gwydir.

Tam o' the Cowgate, in his interesting communication to "the pearle of kings," does not speak of the river Tay as bearing any repute for the "white shell berries" of the poet Ausonius. But there can be little doubt that at that time Tay pearls were common. This, we think, is clear from a passage in Henry Adamson's *Muses Threnodie*, which was first published in 1638—

This tyme our boat passing too nigh the land,
The whirling stream did make her run on sand,
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,
To catch these muscles, you call toyts of Tay,
It 's possible if no ill eye bewitch us
We jewels finde, for all our dayes t' enrich us:
The waters here are shald, and clear, and warme,
To bath our arms and limbs will do no harme,
* * * * * * *

Content, said Gall; then off our shoes we drew
And hose, and from us we our doublets threw,
Our shirt-sleeves wreathing up, without more speeches,

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And high above our knees we pulling our breeches,
In waters go, then straight mine arms I reach
Unto the ground, whence cleverlie I fetch
Some of these living pearled shells, which do
Excell in touching and in tasteing too,
As all who search, do by experience try,
And we oftimes; therewith I loudlie cry,
Good Master Gall, behold I founde a pearle,
A jewel I assure you for an earle.
Be silent, said good Gall, or speak at leasure,
For men will cut your throat to get your treasure.
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 cleare survey,
How proper Perth did stand, one might have drawn
In landskip fair, on paper or on lawn.

This pleasant pearl-fishing adventure, on a glorious summer day, seems to have happened near the head of the present North Inch. George Ruthven and good Gall, after a happy morning's ramble, took boat below the Linn of Campsie, and sailed down the silvery Tay :

———Their barge did sweetly pass
By Scone's fair palace, sometime Abbay was;

and soon after coming in sight of Perth Bridge, they ran aground on a sandbank in the shallow water.

The Ythan was proverbially called "The Rich Rig of Scotland," from its yielding so many fine pearls: and Keith, in his *View of Aberdeenshire*, tells a good story about a lot sold in London about the middle of last century : "One Mr Tower, a merchant in Aberdeen, got at one time £100 sterling for a quantity of pearls, which were taken from the Ythan. A fortunate misunderstanding of terms (which has not always the same happy effect) occasioned Mr Tower to get the full value of his pearls. He asked from a jeweller in London £100 as the price of them, meaning only Scotch money, or £8 6s 8d sterling. The jeweller offered him £80, which he declined, declaring that he had paid that sum to the fishers of Ythan, from whom he bought them. The jeweller replied that they were dear, but that they were excellent pearls, and laid the £100 on the counter.

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Mr Tower saw that he had got *English* money, which he pocketed, concealing his ignorance; but he afterwards knew what price to ask for his pearls." About the same period, an Ythan pearl was sold to a travelling Jew, for thirty-five guineas, and he subsequently realised three times that price for it.

Generally speaking, the pearl-fisheries of Scotland were almost totally exhausted in the latter half of the last century. In 1769, Mr Pennant visited Perth and its environs, in the course of his peregrinations through Scotland; and in the first volume of his *Tour*, when referring to the Tay, he says—"There has been in these parts a very great fishery of pearl got out of the fresh-water mussels. From the year 1761 to 1764, £10,000 worth were sent to London, and sold from 10s to £1 16s per ounce. I am told that a pearl had been taken there that weighed 33 grains. But this fishery is at present exhausted, from the avarice of the undertakers; it once extended as far as Loch Tay."

Some of the writers of the old *Statistical Account of Scotland*, which was published from 1791 to 1799, supply a few scraps of information regarding the Tay and other rivers.

The Rev. Mr Bannerman, in his account of Cargill, a parish on the banks of Tay, says—"About twenty years ago there was a great demand for pearls, and many people here were occupied in fishing for them. Considerable numbers were caught, for which there was a ready market, and a good price. The demand, however, ceasing, this species of fishing has been dropped for some time. There is now in the custody of the Honourable Miss Drummond of Perth, a pearl necklace which has been in the possession of the ladies of that noble family for several generations, the pearls of which were found here in the Tay, and for size and shape are not to be equalled by anything of the kind in Britain."

The writer of the account of Dowally, another Tay parish, mentions the pearl fishery which sometime previously had existed there: "Crowds of people," he

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says, "were seen daily wandering in search of them. But a London dealer, who had purchased the pearls, becoming bankrupt with the price in his hands, the spirit of this traffic was damped, and has not again revived. Several pearls then found brought 10s 6d, and one brought 13s."

The Rev. Mr Robertson, in his account of the parish of Callander, in western Perthshire, writes—"In the Teith are found considerable quantities of mussels, which some years ago afforded great profit to those who fished them by the pearls they contained, which were sold at high prices. The pearls were esteemed in proportion to the glossy fineness of their lustre, their size, and shape. Some of the country people made £100 in a season by that employment. This lucrative fishing was soon exhausted; and it will require a considerable time before it can be resumed with profit, because none but the old shells, which are crooked in the shape of a new moon, produce pearls of any value."

In the account of Tillicoultry it is stated that "pearls of a small size have been found in the bed of the river" Devon, which has its source in the Ochill hills.

The Rev. Dr Jamieson of Forfar, in his account of Tannadice, Forfarshire, says in reference to the river Esk, which flows through the parish—"Here, a good number of years ago, a considerable fishing was carried on in Esk for fresh-water oysters, in order to procure pearls. Some of these were so valuable, that £4 have been given for one at the first market. One was got nearly as large as the ball of a pocket pistol. They were generally bought up from those who fished for them, by people from Brechin; and it is said that this trade turned out to good account to some individuals engaged in it. More than twenty years ago it was given up; some say that there is not the same demand for the pearls as formerly. It is asserted, however, that the shells are nearly exhausted, by reason of the great number of hands employed in collecting them."

In the account of the parish of Cluny, Aberdeenshire,

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the Rev. Mr Michie states—"No great river runs through the parish; but the brooks and rivulets abound in trouts, pike, and eels. And the large rivulet or burn of Cluny breeds pearls. Some years ago a Jew employed people to fish them, and a great many were got, some of them large, and of a good water, which were carried to London to be disposed of."

The Rev. Mr Paterson, in his account of the parish of Logie Buchan, Aberdeenshire, writes—"Ythan is the only river in this parish. . . . The shells, which contain pearls, are pretty often found in this river. I have not indeed heard of any pearls having been found in them for these 16 or 17 years; but I am informed from good authority that a few years before that, several were got by people keeping cattle at the waterside, and that some of these were of considerable value."

The Rev. Mr Gillespie, in his account of the parish of Kells, Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, says—"There is another fishing in this parish, claimed as no man's property, that cannot be easily estimated. I mean a pearl fishery. In dry summers, great numbers of pearls are fished here; some of great size and fine water, and are sold from 1s to £1 1s, according to their size and beauty."

All these authorities concur in proving that the pearl fishings which existed in Scotland from remote ages down to the late period of the eighteenth century when they became all but extinct, were of very considerable value.

The new *Statistical Account of Scotland* furnishes two or three notices of Perthshire pearls. Thus the Rev. Mr Mackenzie, in his account of Dunkeld and Dowally, written in 1843, says—"Pearls, of a coarse kind, but occasionally of good form and colour, are produced by the species of muscle common in the Tay. About half-a-century ago, the collecting of pearls was a trade. A merchant in London who had contracted to receive all that was collected became insolvent, which caused a loss to the inhabitants who was engaged in the traffic. Since then, the people of the place have ceased to collect them. Many of the pearls that were collected brought

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high prices." The Rev. Mr Stewart. in his account of Killin—1843, notices that "in the Dochart the pearl muscle is found, from which beautiful and valuable pearls are extracted." And the Rev. Dr Gray, in his account of Kincardine in Menteith,—1844, says—"The muscle that produces pearls *(Mya Margaritifera)* is common in the Teith, and the size and value of the pearls have occasionally been considerable; but they are not found in such numbers as to remunerate the search."

Boece and Adamson mention simple modes of capturing pear-mussels with the feet and the hands; but an implement for the purpose came to be employed, and is still in common use. This is a "kind of spear consisting of a long shaft, and terminated by two iron spoons, forming a kind of forceps. The handles of these spoons are long and elastic, which keeps the mouths closed, but they open upon being pressed against anything. With this machine in his hand by way of staff, the fisher being up to the chin in water, gropes with his feet for the muscles which are fixed by one end in the mud or sand; he presses down the forceps which opens and grasps the shell, and enables him to pull it to the surface. He has a bag-net hanging by his side to carry the muscles till he comes ashore, when they are opened." (Forsyth's *Beauties of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 199). A rude variety of the same thing is a long stick or wand, slit at one end, which being pressed down upon the mussel encloses it betwixt the forks, so that it can then be lifted up. Regular pearl-fishers on the Tay and elsewhere are provided with an instrument designed to enable them to *see the mussels* at the bottom of deep water. It is something like the leg of a Wellington boot, being made of tin and varnished black. One end of the cylinder is closed with a glass like the end of a telescope; the other end is fashioned so that the face may fit into it. By pushing the glass end under water, and putting his face to the upper end, the pearl-fisher will easily see the bottom in fifteen or twenty feet of water.

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We shall next consider the present condition and future prospects of the Scottish Pearl-fisheries — especially those of Perthshire.

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PEARLS OF THE PERTHSHIRE RIVERS--Part 3d.

This orient pearl——
This treasure of an oyster.

Antony and Cleopatra.

For well nigh a hundred years after Mr Pennant first visited Perth, the pearl-fisheries of Scotland were neglected, as having become a branch of industry holding out meagre hopes of adequate remuneration. In fact, exhaustion had been induced by the ignorant and wasteful mode of search. But the lengthened respite of the waters tended gradually to repair the former damage. Occasionally fine gems were obtained; and, in recent times, the demand for Scottish pearls has experienced a sudden and most decided revival,—perhaps in consequence of a falling off in the Ceylon pearl-oyster fishery. "Curious anecdotes have been related of the way in which the pearl trade has been revived in Scotland," said a writer in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 29th May, 1867, "and how the prejudice against Scottish pearls which existed in the minds of the leading dealers in such gems was overcome. An elegantly-dressed lady, it is said, visited during one season all the chief jewellery shops of the larger towns of Scotland in quest of Scottish pearls, desirous of obtaining a large quantity, and those of the finest lustre, in order, as she declared, to form a tiara for a very high personage. Not being able to obtain any, she expressed the greatest possible chagrin and surprise that Scottish jewellers did not better know the wealth of their own country. Scottish pearls, she said, were finer than the Oriental; and she would return in a week or two and take any quantity that could be procured. Some of the more active jewellers sent into the country districts, but found to their surprise that they had been anticipated; all the pearls on hand had been bought up, and more been ordered! In a few days a gentleman called at each of the shops, and

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offered a number of the Scottish pearls for sale. As may be supposed, they were eagerly purchased, but the lady never returned again ; and the dealers, having obtained the gems, were obliged to push them off as best they could. This plan, it is said, helped the revival of the trade so much as to initiate a considerable demand for the pearls of Caledonia." We quote the story for what it is worth ; but, at all events, be the cause what it might, the revival of the pearl-trade in Scotland is "a great fact," suggesting important considerations to all who are interested in the produce of our rivers.

During the last few seasons, pearls have been eagerly sought for in many of the Scottish waters, and numerous specimens of value procured. In Perthshire, the rivers Tay, Earn, Isla, &c., have been yielding quantities of the gems. As regards the Tay, pearls of fair size and great beauty have been picked up in the vicinity of Perth—much at the same spot where Gall and Ruthven ran aground. These have realised handsome prices —a fine Tay pearl being prized by connoisseurs. In various instances the fortunate finders were boys who had been wading in the river for their own amusement and not with an eye to discover any of the rich "toyts of Tay." Moreover, the extension of drainage in the upper valley of the Tay is affording increased facilities for the thorough prosecution of pearl-fishing, by tending to make the river extremely shallow in the heat of summer, though flooded during winter. The Earn is also famous as a pearl-growing stream, and some families resident on its banks derive a good part of their subsistence from the pearl-fishing. On other Scottish rivers the same occupation is statedly followed. A comparative estimate of the worth of pearls found in Scotland appears from the circumstance that some years ago a dealer in Edinburgh formed a necklace exclusively of Scottish pearls, for which the sum asked was £350—the gems of which it was composed ranging in value from £5 to £90 each. To this fact we may add another. At a sale of jewellery held in the City-

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Hall of Perth, in the month of January 1870, a necklet set with one hundred Tay pearls was offered at £100.

In the summer of 1869, the Earn proved very prolific in pearly treasures. Numbers of persons engaged in the search, extending their operations from the Bridge of Kinkell down to the embouchure of the river. Near Kinkell, a beautiful pearl was got, which weighed 25 grains and sold at £20; and a profusion of smaller ones fetched singly from 20s to 50s. The same season a pearl found in the Teith sold for £10. In the Tay, where the mussels were the most plentiful near the mouth of the Almond, the results were not nearly so encouraging. Several fine pearls were secured on the Isla, one of which brought £15. Agents of London dealers visited Perthshire that year, for the express purpose of buying up on the spot whatever good pearls appeared. A couple of individuals commonly form "a party" of pearl-fishers; and the average weekly earnings of each party on the Earn and Isla, amounted to about £12 throughout the season of 1869, but one party, more fortunate than any other, realized the handsome sum of £29 in a week. In the summer of 1872, the Tay was dredged between Logierait and Grandtully, and though the results were not remarkable, yet each party gained from £5 to £6 per week. Several fine pearls were also gained from the Earn.

But the pearl-fishing being open to all and sundry, the danger of another exhaustion of the supplies seems imminent. The labour is light, though tedious. The mollusc is obtainable at none of the serious risks attending the pearl-fishing of the east; for, instead of lying at a great depth in the bottom of the sea, it is usually among the mud in the beds of rivers which the summer droughts render shallow and clear, so that it can be easily perceived by the eye, and almost reached by the hand. In this way, under favourable circumstances, boys and girls can perform the work of pearl-seeking as efficiently as their elders. The "herd-laddie" on the braeside can run down to the neighbouring stream, and if the water be low and limpid, he can pick

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up the mussel without the aid of any apparatus, or if it lies deeper, he has but to reach down a stick and insert the point of it betwixt the open shells, which instantly close like a vice upon the intruding body, and the mussel can thus be lifted up. This is a very simple matter; but the worst of it is that generally all shells found are taken out, whether likely to contain pearls or not, and so a needless waste arises. Unquestionably, the marked decline of the fisheries, which Mr Pennant and the statistical writers record, must have been attributable, in no small degree, to this very cause.

To obviate, however, the probability of another exhaustion of these fisheries, might not steps be taken to attempt the artificial propagation of the pearl-mussel, as has been so successfully accomplished in the case of the salmon? But on the threshold of this enquiry various difficulties present themselves. In the first place, there is this peculiarity about the mussel, in contra-distinction to the oyster, that it is usually found singly, and not in beds. "It was supposed at one time that the numerous single shells had been washed away from some largely-populated bed of mussels, probably in the loch whence the waters of the stream were derived. On the supposition that these large sheets of water were the natural reservoirs of the pearl-mussel, diving was some years ago resorted to in some of the deeper lochs, but without any profitable results. No beds of mussels were to be found, which was not to be wondered at, seeing that large numbers of the pearl-bearing shells had been picked up in waters that had no loch for their source, such as the Don, the Ugie, and the Ythan." In the second place, pearls are only found in old shells, which are invariably of crescent shape, "crooked, in the shape of a new moon," and covered with wrinkles. Spruel, an old writer, states that "a birthy shell" should be wrinkled and nicked, like the horn of a cow; for "the more nicks or wrinkles in the shell, the older and better the pearl is. *Smooth shells are barren.*" But we are still in the dark as to whether the curve and the wrinkles of the

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"birthy shell" are natural to it or not. Is the half-moon shape of the shell caused by the production of the pearl inside? Is the production of the pearl the consequence of disease, and analogous to bezoars and other stony concretions in several kinds of living creatures? Is the crooked form of the shell hereditary? And would the spat of crescentic mussels produce the same sort? Such questions are more easily put than answered. They can only be solved by actual experiment, which has never been fully tried. But the notion that the pearl originates in disease has been long entertained. More than a century ago, M. Reaumur presented a memoir to the French Academy, advocating the theory, that pearls are apparently the effects of a disease in the fish, and are produced from a juice extravasated out of some broken vessels.

The fabrication of artificial pearls is no new art. The ingenious Chinese practise it by insinuating small mother-of-pearl beads, or metallic images of Buddha, between the valves of the living mussels when they rise to the surface of the water—these beads, or images, being in due time found covered over with the pearly secretion. The European method, carried on extensively in France and Switzerland, is to fill glass beads with a pearly substance obtained from the scales of the bleak and other fish. Shams and counterfeits in articles of personal adornment have beem common in all ages. But, perhaps, in addition to its other grand characteristics, the present should be designated as the age of cheap jewellery; for what gem or jewel has not been imitated in the interest of cheapness, so that the factory girl going out to spend her half-holiday, may bedizen herself with trinkets as flashy as those of the Duchess at a Royal Drawing-Room? It is surprising, therefore, that the spirit of mercantile enterprise and competition has not hitherto been turned towards the artificial culture of the pearls indigenous to our own country. Beckmann, in his *History of Inventions*, states that the great naturalist, Linnæus, announced in 1761 "that he had discovered an art by which mussels might be made

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to produce pearls, and he offered to disclose the method for the benefit of the kingdom. This, however, was not done, but he disposed of his secret to one Bagge, a merchant of Gottenburg, for the sum of eighteen thousand copper dollars, which make about five hundred ducats. In the year 1780, the heirs of this merchant wished to sell to the highest bidder the sealed-up receipt; but whether the secret was purchased, or who bought it, I do not know. . . . . I conjecture that Linnæus alluded to this art in his writings so early as the year 1746, or long before he ever thought of keeping it a secret. The passage I mean is in the sixth edition of his Systema Naturæ, where he says—'Pearl. An excrescence on the inside of a shell when the outer side has been perforated.'" The secret of the Father of Botany consisted in boring a hole in the mussel shell, and inserting a grain of sand round which the pearl might form. The scheme was put in operation, but was not attended with the requisite success commercially, and had to be abandoned. At the best, it was but an adaptation of the Chinese practice.

Without perforation, or insertion, or any interference whatsoever with the integrity of the shell, might not simple culture be attempted? Of course, the want of property in the pearl-fisheries seems a formidable obstacle; but without the revival of the Crown claims, it might be possible to carry out the breeding and protection of the pearl mussel. The experiment could be inaugurated upon a small scale, not entailing heavy expense. If successful, it would necessarily prove remunerative; for good pearls will always command good prices. Thus much seems certain that if the present wasteful system of bringing ashore every mussel, young or old, smooth or crooked, be allowed to continue, the extinction of the fisheries cannot be far distant. Why should we imitate the silly fellow who could not rest satisfied till he had killed the goose that laid the golden eggs? Tam Sandys, of Alyth, "the old original pearl-diver" of Scotland, and who travelled the whole country round in search of pearls, conducted

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the business, as we are told, in a very different way. He only drew up such mussels as his experience had taught him were likely to contain the gems of which he was in quest: others that he thought were likely to contain pearl seed he left alone, in the hope that they might grow large enough to be worthy of his attention at his next visit. Thus, he encouraged and helped nature, in a manner, knowing well that without seed there could be no future crop. But how many seekers follow the sensible rule of honest Tam Sandys? The ignorant—and their name is legion—destroy all before them, like a cloud of locusts, never reserving a provision for the morrow. As things go, we are permitting our pearl supply to be exhausted, with as little apparent compunction as was evinced by Cleopatra when she dissolved her pearl in the festive cup which she pledged to Antony. Capitalists afflicted with a plethora of funds, are often in want of promising investments, and not unfrequently fling away their money on "empty bubbles." Some of them might do far worse than embark in a Pearl-culture undertaking. It is peculiarly in the province of public-spirited river proprietors. If the objection be started that we know extremely little about the natural history of the mussel, let investigation be entered upon and reliable facts collected. Oyster culture in France is progressing very satisfactorily. Recently the system of artifical cultivation of the Pearl-oyster has been introduced at Ceylon. Looking at home, the Stormontfield Piscicultural Establishment is producing larger and better-looking smolts than are bred naturally in the Tay. Who can tell but that artificial culture might produce larger and more beautiful pearls than our rivers have ever yielded?

APPENDIX.

THE PEARL FISHERIES OF WALES.—The river Conway has already been noticed for the production of pearls, one of which still adorns the British crown. In a former age, Lady Newborough possessed a good collection of the Conway pearls, which she purchased of those

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who were fortunate enough to find them. The late Sir Robert Vaughan had obtained a sufficient number to appear at Court with a button and loop to his hat, formed of these beautiful productions, about the year 1780. It appears that a pearl-fishery still exists at the mouth of the river. A writer in Loudon's *Magazine of Natural History* states that, according to his information, "a lady on the Conway nets nearly £1000 a-year by the pearls of that river, under a charter."

THE PEARL FISHERIES OF IRELAND.—Various rivers of Ireland are not without historic fame for pearl-production. Two hundred years ago Irish pearls were comparatively abundant. An interesting letter from Sir Robert Redding, F.R.S., to Dr Leslie, dated 13th October, 1688, and which was inserted in Boate's *Natural History of Ireland*, 1726, contains the following details.

Being in the north in August last, and calling to remembrance your desire to have some of the muscle-shells sent you wherein the pearls were found, I have sent you four or five of the shells, and a few of the pearls taken out of the river near Omagh, in the county of Tyrone. The manner of their fishing is not extraordinary; the poor people in the warm months before the harvest is ripe, whilst the rivers are low and clear, go into the water; some with their toes, some with wooden tongs, and some by putting a sharpened stick into the opening of the shells, take them up; and, although, by common estimate, not one shell in a hundred may have a pearl, and of those pearls not above one in a hundred be tolerably clean; yet a vast number of fair merchantable pearls, and too good for the apothecary, are offered to sale by those people every summer assize. Some gentlemen of the country make good advantage thereof; and myself, whilst there, saw one pearl bought for 50s that weighed 36 carats, and was valued at £40, and had it been as clean as some others produced therewith, would certainly have been very valuable. Everybody abounds with stories of the good pennyworths of the country, but I will add but one more: A miller took out a pearl which he sold for £4 10s to a man that sold it for £10, who sold it to the late Lady Glenanly for £30, with whom I saw it in a necklace. She refused £80 for it from the late Duchess of Ormond.

The shells that have the best pearls are wrinkled, twisted, or bunched, and not smooth and equal as those that have none, as you may observe by one of the shells herewith sent, of a lighter colour than the rest; this shell yielded a pearl sold for £12. And the crafty fellows will guess so well by the shell that though you watch them

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never so carefully they will open such shells under the water, and put the pearls in their mouths or otherwise conceal them.

Sir Robert specifies the rivers which yielded pearls: "the river near Omagh, County Tyrone, besides which there are three other rivers in the same county, all emptying themselves into Lough Foyle, also other rivers in the County Donegal, the Suir running by Waterford; the Lough called Lough Lean (Lake of Killarney) in Kerry, and no doubt there may be many others that I do not know." Irish County historians mention pearls as being found in many of the Cork and Kerry rivers, and in Connemara.

Medicinal Virtues of Pearls.—Sir Robert Redding speaks of some pearls which were "merchantable," and therefore "too good for the apothecary." But looking to the medicinal virtues ascribed to pearls in the olden Pharmacopœia, we should have supposed that the better the pearl the greater should have been its healing powers. The learned Italian doctor, Camillus Leonardus, in his *Mirror of Stones*, which was dedicated to the infamous Cæsar Borgia, says that pearls have "physical virtues exceeding the commodiousness of ornament. Being boiled in meat, they cure the Quartan Ague; bruised and taken with milk they wonderfully clear the voice. They comfort the heart, and give relief in pains of the stomach, and remove the epilepsy. If taken with sugar, they yield help in pestilential fevers." They also possess other inestimable qualities. In the *Pamminerulogicon, or, An Universal History of Minerals,* by Robert Lovell, St. C. C. Ox., published at Oxford, in 1661, it is said that pearls "strengthen and confirm the heart; they cherish the spirits; they cleanse weafts of the eye; they are very good against melancholick griefes; they defend against pestilent diseases; they are good against swoonings; they help the trembling of the heart and giddinesse of the head; they help feavers, and make the teeth white;" and so forth; shewing that surely no sort of them could be "too good" for such purposes. The

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mode of pounding pearls, in preparing them for medicine, was thus described in *The General Practise of Physicke.* Compiled and written by the most famous and learned Doctour Christopher Wertzvng, in the Germane tongue, and now translated into English. By Jacob Mosane, Germane, Doctor in the same Facultie. London: 1617 (a Black letter folio of 800 pages)—

Pearls shall be beaten very small, and searced thorow a lawn searce, then moule or grinde them on a mortar or marble stone with rose water, vntill thou finde or feele no sharpnesse or sandiness betweene thy fingers, then let them drie in such a place where no dust can come at them: In this manner are all other pretious stones prepared. (P. 9.)

Most assuredly the Hornbooks of old times were as fully supplied with "uncommon weapons" as was their descendant, the poor Tarbolton dominie, whom Burns' satire scarified into immortal fame.

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PRIORY OF ST LEONARD AT PERTH.

Saint Leonard's cloister, mourning Magdalene,
Whose cristall fountaine flows like Hippocrene.
The Muses' Threnodie.

Perhaps the busiest sight in the environs of the Fair City is the view northwards of the approach to the General Station from the railway bridge leading to the New Town and Craigie. Standing on the bridge you behold a network of rails stretching below like a monstrous spider's web in course of formation, alongst which detached engines, puffing and snorting, rush to and fro, and endless trains arrive and depart, heralding their movements with shrieks, fell and ear-splitting as those of demons just emerged from the bowels of the earth to plague upper air, whilst evolving clouds of smoke and steam which obscure the natural charms of the surrounding scenery. But watch a lucid moment in this turmoil: look up from the nether region of drivers and stokers and guards, pointsmen, signalmen, and nondescript supernumeraries, and the eye meets an amphitheatre of hills near and afar, and sweeps on at a glance to the wavy blue line of the Grampians. To the right, the orient prospect is filled by the broad breast of Kinnoull, clad in summer's livery, variegated with green woods and embowered mansions: southwards, and Moredun, "the glory of Scotland," rises in its verdant slope, foliage-crowned; and shutting in the south and west are the Cloven Crags and Craigie Hills. Thirty years have not yet elapsed since all that nether region of rails and steam was covered with "bonny corn-rigs and rigs o' barley," mellowing in the sunshine, where the craik's call in the hushed gloaming was the wonder and the mystery of the wandering schoolboy, and whence laverocks fluttered up from among the "dewy weet" to salute the morning beam. Remembering well the former aspects of the locality, we can well understand how it was chosen as the seat

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of a little sisterhood of nuns, from whose cloister it acquired the name by which it has ever since been distinguished. The olden religious houses were usually erected in picturesque situations, which diligent culture and care improved; and so when a Priory of Cistercian Nuns was established, six hundred years ago, or more, on the lands we have mentioned, there was a manifest adaptability in the site for this pious purpose.

Who it was that founded a Nunnery, with an Hospital and Chapel there, we cannot precisely tell; but the institution existed previous to 1296; for Prynne, under that year, speaks of *La Prioresse de Seint Leonard, juxte la ville de Seint Johan de Perth.* The Chartulary of Aberbrothock refers, under date 1373, to the Prioress of that time. About the year 1396, Gilbert Taylor, Burgess of Perth, granted an annual rent of forty pennies to the Hospital of St Leonard out of a tenement on the south side of the North [or High] Street, which was afterwards acquired by the Carthusian Monastery.

The Priory was dedicated to St Leonard the Abbot (Leothenard, or Lithenard, as the name was variously spelt), a favourite saint of the middle ages, who was made the titular or patron of many churches and chapels. His festival was fixed for November 6th, and is still retained in the Church of England calendar. A list of holidays published at Worcester in 1240, ordained the feast of St Leonard to be kept as a half-holiday, enjoined the hearing of mass, and prohibited all labour, except that of the plough. According to the Rev. Alban Butler, St Leonard was a French nobleman of the Court of Clovis 1., and being converted by St Remigius, became a monk, built an oratory for himself, in a forest at Nobilac, near Limoges, where he lived on herbs and fruits, and formed a community, which after his death was a flourishing monastery under the name of St Leonard le Noblat. He was remarkable for charity towards captives and prisoners, and died about 559, with the reputation of having worked miracles in their behalf. The *Golden Legend* relates several won-

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derful events in St Leonard's career. There being no supply of water within a mile of his abode under the greenwood tree, he caused a pit to be dug, "the which he fylled with water by his prayers: and he shone there by so grete myracles, that who that was in prison, and called his name in ayde, anone his bondes and fetters were broken, and went awaye without ony gaynsayenge frely, and came presentyng to hym theyr chaynes or yrens." One of St Leonard's converts "was taken of a tyraunt," which tyrant, considering by whom his prisoner was protected, determined so to secure him against Leonard's interposition, as "to make hym paye for his raunsom a thousand shyllynges." Therefore, quoth the tyrant, "I shall go make a ryght grete and depe pyt vnder the erth in my toure, and I shall cast hym therin bounden with many bondes; and I shall do make a chest of trce vpon the mouth of the pyt, and shall make my knyghtes to lye therin all armed; and how be it that yf Leonarde breke the yrons, yet shall he not entre into it vnder the erth." The poor captive having been thus strongly secured, called on St Leonard, who at night "came and turned the chest wherein the knyghtes laye armed, and closed them therein, lyke as deid men ben in a tombe, and after entred into the pyt with grete lyght," and he spoke to the prisoner, from whom the chains fell off, and he "toke hym in his armes and bare hym out of the toure, and sette hym at home in his hous." The miracles wrought by the Saint in relieving prisoners continued, we are told, after his death. He is usually represented in paintings and other works of art, as holding chains and fetters. In Barnaby Googe's translation of *The Popish Kingdome* of Naogeorgus, it is said that

> Leonerd of the prisoners doth the bandes asunder pull,
> And breakes the prison doores and chaines, wherewith
> his church is full.

But in Bale's *Interlude* concerning the Laws of Nature, &c., Idolatry, one of the characters, gives our Saint a strange patronship—

> With blessynges of Saynt Germayne,
> I will me so determyne,

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That neyther fox nor vermyne
Shall do my chyckens harme.
For your gese seke Saynt Legiarde,
And for your duckes Saynt Leonarde.

So that if the sisterhood at the Leonards kept poultry, as doubtless they did, their ducks in particular, would be under special protection, and might cruise without danger in the South Inch lade and Craigie Burn.

The Nuns of St Leonard's belonged to the Bernardine or Cistercian Order, conforming to the rule of St Benedict, but following certain private Constitutions. The Cistercians had thirteen Monasteries and thirteen Nunneries in Scotland. The habit of monk and nun was white. When the Order arose, the black monks "reproached their new brethren with wearing a garment fit only for a time of joy, whilst the monastic state was one of penitence. But the white monks answered that the life of a monk was not only one of penitence, but was like that of the angels, and therefore they wore white garments, to show the spiritual joy of their hearts. And notwithstanding their coarse bread and hard beds, there was a cheerfulness about the Cistercians, which may in a great measure be traced to what we should now call a sympathy with nature. Their life lay out of doors, amongst vineyards and corn fields; their monasteries, as their names testify, were mostly situated in sequestered valleys, and were, by a law of the order, as old as the time of Alberic, never in towns, but in the country. From their constant meditation as they worked, they acquired a habit of joining their recollections of Scripture to natural objects; hence also the love for the Song of Solomon, which is evident in the earlier ascetic writers of the order."*

The Priory of St Leonards and its adjoining buildings were situated beside the ancient "long causeway leading to the Bridge of Earn," known in our time (before the railway changes) as the road passing straight on from Leonard Street to Carr's Croft† and Craigie, and

* *The Cistercian Saints of England. St Stephen, Abbot.* London: 1845; p. 55.

† Carr's Croft is commonly called the *Cat's* Croft; and judging from analogy the latter may be the correct desig-

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thence to the Edinburgh road. The Nunnery stood opposite to the old farm-house of the Leonards, and immediately beyond the north side of the railway bridge, nearly in a line eastwards with the southmost house of St Leonard's Bank. The chapel stood at a little distance on the rising ground to the east, overlooking the South Inch. Every vestige of the establishment disappeared long ago. No white-stoled Nun, even in her wildest imaginings, could have conceived what the site of her Priory was to become. The American poet, Bryant, in a poem on the Prairies, falls into a fancy concerning the future of those pathless, flower-covered wastes—

> The bee,
> A more adventurous colonist than man,
> With whom he came across the eastern deep,
> Fills the savannas with his murmurings,
> And hides his sweets, as in the golden age,
> Within the hollow oak. I listen long
> To his domestic hum, and think I hear
> The sound of that advancing multitude
> Which soon shall fill these deserts. From the ground
> Comes up the laugh of children, the soft voice
> Of maidens, and the sweet and solemn hymn
> Of Sabbath worshippers. The low of herds
> Blends with the rustling of the heavy grain
> Over the dark-brown furrows. All at once
> A fresher wind sweeps by, and breaks my dream,
> And I am in the wilderness alone.

That was a pleasant vision of the good time coming. But if our Nun—who would have seen nothing for which her education had not prepared her mind in a visible manifestation of her patron to release pining

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nation after all; for an old deed of 1437-8 specifies a *Hen* Croft in the vicinity, as thus: "The hen-croft, with its pertinents, lying on the north side of the church of St Leonard's; one piece of land lying next to the said church of St Leonard's, extending downward to a certain fountain called Lethe; the Thorny Croft, lying between the church of St Leonard's and the torrent of Craigie; one piece of the land of St Leonard's, which is called the *Tongue*, on the north side of the bridge of St Leonard's, and near the street of the same." &c. See *Book of Perth*, p. 43. "The land of the late *John Lethe*" is afterwards mentioned in the same deed, from which proprietor, or his predecessors of the like surname, the "certain fountain" probably derived its designation.

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prisoners from the dungeons of St Johnstoun—if she, we say, had had a dream of the iron-horse, sweeping amidst its fume, along the Leonard haugh, she would have shrunk with horror, believing the horrid apparition to be an embodiment of the devil, who had at last been unchained! There was a church dedicated to St Leonard, at Perth, as early as 1163, in which year the grant of its patronage to the Monastery of Dunfermline was confirmed by Pope Alexander III. Nor was this the only right which the Dunfermline monks held in the town of Perth. King David I. gifted them St John's Church, along with the manse pertaining to it, another house in the city, and the whole tithes of the parish; and the grant was confirmed by Malcolm IV. The abbot and his brethren drew the rectory-tithes, and employed a vicar to officiate at Perth. The chapel of the Castle of Perth was also handed over to the same fraternity, and Malcolm IV. confirmed the gift.* But whether the St Leonard's Church of 1163 was in connection with the Priory we cannot say.

On the 23rd of November, 1411, Master Robert Clarkson *(clericus)*, described as Governor of St Leonard's Hospital, renounced the same by charter in favour of Lady Elizabeth Dunbar, in the chapel of the Archiepiscopal Castle of St Andrews, in presence of Bishop Wardlaw; Alexander de Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus; Sir Walter Oliphant of Kelly, knight; John de Barclay, Laird of Kippow; Richard Lovell, Laird of Ballinby; Deans and Masters James de Hawdinston, Prior of the Isle of May, Patrick de Houston, Canon of the Churches of Glasgow and Brechin, Robert de Dryden, Rector of Muckhert, and John Hunter, Presbyter of the Diocese of St Andrews. The attesting notary is designated *Richard Miles.* The Lady Elizabeth Dunbar was the daughter of George, tenth Earl of Dunbar and March. She became Prioress of St Leonard's Nunnery in 1411. She had been betrothed, or, as some allege, privately married, to the unfortunate David, Duke of Rothsay,

* Chalmers' *Historical and Statistical Account of Dunfermline;* pp. 220, 250.

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eldest son of Robert III. Her father is said to have paid to the Duke a large part of her marriage-portion, and the latter signed a bond, under his seal, that he would perform his espousal; but, in defiance of this contract, he married in 1400, in Bothwell Church, Marjory, daughter of Archibald, third Earl of Douglas. Lady Elizabeth, whom it appears he was compelled to reject, devoted herself after his unhappy death to a single religious life.*

Eighteen years passed, and when King James I. founded the great Carthusian Monastery at Perth, in 1429,—the spot on which it was built being the croft of William de Wynde, burgess of the city—the Nunnery of St Leonards was suppressed, and its lands and rents conferred on the Carthusians, under whose patronage, however, the chapel was continued. The Nunnery of St Mary Magdalene, with its chapel, standing some way south from St Leonards, and the date of whose establishment is uncertain, was also suppressed at the same time, and its property annexed to the new monastery. St Magdalene's was famed for "a most excellent spring of living water, one of the best in this country." A rental of the Carthusians, dated about 1440, specifies *inter alia* the following items of revenue:—

The lands lying round the Chapel of the Blessed Mary Magdalene, annually,	£5	0	0
The Leonard Ley, annually,	5	0	0
The crofts round the Chapel of St Leonard, annually,	4	0	0
The Leonard Haugh, annually,	1	0	0

It is asserted by Mr Cant, in his notes to Henry Adamson's poem, that the ancestors of a public-spirited citizen of Perth, named John Davidson, who flourished in the middle of the seventeenth century, had founded the Chaplainry of St Leonard's, and endowed it with a stipend out of their lands in that quarter, while their descendants were called Vicars of St Leonard's, and reserved their title to that benefice. But probably there is some misapprehension respecting this matter, and the Davidsons may only have become connected

* *Book of Perth*, p. 82.

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with the Chapel property after the dissolution of the Carthusian Monastery. John Davidson was a Notary Public in Perth, and also Fiscal of Court, and possessed much property. He translated several of the Town's charters, and executed illuminated copies with his own hand. He was a bold and enterprising gentleman, and took a leading position among his fellow-citizens during Cromwell's invasion of Scotland; and is said to have given a tack of the Leonard lands to Campbell of Aberuchill, for a charging horse to carry him to the field of battle. Mr Davidson was appointed Lieutenant of the contingent of one hundred men raised by the town of Perth to support the force stationed at Inverkeithing to oppose Cromwell. The Scots were defeated, and Lieutenant Davidson returned with the remnant of his men to Perth, and shut the gates of the city. The English army of Sectaries advanced to Perth, and sat down before it on the 1st July, 1651. The town was surrendered next day.* But in the interval, Davidson 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 enemy into the idea that the citizens were making great preparations for defence. Honourable terms being granted by Cromwell, the gates were thrown open to him. The Provost (Andrew Grant of Balhagils, now Murrayshall) attended the English officers, and conducted them to John Davidson's house, where, after an entertainment, Cromwell asked the Provost how, in the defenceless condition of the town, he could have thought of resistance. The Provost simply answered that the citizens had intended to hold out until they heard that King Charles and his army had entered England. Cromwell, with a sneer, called the Provost a silly body; but said, if he had time, he would hang Davidson. Immediately after Oliver left the house, the side-wall fell, upon which Davidson de-

* The New Statistical Account of Dunbarney parish (written in 1842) says—"There is a stately and umbrageous Spanish chestnut tree near old Kilgraston, which is said to have been planted on the day of the capitulation of Perth to Oliver Cromwell."

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clared that he wished it had fallen a quarter of an hour sooner, though he, Samson-like, had perished in the ruins.* In this connection we may notice that an old uninhabited house in one of the closes on the east side of the Watergate, immediately north of the new Church buildings, has long enjoyed traditional reputation, in the neighbourhood, as having been the residence of Cromwell during his brief stay in Perth. The tenement is now quite ruinous; but its interior bears marks of former importance. The spacious passages are pannelled with wood, and in one of the rooms on the first floor, there is a square entablature over the fire-place, displaying the crowned Scots thistle—a "sculptured stone" which our local antiquaries ought to look after and preserve.

The lands of St Leonard's Hall, consisting of 20 acres, were sold to the Glover Incorporation on 9th April, 1742; and amongst the calling's papers is an "Assignation by John Davidson, chaplain of the Chaplainry and altarage of St Leonards, to Colin Campbell of Aberuchill, of said Chaplainry, and annual rents thereto belonging, for his life, and three lives after, and then for eleven times nineteen years, dated 17th March 1660, and registered at Edinburgh, 12th August 1734." The Incorporation had previously purchased the lands of Leonard's Ley, Pomarium, &c.

* *The Muses' Threnodie*, vol. ii. p. 129-30.

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A CHAPTER OF VARIETIES.

> The wholesom'st meats that are will breed satiety,
> We should admit of some variety.
>
> *Sir John Harrington.*

I.—PRO REGE, LEGE, ET GREGE.

THE present armorial bearings of the City of Perth—the Imperial, double-headed eagle *or*, surmounted on the breast with an escutcheon *gules*, charged with the Holy Lamb carrying the banner of St Andrew, within a double tressure, flowered and counterflowered, *argent*—were adopted after the Reformation, when the old seal representing the death of John the Baptist was thrown aside as "superstitious." The eagle was obviously meant to refer to the assumed Roman origin of the town. But whence came the motto—*Pro Rege, Lege, et Grege?*

About the time when Perth fabricated her new heraldic emblem, the Prince of Orange was inaugurating the desperate struggle which, after years of blood and misery, finally rescued the Netherlands from Spanish thraldom. Commercial intercourse had long subsisted between Scotland and the Low Countries. The Perth merchants shared extensively in this traffic, and many of them were in the habit, it is said, of going in their own ships to the Hanse towns. The Staple Port of the Scots was at Campvere, where their ancient privileges were little regarded under Philip II. Consequently the War of Independence would be keenly watched on this side of the water. It was in 1568 that the Prince of Orange took the field against Alva,—issuing a "Warning," or proclamation, to all the people of the Netherlands, to which he affixed his favourite motto—"*Pro Rege, Lege, Grege,*" and also the 28th, 29th, and 30th verses of the 10th chapter of Proverbs; and his army of 30,000 men was mustered under banners, some of which were emblazoned with "*Pro Rege, Lege, Grege,*"

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and others with a pelican nourishing her young with her own blood.*

Looking at the matter in this light, there seems a strong probability that the citizens of Perth copied the motto of the Orange champion of Protestantism.

A forgotten English writer of the Elizabethan era—George Puttenham, in his *Arte of English Poesie*, published in 1589,—treats of the motto of Orange as an example of the form of expression called *Asyndeton*—

Ye have another sort of speach in a maner defectiue because it wants good band or coupling, and is the figure *Asyndeton*, we call him *loose language*, and doth not a little alter th' eare as thus:

I saw it, I said it, I will swear it.

Cæsar the Dictator vpon the victorie hee obteined against Pharnax king of Bithinia shewing the celeritie of his conquest, wrate home to the Senate in this tenour of speach no less swifte and speedy than his victorie:

Veni, vidi, vici.
I came, I saw, I ouercame.

Meaning thus, I was no sooner come and beheld them, but the victorie fell on my side.

The Prince of Orenge for his deuise of Armes in banner displayed against the Duke of Alua and the Spaniards in the Lowcountery vsed the like maner of speach:

Pro Rege, pro lege, pro grege
For the king, for the commons, for the countrey lawes.

It is a figure to be vsed when we will seeme to make hast, or to be earnest, and these examples with a number more be spoken by the figure of *lose language.* (Book III., cap. 16.)

Let us trust that the Fair City will ever remain steadfast to the principles enunciated in the motto of her emblem.†

II.—PERTHSHIRE MEMBERS OF THE DARIEN COMPANY.

The rise and fall of "The Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies" form an interesting episode in our annals, as shewing how a liberal spirit of mercantile enterprise animating an independent

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* Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic.* Part 3d, chap. iv.

† The late Lord Brougham took the motto "*Pro Rege, Lege, Grege;*" but some waggish political opponent, it is said, proposed that it should be read in a way more consonant with the popular leanings of the noble lord—"Pro Rege *lege* Grege,——" For King *read* People.

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people was thwarted and crushed by the mean jealousy of the Dutch and English. At the close of the seventeenth century Scotland had emerged from ages of misrule, and stimulated by the richer kingdom's prosperity, sought to follow in the same course, and realize the like results, by means of "ships, colonies, and commerce." The example of the English East India Company suggested the formation of a similar trading association in Scotland, under authority of the Scottish Parliament. The moving spirit of the scheme was the great projector of his time, William Paterson, who had just signalised himself by the foundation of the Bank of England. His ardent representations inspired the minds of his countrymen with enthusiastic and dazzling hopes. The object became a national one. An Act incorporating the Company passed the Scottish Legislature in June, 1695. The capital was fixed at £600,000 sterling; but in order, apparently, to conciliate the English merchants, provision was made that Scotsmen should only subscribe one-half of the sum, and the other half be left open to the subscription of all foreigners. The lowest subscription receivable was to be £100, and the highest £3000. The subscriptions were to be paid up by instalments, extending over a number of years—the first, of 25 per cent., being payable in 1696. Books were accordingly opened at London in October, 1695, and in a few days the English portion of £300,000 was taken up, chiefly by capitalists who held the existing English Companies in disfavour. But this was an ugly fact for the monopolists, and a storm arose. It was the old story of the Ephesian silversmiths, the craftsmen of Diana, over again, and there was no sagacious and peace-loving Town-Clerk to appease the tumult. Urgent—nay, furious remonstrances were made to King and Parliament. The King trembled for Dutch interests: the Parliament for English. Hogan Mogan and John Bull carried the day. By authority of the House of Commons the books and minutes of the Company were seized, and the House passed resolutions to the effect "that the Directors of

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the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies under colour of a Scotch Act of Parliament, styling themselves a Company, and acting as such, raising monies in this kingdom for carrying on the said Company, are guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour;" and that Lord Belhaven, Paterson, and the other Directors should be impeached! These wild and unwarrantable proceedings so frightened the English shareholders that they withheld their instalments. The Directors, to escape being perhaps committed to the Tower of London, beat a hasty retreat to Scotland, where it was agreed that the capital stock should be limited to £400,000 sterling, which might be raised among the Scots themselves. The books were opened at Edinburgh on the 26th February, 1696, and were to be closed on 3d August thereafter. The first day's subscription was £50,400, and the first entry in the book was this:—

> We, Anne Duches of Hamilton and Chastlerault, do subscribe for three thousand pounds stirling.

Her Grace was backed by the elite of the Scottish nobility. All classes possessed of funds came eagerly forward, zealous for the honour and welfare of the nation. The furor was universal, and boundless expectations were indulged. By the 1st of August the capital sum was obtained, although the fact was that the actual amount of cash in the kingdom did not exceed £800,000. The exasperation of the English monopolists knew no bounds. Innumerable were the pasquinades and lampoons to which Grub Street gave birth: an example may be given in the following verses from a metrical diatribe, entitled *Caledonia, or the Pedlar turned Merchant—a Tragi-Comedy:—*

Her neighbours she saw, and cursed them and their gains,
  Had gold as they ventured in search on't;
And why should not she, who had guts in her brains,
  From a pedlar turn likewise a merchant?

Such a number of scrawls, and pot-hooks, and marks,
  No parish beside this could boast;
As the Knights of the Thistle, fine blue-ribband sparks,
  Set their hands with the Knights of the Post.

The nobles, for want of the ready, made o'er

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Their estates to promote the design,
And in quality capitals owned they were poor,
And perfectly strangers to coin.

The clergy (mistake me not), those who could read,
Sold their Calvin, and Baxter, and Knox;
And turning the whites of their eyes to succeed,
Blessed the pieces, and paid for large stocks.

A list of the subscribers was forthwith printed, and issued to the public:—

A PERFECT LIST of the several Persons, residenters in Scotland, who have subscribed as Adventurers in the joynt-stock of the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies; together with the respective sums which they have severally subscribed in the Books of the said Company, amounting in the whole to the sum of £400,000 sterling. Edinburgh: Printed and sold by the Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1696.

From which we shall now proceed to select the different Perthshire names (so far as we can distinguish them), believing that such a list may prove of interest, and more particularly so to the descendants of shareholders;

John, Marquis of Athol, ...	£500
Sir Colin Campbel of Aberuchil, one of the Senators of the Colledge of Justice, ...	500
Duncan Campbel of Monzie, ...	500
Laurence Craigie of Kilgrastoun, ...	100
James Craigie, younger of Dumbarnie, ...	100
Mr Thomas Chrighton of Tillyfergus, Chamberlain to the Earl of Perth, ...	100
Mr Patrick Campbell, brother to Monzie, ...	100
James, Lord Drummond, ...	1000
David Drummond of Cultmalindie, ...	600
John Drummond of Culquhalzie, ...	600
Mr William Drummond, brother to Logie-Almond,	500
Adam Drummond of Megginsh, ...	500
Thomas Drummond of Logie-Almond, ...	500
Captain James Drummond of Comrie, ...	200
John Drummond, brother to Cultimalindie, ...	200
Lodovick Drummond, Chamberlain to my Lord Drummond, ...	100
David Edgar of Keithock, ...	100
Mr James Fleeming, Governour to Ochtertyre, ...	100
Mr David Forrester, Minister at Lonforgan, ...	100
John, Lord Glenorchy, ...	2000
Mungo Græme of Gorthy, ...	700
Thomas Græme of Balgowan, ...	600
James Graham of Orchill, ...	300
Walter Graham at the Miln of Gask, ...	100
Mr John Graham of Aberuthven, ...	100
Thomas Graham of Ochterarder, ...	100
Andrew Gardiner, merchant in Perth, ...	100

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Thomas Hay of Balhousie, ...	1000
John Haldan of Gleneagles, ...	1000
David Haldan, brother to Gleneagles, ...	200
James Hutton, elder, in Rose, in Perthshire, ...	100
Patrick, lord Kinnaird, ...	700
George Kinnaird, brother to the Lord Kinnaird, ...	300
Sir Thomas Murray of Glendoick, ...	1000
Sir Patrick Murray of Auchtertyre, ...	1000
Dame Jean Mercer, lady Aldie, ...	200
James Meinzies of Shian, ...	200
Mr James Murray, chirurgion in Perth, ...	200
Mr Matthew Moncrieff of Calforgie, ...	100
Margaret, lady dowager of Nairn, ...	500
William, lord Nairn, ...	200
William Oliphant of Gask, ...	500
The town of Perth, ...	2000
Mr George Pitcairn, one of the Commissaries of Dunkeld, ...	100
David, lord Ruthven, ...	1000
Mr Robert Ross of Innernethie, ...	200
George Robertson, writer in Dunblain, ...	100
John Stewart of Gairntilly.	3000
William, viscount of Strathallan, ...	1000
Sir William Stirling of Ardoch, ...	400
Walter Stewart, at the miln of Pitcairn, in Perthshire, ...	150
John Stewart of Dalguise, ...	100
William Stewart, doctor of medicin in Perth, ...	100
John Threpland, merchant at Perth, ...	100
	£25,950

The story of the Darien Company's disasters need not be rehearsed; but the injury rankled in the Scottish heart, producing half a century of discontent. The massacre of Glencoe, and the ruin of the Darien Company are ineffaceable stains on the government of the Revolution.

III.—JOHN PERTH.

Old Scots historians and topographers stick pertinaciously to the fable that after the town of Bertha, "that lay on the mouth of the river Almond; where it falleth into Tay," was "destroyed by water in the days of King William, it was removed two miles below its ancient seat, and rebuilt on a gentleman's land called *Pearth;* whose name it keeps to this day;" though "commonly from its patron, it is called St Johnstoun."* Great praise should be his who could introduce us to

* Christopher Irvine's *Historiæ Scoticæ Nomenclatura* Edinburgh: 1682, p. 22.

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the family annals of the worthy laird on whose domain the "Fair City" was founded. But in the absence of such inestimable information, let us devote a few minutes to the life-story of a young gentleman who bore the same surname (we cannot say patronymic) at a much later date.

On one occasion, while poring over the volumes of the Perth Register of Baptisms in the Register House at Edinburgh, we lighted on a suggestive entry:

PERTH the day of 1708 years, was found a man child on the north side of the highgatte of Perth, at that tenement of land belonging to Alexander Pattersone in Scone; which was then allaidged to be about twentie days old, and given up to the care of the Sessione, and given owt by them to nurse, and by advice of the Presbetrie and Sessione thought fitt to give him a name; at the foirsaid apoyntment broght in and ordained to be held up by David Tailyer, Church Officher, in name of the said Sessione, and to be called JOHN PEARTH, who was accordingly baptized by the said name, the fourteenth of December, 1708, by Mr Georg Blear, minister of Perth.

This strange opening of a young career excited curiosity as to its future, and shortly afterwards we accidentally came upon the sequel, as recorded, with considerable minuteness, in the books of King James the Sixth's Hospital. The Kirk-session, as managers of this charity, committed the child to the care of a nurse. At that period there was no hospital-house; for the former one (a building of three storeys, at the foot of the High Street) had been pulled down by Cromwell's orders for the purpose of applying the materials in the erection of the citadel on the South Inch, and another was not built till 1750.

1710, December 14. The Session appoints the Master of the Hospital to pay £9 Scots, as a quarter payment, to the woman that keeps John Perth, the foundling child.

1711, April 19. £9 Scots paid in March last for John Perth.

1713, April 2. John Perth, of whom mention was made in the preceding volume, was this day brought up by his Nurse to the Session, being now about four years of age. The Session being well pleased with his nurse, appointed that he should stay with her, and ordered that she should have £9 Scots quarterly.

In due time the boy was sent to the Grammar School of Perth, then under the Rectorship of Mr John Martin,

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formerly schoolmaster at Dunbarney, and appears to have passed through the usual branches of education, including Latin.

1720, July 21. There being an amount of paper, ink, pens, and a pair of *Rudiments*, and a *Corderius*, given in to the Session, furnished by Mr Patrick Craigie, third Doctor of the Grammar School, to John Perth, amounting to £1 14s Scots, the Session having sustained the said account, orders Mr Patrick Wylie, Hospital Master, to pay the same.

1721, March 24. The Session appoints Mr Patrick Wylie, Hospital Master, to give out sixteen pence to buy an *Eutropius* for John Perth.

——, July 4. The Session allow an Account brought in by Mr Patrick Wylie, Hospital Master, for a Grammar, thirty sheets writing paper, and for pens, furnished to John Perth, extending to nineteen pence.

——, November 23. Mr Patrick Wylie, Master of the Hospital, gave in an account of sundry things furnished for John Perth, viz., for clothes, making of them, a bonnet, a pair of shoes, and two books each whereof was 14d, and for a quire of writing paper, amounting in all to £20 16s 10d Scots: which account the Session sustained.

1722, March 22. £1 10s Scots paid for Cæsar's *Commentaries* for the behoof of John Perth.

——, April 19. The Session appoints Mr Patrick Wylie, Master of the Hospital, to pay one quarter payment to Mr Patrick Stobie, for teaching John Perth, writing and arithmetick, £1 4s Scots; as also they allow £1 6s, money foresaid, for a pair of shoes, which Mr Wylie bought for the said John Perth.

——, October 8. £1 6s 8d Scots paid for a pair of shoes for John Perth.

1723, September 19. The Session sustains an account paid by Mr Patrick Wylie, Master of the Hospital, for John Perth, viz.:—For cloth, and lining to it for breeches, £2 6s Scots, also thread, and an eln of tartan for hose are included in the foregoing article; for making the breeches and hose 9d. To the said John Perth a pair of shoes £1 10s Scots.

These entries show that the Kirk Session exercised a generous care over their protege; and we, marking with pleasure how he had tackled to *Eutropius* and *Cæsar* (though this was but according to the ordinary curriculum in those days), fancied that, as we waded deeper into the record, we should by and bye find him destined for one of the learned professions. The orphan boy, we thought, might be gifted with talents which his benefactors would take a pride in fostering. He might make his way in life, and come at last, by some

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romantic stroke, to the knowledge of his parentage. But a little farther on, the best of our anticipations were dispelled.

1724, March 26. The Session allows an account paid by Mr Patrick Wylie, Master of Hospital, for Clothes, Shirts, Linens, Hose, and for making of them; for shoes, and scissors bought for the use of John Perth, he being now entered apprentice to the Taylor trade, £31 1s 4d Scots

Well, the Tailor trade was always a good craft; and we hoped that the boy, now in his sixteenth year, applied himself to his duties, and eventually rose to be a master himself. But here again we were disappointed. He had not been long apprenticed when he began to dwine.

1725, May 19. The Session allows 3s 6d sterling, which the Hospital Master paid out at several times for John Perth, during his indisposition.

Probably the lad had been of a delicate constitution, induced, it might be, by his early exposure on the High Street, in the winter night of 1708.

1726, February 3. The Hospital Master having paid an account for John Perth when a-dying, viz., for an Boll of Coals, supplies by money for ale, aquavity, bread, candles, six ells of linen, and making of it, for grave-clothes; for money paid the officer who carried the mortcloth; to another who invited to his burial; and to the Town Officers; amounting in all to the sum of £12 14s Scots,—the session allows the same.

Also they allow a coffin for the said John Perth.

"Whom the Gods love die young," said the Greeks. The allowance for the coffin closes "the short and simple annals of the poor" Perth foundling.

A century later there was another foundling boy in Perth, called George Perth, whose death and burial are thus recorded in the Mortality Register of the Burgh:—

1838, August, 26—29. George Perth, a Foundlin. 4 years 6 months. Rush Fever.

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CANALS IN PERTHSHIRE.

> The slow canal, the yellow-blossom'd vale,
> The willow-tufted bank, the gliding sail.
>
> *Goldsmith's "Traveller."*

THE system of navigable canal communication was common in some of the Eastern countries at early stages of antiquity. It existed in Egypt, in connection with the River Nile, at a period coeval, as is supposed, with that of the building of the Pyramids; although, however, the name of the constructor of the great canal betwixt the Nile and the Red Sea has been lost. But many centuries elapsed—in fact, comparatively modern times had dawned—before the system found acceptance in Europe. It was introduced upon an extensive scale by the industrious people of the Netherlands, where the dead level of the country facilitated the formation of such works; and the Dutch claim the invention of the *lock*—a contrivance altogether unknown to the ancient Egyptians, and which seems to have been equally so to the Chinese until after it had come into use in the West; but a rival claim has been set up for the celebrated Italian, Leonardo da Vinci, as being entitled to the credit of "the first application of a series of locks, by which water and what it floats is made to walk up and down stairs." The grand French canal, uniting the Loire and the Seine, 34½ miles in length, was finished in 1642, and immediately proved of incalculable advantage in supplying the city of Paris with the produce of the provinces. Still, it was more than another hundred years before the first canal was formed in England.

An Act of the British Parliament was passed in 1755 for improving the navigation of Sankey Brook on the River Mersey, in England, which necessitated the making of a canal, about 11 miles long, which was completed in 1760. This undertaking, though certainly

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novel, failed to attract much public interest. But in the eyes of John Dyer, the painter, poet, and clergyman, author of *Grongar Hill* and *The Fleece*, it appeared fraught with the greatest advantages to his country, and accordingly he had an encouraging word to say in his poem of *The Fleece*, which was published in 1757, the year before he died. He points out that generally canal excavation in England—particularly the junction of Trent and Severn with the Thames—would be easy as contrasted with the works of other countries; and indulges in a poetic vision of the prosperous and happy future when such new highways of commerce should be opened—

> We need not vex the strong laborious hand
> With toil enormous, as the Egyptian King,
> Who joined the sable waters of the Nile,
> From Memphis' towers to the Erythræan Gulf:
> Or, as the monarch of enfeebled Gaul,
> Whose will, imperious, forced an hundred streams
> Through many a forest, many a spacious wild,
> To stretch their scanty trains from sea to sea,
> That some unprofitable skiff might float
> Across irriguous dales, and hollowed rocks.
>
> Far easier pains may swell our gentler floods,
> And through the centre of the isle conduct
> To naval union. Trent and Severn's wave,
> By plains alone disparted, woo to join
> Majestic Thamis. With their silver urns
> The nimble-footed Naiads of the springs
> Await, upon the dewy lawn, to speed
> And celebrate the union.

A noble and wealthy patron, however, came forward. This was Francis Egerton, third and last Duke of Bridgewater, who soon gave a powerful impetus to the new species of enterprise by constructing a canal, about 9 miles in length, to convey coal from his Worsley estate to Manchester. The task presented engineering difficulties which might have damped a less ardent projector. For example, it was essential that the water-course should cross the River Irwell, at a height of 39 feet, by means of an aqueduct 600 feet long. Besides, the coal-pits could only be reached by a tunnel to be bored through a rocky hill. The Duke's chosen engineer was James Brindley of Derbyshire, a self-made man, who, by the force of

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native genius and indomitable perseverance under the most adverse circumstances, raised himself from the condition of a poor peasant boy to the rank of the first engineer of his time; and yet this man's education, even in the very rudiments, had been so much neglected that, throughout life, he could scarcely read or do little more than write his own name! He made no use of drawings or models; but when he had a plan to devise, he used sometimes to keep his bed for a day or two until he had thought out and matured the details in his own mind. The Irwell aqueduct was Brindley's scheme, and when it was proposed it was generally scouted as chimerical. Anxious to assure his patron that the thing was practicable, Brindley desired that the opinion of another engineer should be taken. This was accordingly done, and the self-sufficient referee pronounced his judgment that he had often heard of "castles in the air," but never before was shown where one of them was to be built! The blockhead only showed his own incapacity. The Duke laughed at him, and stood by Brindley. The aqueduct was commenced in September, 1760, and the first boat sailed over it on the 17th July, 1761. "It is no unpleasant sight," said a spectator, "to see one vessel sailing over another which is floating upon the waters nearly fifty feet below!" The canal effected a great reduction in the current cost of carriage and the prices of commodities. Before it began, the charge for water-carriage by the old navigation on the Mersey and Irwell, from Liverpool to Manchester, was 12s per ton, and from Warrington to Manchester, 10s per ton. Land-carriage was 40s per ton; and coals were retailed at Manchester to the poor at 7d per cwt., and often dearer; but the canal brought the tonnage down to one-half the previous amount, and coals were sold at 4d per cwt.

The eyes of the country were now opened, and canals became the speculative rage. Our era has been characterised as the railway era: and so the latter part of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the present may be emphatically designated the age of canals, as

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the Duke of Bridgewater has been styled the "Father of British inland navigation." But, as in the case of all public improvements, opposition was not awanting. Certain wiseacres apprehended that most of the persons employed in land carriage would be thrown idle; and others proposed, in the interest of vested rights, that no canal should be allowed to come within five miles of a populous town, so that carriers might find employment in carrying goods from the canal termini to their ultimate destination. It was also contended that canals would destroy the breed of horses, and that the numbers kept would be so reduced that there would be little or no market for oats; and, furthermore, the silly fears of the ignorant were wrought upon by representations that canals would take up an enormous amount of good land, upon which grain had been grown, and thereby cause a scarcity of food; that the grounds in their neighbourhood would become swampy and overgrown with rushes; and that the banks would burst, involving villages and towns in destructive inundations! Notwithstanding all adverse influences, however, the canal system was rapidly adopted in all quarters. The Duke of Bridgewater continued its energetic promoter, constructing large works on his own domains. To meet the expense, he limited his private outlay to £4000 a-year, and devoted the remainder of his income to his favourite object of national utility. Brindley, too, was at the head of the movement, making himself famous; and so high was his notion of the importance of such undertakings, that when he was jestingly asked, during an examination before a Committee of the House of Commons, what was the object for which rivers were created, he promptly replied—"To feed navigable canals!" A biographer, speaking of Brindley's want of education, holds that it "was alike fortunate for himself, for the world, and for posterity. There was no lack of scholars in his day more than in our own; nay, the literary coxcomb had then a more flourishing soil in which to vegetate. But where were the Brindleys among those scholars? Where

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were the men capable of the same original and comprehensive views, the same bold unprecedented experiments upon matter and the forces of matter, which the illiterate Derbyshire ploughboy dared to entertain and undertake? . . . Alone he stood, alone he struggled, and alone he was proof against all the assaults of men who branded him as a madman, an enthusiast, and a person not to be trusted." And Bridgewater put the proudest feather in his coronet when he implicitly trusted the ploughboy!

Scotland did not fail to share in the canal speculation. As early as the reign of Charles II. the cutting of a canal through the isthmus separating the Forth and Clyde had been suggested to obviate the long and dangerous voyage round the Land's End on the south, and the Pentland Firth on the north of the island. This was again mooted in 1723, but lay over for the next forty years. In 1763, Mr John Smeaton, the architect of the Eddystone Lighthouse and the Bridge of Perth, was instructed to make a survey for the canal, but his estimate of £80,000 deterred the projectors. Three or four years after, another survey was executed by Mr James Watt, of steam-engine celebrity, who had recently given up the business of a mathematical instrument-maker and become a civil engineer; but his estimate of £30,000 was considered inadequate by Parliament. A third scheme, at the cost of £150,000, received legislative sanction. The work was begun in 1768, under the superintendence of Mr Smeaton, and was completed in 1790—the entire length of the canal being 37½ miles, its depth nine feet, and its highest point 156 feet above the level of the sea. Other canals were sketched out in Scotland during the fervour of the movement, most of which went no farther than the paper on which they were delineated. Exclusive of what took place in Perthshire, canals were projected from Berwick to Ancrum; from Fort William to Inverness; from Lossiemouth to Elgin; from Peterhead to Deer; from Montrose to Buchan; from the east to the west sea by Loch Shin; they were

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projected in Shetland, Fifeshire, &c.; but very few of the host of speculations came to maturity. Let us now see how Perthshire fared in that busy time.

About the year 1770, Mr Watt was employed by the Board of Trustees for encouraging manufactures and fisheries to draw out a plan and estimate of a canal, upon a dead level, betwixt the loch of Forfar and Perth. The canal was to run bending along the banks of Isla and Tay, until opposite to Perth, where Mr Watt proposed to have machinery for letting down the goods into the river and pulling them up. The estimated cost approached £36,000. The undertaking was abandoned; but some time afterwards the practicability of the plan was thought to be demonstrated by a young naval officer, who for a wager conducted a small boat from the loch of Forfar to Perth, and was obliged to leave the vessel only in one or two places, where a sudden fall of the water rendered sailing hazardous.

While Mr Watt was conducting the Forfar and Perth survey, and frequently visiting the Fair City, another proposal was submitted to his consideration by a Perth resident. This was Mr David Young, who published, in 1785, an octavo volume entitled *National Improvements upon Agriculture*, and another of equal size in 1788, *Agriculture the Primary Interest of Great Britain.* Mr Young has given the following explanation in his first book:—

Having occasion often to see Mr Watt during the survey at Perth, I objected to his plan, thinking a better one might be adopted in its place, of a far more general utility; which was, by making the river Tay navigable to Dunkeld, to carry battos, or flat bottomed boats, such as are used in America; and those of 30 tons burden, when fully loaded, do not draw above 18 inches of water; and the same navigated, would serve to go up Islay, near as far as opposite Forfar. Six or eight men, by pushing all at once, will push up one of these battos against the stream, with long poles shod with iron, tho' the stream be very strong; and as they keep by the sides of the water, they will push it as fast forward as a person can walk by land. After a trial, if it succeeded, a road could be made for a horse to drag it up the whole way.

Mr Watt having examined the sides of the river when he was upon his survey, highly approved of this plan, said it was quite practicable at a small expense, and would

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> answer the intention very well. And as there was no place in all the river betwixt Perth and Dunkeld but the batto could pass, excepting from the Thrussel-bridge to above the Linn of Campsy; to avoid which, he proposed to make a canal by the side of the river, with locks, which he would engage to execute for a sum not exceeding £3000; and that the expense of removing the stones from the middle of the river, for preventing the batto from being hurt in its progress, and putting in a few poles of wood for hawling up the vessel where the stream was very rapid, would not exceed £1000. Thus, to make the river navigable betwixt Perth, Dunkeld, and Islay, so as to let a batto of 30 tons burden pass, the whole would not exceed £4000. The advantages arising from this navigation would be of great service to the internal part of the country, by carrying up coals, and all kinds of mercantile goods, and bringing wood and slates from the Highlands, and whatever other articles the country produced. And as Strathmore is now very fertile in producing large quantities of corn, by this navigation, it could be brought down to Perth. Shell-marle could also be brought down the river Islay, and the sides of the river Tay, for manure. If it was once made navigable the length of Dunkeld, it could be carried as far as Loch Tay, where the lead from Lord Breadalbane's mines might be brought down the loch; and as the country is every year improving, there is more and more demand for coals, which of itself would pay a great part of the expense. (pp. 167–169).

But this hopeful scheme met with no encouragement from the parties more immediately concerned.

The improvement of the navigation of the upper Forth, in connection with the rivers Devon and Goodie, was now agitated amongst the landed proprietary of the district. It was once attempted to have the Forth and Clyde Canal brought round by Stirling and Gartmore; but that measure failed. Mr Watt made a survey in regard to the Forth, Devon, and Goodie, and presented a report dated the 18th January, 1774, in which he stated that if the Devon were made navigable from Sauchie to Menstrie, the best method of connecting it with the proposed plan would be by a canal through the Carses from Menstrie dam and upon its level, to Craigforth dam, when it would lock down 9½ feet to communicate with the upper Forth; but it was thought proper to execute only that part reaching from Menstrie dam to Manor, with a branch to Cambus; and to deepen both these ports, and make conveniencies for

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transshipping coals, until experience should show what was the best way of completing the communication, by locking down to the tideway, or by the Canal to Craigforth dam. The dimensions of the canal were to be 16 feet wide at bottom, with four feet water. The expense of making the Devon navigable from Sauchie to Menstrie dam, with canals to Cambus and Manor, exclusive of the value of land, was estimated at £3,041 4s 6d. But this speculation likewise proved abortive; for, as one of its advocates remarked—"Some men cannot submit to the fatigue of enquiry and calculation; the time of others is occupied by pursuits of a different nature; and some doubt everything that bears the character of novelty, and on such topics will discredit even their own calculations."

Canals were a great advance on the previous modes of internal communication; but a far more important change was looming in the distance. The inventive genius of Watt had already devoted itself to the improvement of the steam-engine. We find him applying, in 1768, for letters patent for "methods of lessening the consumption of steam, and consequently of fuel, in the steam-engine." These passed the seals in January, 1769. About the beginning of 1774, when his patent had produced slight results, he entered into partnership with Mr Matthew Boulton, of the Soho Foundry, near Birmingham, for the manufacture of the steam-engine, and they both obtained, in 1778, a prolongation of the patent for five-and-twenty years. But at the time when Watt's first patent was granted, a studious, far-seeing medical man, a votary of the muse as well as of Escalapius, contemplated the approaching triumphs of steam on land and water and in the aerial regions. Dr Erasmus Darwin published his *Botanic Garden* in 1789, and the poem contains the following prophetic passage, which was written twenty years before:—

Soon shall thy arm, Unconquer'd Steam! afar
Drag the slow barge, or drive the rapid car;
Or on wide-waving wings expanded bear
The flying-chariot through the fields of air.
Fair crews triumphant, leaning from above,

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Shall wave their fluttering kerchiefs as they move;
Or warrior-bands alarm the gaping crowd,
And armies shrink beneath the shadowy cloud.
So mighty Hercules o'er many a clime
Wav'd his vast mace in Virtue's cause sublime,
Unmeasured strength with early art combined,
Awed, served, protected, and amazed mankind.

Eventually, Bridgewater himself was led to cast an uneasy eye on the tramways (the precursors of our railroads), which had been long laid down at the Newcastle collieries. When his vast undertakings, upon which he had laid out so much money, were beginning to prove remunerative, he was congratulated by Lord Kenyon on the result. "Yes," said the Duke, "we shall do well enough if we can keep clear of those d—d tramroads!" Canals, with their manifold advantages, were but make-shifts to fill the short interval until steam should develop its powers and adaptations. Darwin's prophecy has been fulfilled on two points; but we still look in vain for the advent of the flying chariot.

In 1798 proposals were issued "concerning the formation of a navigable canal betwixt Perth and Lochern." This was a bold and masterly stroke. The canal was to extend about forty miles, "commencing at the town of Perth and Firth of Tay, and extending westward by Crieff and Comrie to Lochern:" and it was to be about four feet deep and eight feet broad. The course of it would be directed through a level country, where for a space of twelve or fourteen miles no lock would be necessary. It was also intended that the canal should be joined at Comrie by a turnpike road, leading from Stirling by Dunblane and Glenlichorn, and through Glenlednick, to Loch Tay-side; so that, in this manner, a complete communication would be opened through a country of some hundred miles of extent, containing upwards of 100,000 people.* The promoters farther remarked, "that as the Highland grass farms are great-

* The prices of coals at the time are incidentally mentioned in the proposals: "The average price of the best English coals at Perth, during the summer, is from 3s to 3s 6d per boll of 40 stone Dutch weight, or about 1d per stone; at Crieff and Comrie, from 2d to 3d per stone, or from 5s 4d to 6s per boll.

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ly overburdened with tenants, in the proportion perhaps of about one to fifteen: so, one of the greatest improvements in that part of the country," which might follow the opening of the Canal, "would be, to ease these farms of the present possessors, and settle them in the straths or valleys, by erecting villages." The undertaking received the name of "The Perthshire Canal;" and instructions for a survey were drawn up and committed to an Engineer:—

You are desired to prepare a survey, plan, and estimate of a navigable canal, from four to five feet deep, and from 8 to 10 broad, with convenient passing places upon the sides, along the following lines, viz.:

1, From the town of Crieff, or its vicinity eastward, to the Frith of Tay, keeping as near the town of Perth as possible.

2, From the vicinity of the town of Crieff eastward, to the village of Comrie, or its neighbourhood.

3, From Comrie eastward to Lochern.

4, From the town of Crieff southward, passing near Auchterarder, Gleneagles, and Blairngone, and from thence terminating by the Strath of the Devon in the Frith of Forth, or any other more eligible direction betwixt Crieff and the Frith of Forth.

Should the undertaking exceed at the utmost £30,000, it will be given up as being more costly than beneficial.

Even this, the last of the Perthshire schemes, was ultimately abandoned; and the age of canals passed away without leaving its mark on our county.

At the time of the general introduction of railways, there had been formed about 2,400 miles of canals in England, 200 in Scotland, and 300 in Ireland.

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SIMON GLOVER AND HIS CRAFTSMEN.—Part 1.

Simon Glover, an ancient and esteemed burgess of Perth, somewhat stricken in years, and increased in substance.—*Fair Maid of Perth.*

THE pen of Sir Walter Scott has conferred on the ancient and wealthy fraternity of the Glovers of Perth a world-wide celebrity, which will endure with the fame of his genius. Perthshire and her capital owe much to the Wizard of the North, whose magic power evoked the romance of our hills and glens and lakes, and mirrored a vivid vision of the Fair City's olden time. What native of Perth does not feel proud that he belongs to the town of the fighting Smith, and the sagacious Simon, and the fair Catharine, who, by the way, from her communings with Father Clement, the Carthusian, whom the Dominicans regarded as "a foul heretic," was seemingly intended for martyrdom as a Lollard, until the changing necessities of the tale constrained its author to bestow her hand upon Hal o' the Wynd? And we fear not that we shall lack a fit and appreciative audience before whom to lay certain gleanings of the history of our local Glover Craft, which will afford illustrations of the habits and usages of our forefathers. An historical account of the Perth Glovers was drawn up by the late Bailie Andrew Buist, and contributed, as an appendix, to Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, which work already contained some anecdotal and other notices of the body. But while we intend freely availing ourselves, whenever needful, of what facts have been published on the subject, we shall adduce a variety of curious original matter hitherto existent only in manuscript.

First, let us glance at the history of the Glove itself, which is linked with so many associations of peace and strife, joy and sorrow. The glove has served as the appropriate token of friendship and love, of truth and

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loyalty: as the emblem of amity and security: as the symbol of honour and disgrace, hate and mortal defiance: the tenure of holding lands and heritages: the usual gift alike in the hall of Justice, the temple of Hymen, and the house of Death. "Who was the first Glover?" This question was, once upon a time, asked in a festive gathering of the Perth brethren: and to the credit of the worthy Deacon who filled the chair, his response was prompt and apt. "Rebekah," he said, alluding to the incident at the patriarch Isaac's bed-side, when Jacob, through the subtlety of his mother, obtained the paternal blessing which was his brother Esau's due:—"And Rebekah took goodly raiment of her eldest son, Esau, which were with her in the house, and put them upon Jacob her younger son: and she put the skins of the kids of the goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck." (*Genesis*, chap. 27.) Farther, in regard to the custom "concerning redeeming, and concerning changing, to confirm all things," which was prevalent in the days of the Israelitish Judges, and consisted in "a man plucking off his shoe, and giving it to his neighbour" (*Ruth*, chap. 4), Biblical critics suppose that the term "shoe" should have been rendered, in our translation, *right-hand glove*, according to the Jewish Targum: and in later times, the Jews delivered a handkerchief for the same purpose. It is also believed that where it is said, in the 108th Psalm —"Over Edom will I cast out my shoe"—the correct reading should be *glove*. The Chaldeans are supposed to have worn gloves. The Greeks were acquainted with them. Homer, in the *Odyssey*, describes Ulysses, after the slaughter of the suitors, going to visit his aged father, Laertes, whom he finds, in homely guise, working in his garden—

——All alone the hoary king he found;
His habit coarse, but warmly wrapt around;
His head, that bow'd with many a pensive care,
Fenc'd with a double cap of goatskin hair:
His buskins old, in former service torn,
But well repair'd; and *gloves* against the thorn.
In this array the kingly gard'ner stood,
And clear'd a plant, encumber'd with its wood.

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But the Greek people seem not to have been partial to the use of gloves except perhaps as preservatives to the hands in certain kinds of labour; for Xenophon, in noticing that the Persians guarded their hands against the cold with thick gloves, speaks of the habit as a mark of effeminacy. Athenæus relates of a great glutton that (in the unavoidable absence of forks, because they were not then invented) and he always came to table with gloves on his hands that he might eat his meat while it was steaming hot, and thus steal a march upon the rest of the company! Gloves were worn to some extent by the Romans. Varro indicates their use when he says that olives gathered by the naked hand are preferable to those gathered with gloves. The wearing of gloves became more general as Roman virtue declined, and was viewed by the purists as marking degeneracy from the manlier day. The philosoper, Musonius, who flourished at the close of the first Christian century, in his invectives against the corruption of the age, exclaims —"It is shameful that persons in perfect health should clothe their hands and feet with soft and hairy coverings." Pliny the Consul, writing to Macer, about his uncle's habits, says—"In his journies he lost no time from his studies, but his mind at those seasons being disengaged from all other thoughts, applied itself wholly to that single pursuit, A secretary* constantly attended him in his chariot, who, in the winter, wore a particular sort of warm gloves, that the sharpness of the weather might not occasion any interruption to his studies."

The first public law relating to gloves was promulgated in France, in the year 790, when Charlemagne granted a right of hunting to the abbot and monks of Sithin, for the purpose of procuring skins for making gloves and girdles. The abbots and monks having generally adopted the use of gloves about this period,

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* The translator, Mr Melmoth, notes that the word Secretary in the original implies a person who wrote shorthand: an art which the Romans carried to its highest perfection, as appears from Martial's epigram:

Swift tho' the words, (the pen still swifter sped),
The hand has finished, ere the tongue has said.

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the bishops interfered, claiming the exclusive privilege for themselves; and by the Council of Aix, in the reign of Louis *le Debonnaire*, about the year 820, the inferior clergy were ordered to refrain from deer-skin gloves, and to wear only those made of sheep-skin, as being of humbler quality. Probably at this period the monks made their own gloves, as they made many other articles for their own use. But, subsequently, as we shall see, another French Council prohibited gloves of any kind to any ecclesiastic under the rank of a bishop. Many of the metrical romances of chivalry allude familiarly to the glove, and in the plot of one of them a pair of gloves play as conspicuous a part as Cinderella's glass-slippers in the fairy tale. A Princess receives a pair of gloves which would fit no hands but her own, and these, being lost along with her infant son, eventually become the means of producing a recognition between the mother and her child.

So far as concerns England, the first commercial notice of the glove trade appears about the year 1462, though gloves had been worn there for centuries previous. By a royal edict of that date, the importation of gloves was prohibited on the principle of protection to the home manufacture. Two years afterwards armorial bearings were granted to the Glovers by Edward IV. At what prices gloves were valued in that reign does not appear; but in the "Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII." occur the following items:—

Paied the same daye to Jacson for certyne gloves fetched by the serjeant apoticary, ... iiijs xd
Paied Jacson for a douzin and halfe of Spanysshe gloves,.. ...... vijs vjd

In many of the customs relative to the glove, the *gauntlet* is often spoken of as being of equivalent meaning; but the two things are different. The gauntlet introduced into England by the Normans was a mailed-glove, that is, a strong glove made of deer or sheep-skin, with jointed metal plates attached to the back and fingers, allowing the perfect use of the hand: sometimes it had a circular plate on the top, protecting the

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wrist and meeting the armour which covered the arm. The metal of these plates varied according to the rank or fancy of the wearer; some being of gold or silver inlaid, others of brass, or of steel. The gauntlet or buff-glove of the Civil Wars consisted of a sheep-skin glove, with a top of buffalo hide coming half-way up the arm to which it served as a protection; such as is still worn in several of our cavalry regiments.

Giving possession of lands and dignities by the delivery of a glove grew to be a common form of investiture. When bishops were put into possession of their sees by receiving a glove, gloves became so essential a part of the Episcopal habit that the French Council of Poitiers forbade their use by the inferior clergy. The Kings of France at their coronation received from the Archbishop a pair of gloves, which had been previously blessed, as an emblem of secure possession. A register of the Parliament of Paris, dated 1294, states that "the Earl of Flanders, by the delivery of a glove into the King's hands (Philip the Fair), gave him possession of the good towns of Flanders, viz., Bruges, Ghent, &c." A memorable example of the custom occurs in Neapolitan annals. Conradin of Suabia, the heir to the crown of the Two Sicilies, was basely thrust from his rights by his usurping uncle, Manfred, who, in turn, was overthrown and slain by the French invader, Charles of Anjou, and the Kingdom was annexed to France. The wronged heir, a boy of sixteen, mustered an army, about the end of the year 1267, with which he advanced upon Naples to assert his just title. But fate was still against him, His troops were routed in battle, and himself taken prisoner. The French tyrant, in whose breast honour and humanity were dead, condemned him to execution. On ascending the scaffold in the market-place of Naples, Conradin addressed the people, declaring that his sole object in appealing to the sword was to recover his inheritance; but having been unable to accomplish what he sought, he now transmitted his rights to Constantia, the daughter of Manfred, and Consort of Peter, King of Arragon. Having thus spoken, he drew off his

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glove, and flung it down among the spectators, desiring that it might be conveyed to Peter, in token of investiture. An aged knight picked up the glove, and fulfilled the dying youth's commands. As to the use of the glove in matters of tenure, we may cite one or two prominent instances in our own island. The Duke of Norfolk received the manor of Worksop on condition of paying certain small fees, and of finding the king a right-hand glove at his coronation, with which glove the king was to hold the sceptre with the dove, his right arm being supported meanwhile by the duke. The English family of Dymocke obtained the investment of the manor of Scrivelsby, under the condition of the head of the house acting as Champion at the Coronation, in the ceremonies of which the glove figures. The Sovereign being seated in Westminster Hall, after leaving the Abbey, the Champion, clad in armour, rides in on a steed superbly caparisoned, and his challenge is proclaimed by the herald at arms. The warrior throws down his gauntlet or glove, which is allowed to remain on the ground for a short time, and is then taken up and returned to him. The challenge is repeated a second time, after which the Sovereign drinks to the Champion's health, and presents him the cup. Lastly, the Champion takes up his gage, and retires. Scottish legal conveyancers are familiar with *blanch-holding*, which their institutional Erskine describes as that whereby the feudal vassal is to pay to his superior an elusory yearly duty, as a penny money, a rose, a pair of gilt spurs, a pair of gloves, &c., merely in acknowledgment of the superiority, *nomine albæ firmæ.* In the fourteenth century, Robert de Camera, or Chalmers (ancestor of the Chalmers family of Aldbar), obtained the lands of Balnacraig, in the parish of Lumphannan, from Andrew de Garvieaugh (Garioch), which he was to hold of the Earl of Moray, for a pair of white gloves, to be rendered yearly at the manor of Caskieben, the residence of De Garvieaugh. This will serve as a Scottish illustration of the practice.

But more may be told touching challenge and defiance

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by the glove. A scene in Shakespeare's *Henry V.*, where the King quarrels with the soldier, Williams,—depicts the custom in its natural light:—

Williams. Let it be a quarrel between us, if you live.
K. Henry. I embrace it.
Will. How shall I know thee again?
K. Hen. Give me any gage of thine, and I will wear it in my bonnet: then, if ever thou darest acknowledge it, I will make it my quarrel.
Will. Here's my glove; give me another of thine.
K. Hen. There.
Will. This will I also wear in my cap; if ever thou come to me and say, after tomorrow, *This is my glove*, by this hand, I will take thee a box on the ear.
K. Hen. If ever I live to see it, I will challenge it.

As a companion picture let us take Bonthron's defiance at the ordeal in St John's Church, as detailed in the *Fair Maid of Perth:*—

The murderer's brain was so much disturbed by the sight before him, that the judges, beholding his deportment, doubted whether to ordain him to be dragged before the bier, or to pronounce judgment in default; and it was not, until he was asked for the last time, whether he would submit to the ordeal, that he answered, with his usual brevity,—"I will not;—what do I know what juggling tricks may be practised to take a poor man's life? I offer the combat to any man who says I harmed that dead body."

And, according to usual form, he threw his glove upon the floor of the church.

Henry Smith stepped forward, amidst the murmured applauses of his fellow-citizens, which even the august presence could not entirely suppress; and lifting the ruffian's glove, which he placed in his bonnet, laid down his own in the usual form, as a gage of battle. But Bonthron raised it not.

Challenging by the glove in English Courts of Justice, with the view of litigants settling their disputes by single combat, was continued down to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In 1571, the parties in a case concerning some land in Kent, appeared at the bar, and demanded the combat. One of them threw down his glove, which the other immediately taking up, carried off on the point of his sword. The day of fighting was appointed, and the place—Tothill Fields. But the Queen interfered, and the matter was otherwise adjusted. As late, however, as the year 1818, a defiance by the glove was offered in the Court of King's Bench.

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A man named Abraham Dawson had been indicted at the Warwick Assizes, 5th August 1817, for the wilful murder of Mary Ashford, near the village of Erdington. From some discrepancy in the evidence, he was acquitted, but was again taken into custody, on an "Appeal of Murder" by William Ashford, the brother and heir-at-law of the deceased. The case came into Court. Dawson was a great adept in gymnastic games, and accounted one of the strongest men of the county, though only five-and-twenty years of age. Conscious of his personal advantages, and availing himself of the unrepealed law which allowed, in such cases as his, the resort to wager of battle, he, on being placed at the bar, defied the prosecutor to single combat, and flung down his gage. It was declined, and Dawson went forth a free man. But immediately thereafter, Parliament erased the old law from the Statute-book, to prevent a similar miscarriage of justice in future.

Late in the sixteenth century the turbulent English Borderers had an audacious fashion of hanging up the symbol of challenge in their churches; which custom Bernard Gilpin, the Apostle of Redesdale and Tynedale, strove, not unsuccessfully, to repress. The story is told that—"On a certain Sunday, Mr Gilpin going to preach in those parts wherein *deadly feuds* prevailed, observed a glove hanging up on high in the church. He demanded of the sexton what it meant, and why it hung there. The sexton answered, that it was a glove which one of the parish hung up there as a challenge to his enemy, signifying thereby that he was ready to enter combat hand to hand with him or any one else who should dare to take the glove down. Mr Gilpin requested the sexton to take it down. 'Not I, sir,' replied the sexton, 'I dare do no such thing.' Then Mr Gilpin, calling for a long staff, took down the glove himself and put it in his bosom. By and by, when the people came to church, and Mr Gilpin in due time went up into the pulpit, he in his sermon reproved the barbarous custom which they had of making challenge by the hanging up of a glove. 'I hear,' said he, 'that

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there is one amongst you who, even in this sacred place, hath hanged up a glove to this purpose, and threateneth to enter into combat with whosoever shall take it down. Behold, I have taken it down myself.' Then plucking out the glove, he showed it openly, and inveighing against such practices in any man that professed himself a Christian, endeavoured to persuade them to the practice of mutual love and charity." Among the Borderers, Scottish and English, to bite the thumb or the glove was a pledge of mortal revenge. We all remember how after the spousal rites of Margaret of Branksome, when revelry was at its height, the goblin page incited the leader of the German mercenaries, Conrade, lord of Wolfenstein, to smite Dickon Draw-the-Sword, the hot and hardy Rutherford of Hunthill :—

> Stern Rutherford right little said,
> But bit his glove and shook his head.
> A fortnight thence, in Inglewood,
> Stout Conrade, cold, and drench'd in blood,
> His bosom gored with many a wound,
> Was by a woodman's lyme-dog found;
> Unknown the manner of his death,
> Gone was his brand, both sword and sheath;
> But ever from that time, 'twas said,
> That Dickon wore a Cologne blade.

Scott relates that a young gentleman of Teviotdale, on the morning after a hard drinking-bout, observed that he had bitten his glove. He instantly demanded of his companion, with whom he had quarrelled? And learning that he had had words with one of the party, insisted on instant satisfaction, asserting, that though he remembered nothing of the dispute, yet he was sure he never would have bit his glove unless he had received some unpardonable insult. He fell in the duel, which was fought near Selkirk in 1721. But with the rude Borderers, as in various climes, the glove was also the emblem of good faith and security. When the hoary seneschal of Branksome sallied forth to hold parley with the English raiders—

> Armed he rode, all save the head,
> His white beard o'er his breast-plate spread;
> Unbroke by age, erect his seat,
> He ruled his eager courser's gait;

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> Forced him, with chasten'd fire to prance,
> And, high curvetting, slow advance:
> In sign of truce, his better hand
> Display'd a peeled willow wand;
> His squire, attending in the rear,
> Bore high a gauntlet on a spear.

For, as the great Minstrel states, a glove upon a lance was the sign of faith among the Borderers, who were wont, when any one broke his word, to expose this emblem, and proclaim him a faithless villain at the first Border meeting; which ceremony was much dreaded. Again, in the town of Portsmouth, within the last fifty years, it was the custom, during an annual fair called the "Free Mart," to hang a golden or gilt glove on the outside of the jail door, in the High Street, as a public pledge that the persons of all who attended the fair were secure from arrest for debt during its continuance, which was about a fortnight.

Both honour and degradation are shown to have been typified by the glove, according to the circumstances attending the particular occurrence. Walsingham says that "George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland, was honoured by a glove being presented to him by Queen Elizabeth. The Queen had dropped it; when the Earl taking it up to return it to her, the Queen presented it to him as a mark of her high esteem. The Earl adorned it with jewels, and wore it in his cap on days of tournament." Ladies' gloves were often given as tokens of gallantry; and in such cases, were usually pinned upon the sleeve of the receiver; hence the expressions:—"I wear my heart upon my sleeve," and "Pinning one's faith upon another's sleeve." On the other hand, as the delivery of gloves was once a part of the ceremony used in giving possession, so the depriving a person of them was a mark of divesting him of his office, and of degradation. The Earl of Carlisle, in the reign of Edward II., was impeached of holding a treasonable correspondence with the Scots, and condemned to die as a traitor. Walsingham, relating other circumstances of his degradation, says that "his spurs were cut off with a hatchet, and his gloves and shoes were taken off."

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SIMON GLOVER AND HIS CRAFTSMEN.—Part 2d.

SCHILLER has woven a fine legend of chivalry into a picturesque little poem, called "The Glove." A German sovereign and the peers and dames of his court thronged the balconies around the palisades of a wild-beast den to amuse themselves, like the Romans in the Colosseum, with seeing the cooped denizens of the desert fight. A pair of leopards were let into the arena where a lion and a tiger lay watching each other grimly. Instantly the three feline savages grappled and rolled over on the ground.

> Rose the lion with a roar!
> And stood the strife before;
> And the wild-cats on the spot,
> From the blood-thirst, wroth and hot,
> Halted still!
>
> Now from the balcony above,
> A snowy hand let fall a glove:—
> Midway between the beasts of prey,
> Lion and tiger; there it lay,
> The winsome lady's glove!

Fair Cunigonde said, with a lip of scorn,
To the Knight DELORGES,—"If the love you have sworn
Were as gallant and leal as you boast it to be,
I might ask you to bring back that glove to me!"
The noble knights and the ladies fair;
But loud was the joy and the praise the while
He bore back the glove with his tranquil smile!

The knight left the place where the lady sate;
And the knight he has pass'd thro' the fearful gate:
The lion and tiger he stoop'd above,
And his fingers have closed on the lady's glove!
All shuddering and stunn'd, they behold him there—
With a tender look in her softening eyes,
That promis'd reward to his warmest sighs,
Fair Cunigonde rose her knight to grace,
He toss'd the glove in the lady's face!
"Nay, spare me the guerdon, at least," quoth he,
And he left for ever that fair ladye!

Thus, while the glove became to the daring knight the symbol of honour and renown, to the arrogant beauty, in whose face it was flung, it was a token of disdain and humiliation.

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Passing on to other matters relating to the glove, we find that it was used in the ceremony of marriage by proxy; and from early times, in this country, was gifted at weddings and funerals. The Clown, in the *Winter's Tale*, says to Autolycus, the pedlar—"If I were not in love with Mopsa, thou should'st take no money of me; but being enthrall'd as I am, it will also be the bondage of certain ribands and gloves." Lady Haughty observes to Morose, in Ben Jonson's play of *The Silent Woman*—"We see no ensigns of a wedding here; no character of a bridale: where be our scarves and gloves? . . . Pardon me, sir, I must insinuate your errors to you; no gloves? no garters? no scarves? no epithalamium? no masque?" Sir Dudley Carleton, writing from London, 1604, concerning the marriage of Sir Philip Herbert and the Lady Susan, remarked that "no ceremony was omitted of bride-cakes, points, garters, and gloves." So great was the attendance on such joyous occasions in noble families, that the cost of gloves and garters has been known to reach about £100. The rural bridegroom of Queen Elizabeth's day wore a pair of gloves in his hat as a sign of good husbandry. Herrick, in his *Hesperides*, says—

> What posies for our wedding rings,
> What gloves we'll give, and ribbanings.

Selden, in his *Uxor Hebraica*, mentions that the Belgic custom at marriages was for the priest to ask of the bridegroom the ring, and, if they could be had, a pair of red gloves, with three pieces of silver money in them, then putting the gloves into the bridegroom's right hand, and joining it with that of the bride, the gloves were left, on loosing their right hands, in that of the bride. In Arnold's *Chronicle* (circa 1521), chiefly regarding London, among "the artycles upon whiche is to inquyre in the visitacyons of ordynaryes of chyrches," we read:—"Item, whether the curat refuse to do the solemnysacyon of matrymonye before he have gyfte of moneye, hoses, or gloves." Thus much for hymeneal festivities. As to the connection of gloves with funerals, it can be traced very far back. In the

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fifth century, Pope Leo I. granted permission to Bishops and Abbots to wear gloves at funerals, and on certain other solemn occasions. Royal and other noble personages were often buried with gloves on; for, on opening the tombs of Kings and Abbots, gloves have frequently been found either on the hands of the dead, or lying loose in the coffins; and it was stated, as an unusual circumstance, that when the tomb of King Edward I. was opened, no gloves were found on his hands. The monument of Philip I. represents him in a recumbent position, holding a glove in his hand; and many other cases are recorded in which gloves were either buried with a royal or a military personage, or hung up in effigy over his tomb. The gloves of the Black Prince were hung over his tomb in Canterbury Cathedral. The old custom of hanging garlands of white paper roses, with gloves of the same, over the church pews of unmarried young men and women deceased, still lingers in some of the secluded English villages, the Auburns where long-descended habits yield slowly to the influences of change. Anna Seward alludes to this graceful tribute to the youthful departed as being common in her time at Eyam, her native place:—

Now the low beams with paper garlands hung,
  In memory of some village youth or maid,
Draw the soft tear, from thrill'd remembrance sprung;
  How oft my childhood marked that tribute paid!
The gloves suspended by the garland's side,
  White as its snowy flowers with ribbands tied.
Dear village! long those wreaths funereal spread,
  Simple memorial of the early dead!

Frequently the name of the deceased, or a kind of epitaph, was written on the gloves or some part of the garland. Of such epitaphs the following is an instance existent in the parish church of Ashford-in-the-Water:

Be always ready, no time delay,
I in my youth was called away,
Great grief to those that 's left behind,
But I hope I'm great joy to find.
Ann Swindel,
Aged 22 years,
Dec. 9th, 1798.

It was a popular rule among our ancestors that if a

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woman surprised a man asleep, and succeeded in kissing him without his awaking, she was entitled to demand of him a pair of gloves. This is exemplified in the *Fair Maid of Perth*, when Catharine kisses the Smith, but arouses him in the act. "Come into the booth with me, my son," says old Simon, "and I will furnish thee with a fitting theme. Thou knowest the maiden who ventures to kiss a sleeping man wins from him a pair of gloves. Come to my booth; thou shalt have a pair of delicate kid-skin, that will exactly suit her hand and arm. I was thinking of her poor mother when I shaped them," added honest Simon, with a sigh; "and except Catharine, I know not the woman in Scotland whom they would fit, though I have measured most of the high beauties of the Court."

The presentation of gloves as gifts on New-Year's-Day and other special occasions, apart from those of wedlock and death, was once common. A pair of costly gloves was a favourite gift to monarchs and princes. Queen Elizabeth and King James often received them. Suitors at law, in England, were assiduous in presenting gloves filled with money to the Judges before whom they had their causes. Obviously this was the polite style of judicial bribery in days when Justice could be bought and sold: but, at the same time, Judges were prohibited from wearing gloves on the bench. A lady, Mrs Croaker by name (perhaps an ancestress of "dear Ally Croaker," who jilted her swain because "he pawn'd his coat to the broker"), had a suit in Chancery, and came to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, with a pair of gloves, containing £40 in angels, as a New Year's token. "I accept the gloves," said Sir Thomas, with a sly smile. "It would be against all good manners to refuse a lady's New Year's gift; but the lining you will be pleased to bestow elsewhere." At maiden Assizes in England—that is, when there is no prisoner,—the Sheriff presents the Judge with a pair of white gloves; and the Clerk of Assize and the officers have money given them in name of *glove-silver*. Anciently, the gloves were also given where no prisoner

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was capitally convicted: and it appears that the present of white gloves was likewise made by criminals who were pardoned after sentence; for, in Clavell, the highwayman's dedication to his *Recantation of an Ill-led Life*, (1627) it is said—

> Those pardon'd men, who taste their Prince's loves,
> (As married to new life) do give you gloves.

In Scotland the white gloves are presented to Judges at the Circuit Courts of Justiciary when there is no case to try. A witness making oath in a Court of Law must do so with the right hand ungloved. At Glasgow College (if not at the other Scottish Universities) in the seventeenth century, it seems to have been customary for the students who were to appear at a Laureation to present their printed Theses with gloves to certain of the College magnates. In 1672, a young Englishman, named Josiah Chorley, studying in Glasgow, waited on Archbishop Leighton, then in Edinburgh, with Theses and gloves, and thus records the interview:—"After presenting the service of our College and Tutor and invitation to our Laureation, I craved his acceptance of the *Theses*, which he thankfully accepted; but presenting then the fine-fringed gloves, he started back, and with all demonstrations of humility, excused himself as unworthy of such a present. I humbly urged his acceptance; he still retired backward, and I pursued him till he came to the end of the chamber, and at last prevailed. But it was amazing to see with what humble gratitude, bowing to the very ground, this great man accepted them. This was agreeable to his whole deportment at Glasgow, where the history of his deep humility might fill a volume."

Gloves must not be worn in presence of royalty. It is said to be an old-established custom in Germany that whoever enters the stables of a prince, or great man, with his gloves on his hands, is obliged to forfeit them, or redeem them by a fee to the servants. The same custom is observed in some places at the death of the stag; in which case, if the gloves are not taken off, they are redeemed by money given to the huntsmen and

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keepers. Under the old regime in France, the king never failed of pulling off one of his gloves on that occasion. Again, gloves filled with money were often given by great men to their retainers; and "glove-money" was a gratuity given to servants to buy gloves for themselves. We have already alluded to the mock quarrel between Henry V. and one of his own soldiers, who did not know the king. The sequel of the affair was this, that after the battle of Agincourt was fought and won, the king gave the soldier's glove to Fluellen, calling it the Duke of Alencon's, and bidding him wear it on his cap to see if any would challenge it. "If any man challenge this, he is a friend to Alencon, and an enemy to our person; if thou encounter any such, apprehend him, an' thou dost love me." The glove was soon challenged by Williams, whom the valorous Welshman brought before the king. Straightway discovering himself, Henry cried to Exeter—"Here, uncle Exeter, fill this glove with crowns, and give it to this fellow. Keep it, fellow; and wear it for an honour in thy cap till I do challenge it. Give him the crowns."

The ingenious Marquis of Worcester notes in his *Century of Inventions* (1655) that he had devised certain modes of secret correspondence and reckoning by means of gloves:

34. To write by a knotted silk string, so that every knot shall signify any letter with a comma, full point, or interrogation, and as legible as with pen and ink upon white paper.
35. The like, by the fringe of gloves.
37. By pinked gloves.
89. White silk knotted in the fingers of a pair of white gloves, and so contrived without suspicion, that when playing at primero at cards, one may, without clogging his memory, keep reckoning of all sixes, sevens, and aces, which he hath discarded.

Gloves were made of various materials. There were embroidered silk and linen gloves; there were gloves of sheepskin and other kinds of leather, mittens or gloves of worsted, steel gauntlets, and gloves lined with fur. They commonly reached to the elbows, as did the hawking gloves, which were of strong leather. Perfumed gloves were brought from Spain and Italy; but

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the best came from the former country. In 1578, Queen Elizabeth was presented by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford with "a pair of gloves, perfumed and garnished with embroidery and goldsmith's work, price sixty shillings: and her Majestie behoulding the beautie of the said gloves, as in great admiration, and in token of her thankfull acceptation of the same, held up one of her hands, and, smelling unto them, putt them half waie upon her hands." There can be no doubt, that these gloves were Spanish, which were by far the most beautiful, being embroidered in the Moorish fashion. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton wrote to the English ambassador in Spain—"I pray you, good my lord ambassador, send me two pair of perfumed gloves, perfumed with orange flowers and jasmin, the one for my wife's hand and the other for mine own: and wherein soever I can pleasure you with anything in this country, you shall have it in recompense thereof, or else so much money as they shall cost you; provided always that they be of the best choice, wherein your judgment is inferior to none." In Ben Jonson's play of *The New Inn*, Sir Glorious Tipto, a coxcomb, enumerates Spanish gloves as among the elegancies of his attire—

——— I would put on
The Savoy chain about my neck, the ruff
And cuffs of Flanders, then the Naples hat,
With the Rome hatband, and the Florentine agat,
The Milan sword, the cloke of Geneva, set
With Brabant buttons; all my given pieces,
Except my gloves, the natives of Madrid.

So completely did scent and gloves go together that in the Charter which Louis XIV. granted to the French Glovers, they are styled *marchands maitres gantiers parfumeurs;* reminding us of what Don Quixote says—"But this you will not deny, Sancho, that when you were so near her, your nostrils were regaled by Sabæan odours (such aromatic fragrance), a delicious sensation for which there is no name—I mean a scent such as fills the shop of some curious glover." Gloves, moreover, were fabricated which along with their choice perfumes, dispensed death, being made the mediums

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through which the secret poisoners accomplished their fell designs; and there is good reason to believe that Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henry of Navarre, lost her life by means of a pair of scented gloves given to her, at the marriage of her son, by Catherine de Medici.

Although generally the materials of gloves were but slight, yet some very old pairs have been preserved. At the Earl of Arran's sale, in 1759, the gloves given by Henry VIII. to Sir Anthony Denny were sold for £38 17s; those given by James I. to Sir Anthony's son, Edward Denny, realised £22 4s; the mittens given by Queen Elizabeth to Sir Edward Denny's lady, £25 4s: all which were bought for Sir Thomas Denny, of Ireland, who was descended in a direct line from the great Sir Anthony Denny, one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII.

In the early part of last century, a project was entertained by a French gentleman, M. Bon, of Montpellier, of instituting a manufacture of *spiders' silk;* and the Royal Academy, to which the project was submitted, appointed the celebrated Reaumur to repeat the experiments of M. Bon, in order to ascertain how far the proposed plan might be practicable. After making the proper trials, M. Reaumur found the scheme impracticable, on account of the natural disposition of the spiders, which is such as will by no means admit of their living peaceably together in large numbers. He also computed that 663,522 spiders would scarcely furnish a single pound of silk. M. Bon, however, carried his own experiments so far as to obtain two or three pairs of stockings and *gloves* of this silk; which were of an elegant grey colour, and were presented, as samples, to the Royal Academy.

Apparently Scotland was the first country in which the Glovers were incorporated as a craft. But it was not till 1638 that the London Glovers received an incorporating royal charter—which was granted them by Charles I.; although they had armorial bearings so long back as the year 1464. In the time of King Charles, the Glovers of London carried on an import-

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ant trade; and it was partly to remove certain abuses which had gradually crept into the occupation that the charter was given. The preamble proceeds in the following strain :—"We are informed that their (the Glovers') families are about four hundred in number, and upon them depending above three thousand of our subjects, who are much decayed and impoverished by reason of the great confluence of persons of the same art, trade, or mystery, into our said cities of London and Westminster, from all parts of our kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, that, for the most part, have scarcely served any time thereunto, working of gloves in chambers and corners, and taking apprentices under them, many in number, as well women as men, that become burdensome to the parishes wherein they inhabit, and are a disordered multitude, living without proper government, and making naughty and deceitful gloves." It is then stated that the reputation of English gloves had been injured abroad by these interlopers; and, finally, the London Company is endowed with the power to search for and destroy bad or defective skins, leather, or gloves. Deer and sheepskin gloves were the kinds principally made in London, in the time of King Charles; but after the introduction of kid gloves into England, the London makers took up that branch, and have maintained it to the present day. But the English-made gloves are generally inferior to those imported from France ; for not only is the kid finer and better dressed of which gloves are manufactured across the channel, but the gloves themselves are better cut than in England, and their superior fitting must arise from the French makers possessing a scientific knowledge of the shape of the hand, as recently appeared from the evidence of a first-rate London "warehouseman" before a Parliamentary Committee upon arts and manufactures.*

* The above details concerning Gloves have been selected from the following, among other works:—Hall's *History of the Glove Trade;* Burder's *Oriental Customs;* Disraeli's *Curiosities of Literature;* Dodd's *British Manufactures;*

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Enough said concerning the general history and the traditions and associations of the Glove. Our next duty is to trace out the annals of Simon Glover and his fellow Craftsmen in the city of Perth.

Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain;* Hone's *Every-day Book;* Cosmo Innes' *Sketches of Scotch History;* Mrs Stone's *Chronicles of Fashion;* Platts' *Book of Curiosities;* Timbs' *Things not Generally Known;* and *Popular Errors Explained*, &c.

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SIMON GLOVER AND HIS CRAFTSMEN.—Part 3d.

THE Glover Incorporation consists of two "sciences," Skinners and Glovers. At what time they were incorporated is unknown. But of the antiquity of the body there can be no doubt, seeing that the charter granted to Perth by King William the Lion provides *inter alia* that "no stranger dwelling without the burgh of Perth shall buy or sell skins or wool, except within the said burgh allenarly;" thereby carrying back the existence of the craft in the Fair City to a sufficiently remote period. Succeeding ages saw the Glovers acquire and maintain, by their numbers and accumulating wealth, a high position among their neighbour Incorporations: and now, when their "science" of glove-making has become extinct in the town, and their membership has greatly decreased, they are found to be the richest of the eight Trades of Perth. It appears, moreover, that although both the glovers and shoemakers wrought in the same material, and although the latter trade was designated "the royal craft," from Crispin and Crispinian, its patrons, yet the former fancied themselves of a superior grade in point of the relative importance of their handiwork. This proud feeling is admirably developed in a colloquy betwixt Simon Glover and Hal o' the Wynd. They were talking of Conachar and his sudden departure for the Highlands; and Hal, wondering why the young chief's father should have bound him apprentice to a mechanic craft, added sarcastically—

"Why, I should have thought the Gentle Craft, as it is called, of St Crispin, would have suited him best; and that if the son of some great Mac or O was to become an artisan, it would only be in the craft where princes set him the example."

This remark, though ironical, seemed to awaken our friend Simon's sense of professional dignity, which was a prevailing feeling that marked the manners of the artisans of the time.

"You see, son Henry," he replied, with much gravity,

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"the glovers are the more honourable craft of the two, in regard they provide for the accommodation of the hands, whereas the shoemakers and cordwainers do but work for the feet."

"Both equally necessary members of the body corporate," said Henry, whose father had been a cordwainer.

"It may be so, my son," said the Glover; "but not both alike honourable. Bethink you, that we employ the hands as pledges of friendship and good faith, and the feet have no such privilege. Brave men fight with their hands—cowards employ their feet in flight. A glove is borne aloft, a shoe is trampled in the mire; a man greets a friend with his open hand; he spurns a dog, or one whom he holds as mean as a dog, with his advanced foot. A glove on the point of a spear is a sign and pledge of faith all the wide world over, as a gauntlet flung down is a gage of knightly battle; while I know no other emblem belonging to an old shoe, except that some crones will fling them after a man by way of good luck, in which practice I avow myself to entertain no confidence." (*Fair Maid of Perth*, chap. vi.)

The patron saint adopted by the olden Glovers of Perth was St Bartholomew the Apostle, the leading events of whose life are very obscurely related by ecclesiastical historians. He travelled, it is said, through various parts of India, preaching the Gospel, and thence returned to Armenia, where he was put to death by being flayed alive at the cruel command of Astyages, brother to Palemon, king of that region. The martyr's festival is celebrated on the 24th of August—a day ever memorable for the bloody massacre of the French Huguenots, under Charles IX., and also, in a lesser sense, for the expulsion of the two thousand Puritan ministers from the Church of England after the Restoration. St Bartholomew is represented in pictures, &c., with a flaying knife in his hand;* and there was once a custom at Croyland Abbey of giving little knives to all comers on the saint's day.

The localities in Perth chiefly inhabited by the Glover calling were the Skinnergate, the Castle Gable, and the Curfew Row. The Skinnergate took its name from the Craft, as the principal Glovers had their booths or shops in that narrow street, which was long the only

* It may be noted that, in such works of Art, St Bavo, the anchoret, is represented with *gloves*, and St Amadeus, the Confessor, also with *gloves*, given to him by the Blessed Virgin.

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thoroughfare, by the Castle Gable and North Port, from the north: and this was the route taken by Prince Charles and the Highland Army, when they entered Perth in September 1745.

The Curfew Row—*Couvre-feu* (cover-fire) Row,—recals the memory of the darkest feudal times, when the liberties of Saxon England were crushed under the iron heel of the Norman. The institution of the Curfew has been commonly attributed to William the Conqueror, and regarded as an example of flagrant tyranny exercised over a subjugated people. But this is one of those "popular errors" which are so difficult to eradicate after they get firmly rooted. The law of the Curfew was observed in England long before the conquest. An old history of Oxford states that the custom of ringing the bell at Carfax every night at eight o'clock was by order of Alfred the Great who ordained that all the inhabitants of the town should then cover up their fires and go to bed. The custom, however, had fallen into desuetude throughout the kingdom, when it was revived by the Norman king, who, in the year 1068, commanded that all people should put out their fires and lights at the eight o'clock bell and retire to rest. It was a wise and salutary precaution against the perils of fire at a time when the most of houses in towns were built of wood and thatched. The *Saxon Chronicle* makes frequent record of the conflagration of towns from this cause; and we learn from Sir James Balfour that in one year, 1242, nine Scottish towns, including Perth, Stirling, and Aberdeen, were burned, some by chance, and others by invasion of rebels. The Conqueror's Curfew law knew no respect of persons, being obligatory upon all classes of subjects, Norman and Saxon alike, by whom, however, it was generally viewed with great disfavour.

> ——Shiv'ring wretches, at the curfew sound,
> Dejected sunk into their sordid beds,
> And, through the mournful gloom of ancient times,
> Mus'd sad, or dreamt of better.

But at that very period the same custom prevailed in France, Italy, Spain, and Scotland, if not over all

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Europe. Nevertheless, the English nation was so much opposed to it that Henry I., in 1103, saw meet to repeal the enactment, and thenceforth, though the Curfew continued to be rung, it was so as a matter of habit, marking a particular time of night, and not as a matter of law. In fact, during the middle ages, some superstitious regard was paid to the curfew, and land was occasionally left to pay for the ringing of the bell. The time of ringing began to vary in different places from eight to nine and ten o'clock; but to this day, *Il Penseroso*, in his evening roamings, anywhere in the country, is still able to say with Milton—

> Oft, on a plat of rising ground,
> I hear the far-off Curfeu sound,
> Over some wide-water'd shore,
> Swinging slow with sullen roar.

In Scotland, a change of the Curfew hour from eight to nine o'clock, seems to have taken place previous to 1436, when the thirteenth Parliament of James I., which assembled at Edinburgh on 22d October that year, passed an act prohibiting drinking in taverns "after the straike of nine houres" at night, "and the bell that sall be rungin, in the burgh:" which bell was evidently the Curfew. It is said, furthermore, that in the reign of James VI., the hour of Curfew was extended to ten o'clock, at the solicitation of the lady (formerly Countess of March) who married the royal favourite, James Stewart, Earl of Arran. Indeed, at the beginning of the seventeenth century we find a notice in the Perth Town Council Books of a ten o'clock bell. On the 25th November, 1601, the Council passed an order to send the swash (the drum) about the town to warn all idle vagabonds to go furth of the town, and the ports to be shut at the ten hours' bell. Again, on 19th October, 1618, the Council prohibit persons being out of their houses after ten o'clock at night, except on lawful affairs, under a penalty of £10; and eight days afterwards (on 27th October) there occurs an entry bearing that the act prohibiting the inhabitants being out of their houses after ten o'clock at night having been often contravened, and the contraveners stating

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as the cause that they knew not the hour, the Council ordain that the great bell be tolled nightly at ten o'clock, that none pretend ignorance. Both hours of eight and ten o'clock are still regularly kept in the Fair City; and it has been the immemorial practice that the ten o'clock bell should give forth seventy strokes in commemoration (says tradition) of the seventy disciples who were sent out to preach the Gospel! Undoubtedly in the distant past the Curfew Bell was located somewhere about the Curfew Row or vicinity—probably at the Dominican Monastery; but the notion that it hung in the niche of the old Glovers' Hall is absurd.

The Glover Calling anciently possessed considerable property—dwelling-houses and gardens—in the Curfew Row. That street seems to have surrounded the Castle-yard, and was perhaps begun to be built soon after the Castle was demolished and its moat filled up by order of Robert Bruce. Between the Row and the town's lade at Mill Street was the open space of ground known as the Skinners' Yard, which has now been built over by the erection of the old Free West Church and otherwise. The yard is said to have originally formed the courtyard of the Castle. About half-a-century ago (according to Mr David Morison) part of the gate which opened from the town to the drawbridge of the Castle, was still to be seen, as well as some traces of the foundation of the keep or donjon, and of the towers which surrounded the Courtyard. The Curfew Row, which enclosed the Skinners' Yard, formed the avenue or street leading from the town to the Blackfriars Monastery, which stood towards the present Kinnoull Street. Readers of Scott's *Fair Maid* will recollect that the Skinners' Yard was the scene of the judicial combat between Hal o' the Wynd and the ruffian Bonthron. The old tenement in the Curfew Row, at the head of Blackfriars Wynd, is familiarly styled the residence of Simon Glover. It is conjectured to have been part of a Chapel dedicated to St Bartholomew; and the niche in the west corner was evidently intended to be filled by the image of a saint; but traditional conjectures are little to be relied on. When

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we look into the title-deeds of the property, we find that the house did not come into the hands of the Glovers till long after the Reformation, as the following Inventory testifies :—

> WRITES of that Tenement of Land, high and laigh, back and fore, lying without the Castle-gavel Port, and on the east side of the Vennel leading to the place of the Predicatory Friars formerly situated near Perth, presently occupied in part as the Glovers' Hall.

1. *Charter* by the Hospital of Perth to the Glover Incorporation, of the said Tenement of Land, therein described as bounded betwixt the land of James Berne, Skinner, on the east; the King's common way, and the Vennel leading to the place of the Predicatory Friars, on the south and west; and the garden of William Anderson, Skinner, on the north parts. Feu-duty 34s Scots yearly. Dated 11th August, 1629.

2. *Instrument of Sasine* in favour of the said Skynner Craft, proceeding upon the foresaid Charter by the Hospital, dated said Sasine, 31st August, 1629.

After being thus acquired by the Calling, the tenement became their hall of meeting, and continued to be used as such until a new hall in George Street was built. Of the building immediately adjoining on the east, all the remains that survived till our time were some fine old arches, which have recently been swept away, and a shop erected on the site. Not many years after the appearance of *The Fair Maid of Perth*, and while the novel was spreading the fame of the Glovers over the civilised globe, and sending thousands of strangers to visit the Curfew Row, the Incorporation, with an inexplicable perversity of judgment, sold the house of Simon Glover! The sale was no sooner effected, however, than it was regretted; and at the earliest opportunity, which occurred in 1858, the Craft had the satisfaction of buying back the property; and, we presume, they intend to keep it in perpetuity. The purchase-money was fixed by mutual referees, being £100 for the old hall, and £50 for the ruinous stance and ground adjacent. Proposals have been repeatedly before the Incorporation to re-edify the tenement, and convert it once more to its original purpose as a hall;—and we trust that so laudable an object will eventually

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be carried out, as the present condition of so remarkable a relic of ancient St Johnstone can scarcely be pleasing in the eyes of the countless pilgrims resorting to a spot made classic by Scott's matchless genius. In the month of January, 1863, while some internal repairs were proceeding, a startling discovery was made in the building. Part of the upper flooring was being renewed, when the workmen found the bones of a human male skeleton lying between the ceiling of the ground flat and the floor of that above: not, however, immediately under the wooden floor, but below two stone floors which previously existed, and which indicated the antiquity of the house. The bones had probably lain there for hundreds of years.

Of the early history of the Glovers little can be said. Nor can we tell if they were ever found guilty of malpractices of trade, under the challenge of the old Chamberlain Air or Court, which was held periodically in all the burghs, and the forms of which shew that the tricks and impositions of various craftsmen and others were much the same then as now:—

SKINNERS. Chap. 23.

Skinners sould be challenged, that they make glufes, and other graith, before their leather be kindlie wrocht and made.

2. They hunger their leather in default of graith; that is to say, alme, egges, and other graith.

3. They spil the leather and skinnes in the King's water, quhen they are steipped therein.

4. They sow and workes with false graith.

5. They make them masters quha knawes not the craft.*

But the calling gradually waxed in importance, and occasionally bore a prominent part in local affairs. By the set of the burgh, they had two representatives in the Town Council—the Deacon and a Trades Councillor, —and every fourth year they had also a Trades Bailie. Their oldest record is a minute-book commencing in 1593. Some other antiquities are preserved in their hall, such as:—1. An ostrich egg attached to an iron chain, supposed to have been brought from the Holy

* "The Chalmerlane Air," appended to the *Regium Majestatem*, p. 153.

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Land during the crusades: 2. St Bartholomew's Tawse, a strong lash of leather, which was often brought into requisition to correct refractory apprentices: 3. A flag bearing the date 1604: 4. A morrice-dancer's attire, with complete set of bells: 5. An old painting of St Bartholomew on wood.

In the system of management of the Glover Incorporation there has always been a peculiarity arising from the existence of a body called the *Auditors.* The welfare and prosperity of every community depend greatly, if not altogether, on the integrity and good sense of those who are entrusted with the control and administration of its concerns. This holds true with respect to the manner in which the affairs of the Glovers have been conducted for several centuries by the Auditors, or *Auditor Court.* At what period this "Court" was first instituted there is no account in the Incorporation archives; but, probably, it was a part and portion of the original constitution; for the Court is specially recognised in the earliest minutes. It appears to have consisted only of those brethren who had served as Boxmasters or *Positors* (as they were formerly named), and from this body the Town-Council members of the Trade were invariably chosen. The Auditors are variously styled "Masters and Managers for the Glover Calling," "Managers of the Calling," and "The Council of the Calling." Their powers have always been very extensive. They have the sole care of the poor; and to them was entrusted the entries of all apprentices and freemen, up to 1788, when they appear to have sometimes allowed such entries to be made at the General Meetings; but to show how they guarded their privileges, we may mention that in a special case where a Freeman was entered at a General Meeting, on 29th September 1733, the minute bears that it was "by consent of the Auditors." They also occasionally enacted laws for the government of the Incorporation. Previous to 1657, the dues paid by apprentices on their admission to the freedom of the Craft were 100 merks Scots and £8 Scots; but in 1657,

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at a general meeting, the dues were raised to £100 Scots, which continued to be the rate until 1659, when "the Deacon and Auditors, thinking on the Calling's good, concludes that they (apprentices) may be entered for the old price, to witt, ane hundreth merks." Thus the apprentices' entry stood until 1825, when it was again raised. From 1599 to 1672, out of 94 Acts and Bye-laws, 17 of these were enacted by the Auditor Court; but from the latter year the Court appears to have exercised the power of making laws in only one or two instances. Modern progress, it seems, has circumscribed the sway of even so potent a junto as the Auditors.

To attain within the inner and charmed circle of the "Masters and Managers," an aspirant had first to serve in harness as Boxmaster. Consequently, as a late respected brother has related, "the office of Boxmaster was an object of ambition among our forefathers. As an instance," he says, "I have been told of an honest man who, having aspired to and gained that office, though he could not write and knew little of figures, resorted to a very curious plan to obviate his inability to keep regular accounts. As he was constantly in the house, employed in sewing stout doeskin gloves, he procured a pair of old boots, and hung them on either side of the chimney-piece, opposite to where he sat at work. All the money which he received he put into the boot opposite his left hand side, along with some sort of marking of what it was for, and all receipts of money paid away he put into the boot opposite his right hand side—these, indeed, being the debtor and credit side, though the honest man himself knew nothing about book-keeping or its terms. In due time he emptied both boots, and got a friend who could write to enter the items of income and expenditure in a book for the inspection of the Incorporation. In my younger days, however, there was no want of members fitted in all respects for the office." The writer also states that the Auditors "sat at what we called the 'Green Table,' in our ancient hall, while the side seats were occupied by the

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young members." This Green Table derives its title from the colour of the cloth which has covered it for more than a couple of centuries, and which, itself a relic, was deemed worthy of a centenary celebration nearly fifty years ago:—

AT PERTH, and within the Glovers'-Hall thereof, the fourteenth day of January, 1828 years (being Old Handsel-Monday), in a General Meeting of the Glover Incorporation of Perth:

In a General Court, and that for celebrating the Second Centenary or Two-hundredth year of the Green Cloth that covers the Auditors' Table,—the Flag of the Incorporation (dated 1604), with the other ancient Insignia of the Calling being displayed in the Hall:

The Deacon and several of the members called the attention of the Brethren to a number of important and interesting events that have taken place in the history and transactions of the Incorporation during the time of the two hundred years that had elapsed since this now ancient cloth had first covered their table. The meeting hereby express their satisfaction at these details, and take this opportunity of expressing the high respect and grateful feelings with which they cherish the memory of their departed brethren, who, during that long period, had managed the Calling's affairs with so much integrity, prudence, independence, and good sense, as have been the means, under Providence, of raising the Incorporation to its present highly prosperous and flourishing state.

And the Brethren sincerely hope that their descendants, when they meet at the lapse of another century to celebrate the occasion of the present meeting (which is put upon record that it should be so kept), will find the same pleasure in reviewing the doings and conduct of the present and future generation of the Glover Calling, as is now enjoyed by this numerous meeting in reviewing the history and transactions of their worthy ancestors.

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SIMON GLOVER AND HIS CRAFTSMEN.—Part 4th.

Holidays were numerous in the old times, affording great scope for popular pageantry, sports, and pastimes, to which the masses of the people were so much attached that in Scotland, after the Reformation, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities found extreme difficulty in suppressing those boisterous and "superstitious" practices. The different Crafts in a burgh had their Saints' days, which were celebrated with processions, merry-making, and feasting. Regarding the distinctive festivals of the Perth Trades there is no record, except as to that of the Bakers, whose tutelary Saint was Obert or Aubert, a Bishop and Confessor of the seventh century—represented in the Cathedral of Ghent with a baker's peel or shovel in his hand; and his day was the 10th of December. On St Obert's Eve, the Bakers marched in a bizarre pageant through the streets of the town, with pipe and drum and carrying blazing torches. All the company wore masking attire—probably representing the *dramatis personæ* of an ancient mystery. One fellow was clad in "the devil's coat," and another bestrode a horse which had men's shoes fastened upon its feet. This fantastical display was not abolished till the year 1588, when, the Kirk-session having struggled in vain, the Baker Incorporation passed an Act declaring that such persons as should engage in "Sanct Oberti's play," should "lose the liberties of the craft, and be banished the town for ever:" an attested copy of which enactment was sent to the Session, who forthwith dealt with delinquents concerned in the last celebration. It is reasonable to suppose that, previous to the Reformation, the Glovers had some annual public festivities in commemoration of their patron, St Bartholomew.*

* In Aberdeen, on 5th September, 1442, the Town Council allotted to the Crafts of that town the parts they

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One of the general holidays in Perth was the festival of *Corpus Christi*, instituted by Pope Urban IV., about 1264, in honour of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It was observed on the 14th June, or the second Thursday after Whitsunday, when tapestry was hung out, flowers were strewed on the streets, music played, &c. There was a procession in Perth, followed by a miracle or mystery play. The last celebration was in the summer of 1577. But in England the festival survived much longer: nay, in the metropolis, as we understand, it still survives; for the Skinners' Company walk in procession from their hall on Dowgate-hill, to the church of St Antholin, in Watling Street, to hear service, attended by a number of boys whom they have in Christ's Hospital School, and girls strewing herbs before them.

When all the time-honoured holidays were swept away as "rags and remnants of Popery," the people, habituated to frequent seasons of relaxation, were much curtailed in their customary sports and amusements. Still, many pastimes were open to them with which the Kirk did not meddle. Archery, golf, and football were the leading games of our ancestors; and the Trades of Perth generally exacted a small sum from each entrant for "football and banquet." Among the Glovers, every member on his marriage paid a sum in name of "the Wife's Football," that the craft might enjoy themselves on the happy occasion; and this payment continues to form part of the dues levied. Nor did the severe spirit of the Reformation seem to reprobate every form and fashion of dancing. Henry Adamson, in his *Muses' Threnodie*, describes a sprightly dance, popular in Perth, which accompanied a local

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should sustain in the pageant of our Lady at the ensuing Candlemas; and this was the part of the Skinners: "The skynnares sal fynd, two bisehopes, four angels, and alsmony honeste squiares as thi may." In 1530 the instruction was different, the Skinners being charged to find "Sanct Stewin and his Tormentouris." It is remarkable that there should be no mention of St Bartholomew: and we can see no reason why any one of the St Stephens in the Calendar should have been assigned to the Skinners.

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tune, now lost, called "St Johnstoun's hunt's up," and may have been akin to some ancient war-dance:—

> Courage to give was mightily then blown
> Saint Johnston's hunt's up, since most famous known
> By all musicians, when they sweetly sing
> With heavenly voice, and well concording string.
> O how they bend their backs and fingers tirle!
> Moving their quivering heads, their brains do whirle
> With divers moods; and as with uncouth rapture
> Transported, so doth shake their bodies' structure:
> Their eyes do reele, heads, armes, and shoulders move:
> Feet, legs, and hands, and all their parts approve
> The heavenly harmonie: while as they threw
> Their browes, O mighty strain! that's brave! they shew
> Great fantasie; quivering a brief some while,
> With full consent they close, then give a smile,
> With bowing bodie and with bending knee.

The Glovers of Perth appear to have early patronised a sword dance or Morrice dance, by their perfection in which they gained renown. The Morrice, Morisco, or Moorish dance came originally from Spain, where it was performed with castanets or with small bells about the legs. Eventually it spread over Europe. Mr Douce, in his *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, thinks that the English probably learned it from the French or from the Flemings. "Few if any vestiges of it can be traced beyond the reign of Henry the Seventh; about which time, and particularly in that of Henry the Eighth, the churchwardens' accounts in several parishes afford materials that throw much light on the subject, and show that the morris dance made a very considerable figure in the parochial festivals." But in the process of its adoption in this country it seems to have been partially associated with a sword dance, which was perchance a relic of the *Pyrrhica saltatio* or Pyrrhic dance, in which the performers bore drawn swords. The notes to Scott's *Pirate* give a graphic account of the sword dance known in Orkney: and the Yule festivities in the north of England still bring forth a company of sword-dancers. When the May games of the past came to include the morrice dance, a party of morrice-dancers numbered from five to twelve men, each of whom had from twenty to forty little bells round his legs; and these bells had various appellations, as the fore-bell, the

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second bell, the treble, the tenor, the bass, and the double bell. Sometimes trebles were used only; but these refinements were of later times. The bells were occasionally jingled by the hands, or placed on the arms or wrists. In the seventeenth century, the Glovers of the Fair City exhibited their dance twice, at least, in presence of royalty. King James VI. visited Scotland in 1617, and made a progress to his good town of St Johnstoun. Previous to his coming, the Town Council and Magistrates, making preparation for the reception of the sovereign, issued orders that the Glovers should provide the sword-dance, and the Bakers the Egyptian dance, while "the schoolmasters and bairns" should make "gud dance to his maiestie." The saltatory diversions were duly performed; and the magistrates paid the Glovers the sum of £40 in respect of the expense incurred in getting up the sword-dance. But the Glovers seem to have surpassed themselves on the occasion of the visit of Charles I. to Perth, in 1633, as their own records bear witness:—

Memorandum of His Majesty's Coronation and coming to Scotland, 15th June, 1633; which day our dread Sovereign Charles, King of England, France, and Ireland, came to Edinburgh, being accompanied with the nobilitie of Scotland ryding before, and the nobilitie of England ryding behind, him.

His Majestie King Charles, of his gratious favour and love, denzeit himself to visit his own city and burgh of Perth, the eight day of July, quhair, at the entrie of our South Inch Port, he wes receivet honourablie be the Provost, Bailzies, and Aldermen, and be deliverie of an speache mounting to his praize, and thanksgiving for his Majestie's coming to visit this our city, wha stayit upon horseback, and heard the samyn patientlie; and therefra, convoyit be our young men in guard, with partizans, clad in red and whyte, to his ludging at the end of the Southgate [Gowrie House], belonging now heritablie to George Earl of Kinnoul, Heigh Chancellor of Scotland. The morrow thairefter came to our Churche, and in his royal seat heard ane reverand sermon. Immediately thairefter came to his ludging, and went down to the gardine thairof, His Majestie being thayre set upon the wall next the wattir of Tay, quhairupone was ane fleeting staige of tymber cled about with birks, upone the quhilke, for His Majestie's welcome and entrie, thretteine of our brethrene of this our calling of Glovers, with green cappis, silver strings, red ribbons, quhyte shoes, and bells about thair leggis, shewing raperis

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in their handis, and all uther abulziement, dauncit our Sword Daunce, with mony dificile knottes and allafallajessa, fyve being under and fyve above uppone thair shoulderis, three of thame dancing through their feet and about thame, drinking wine, and breking glasses. Quhilk (God be praisit) wes actit and done without hurt or skaithe till ony. Quhilk drew us till greit chairges and expensis, amounting to the sowme of 350 merks, yet not to be rememberit because graciouslie acceptit be our sovereine and both estatis, to our honour and great commendation.

A brief notice of the royal visit appears in the *Chronicle of Perth:—*

(1633). Upon the 8 of July His Majesty came to Perth, and was well received with ten score of men for guard, all in quhyte doublattis, and red breikis, with partizans. Mr William Bell delivered him a speech. Mr William Wishart, minister at Leith, preached in our kirk to His Majesty.

There was ane sword dance danced to His Majesty, the morne after his coming, upon an island made of Tymer, upon the water of Tay, and certain verses spoken to His Majesty by ane boy, representing the person of the River of Tay, and some conference in His Majesty's praise betwix Tay and another representing Perth, made by Andro Wilson, Bailie.

The dress of a Morrice-dancer, which is said to have figured on the Tay in 1633, is still preserved in the Incorporation Hall. It is composed of fawn-coloured silk, and made in the form of a tunic, with slashed sleeves and trappings of red and green satin. There accompany it 252 small circular bells, arranged in 21 sets of 12 bells each, upon pieces of leather, intended to be fastened on various parts of the wearer's body. What is most remarkable about these bells is the perfect intonation of each set, and the regular musical intervals between the tones of each cluster. The twelve bells on each piece of leather are of various sizes, yet all combining to form one perfect intonation in accord with the leading note in the set; so that the performer could thus produce a pleasing and musical chime, according as he skilfully regulated his movements. This dress was worn, on the 6th September, 1842, by a member of the Craft, who appeared, along with a company of his brethren, on a platform in Princes Street, when Her Majesty, Queen Victoria, and the late Prince Consort, made their first visit to Perth.

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After 1633, however, the sword-dance, we daresay, was not seen again in all its glory for many a long and weary year. Storm-clouds soon blackened the horizon: the era of the Civil War was at hand. The troubles between the King and his Scottish subjects arose from the Tithe policy which, through the royal influence, was adopted by the Parliament of 1633: and subsequently the introduction of the Service-Book precipitated a national convulsion which overturned the throne. Other matters than idle "dancing and deray" engrossed the minds of men. And here the tenor of our history must make an abrupt transition from themes of peace to those of war.

The Glovers doubtless rallied round the *Blue Blanket* of St Johnstoun whenever it was unfurled in times of danger and strife. An old piece of music called "The Perth Glovers' March" is said to have been played, in 1559, before the band of 300 Protestant citizens, who marched from Perth to Stirling, with "St Johnstoun's ribbons" about their necks. The Incorporation are in possession of a flag of fawn-coloured silk, with a centre square of blue Persian containing the arms and motto of the Calling emblazoned in gold, and the date 1604, surrounded with an inscription; but as the gold had eaten away the blue silk under the arms and inscription, the square was renewed about forty years ago. The arms, as blazoned, are a pair of gloves displayed in a shield surmounted by three stars. Above is the motto "*Grace and Peace*," with the date 1604. Surrounding the whole, in an ellipse or oval, is the inscription:—"*The Perfect Honour of a Craft or Beauty of a Trade is not in Wealth but in moral worth, whereby Virtue gains renown.*" Under this banner the Craft assembled at the statutory Weaponschawings, or musters of the military strength of the burgh, which were held on the North Inch. At one of these meetings, which took place on 27th July, 1614, an affray broke out between some of the Skinners and Hammermen, and Lord Scone, Provost of the Town, was sent for to "take ordour with the riot." The rioters were summoned to

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appear before the civic authorities next day, and to declare whether they would refer themselves to the judgment of the Town Council or of the Privy Council; and the delinquents were obliged by their respective Deacons to abide by the decision of the former. The Skinner rioters were subjected to a fine of 500 merks, to be expended on the east pillar of the Bridge of Perth, and the money was paid. The record, however, does not shew how the Hammermen fared—whether they were fined or acquitted.

At length a day came, after a long interval of peace, when the craftsmen of Perth, instead of being called out, for a pleasant holiday, to play at soldiers on their beautiful Inch, were suddenly brought face to face with "grim-visaged war" in all his stern reality. The Marquis of Montrose had displayed his commission as the King's lieutenant, and unfurled the Royal Standard on the braes of Athole : and Sunday morning, the 1st of September, 1644, saw two armies confront each other on the open plain of Tibbermuir, within two or three miles of the Fair City. On the one side was the formidable array of the Covenant, numbering from 6000 to 8000 foot, and from 700 to 800 cavalry, all well-appointed, with nine pieces of artillery. This force consisted of regiments of militia, newly raised in the shires of Perth, Fife, and Angus, but principally from Fife. The contingent from the town of Perth scarcely reached 120, and was under the command of David Grant, as Captain. Among this party were fourteen Glovers, one of whom acted as their Lieutenant, and another as Ensign, carrying the Calling's colours—presumably the flag of 1604. The Lieutenant was Alexander Drummond, and the Ensign, Andrew Anderson : and the rest of the small company were named—Patrick Watson, Thomas Dundee, Henry Paul, Andrew Kinnaird, Alexander Hutton, Alexander Nairn, Patrick Ingles, George Auchinleck, Andrew Mortimer, Andrew Gall, Robert Lamb, and John Measone. The Covenanting General was David, Lord Elcho, who commanded the right wing: the main body was under the Earl of Tullibar-

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dine: and the left wing was led by Sir James Scott of Rossie, who had gained considerable reputation in the Venetian service: while Lord Drummond was with the cavalry. Opposite hovered the wild-looking levies of Montrose, about 2500 strong, imperfectly armed, with only three horses (two of which were for the leader's own saddle, and the third for Sir William Rollock, who was lame), and with a scanty supply of powder and shot, and without a single cannon. Indeed, most of the Irish soldiers of Alaster MacColkeitach, were destitute of weapons, and had to arm themselves with stones picked up from the field; but the men themselves, though in such unsoldierly condition, were chiefly veterans who had served in Flanders. Montrose arranged his followers three deep in an extended line to prevent his flanks being turned by the Covenanting horse. The front rank knelt on one knee; the second stooped over the shoulders of the first; and the third, comprising the tallest men, stood erect. The gallant Graham, bearing a target and half-pike, took post, on foot, at the head of the Atholemen, the flower of his band, who were on the right wing: the left, composed of bowmen, was commanded by Lord Kilpont; and MacColkeitach's Irish formed the centre.

Before the signal of attack was given, Montrose sent forward his brother-in-law, the Master of Maderty, with a flag of truce, to the Covenanting leaders. The Master was instructed to tell them that the royal lieutenant was averse to the spilling of blood; that he declared solemnly before God, he desired neither the places, honours, nor lives of any of his countrymen, but simply to do his duty to his sovereign; and that he conjured them, therefore, in the King's name, to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. The enemy listened to the message, and then, in defiance of all the laws of war, made the envoy prisoner, and sent him under a guard to Perth, "vowing that so soon as they had got the victory, they would cut off his head." For the Covenanters, vain-gloriously, reckoned on the destruction of the handful of Royalists. One of their

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ministers, Mr Frederick Carmichael, was out on the Moor that morning, and had promised an easy triumph to the "army of the Lord," declaring "that, if ever God spoke truth out of his mouth, he promised them a certain victory that day!" Montrose's warriors were perhaps equally confident of success. According to Celtic superstition, the fate of a battle was always anticipated by observing which party drew the first blood that day; and tradition asserts that on the march towards Tibbermuir, some of Montrose's Highlanders barbarously slaughtered a poor herdsman, to secure the victory by the charm of his blood!

It was now between twelve and one o'clock, and the autumn sun shone hotly. Montrose, seeing his flag of truce treated so insultingly, addressed his soldiers. "Be sparing of your powder," he said; "for we have none to throw away. Let not a musket be fired except in the very face of the enemy. Give but a single discharge, and then at them with the claymore, in the name of God and the King!" To the weaponless Irish he said—"'Tis true you have no arms; but your enemies, to all appearance, have plenty. My advice, therefore, is that as there happens to be a great abundance of stones upon this moor, every man should provide himself with as heavy a one as he can well manage, rush up to the first enemy he meets, beat out his brains, take his sword, and then, I believe, he will be at no loss how to proceed!" These words were received with resolute shouts; and the battle speedily began. While the armies were yet only within cannon-range of each other, a skirmish took place between some of Lord Drummond's cavalry and a few Highlanders who were sent out to meet them. The horse were driven back upon the ranks of the infantry, where they created confusion; and Montrose, seizing the happy moment, gave the word for his whole line to advance. The cannon began to fire upon them, but without effect. The cavalry charged, but the Highlanders received them with their claymores and pole-axes: the Irish poured in volleys of stones: and the horse were com-

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pletely routed. The issue of the field was doubtful but for a moment, and that was on the wing where the Marquis in person was engaged with the stout Sir James Scott, who obstinately maintained his post, and made a desperate struggle to gain the advantage of the rising ground; but the Athole men were irresistible, and swept all before them. The Covenanters were utterly broken. "Although the battle continued for some space," says a Royalist officer who was present, "we lost not one man on our side, yet still advanced, the enemy being three or four to one: however, God gave us the day; the enemy retreating with their backs towards us, that men might have walked upon the dead corps to the town, being two long miles from the place where the battle was pitched." All the Covenanters' cannon, baggage, and munitions of war were captured. Their loss in men has never been accurately estimated; but it must have been severe. Between Tibbermuir and Perth lay nearly 400 dead bodies, and amongst them those of Patrick Oliphant, younger of Bachilton, David Grant, the Captain of the Perth contingent, and "many brave men from Fife." But the whole fourteen Glovers escaped safely to the town. *They*, of all the "hearts of hare" in that broken host—

> *They* had the Pyrrhic dance as yet,
> Where was the Pyrrhic phalanx gone?
> Of two such lessons, why forget
> The nobler and the manlier one?

Montrose's casualties were trivial. *One* man was killed on the field; but numbers were wounded—one mortally, young Henry Stewart, the son of Ardvorlich. The pursuit did not cease until eight o'clock in the evening: and at nine the town of Perth surrendered to the victors. A deposition by the Provost, Mr Robert Arnot of Benchills, states that the Marquis came into the town with 600 of his soldiers—entering by the Highgate Port, the keys of which he took from the Magistrates, who there awaited him. Although the slaughter in the pursuit was great, yet no blood was shed after the fierce followers of Montrose passed triumphantly within the walls.

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The *Chronicle of Perth* contains the following record of the engagement :—

Upon the first of September, 1644, being Sunday, thair wes ane great conflict, betwix James Marques of Montroiss, for the Scotis forces under his auctoritie, beside Tibbermuir, on the mures thereof, and beside Lambercan and the burrow muir, being assist by the Athoill men of Sir John Drummond, Lord Perth's second son, and some of the Marques awind friends, and by ane Mr Alexander Makconell, brother to the Earl of Antrim, with xij hunderd men of Eirshes, expert souldiours, estimat in number all to thrie thousand men, on the ane part; and by the haill Sheriffdoms of Perth, Fyff, and utheris, and haill burrowes of Fyffe, noblemen and gentrie thereof, estimat to the number of six thousand, weill armit, and by thrie hundreth hors, my lord Elcho was Crownear. They were foir to on with Montroiss.

The battle began about twelve hours, or ane afternoon, and lasted not half ane hour, quhen the Fyff people, both fute and hors, fled beastlie, did never discharge all togidder ance, yea, not ane third thereof. There were killed in fleing, above viij hundred men of gude account and gentlemen, and sex peice of cannon of the Fyffe men tane.

The special gentlemen that were killit, namit * *

* * * * * * *

This same nycht, about nine hours at evin, the toun was renderit to the Marquis upon quarters, bot prejudice of the Covenants, to be frie of plundering, and to live as the King's loyal subjects: his companie quarterit here frie, fra Sunday at nycht, Mononday, and Tuesday, many, Woddensay, and Thursday: he himself remained quhill Woddensay.

It was ane dear quartering to this burgh, and to the country about.

He took with him about viij hundred Fyffe men, that came into this toun on Sunday at nycht: they were wardit in the kirk.

By the surrender of Perth, the great Marquis obtained necessary supplies of arms, clothing, and money for his soldiers. The quartering, doubtless, was a "dear" one to the town and neighbourhood. It is related that some of the Highlanders took up lodging in the kirk of Kinnoull, and killed and roasted sheep under the hallowed roof, burning the Communion-tables and the seats for firewood.

The indignation of the Covenanting Government on hearing of the fall of the town without a blow being struck, knew no bounds: and accordingly the parish ministers, Mr John Robertson, and Mr George Halyburton, drew up a vindicatory paper, setting forth

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"Reasons for the Surrender of Perth," from which we shall make a short extract:—

We had in the fields a companie of musquetiers (under Captain Grant, who was there killed), which, for the most part, fled, suspecting that the toune should become a prey to the enemie's crueltie. Others of the toune, confident of the victorie, went out to the moore careleslie, and so, in the flight, by running, were made uselesse. A third part of the toune timorouslie fled at the first report of the enemie's victorie. Could the toune trust it selfe to the defence of so few, and so few disheartened men? Thirdlie, our friends in Fyfe and Stratherne that came unto us, they were either unwilling or unable to assist us. Their unwillingnes kythed in this, that all, when they came in at the ports, either went to the boats or to houses, out of which no entreatie could draw them. The trueth of this is proven; for the provest of the town, with a minister going alongst the streets, with a trumpet three tymes, could not, of inhabitants and friends both, make up so many as to guard three ports, let be fyve, foreby all the walls and posts of the toune. Whereas it is said, or may be said, that the Fife men offered to assist us. Its trueth there were seen 12 or thereabout armlesse men, and some of them drunk, come to the provest 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 enemie's forces before and fled. 2. They were unable who came in, for first they were all fore-fainted and bursted with running, inso much that nine or ten dyed that night in toune without any wound. 3. An overwhelming feare did take them, that did absolutelie disinable them from resistance of such a cruell enemie. Their feare kythed in this, that multitudes breaking up cellars did cast themselves down there, expecting the enemie's approach. The provest came in to 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 casten all their weapons from them by the way, and wee in the toune had none to spare. . . . The hounds of hell were drawen up before our ports newlie deeply bathed in blood, routed with hideous cryes for more, and in the meanetime there abode not one gentleman of Fife to give us counsell, save one who is an uselesse member amongst themselves at home, and, consequently, could not be but uselesse to us. Neither a gentleman of our owne shire, save Balhousie; so exanimate with fear, and destitute of counsell, wee could not stand out.*

* Authorities—Bishop Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose;* Napier's *Life and Times of Montrose;* Grant's *Memoirs of Montrose;* Chambers's *Rebellions in Scotland: 1638–60; Chronicle of Perth;* Cant's Appendix to the *Muses Threnodie; Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 1 (1817).

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SIMON GLOVER AND HIS CRAFTSMEN.—Part 5th.

Of the part borne by the Perth Glovers in the wars of the Covenant after the fight at Tibbermuir, and also during the Cromwellian invasion which subverted the independence of Scotland, we possess no record; but the military contingents furnished, from time to time, by the burgh of Perth, for the public service, must necessarily have included numbers of Glovers as well as of other craftsmen. From a stray notice in the Glovers' minute-book we learn that one of their old apprentices rose to distinction in the Covenanting army. On the 4th October, 1648—when the Civil War was at an end, and the faction in England plotting the King's murder,—Peter Strachen, who had begun life as a Glover's apprentice in the Fair City, and then, seeking his fortune in the field of Mars, had become "Ensign Lieutenant under my lord Bamff," complimented the Incorporation with a gift of the colours which he had carried in his regiment. The flag was inscribed—"*For Religion, King, Country, and Covenant.*" But unfortunately this trophy disappeared many years ago.

Previous to the above date it had been a custom for each Deacon and Boxmaster, on their first election to office, to present the Trade with a pike or partizan. But on 7th October, 1631, Deacon John Lamb gave, in lieu of a pike, a fine indented musket with staff or rest and bandoliers: and the Incorporation, same day, adopted a rule that "Deacons elected, who have not been so formerly, must give to the Calling a sufficient musket, and necessary articles thereto belonging." The Boxmasters continued to give pikes till 1st October, 1690, when their pikes were ordered—not to be beaten into pruning-hooks, but to be thenceforth supplanted by guns:—"A Boxmaster, after the first year of his Boxmastership, to give to the Calling a sufficient

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musket or firelock, in lieu of the pike formerly given." Another change in the gifts took place on 7th October, 1710, when the Incorporation, "taking to their consideration the little use the Calling has for firearms, they therefore statute and ordain that, for the future, each new elected Deacon pay five pound Scots in place of his gun, and each new Boxmaster four pound Scots as the value of his gun, for the use of the poor of the Calling."

As we have no information concerning the use of these pikes and muskets in the wars following Tibbermuir, we gladly revert to a peaceful inquiry, and shall now endeavour to draw, from the old laws of the Glovers, some interesting elucidations of craftsman life, duties, and habits, chiefly during the seventeenth century, before the tide of modern progress and innovation began to flow.

The annual election of the Glover office-bearers was thus regulated:—

Deacon, Auditors, Possitors [Boxmasters], and Searchers, to be all elected on the Wednesday after Michaelmas yearly—*4 October, 1648.*

At the election of Deacon, the Freemen to sit in their seat until they are called in the Roll to give their vote, and after giving their vote, to sit down again peaceably, and those who contravene this Act, to pay 10 pounds Scots for each transgression, and be put out of the Court—*7 October, 1665.*

On 1st June, 1610, it was enacted that "the youngest Freeman should serve as officer, or fee one to serve for him:" which reminds one of the traditional burghal law which provided that, in the absence of a hangman, the youngest Bailie should fill his place at a public execution! In 1657, however, an officer was chosen at a small salary.

The attendance of Brethren at the "Courts" or meetings was enforced by penalties:

Members absent, after being warned by the officer, to be fined 18s Scots: Auditors, £1 4s Scots—*27 June, 1593.* These fines increased: Members £1 4s; and Auditors, £1 16s—*19 June, 1598.* Again increased: reserving recourse to parties against the officer if he neglects to warn them—*20 May, 1608.*

Members absent when the Deacon and Possitors are elected, or when other Courts are held, to be fined in 20s

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Scots, toties quoties; and members who do not attend precisely at the hour when the Court is held, to pay 6s 8d Scots, toties quoties—*2 October, 1639.*

Members who leave their seats before business be done to be incapable of voting in Courts for a year; and the Deacon to imprison Contraveners of the preceding laws till the fines be paid—13 *January*, 1667. Ratified and Confirmed 6 *October*, 1711.

Brethren not to come to Court without a hat, under the penalty of 6s 8d Scots—8 *December*, 1641.

Brethren who are absent from Courts, after being duly warned by the officer, especially from that Court which is held on the Saturday after the election, for the purpose of hearing the Acts read over, shall be deprived of their vote for a year, or pay a fine of £3 Scots—5 *October*, 1754.

The prerogative of the Deacon and the jurisdiction of the Craft were jealously guarded :—

Members not to speak in Courts without license from the Deacon, or be fined £1 Scots for each transgression—13 *July*, 1595.

Injuries and wrongs betwixt Brethren to be complained of to the Calling; and if any go first to other Judges, to pay 40s Scots of unlaw unforgiven—8 *December*, 1595. The transgression declared punishable by loss of liberty and freedom—24 *July*, 1618. Complaints by brethren against one another to be declared at the quarterly Courts—19 *December*, 1657. Disputes betwixt brethren concerning buying and selling of skins to be first made known to the Deacon and Auditors; and if the person injured does not receive satisfaction, he is to apply to the Convener Court. Contraveners of this act to pay £20 Scots of penalty, *toties quoties*, unforgiven—11 *July*, 1665.

Members who do not pay to the Calling, in time coming, the ground annuals or casualties that they may be resting (owing), they will not be allowed to come to the Court, or have a vote there: and members who are seen selling, eating, or drinking with such brethren until the debt be paid, shall be fined 40s Scots—1 *June*, 1604.

One of the antique relics still possessed by the Glovers is the leathern lash called *St Bartholomew's Tawse*. Several references to this formidable instrument of flagellation are contained in the code of laws relating to "Masters, Fials, and Apprentices"—the term *Fial* signifying one who receives wages.

Freemen to have liberty to take but one apprentice in four years' space.—*4 August, 1597.*

Masters not to take apprentices for less than four years, and not to sell them. Apprentices to serve two years afterwards till they be admitted Freemen.—*27 September*, 1603.

Masters not to take an Apprentice, without they have a wife and family, and be sufficiently provided in meat and

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work to give them; and if they give the Apprentice to another to learn, to pay 40s Scots.—*9 January*, 1604.

Masters abusing their Apprentices to pay £10 Scots of unlaw, *toties quoties*, unforgiven. Apprentices abusing their masters to be lashed with St Bartholomew's Whips.—*23 October*, 1605, and *8 July*, 1611.

Fials who fee themselves with two masters at once shall be fined in 40s Scots, or be lashed with St Bartholomew's Whips.—*22 June*, 1606.

Fials, Boys, or Apprentices abusing one another, to pay 20s Scots for the first offence, and £6 Scots for every other offence, or be lashed with St Bartholomew's Whips, as to the Deacon shall appear most proper.—*10 April*, 1618.

Fials, Boys, or Apprentices who go after gentlemen to entice them to purchase from their masters, to be fined in 10s Scots, or lashed with St Bartholomew's Whips. Masters who contravene this Act to pay £5 Scots, *toties quoties*.—13 *May*, 1618.

Boys and Fials not to leave their master's service without a previous warning of 40 days, under a penalty of 40s Scots, or be lashed with St Bartholomew's Taws, *toties quoties*.—22 *April*, 1635.

Fials and Apprentices not to work elsewhere but in their masters' houses, and not to be idle night-walkers or Sabbath-breakers, under the penalty of 40s Scots, *toties quoties*. —23 *May*, 1663.

Servants not to be out of their master's house after ten o'clock at night. If the master informs not the Deacon of their being out at that hour at night, before nine o'clock next morning, he shall pay 40s Scots, *toties quoties*. The servant guilty of this fault to pay the same fine.—3 *Dec.*, 1664.

The Tawse, moreover, seems to have been occasionally borrowed for the chastisement of other offenders than those belonging to the Glovers. Thus we read in the Perth Kirk-Session Book :—

1*st January*, 1621.—Forasmeikle as George Dickson, merchant, having complained verbally to the Session that he was abused by Francis Scott, —— Thomson, alias called Billiecald, and certain others their sociates, young professed knaves, by casting of their bonnets at him in the kirk this instant day; therefore the session ordains that they should be apprehended and punished for this offence.

2*d January*.—Whilk day the aforenamed —— Thomson being apprehended and presented before the Session for his insolency aforesaid, was taken to the Grammar School, and there scourged with St Bartholomew's Taws, for his offence, and promises not to commit the like hereafter.

The pastimes of servants and apprentices did not escape the legislative action of the Craft:—

Servants or Apprentices found playing at cards or dice, to be fined in 40s Scots for each transgression, besides imprisonment—3 *December*, 1664.

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For a long time the youths connected with the different trades were accustomed to hold mock elections amongst themselves, in which proceedings, it is very likely, the sayings and doings of their elders were travestied and held up to ridicule, while such gatherings often gave cause for quarrelling and disorder. The Glovers took the matter in hand :—

Servants and Apprentices not to hold quarterly or other Courts, nor choose a Deacon and Boxmaster among themselves in time coming—4 *October*, 1701.

Probably the other Trades passed similar prohibitions. But the 'Prentice Boys were not so easily put down. Thirty years afterwards the power of the Town Council had to be invoked against them, and a solemn proclamation was issued by tuck of drum :—

21*st October*, 1734.—The Magistrates and Council, considering that the apprentices, journeymen, and other servants of the maltmen, and the tradesmen of the several Incorporations of this burgh, and also the writter lads and other young people of this place, have had an unwarrantable practice of appointing and assembling themselves for electing of Deacons among themselves; for brothering one another ; and for causes of that nature ; and that such practices are the cause and occasion of riotous mobs and tumults, to the disturbance of the public peace : For preventing of such abuse for the future, they, the Magistrates and Council, do hereby enact, decern, and inhibit the writter lads, maltmen lads, trades lads, and all other young men that do now or hereafter shall reside in this burgh, from meeting and assembling together to the number of six or more persons at any time to come at or about Michaelmas, or at any other time or season of the year, for choosing of Deacons, or for Brotherings of one another, or for any other cause, deed, or occasion, unless they are called to any lawful meeting by lawful authority ; and strictly inhibit and discharge them from all night rambles on the streets ; and inhibits and discharges the maltmen lads and trades lads at any time to come to choose Deacons among themselves, or exact any money or other thing from one another for Brotherings or such like causes, and that under such pains and penalties as the Magistrates shall from time to time find it just to inflict : And the Council appoint this act to be published round the town by touck of drum.

This ukase may have quashed the election and brothering nuisance. But the Glover lads (doubtless in common with their neighbours) eventually became so addicted to games of hazard, that they could not refrain

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from stealthily indulging in them during the hours of work; and on the moonlight nights they congregated about the Curfew Row and the Lade-side, with their cards and dice, following the moonshine from one outside stair to another of the malt-barns, &c., in that quarter, till the witching hour had pealed from the steeple of St John's. The Incorporation sought to check these evil propensities by the following enactment, dated 9th October, 1784:—

Apprentices found playing either at Cards, Dice, Pitch and Toss, Quoits, and the like, during the ordinary working hours,—for the first offence to be deprived of the privileges of the Calling for three years, and for the second offence to be totally deprived of them in all time coming. Servants found guilty of this offence to be discharged from the work.

We have already seen how attendance at meetings was provided for. The Calling were equally careful as to attendance at church:—

Brethren who do not attend church on Sabbath-days to pay 20s Scots for each transgression.—2 *October*, 1639.

The Brethren to sit in the church with hats, under the penalty of 20s Scots, *toties quoties*.—18 *October*, 1641.

Boys prohibited from sitting in the foremost seats belonging to the Calling in the church. Freemen only to sit there with hats, and not with bonnets, under the penalty of 6s 8d Scots.—28 *December*, 1647.

Married men only, having hats, to sit in the mid-seat in the church, and none to do otherwise under the penalty of 6s 8d Scots. Brethren not to enter the door of the old seat, except they find the same empty, under the pain of 6s 8d Scots. Fials and boys to be allowed to sit in the new seat.—6 *November*, 1658.

Each auditor to sit Sabbath about in the new seat—24 *October*, 1662.

For preventing of confusion in the Church, so many of the brethren to be appointed to sit Sabbath about: those who absent themselves to be fined in 13s 4d Scots. The fore-seats to be kept till the Freemen come in—7 *October*, 1665.

By an Act of 7th October, 1636, the Deacon and Auditors were appointed "to sit in the two uppermost seats;" but the door of the first of these being kept locked during the week, the Kirk-session, in November, ordained "the Skinners not to lock the door of their uppermost seat upon the week-days; but that it be patent to honest men to sit in the time of God's service."

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Quarrels about seats in the Church were then common: and in the same year of which we have just been speaking, the officer of the Bakers was imprisoned, by order of the Kirk-session, for refusing a person admittance to a seat belonging to that Incorporation.

17 October, 1636.—Patrick Robertson younger [an elder's son], complained upon John Fergusson, Baxter, for giving him an repulse, and would not suffer him enter within the Baxters' seat yesterday (Sunday), before the second bell to the afternoon's sermon; and the said John compeared, and answered that he was enjoined by his Deacon and Craft to suffer none enter in their seat until the Brether of Craft were first placed: Always (meantime) he is found to have disgraced the said Patrick, and therefore he is ordained to be warded till nine hours at even in the Tolbooth.

On another occasion (7th March, 1642), the Session exerted their authority against locked seats, by deputing "Mr Robert Laurie, minister, to go to the Lady Kinvaid, to leave the door of her seat open, and not to be closed, else the Session will see to it: for they acknowledge no heritable seats." Respecting the orders about *hats*, the intention was that the Glovers should appear at church as respectable as possible, at a period when the male portion of all congregations sat covered during sermon. The *Presbytery Examined* of the non-juring Bishop Sage (who was at one time parish schoolmaster of Tibbermuir, and subsequently lived much about Perthshire), mentions that "a very decent and commendable custom which obtained in Scotland generally till the latter times of Presbytery" was "this—when people entered the Church, they solemnly uncovered their heads:" but a new fashion sprang up with the Covenant, and "all the congregation must sit close in the time of prayer—clap on their bonnets in the time of sermon &c." This book was first published in 1695.

Attendance at the funerals of Members was likewise compulsory under the Glover laws:—

Brethren who are absent from the Burial of any of the Craft, without a lawful excuse to be sustained by the Deacon, to be fined in 13s Scots—25 *October*, 1636.

Brethren to attend funerals, after being warned, under the penalty of 6s 8d Scots.—8 *December*, 1641.

Freemen in good health who absent themselves from the

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Burials of Noblemen and Gentlemen, after being warned, to be fined in 40s Scots.—1 *July*, 1665.

This last enactment may have originated from a backwardness of some of the Glovers in attending the funeral of George Halyburton, Bishop of Dunkeld (formerly one of the Covenanting ministers of Perth), which took place in the preceding April, and was conducted with great solemnity. The *Chronicle of Perth* says:—

1665, April 5.—About five hours at evin, George, Bishop of Dunkeld, departed in his awin hous in Perth, and wes buried on the xvij April, in the common burial place called the Grayfreire; honourably convoyit with his friends about the toun. The bells wer rung all time, began at ten hours; Mr William Annane, minister at Edinburgh, made sermon, began at twa hours.

To speak evil of dignities was a high crime and misdemeanour by the Glover laws:—

Those who shall hereafter abuse the Deacon, to pay £10 Scots of fine, besides making satisfaction to the Deacon and Craft, and to be imprisoned until this is fulfilled.—16 *September*, 1622.

John Lamb fined in £15 Scots, and to be imprisoned until payment of that sum, and to have no vote in Courts in time coming, for abusing the Deacon and Auditors.—30 *December*, 1648.

Those who shall abuse the Deacon or Auditors, to lose their Freedom.—30 *December*, 1648.

Even the Boxmaster's annual accounts were strictly guarded against untimeous criticism :—

Brethren who either publicly or privately speak against the Boxmaster's accounts, after they are discharged by the Auditors, to be fined in £20 Scots, and imprisoned.—3 *November*, 1666.

Under the old system of election of the Deacons of Crafts, "bowing" or canvassing was generally carried on in Perth at an enormous waste of time, money, and good liquor. "Six weeks' painful canvass of the Freemen was submitted to, and large sums sacrificed, in the remote hope of obtaining the honour of Deaconship of one of these petty Incorporations. Houses of rendezvous were opened by the contending parties, and suppers given, and morning drams in abundance. Even to obtain the humble situation of Boxmaster, much *booing* often took place, and many curious manœuvres were resorted to, to remove obstinate

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members out of the way, in order that their vote might not be recorded. Many a hard struggle was maintained for the office of Trades' Bailie. To such an excess were these carried, that individuals in affluent circumstances often brought themselves to poverty, besides acquiring dissipated habits, and destroying their own health and family comfort."* The Glover laws were severe in their reprobation of such practices:—

Freemen seen Bowing about the election time, and asking votes, to lose their Freedom.—9 *June*, 1609.

Members bowing about the Election time, either in a direct or private manner, to be punished as follows, viz.:—If present Bailie, or hath been Bailie, Treasurer, Councillor, or Deacon, or if he be of the Council of the Calling, to be fined in £20 Scots: other members to pay a fine of £10 Scots: and members using subtle methods of taking single persons one by one to avoid proof, to be excluded voting for a year. If they happen to be Eleemosynars, they shall not get any charity for a year. The Deacon to imprison contraveners till the fines be paid.—13 *January*, 1677. Ratified and confirmed, 6 *October*, 1711.

Still, we have no doubt that the brethren found ways and means of driving a coach and six through the statutes, and fooling themselves to the top of their bent.†

The writer of the Appendix to Penny's *Traditions*, assuming that the question might be put—"What do you think of the Michaelmas Dinner?" thus makes answer: "Why, I think it is a very friendly and social meeting, and also of great antiquity; and I hope it will never be given up, but always be enjoyed in a rational, prudent, and becoming manner." The only references to this social gathering, contained in the Laws, are the following:—

* Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, p. 16.

† The phrase, "To drive a coach and six through an Act of Parliament," has been often fathered on the late Daniel O'Connell; but the fact is, it was in existence long before O'Connell was born. Dr James Welwood, in his *Memoirs* of the most material transactions in England for the last hundred years, preceding the Revolution of 1688, speaking of "one Rice, a profligate fellow," who was elevated by James II. to the seat of Lord Chief Baron, mentions that "this man was often heard to say, before he came to be a Judge, that he would drive a coach and six horses through the Act of Settlement."

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A Dinner to be paid out of the Calling's funds for the whole brethren, to be held on the Saturday after the Election yearly. Other entertainments abolished.—4 *October*, 1760.

No entertainment to be defrayed from the Calling's funds in future, excepting a glass with the Dean of Guild, after searching the market with him, and a dinner on the Saturday after Michaelmas.--27 *October*, 1788.

As to other entertainments, it was resolved, so far back as 1664, that "nothing shall be spent at the entry of Freemen or Apprentices in time coming, excepting only one pint of wine, and that at the entry of those who pay 100 merks for their freedom." And, in this connection, we may add, that to put a stop to a questionable mode of driving trade, the Calling, in 1615, decided that "Freemen or their servants boding gloves or work upon persons in alehouses, not being sent for, should be fined £5 Scots, *toties quoties.*" Old fashions disappear with the generations and the centuries: but one red-letter day still brightens—and long may it brighten!—the calendar of the Glovers—that memorable Michaelmas anniversary, when good-fellowship reigns supreme.

In good auld times, when we, the Glovers, met
 To dine together: lo! the groanin' board
O' soup an' salmon, oyster sauce an' skate,
 An' reeking red-deer haunch—sent by my lord,—
Mutton an' beef that couldna weel be beat
 Between M'Combie's and the Muir o' Ord,
Wi' bowies o' hame-brewed ale, an' bowls o' toddy,
That pat new life into the auldest body.

I think I see the viands afore me yet,
 An' even smell the savour o' the sauces,
Hersel' gaun *but* an' *ben* wi' tenty fit—
 A queen amang her braw red-cheekit lasses.
I hear the humourous jokes an' bursts o' wit,
 Blent wi' the clinkin' o' the crystal glasses,
The chairman's grace, about a leg-length lang,
The loyal toast, the tale, the auld Scotch sang.*

* *The Select Poems of William Hay Leith Tester.* Fourth Edition. Aberdeen: 1870. Page 213.

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SIMON GLOVER AND HIS CRAFTSMEN.—Part 6th.

Having shaken the dust—venerable as the precious ærugo of Dr Cornelius Scriblerus' shield—from the obsolete statutes of the Glovers, and given them a sufficient airing, we respectfully return them to their place of repose, and shall now narrate how the Calling became associated with that important event in the ecclesiastical annals of the eighteenth century—the first Secession from the Church of Scotland.

That strife took its rise from the sermon preached by Mr Ebenezer Erskine, minister of Stirling, at the opening of the Synod of Perth and Stirling, held at Perth, on the 10th of October, 1732. Mr Erskine inveighed so strongly against prevailing defections, and especially the manner in which affairs were conducted under the law of Patronage, that the Synod found him censurable. Mr Alexander Moncrief, minister at Abernethy, Mr William Wilson, minister at Perth, and ten other ministers, with two ruling elders, protested against the finding, while Mr Erskine and his son-in-law, Mr James Fisher, minister at Kinclaven, protested and appealed to the General Assembly. The Synod nevertheless passed a second resolution, that Mr Erskine should be rebuked and admonished at their bar; but his withdrawal from the meeting prevented the rebuke being administered. It was a very pretty quarrel as it stood, and in due course it was brought before the Supreme Church Court in May, 1733. The Assembly, after hearing parties, ordered Mr Erskine to be rebuked at their own bar, which was done accordingly; but he, with a pertinacity in divisive courses which characterised his conduct in every stage of the contest, would not silently submit to a rebuke importing, as he inferred, his departure from the Word of God and the Standards of the Church, and therefore tabled a paper protesting that he should still be at liberty to preach

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the same truths, and to testify against the same or like defections of the Church upon all proper occasions; to which protest Messrs Wilson, Moncrief, and Fisher adhered. The document fell over the table, and lay on the floor for some time unheeded until a member picked it up and read it openly. Its terms gave great offence to the Assembly, and ultimately the whole matter was referred to the Commission in August, before whom the four protesters were to declare their sorrow and make retractation, otherwise the Commission should be at liberty to suspend them from the exercise of the pastoral office, and at the next meeting in November to proceed to a higher censure if necessary. In August the protesters adhered to their paper, and consequently were suspended. At the November meeting they again refused to depart from their protest, adding that they had disregarded the sentence of suspension. In the face of this defiance, the Commission had no resource but to pronounce the higher censure by declaring them to be no longer members of the Church, and their charges to be vacant from that date. The four brethren now produced a new protest, in which it was stated that they were "*obliged to make a Secession*" from the prevailing party in the Church, but would still continue to hold their pastoral relations with their respective parishes as firm and valid. By what law, ecclesiastical or civil, they pretended to justify this last assumption has never been explained: and if the Church of Scotland was so corrupt, why did they cling to her stipends and manses? On the 5th December of the same year, the four brethren, along with Mr Ralph Erskine, minister at Dunfermline, and Mr Thomas Mair, minister at Orwell, who had now joined them, had a meeting at Gairney Bridge, near Kinross, where they formed an "Associate Presbytery"—a sort of *imperium in imperio*—and soon afterwards published a *Testimony*. When the General Assembly met in 1734, mild counsels prevailed: the ruling party seemed to have no wish to perpetuate the unfortunate breach: and the Synod of Perth and Stirling was authorised to

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restore the four brethren, under certain limitations. By virtue of this remit, the Synod met specially at Stirling in July, and reversed the action of the Commission. But the four seceders would not accept this reversal or abate one jot of their pretensions. While the Church was anxious for peace and unity, their voices were still for war.

Six years went by, and Thursday, the 15th May, 1740 came, when the General Assembly, finding that there really was no way of bringing about a reconciliation with the Associate Presbytery, finally deposed the eight ministers of which it then consisted, and declared their parochial charges vacant, appointing letters to be written by the Moderator to the Magistrates of the respective burghs concerned enclosing copies of the deliverance. But even in the dealing of this stroke, there was a kindness shown; for the sentence was purposely delayed till the afternoon of the term-day, that the deposed ministers might have a legal title to the current half-year's stipends.

Mr Wilson—the son of a small Lanarkshire Laird, who had been proscribed during the Persecution, and obliged to fly to Holland, whence he returned with the Prince of Orange at the Revolution—was admitted Minister at Perth, on 1st November, 1716, as colleague to Mr Thomas Black and Mr John Fleming; the Magistrates, as patrons, having considered that the parish required the services of three ministers instead of two as formerly. By the year 1740, however, there were only two ministers—the colleague of Mr Wilson being Mr David Black, son of Mr Thomas Black. Mr Wilson was much esteemed by all classes of the townsmen as an able and earnest preacher and a faithful and zealous pastor.

The Moderator of Assembly's letter with a copy of the sentence of deposition did not reach the hands of the Magistrates of Perth till the Sunday morning, 18th May. Doubt has been expressed how far the civic authorities could be justified in enforcing the ecclesiastical fiat; but both in Perth and Stirling they seemed

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quite satisfied as to their path of duty. On that Sunday morning, Provost James Crie, of Perth, and his brother Magistrates, attended by the Town Officers with their halberts, marched from the Council House to St John's Church, previous to the hour of forenoon worship, and having ordered the main door to be fast locked, ranged themselves in front of it, at the foot of the few steps by which it was then approached. A multitude of people, agitated by the rumours which had been flying like wild-fire through the town, soon thronged the Kirkside. Information of the arrival of the Edinburgh missive had been privately conveyed to Mr Wilson, so that he was prepared for what might ensue. His breakfast-table was spread at the usual hour; but he and his wife (Margaret Alexander, the daughter of an Edinburgh advocate,) remained in their chamber, and the meal was neglected. When Mr Wilson at length left his room to go to the church—and probably carrying his pulpit bible in his hand, as was a common fashion in those days—his domestics eagerly scanning his countenance, did not fail to discern that it bore the impress of anxiety, though they could only conjecture the cause. As he opened the outer door, an aged female servant, who had supplied his father with food when he was under hiding in the wilds, felt constrained to offer a word of affectionate admonition. "Mr William," she said, "tak' care what you're doing; for I fear if things gang on this way, I'll get your meat to carry to the muir, as I did your faither's before you." Mr Wilson passed out, and was joined on the street by Mr Andrew Ferrier, Writer in Perth, with whom he proceeded in company to the church. The two friends made their way through the troubled assemblage, and advanced towards the Magistrates, when Mr Wilson demanded access to his pulpit. "In the name of my Divine Master," he said, "I demand admission to His temple." This demand was thrice made, and thrice was it met by a stern refusal. An angry murmur arose from the surrounding concourse, like the boding of a storm; but when threats of stoning the Magistrates

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and forcing the door were heard, Mr Wilson turned round and forbade all lawlessness. "No violence, my friends," he exclaimed, "for the Master whom I serve is the Prince of Peace." Mr Ferrier meanwhile endeavoured to dissuade the authorities from their resolution, but they were immovable, and he could only take a vain protest. At that moment a more effectual auxiliary interposed to extricate Mr Wilson from so painful a dilemma. This was John Miller, Deacon of the Glovers, Convener of the Trades, and a member of the Town Council, who coming forward offered him the use of the Glovers' Yard, at the Curfew Row, in which he might conduct divine service for the day. The offer was gladly accepted, and Mr Wilson, arm-in-arm with the Deacon, retired by the Kirkgate and Skinnergate to the Glovers' Yard, attended by the greater portion of the crowd. When the scene was over, the Magistrates gave admission to a probationer, Mr John Hally, to preach in the Middle Church.

The services in the Glovers' Yard commenced with the singing of some verses of the 55th Psalm, after which prayer was offered, and then the striking text was given out—"Let us go forth, therefore, unto him without the camp, bearing his reproach" (Hebrews chap xiii., v. 13),—from which Mr Wilson delivered a discourse of great impressiveness. On returning home, he repaired straightway to his study. "Isabella, his eldest daughter, then but twelve years of age, but who, attended by one of the servants, had witnessed the whole extraordinary scene,—a scene which she distinctly remembered as long as she lived, and often mentioned to her family with the deepest interest,—felt very curious to understand from her father the meaning of what had taken place; but not liking to ask him, she hung about the door of his apartment, till he observed her, and perceived what were her feelings and wishes. He then called her and said—'Bell, this has been a day of trial, but we have reason to be thankful that it has not been a day of shame. If any one ask you, Bell, why your father lost his kirk, you may just say, as

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good Mr Guthrie, before his death, directed my mother to say of him, if she were asked why he lost his head, "That it was in a good cause."' "*

Mr Wilson continued to preach in the Glovers'-Yard until such time as his adherents erected the place of worship in High Street, now known as the "Wilson Church." His biographer mentions that, in the course of years, it grew to be a general remark in the town of Perth, that much prosperity attended the Glovers after the seasonable grant of their yard. But Mr Wilson did not long survive the separation from the Church of his Fathers. He expired on the 8th October, 1741, at the comparatively early age of 51, and was interred in the Greyfriars, where his grave was marked by a stone inscribed with an epitaph from the pen of Mr Ralph Erskine.

Before the year 1740 was out, Deacon-Convener Miller, who had so generously assisted Mr Wilson, involved himself and his brethren of the Craft in a strange and costly *Secession* from the Town Council of Perth. This affair came about from a desire which had been fermenting in the minds of the Trades' representatives at the Council Board to break up the system of municipal government denominated "The Beautiful Order." The Town Council was composed of twenty-six members: fourteen belonging to the Guildry, and twelve to seven of the Trades,—the Weavers and Waulkers being purposely denied representation in the Council, in order that the Guild side might always possess a majority of votes. The election of Magistrates then took place at Michaelmas; the elections of Deacons on the Wednesday following; and the Convener of the Trades was chosen next day. The tactics adopted at Michaelmas, 1740, by the Trades Councillors, are clearly explained in the following minute of the Glovers:—

Perth, 29 Sept. 1740, at six o'clock afternoon.—Which day, convened in the ordinary meeting-house of the Glover Calling of Perth, in ane general Court, John Miller, pre-

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* *Memoirs of the Rev. Wm. Wilson. A.M.* By the Rev. Andrew Ferrier. Glasgow: 1830.

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sent Deacon (and Convener of the Trades), together with the remanent brethren and freemen of the Incorporation, being fifty in number: when the Deacon represented to the Calling, that for several years byegone, those of the Guild side in the Town Council have had combinations together, wherein six of them, with the Preses, oblige the rest of their number to vote in elections, and in all other matters of moment, in the Town Council, according to the minds of the majority (though never so contrary to their inclinations), which majority these seven are, the Preses always having the casting vote; and none are admitted to the Council on the Guild side but upon making such promises, and conforming to this arbitrary practice; and any who saw the unlawfulness of these promises afterwards, and did not continue to follow these engagements, at the very first election were turned out of their offices, or out of the Council: By which illegal combination, seven men, of which the Preses being one, overrule the whole Council, consisting of twenty-six members, whereof fourteen are of the Guildry and twelve of the Trades; and by virtue thereof several useful and worthy members have been frequently turned out of Council, to the great loss both of the Guildry and Trades; thereby both their privileges come to be in great hazard, and elections, with all their votes of moment, have been carried as these seven desired.

For remedying of which, he, the said Deacon, and his brethren in the Convener Court, after duly considering the above, and consulting the same, thought it their duty to join with three of the Guild side, at that day's election,—left the Council-House, and adjourned to the Tolbooth, where the last year's elections were made,—and, having chosen a Preses and Clerk, proceeded to elect Magistrates and Councillors for the ensuing year. All which the Deacon laid before the Calling, to know their approving or not approving of his conduct: And they did unanimously approve of his and the Convener Court's conduct in all the above-mentioned proceedings, also of the Magistrates chosen by them; and did, and hereby do, enact, if any process or lawsuit shall happen, any manner of way, on account of the above election, that the expense of such process shall be defrayed out of the public stock of the trade, in proportion with the Guildry and other Trades,

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and that their Boxmaster may advance money accordingly when called for. Likewise the Court ordered the thanks of the house to be returned to the Deacon and Councillor for their steady conduct and behaviour in the Town Council, which they look upon as very much conducive for supporting and vindicating the rights and privileges of the Trades and whole burgh, which was done accordingly: They also appoint this narrative, and this their Act, to be insert in the Clerk's book, and the Deacon and Clerk to sign the same.

(Signed) Jo. Miller.
James Sibbald, Clerk.

Deacon Miller and his party, forming an actual majority of the Council, had made a fatal blunder in separating themselves from the minority before proceeding to the election of Magistrates and Councillors; and so it was ultimately found. The deserted minority had remained in the Council-house, and carried through an election of their own, which they speedily applied to the Court of Session to declare the only true and legal election. The two parties contested the point in the Law Courts with great bitterness, and the case was appealed to the House of Lords; but the victory was with the minority; and the expenses amounted to upwards of £2000. The yoke of "the beautiful order," therefore, was now firmly fixed on the necks of the Trades, and endured for nearly the next hundred years.

The Rebellion of 1745 followed on the heels of these ecclesiastical and civic heart-burnings and commotions. As usual, the town of Perth yielded unresistingly to the insurgents. When the Young Chevalier came to Perth, in September, his cause was openly embraced by not a few of the citizens, most of whom, however, were afterwards called to account for their disloyalty. On the 6th February, 1746, the Duke of Cumberland reached the town, and next day authorised the appointment of Provost James Crie, ex-Provost Patrick Crie, and some of the Magistrates, Councillors, and Deacons of the Incorporated Trades (among whom was Charles Wilson, late Deacon of the Glovers), as a Committee "to act as representing the well-affected burgesses and

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inhabitants of the burgh, for preserving the peace of the burgh, serving the King's army, and other public affairs, till a legal magistracy is settled." This Committee made themselves very busy in collecting evidence against such of the townsmen as had supported or favoured the Jacobites; and the lists of the disaffected contain the names of several Glovers.

Robert Hutton, Glover, was charged with having assisted the rebels in repelling the assault on the Council House, on the night of the 30th October, King George's birth-day.

Andrew Stewart, journeyman glover, had borne arms in the rebel army, but wisely "took the benefite of the Indemnity published by Marshall Wade, and deserted into Stirling, and inlisted and now serves in the Perth Independent Company, commanded by Capt. James Campbell," in which company, William Paton, jun., glover, was Lieutenant.

Patrick M'Gilliwie, glover, was "reckoned a constant spy for the rebels, at Edinburgh, Carlisle, Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, &c., and was "imprisoned by order of General Blaikney, and it is informed against him, that on his coming to Perth, after the 30th of October last, he told he had mett severals of the town's people going from Perth to Stirling, and that if he had known why they left Perth, he would have brought them back prisoners, that they might be punisht: these were the loyal inhabitants, who had solemnized the King's birth-day: that he is suspected of viewing the Castle of Stirling; for he told the situation thereof as to the stores, cannon, &c. He also said he wisht Geordy had been below the Bridge of Stirling, and those that cutt it, when it was demolished."

Among 79 "State prisoners presently in the Tollbooth of Perth"—and how the old Jail held so many persons passes our comprehension—among these unfortunates was "Robert Archer, glover, and one of the precentors in the Parish Churches of Perth, against whom it is proved, in the precognitions taken at Perth in February and March, that he did, in the time of the

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Rebellion, read. in one of the churches, Lord Strathallan's order, on the lieges, to pay in the King's Cess, for the use of the Pretender: But the said Robert Alleges he was Imposed upon, and made believe that there was no evil in reading that paper; and every one that knows him believes he is well affected to His Majesty's person and Government."

Andrew Kippen, senr., glover, appears as one of the witnesses against a rebel citizen:—

William Lindsay, Wright, a noted Jacobite and a Disciple of Mr Lyon's [the Non-juring clergyman in Perth], served the Rebels as a Wright, and in felling and cutting down the Town of Perth's planting, and fitting the wood for palisadoes for the Rebels. Witnesses against him are John Bryson, Town Gardener; William Clunie, forrester of the Town's Inclosures; Thomas Sadler, Thomas Beveridge, William Barland, and James Campbell, his servants; and, further, Robert Ratray, milner at the Snuff-miln; Andrew Kippen, senr., glover, and William Moray, smith; James Crambie, senr., mason, are witnesses for proving—That the said Lindsay went with Strathallan, Gask, Lord Nairn, Patrick Murray of Dullary, James Bayne, and John Balfour, with Charles Robertson and William Bryson, two of the Rebell officers, from the Town to the North Inch of Perth, on Thursday, the 23d Janry last, or some other day of that week, where they viewed the whole trenches they had made on that field, by walking round the same, and stopping often to consider the same, and were heard talking of raising barterys in proper places there for their cannon. The said William Lindsay said that, so soon as the Castle of Stirling was taken, Blaikney [the Governor] and all his men should be hang'd up. Witnesses Collr Harrison & William Bennet, officer of Excise.

Old Kippen, who had some connection with the Burgh customs, also gave evidence that "Alexander Buchan, Milner, collects the customs of the Highgate Port by virtue of a sett from the Rebells." On 27th February, 1746 "the Committee appointed Andrew Kippen, sen., Glover, possessor of the Customs of the North Inch Port; Robert Duncan, Glover, possessor of the Bridge of Tay Port;" and the other possessors of

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customs, to pay in to the "late Treasurer what sums they have received of customs since Martinmas last, and to pay what they shall uplift to him weekly in time coming." Among the witnesses against Patrick M'Gilliwie, the alleged spy, were Deacon Alex. M'Ewan, Glover; John Paton, Glover, and a servant of Bailie John Miller, Glover. Deacon Wilson, Glover, was one of the parties recommended to provide for the quartering of the royal troops in the four quarters of the town. As to the Perth prisoners, it is probable that most of them, after suffering a few months' durance, were set at liberty, and became peaceful and loyal subjects of the reigning family.

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SIMON GLOVER AND HIS CRAFTSMEN.—Part 7th.

AFTER the lapse of thirty-four years, Simon Glover, still fretting under the yoke of "the Beautiful Order," again sought to shake it off. Much chronic discontent existed amongst the inhabitants of the city respecting the scarcity of Tay salmon in the local market; for the days had gone by when a salmon dinner oftener than twice or thrice a-week was spurned by apprentices and farm-servants! According to an "Account of the internal government of the Borough of Perth," professedly drawn up by a "Committee of the Guildry of Perth," and printed in the *Edinburgh Magazine* for December, 1785:—

> This town has salmon-fishings belonging to the community which yield above £700 sterling yearly. It is natural to think, that our kings, who were so liberal in their gifts to this burgh, intended them for the good and conveniency of the inhabitants. In place of that, however, the fishings, contrary to the remonstrances of the inhabitants, are always set to merchants who export the fish; and it is out of *favour only* that the people in Perth *ever* taste salmon. Modes have been pointed out how this inconveniency might be remedied without hurting the rental. The town have a variety of fishings; and by setting the *smallest* of these, with the burden of cutting and exposing so many fish daily at a certain hour, in case of that number being taken, the inhabitants would be all supplied without hurting the community. The rulers, it is true, by their influence with the tacksmen, can at any time supply themselves; and therefore they care not for the wants of their fellow-citizens.

In the year 1774, the Convener Court, combining with certain Guild brethren, resolved to contest the right of the Magistrates "to roup the Town's salmon-fishings till such time as they agreed to serve the inhabitants by exposing the salmon to sale each day in the public market." The Trades were severally solicited to join in presenting an application to the Court of Session. The Glovers agreed to concur, and "not only to insist upon salmon, but also to break 'the beautiful order;'" but on more ripely advising the

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business, at the distance of some months, when passion had cooled down, they resiled from their position, because the salmon plea was "jumbled with other matters."

The American War of Independence evoked a burst of loyal and patriotic feeling in the town of Perth. During this struggle various Highland Regiments were raised by Scottish noblemen and gentlemen for the service of the State. In the space of eighteen months, 13,586 soldiers were embodied north of the Tay. John fourth Duke of Athole, then a young man, undertook to muster a Regiment, 1000 strong, to be called the *Athole Highlanders*,—the men enlisting to serve for three years, or as long as the war lasted. To assist in filling up the Duke's ranks, the Town Council of Perth resolved to vote his Grace a certain number of volunteers; and each of the Incorporated Trades likewise agreed to procure him a couple. "The Trades' Deacons were converted into recruiting sergeants, and paraded the streets at night with flambeaux, offering high bounties, and the freedom of the trade to all who would come forward. Amongst these, the Deacon of the Glovers was most conspicuous; in his train, the Trade's officer, in the fantastic garb of a morris-dancer, with jingling bells, performed a variety of antics;" * and the requisite number of men was soon obtained. The minute-book of the Glovers details their proceedings in connection with the recruiting:—

1778, February 9.—Two volunteers ordered to be enlisted at the expense of the Incorporation, to serve his Majesty in America; and the said two volunteers shall be delivered over to His Grace the Duke of Atholl (gratis), to serve in the Regiment of Atholl Highlanders presently raising by him.

February 9.—Adam Greig, a Freeman's son, enlisted for five guineas bounty, and the Trade to enter him free of expense (at the expiry of three years) with the Incorporation.

February 9.—John Cruikshanks enlisted for five guineas of bounty, and the Calling to pay his entry with the Taylor Incorporation, after having served three years.

February 10.—The Town Council of Perth passed an

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* Penny's *Traditions of Perth*, p. 60.

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Act agreeing to admit the volunteers enlisted for the Incorporations of Perth to be burgesses of the Burgh of Perth gratis, upon their serving three years soldiers during the present American War.

February 12.—The said Adam Greig lodged eight pounds sterling, and the said John Cruikshanks six pounds sterling, to receive 5 per cent. from the Calling during the time it remains.

Finally, on the 9th March, the Glovers, in token of the estimation in which they held the Duke, admitted him as an Honorary Freeman of the Craft! The Athole Highlanders were embodied at Perth, and in June, 1778, marched to Portpatrick, and embarked for Ireland, where they remained until the conclusion of hostilities. In the spring of 1783, the Regiment was disbanded at Berwick, in terms of the original agreement. The two volunteers of the Glovers returned hale and sound to their native city, and the Incorporation honourably fulfilled the obligation undertaken at their enlistment:—

1783, May 6.—The two volunteers furnished by the Calling, during the American War, having returned, the Incorporation fulfil their promise, by entering the one a Freeman to the Taylor Incorporation, and the other a Freeman of their own Calling, and paying for them the respective dues of each Incorporation.

The morrice-dancer's dress seems to have figured once more on recruiting service in the Fair City. The 90th Regiment, or Perthshire Volunteers, locally known as the *Grey Breeks*, was raised in this county in 1794, by Mr Thomas Graham of Balgowan, afterwards the famous Lord Lynedoch. Every effort was used to induce men to enlist; and Mr Joseph Train, in a letter to Sir Walter Scott, dated in November, 1827, describing the morrice-dancer's garb belonging to the Glovers, asserts that "the last wearer of this fantastic habiliment was the present Lord Lynedoch, who frequently paraded the streets of Perth in it, as a recruiting officer, about the commencement of the last war, when raising the 90th Regiment of Foot."* This information was supplied to Sir Walter with reference to his forthcoming novel of *The Fair Maid of Perth.*

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* *The Contemporaries of Burns*, p. 286.

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The landed property of the Glover Incorporation was acquired at the following dates:—

1. The Lands of Pomarium, consisting of 5 acres, purchased on 1st April, 1642, at the price of 4500 merks Scots, or £250 sterling.
2. The Lands of Leonard's Ley, or Needless, 30 acres, purchased on 17th March, 1646.
3. The Lands of Upper Tullylumb, 50 acres, purchased on 8th April, 1682.
4. The Lands of Soutar Houses, 205 acres, purchased on 12th November, 1740, at the price of £7570 16s Scots, or £630 18s stg.
5. The Lands of St Leonard's Hall, 20 acres, and Wellsland, 10 acres, purchased on 9th April, 1742, at the price of 22,500 merks Scots, or £1250 stg.
6. The Estate of Seaside, purchased on 22d October, 1850, at the price of £25,000.

On the 27th October, 1777, the Calling resolved that their lands of Pomarium should be feued for building purposes; and in December 1778, a plan of the projected streets was ordered to be prepared. The ground was taken up in small lots, chiefly by substantial members of the Weaver Incorporation, once a flourishing craft in the town.* The first lot was feued on the 21st February,

* The Weaver Incorporation was formerly possessed of considerable property and funds, and built that great house on the north side of the South Street known as the *Weavers' Land;* but a lengthened course of bad management on the part of the office-bearers, ended in bankruptcy and the loss of everything. The time has been when a member accounted it an enviable preferment to become Deacon of the Weavers. One fortunate son of the shuttle, on being elected to that dignity, exclaimed in the fulness of his heart—"Hech, sirs! I maunna be ower proud—I'm only a mortal man when dune!" Weavers have generally been noted for shrewdness and intelligence, and a great liking for the discussion of political and social questions; and we could name several, of a past generation, in Perth, who devoted themselves to the severer studies. One old weaver, a bachelor, who dwelt by himself in a South Street garret, and died about forty years ago, was a very singular character. His earnings were scanty, and his mode of living was exceedingly parsimonious. When he made a pot of "kail," he used no other vegetables than *nettles*, which he collected in his morning walks; and his approved substitute for butcher meat was a salt herring! He wasted much of his time in philosophical pursuits. His ruling hobbies were microscopic observations and the study of the Apocalypse. He was a self-taught arithmetician and algebraist, and believed that he had correctly calculated

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1780, and the last on the 15th May, 1787—a period of seven years. One of the new streets was proposed to be called "Bartholomew Street;" but the name did not live. In 1786, the Glovers set about building a new hall in George Street. It became the only hall in town where assemblies, &c. could be held. It was fitted up temporarily as a theatre, with pit and gallery, but without boxes, and was taken, from time to time, by several good companies from Edinburgh, &c., who were well patronised. The rent charged was at the rate of £2 sterling per week. But on one occasion the house was the scene of an alarming disaster. A crowded audience had assembled to see the tragedy of *Macbeth*. The play had reached the second act, and Macbeth had entered with his "hangman's hands," and was ejaculating, as he looked on them, "This is a sorry sight!" when, lo and behold! the gallery, which was raised about ten or twelve feet, and was crammed with 300 people, suddenly came to the floor with a tremendous crash. "The scene that ensued baffles description; the appearance of the house was frightful, and in some instances ludicrous. Men and women were crawling out from amongst the broken rafters, with torn clothes; women wanting bonnets, with bleeding faces; and many, who were seriously hurt, were unable to extricate

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the periods of the outpouring of all the Vials in the Revelations! In conducting his calculations he made no use of paper, except sometimes when he ciphered upon the back of a stray hand-bill that came into his clutches; but all the walls, and even the roof of his attic domicile were literally covered with pencilled figures! He was strangely whimsical, but withal strictly temperate, punctual, and methodical in all his habits. Still, notwithstanding his penchant for prophetical interpretation, he seldom or never went to church. In another case, the subject of speculation was equally abstruse. Mr James Macfarlane, a respectable warper in Perth, who died about 1837, spent many years in the elucidation of Biblical Chronology, and ultimately gave the results of his researches to the world by publishing *A Concise System of Scripture Chronology, in accordance with the Hebrew Text:* Perth, 1834. The work, which extends to 144 pages, is prefaced by three recommendatory letters from the late Professor Adam Anderson, and Rev. Drs Esdaile and Young, Perth, who all speak highly in its favour.

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themselves. On the alarm, many of the ladies in the pit, unable to get to the door, had sprung upon the stage, where ghosts, witches, kings and queens, ladies and gentlemen, mingled together, made a motley appearance. The news of the accident soon spread through the town, and the people flocked from every quarter, every one anxious for their friends, it being rumoured that a great number were killed. The stairs became so crowded with those wanting in and others endeavouring to get out, that an alarm that the stair was giving way, created a dreadful confusion. It was reported through the town that the players had been representing the Day of Judgment, and that the fall of the gallery was a judgment on them; hence some of the Dissenting clergy took occasion to denounce theatricals as the works of the devil. Several persons got severe wounds and bruises; some had their arms, and one man, a painter, his thigh-bone broken. This man had a large family, and the manager gave him his wages during his stay in Perth; and after he left, sent supplies from Dumfries, until he was able to follow his business."* The sale of the Glovers' Hall, in 1809, caused the theatre to change its *locale.* In that year the Hall was disposed of by the Calling at the price of £2500, for the purpose of its becoming a public Coffee Room; but within less than twenty years it proved so insecure that it had to be almost wholly rebuilt in its present form as the Exchange Hall. The players were next accommodated in the old Grammar School, at the south end of St Ann's Lane, until 1820, when the theatre in Athole Street was erected. We have seen an interesting memento of the histrionic days of the Glovers' Hall, in the shape of a play-bill, printed on satin, for Friday evening, 6th December, 1805, which contains a list of the leading inns and taverns in the Fair City, at that date. Thus:—

In the course of the evening, a new song (never sung before), called The Loyal Perth Landlords' Defence

* Penny's *Traditions*, pp. 111–112.

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against Invasion; or, No Accommodation for the Emperor Bonaparte, at the following Inns, viz.:—

George,	White Bull,
Salutation,	Punch Bowl and Glasses,
Leaping Bar,	Black Lyon,
Brown's Arms,	Red Lyon,
Mason's Arms,	White Lyon,
Black Cow,	Golden Lyon,
Bull, Cow, and Dog,	Thistle and Crown,
Ship,	Nag's Head,
Cross Keys,	Highlander,
Black Bull,	Plough and Horse,
Brewer & Ale Barrel,	Anderson's Arms,
Rein Deer,	Horse and Gig,
Swan,	White Hart,
Pack Horse,	Perth Arms,
Turk's Head,	Ewe and Lamb,
Boar's Head,	Anchor,
Blue Bell,	Crown,
Cross Guns,	Horse and Traveller,
Hovel, and	The King's Arms,

By Mr Hubbard.

How many of these signs still exist? *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

When the railways began to be formed at Perth, the Incorporation made an advantageous sale to the Scottish Central Company of the portion of land at the Leonards, taken as the site for the General Station and otherwise in connection with the line. In this quarter, again, the Glovers, by feuing, laid the foundation of the New Town of Perth. As to the finances of the Incorporation, we may state that in 1808 the revenue was £770; in 1827, £990; and in 1865, £1740. The Eleemosynary Roll amounted in 1751, to £43; in 1761, to £67; 1771, £110; 1781, £162; 1791, £219; 1801, £382; 1811, £536; 1821, £429; and—to be brief—it amounted in 1865 to £349, with annuities of £486.

Up to nearly the end of last century the Glove trade in Perth continued brisk. Sometime previous to the year 1794, the number of gloves manufactured annually in Perth was from two to three thousand pairs, chiefly for the home market. "Perth-made gloves were celebrated all over the kingdom: numerous hands were employed in the cutting department, and a vast number of women earned a comfortable living by sewing

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them. Old Bailie Gray alone had seventeen men cutting gloves to keep his sewers in work: his son, Robert, for many years carried on a considerable trade after his father's death. The Glovers occupied about the whole of the shops in the Skinnergate, besides several very respectable shops in the High Street. Bailies Grant, Gray, Robertson, and Mr John Pirie were all extensive dealers in that line." The Glovers also did a great deal in the making of buckskin breeches, when such articles of attire were in the mode: and the sign-board of a Glover usually displayed a pair of breeches, which homely emblem is sculptured on some of their gravestones in the Greyfriars. The Calling, moreover, "carried on an extensive business in dressing sheep and goat skins, and employed a number of hands on their extensive premises beside the mill-lade" at Mill Street. "The goat-skins were dressed with the hair on, and sent to the London market with the sheep-skins, where they were used for knapsacks for the army. Several individuals concerned in the trade made large sums of money. An old Glover built a house on the side of the lade, where the spinning-mill stands, and put upon it as a motto—'Wha would have thought it, that skins would have bought it?'" But all these branches underwent an irremediable decline. The buckskin breeches went out with the fleeting fashion that introduced them: and even the Glove-making became extinct. The last of the operative Glovers of Perth was William Prop, of the Skinnergate, who died about 1833. His widow survived till 1846.

The membership of the Glover Incorporation is now much diminished in numbers. A list drawn up in 1868 showed 77 Freemen, and of these only 12 were resident in Perth; so that a general meeting frequently comprised no more than the Deacon, Boxmaster, and Officer! And while referring to the membership we may notice that on 17th September, 1767, Alexander Crichton was entered with the Incorporation as apprentice; his dues of entry being 100 merks and £8 Scots: and in an old List of the Brethren, this person

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is described as "the last male descendant of the *Admirable Crichton!*" Was this so? Let the genealogists tell.

But our rambling lucubrations must cease; and while apologizing for their diffuseness, we may perchance venture to cherish a hope that they will not be altogether unacceptable to readers of the *Fair Maid of Perth.*

APPENDIX.

THE SKINNERGATE.—Before the opening of the Theatre Royal in Athole Street, the Guild-Hall, the Glovers'-Hall, and the old Grammar School were successively used for the representation of Stage-plays. But a tradition has been long current that, in more remote times, the Skinnergate was the theatrical quarter. The present Model Lodging House occupies the site of "wooden lands," which in their decline came to be popularly denominated *The Brass Castle*, and were occupied by tenants of disreputable fame. On the night of the public rejoicings in celebration of the Peace of Amiens, in 1801, the mob, lacking materials for a bonfire, attacked the tumble-down castle, and, driving out its wretched inmates, soon had a huge pile of its fragments blazing at the Cross! The Castle contained one large apartment, which was said to have served as a place for dramatic performances some centuries ago. We learn from the Perth Kirk-session books that a company of players, evidently English, visited Perth in 1589; and it has been conjectured that they acted in the Brass Castle:—

> Perth, June 3, 1589. The Ministers and Elders give licence 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 unto others. Also that nothing shall be added to what is in the register of the play itself. If any one who plays shall do in the contrary, he shall be warded, and make his public repentance.

It has also been conjectured that Shakespeare was one of the number. But if Shakespeare was ever in Scotland at all, it could scarcely have been before 1601, when an English company went north to Aberdeen,

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carrying King James' recommendation with them. Mr Charles Knight was convinced that this was Shakespeare's company, and that there appears little reason to doubt that he himself accompanied them. There is, thus, "warranty to conclude that the story of Macbeth might have been suggested to Shakspere upon Scottish ground; that the accuracy displayed in the local descriptions and allusions might have been derived from a rapid personal observation; and that some of the peculiarities of his witchcraft imagery might have been found in Scottish superstitions, and more especially in those which were rife in Aberdeen at the beginning of the seventeenth century."* But did this band of players take Perth in their rounds? What a brave boast, if it could be shown that gentle Will donned the sock and buskin in the ancient street of Simon Glover and his Craftsmen!

* Knight's *Stratford Shakspere*, vol. i. p. 134.

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SPORTS AND PASTIMES—Part 1*st.*

Sing the heart-cheering pleasure of the fields,
The choice delight of heroes and of kings.
Somerville's "*Field Sports.*"

LOCATED in a Scottish county, where "the wild buck bells from ferny brake," and "the moorcock springs, on whirring wings, amang the blooming heather," one can scarce broach the enticing topic of Rural Sports, without hazarding involvement in that embittered controversy about Game Laws and Fishery Laws, their amendment or abolition, which, fomented by the selfish arts of political schemers, has been seriously threatening a war of classes. But, our present purpose being simply to string together some scattered historical notanda, illustrative of Sport and Pastime in the "Land of Cakes,"—and incidentally in Perthshire, —we shall eschew discussions which generally end in an angry muddle.

Scotland has seen a "good old time," when, although game was hedged round with the severest restrictions, the country people—vassals, hinds, and cottars—were periodically called out *en masse*, by Act of Parliament, to pursue the pleasures of the chase in its most exciting form, under pains and penalties for neglect of the summons. The poacher of that era might gratify his passion for sport, and reap profit besides, under the broad *ægis* of statute law. But a wilder beast of venerie awaited him than the antlered stag. Many parts of Caledonia were overrun with wolves, the last surviving species of savage animals which had infested the land from the pre-historic ages. Their depredations were not always confined to the flocks and herds: frequently the sparse population of the glens had to mourn over more afflicting losses; so that eventually Government was forced to grapple with the evil the best way it could. The same thing had occurred both in England and Wales. The Principality was cleared

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by the tribute of wolves' heads imposed by King Edgar—

> ——— Wise, potent, gracious prince!
> His subjects from their cruel foes he sav'd,
> And from rapacious savages their flocks:
> Cambria's proud kings (though with reluctance) paid
> Their tributary wolves; head after head,
> In full account, till the woods yield no more,
> And all the ravenous race extinct is lost.

But in England a similar result was more slowly reached, and that chiefly through the measures of Edward I. Such examples, however, were not followed by the Scottish rulers till the lupine scourge had become intolerable—though Hector Boece asserts that Dornadilla, a Scottish king, who flourished two centuries before the Christian era, enacted hunting-laws, and ordained that the killer of a wolf should have an ox for his pains! In various places houses of refuge, or "hospitals" (*Spittals* as they were called) had to be erected, to which benighted travellers might resort for protection against the prowling rout; and along an extensive tract on the north-west coast of Sutherlandshire, the wolves, when pinched with hunger, ransacked the church-yards, like the ghouls of Arabian romance, compelling the people to transfer the burial of their dead to a small island in the sea, where the restless surge preserved the inviolability of the humble sepulchres.

So matters stood in 1427, when the seventh Parliament of James I. commanded every Baron to raise his vassals four times in the year to "chase and seek the whelps of the wolves," recusants to be fined in the price of a wedder, each man, and the slayer of a wolf to be rewarded with two shillings for the head. This edict was a failure, evidently from the backwardness of the Barons to obey it. In the next reign—James II., 1457—the Sheriffs of counties were ordered to "gather the country folk three times in the year, between St Mark's Day and Lammas," in order to destroy the wolves and their cubs; and it has been conjectured that the passing of this law originated the keeping of county kennels or packs of hounds. The Sheriffs, for a considerable time, seem to have executed their commission better

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than the Barons; but at length they relaxed their exertions, and consequently the wolves again increased. Boece's *Scotorum Historiæ* was published at Paris, in 1526, and in the "Cosmography" prefixed to the work, he says, according to Archdeacon Bellenden's Doric translation—

> The wolffis are richt noysum to the tame bestial in all pairts of Scotland, except ane pairt thairof named Glenmore; in quhilk the tame bestial gets lytill damage of wild bestial, especially of toddis. For ilk hous nurises ane young todd certane days, and mengis the fleshe thairof after it be slane, with sic meit as they give to thair fowlis or uther small beistis, and sae mony as eits of this meit ar preservit twa months after fra ony damage be the toddis, for toddis will gust na fleshe that gusts of thair ain kynd; and be their bot ane beist or fowl that has nocht gustit of this meit, the todd will chais it out amang ane thousand.

And having quoted this amusing passage, we shall add two old traditions from a Perthshire source, with which some of our readers, we daresay, are not acquainted. We allude to *A Description of the Beauties of Edinample and Lochearnhead*, a tract bearing upon the title-page to have been written by a native of that quarter, Angus M'Diarmid by name, which appeared in 1815, with a dedication to the Earl of Breadalbane. Angus was a thorough Child of the Mist,—a trusty gillie on the moors,—and a genius to boot. He appears to have acquired just sufficient knowledge of the English language to enable him to use an English dictionary, from the study of which his untutored mind formed a style of composition which might almost be supposed to have been Carlyle's model in writing his incomprehensible *Latter-day Pamphlets.* The *Description* was reprinted at Aberfeldy in 1841, and we are rather surprised that no new edition has since been issued, the tract being unique, as the ostensible production of an untaught Highlander striving to express his thoughts in iterary English:—

> In the ancient time, when the woods was more copious repletion both on the hills and on the level than it is at present, particular the oaks, which woods was a habitation to voracious wild animals, such as wolfs, which animals would slipped imperceptibly to houses, eluding observation, when the people at the field acting in their domestic ma-

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nagement. A certain man, after being disengaged of his dies employment, upon his return to his house, he directed his eyes through the window to meet hypochondrical discovery of his youngest child on one side of the fire, and the wolf on the other side. Upon the child to have an idea of being one of his father's dogs, he uttered some merriment expression to him, as gaiety laughter, at which his father's bowels did yearn over him observing his endearment amorous child at the hazard of being swallowed up or tear in pieces by that voracious animal; but as Providence meant otherwise for him, he drew his bow adventure, pointing to the said animal, with much anxiety how to screen his child from being injured or molested by the arrow: at which point he finished the above animal.

About the same time, the cattle of Glendochard inhabitants has been taken away by violence or pillage, by barbarous men of incoherent transactions. At that depredation, a most excellent bull break out from the force of the ravisher; which bull shelter himself in a vacant hovel, laying a distant from the rest of the houses; he was much troubled by one of the wolfs already mentioned, for which he was laying between the doorposts holding his head out to fence with that animal,—the said combat has been observed by two men going that way. Upon some emergent occasion, the said men came on the day following with bows and arrows, and placed themselves on the housetop where the said bull sheltered himself, waiting on the animal's coming. Upon his first discovery, the men persuaded that he was of greater stature or size than his usual circumference, they remarked two of the wolfs close together with a cross stick in their mouth. When they arrive to the bull, they yoked together on him; the men drew their bows, and killed them on the spot. When they descended off the housetop to look at them, they found one of them blind. It was the purpose of the other to lead the blind one by the stick, to acquire his assistance to finish the said bull, being the one had practical accustomed of assaying to kill him himself.

The story of the child and the wolf recals to mind the Hon. William Robert Spencer's beautiful ballad, in which the hound Gelert, "the flower of all his race," saves the infant son of Llewelyn, and perishes by the rash hand of his master:—

That day Llewelyn little loved
  The chase of hart and hare;
And scant and poor the booty proved,
  For Gelert was not there.

Unpleased, Llewelyn homeward hied,
  When, near the portal seat,
His truant Gelert he espied,
  Bounding his lord to greet.

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But when he gained his castle door,
  Aghast the chieftain stood;
The hound all o'er was smeared with gore;
  His lips, his fangs, ran blood.

Llewelyn gazed with fierce surprise;
  Unused such looks to meet,
His favourite checked his joyful guise,
  And crouched, and licked his feet.

Onward, in haste, Llewelyn passed,
  And on went Gelert, too;
And still, where'er his eyes he cast,
  Fresh blood-gouts shocked his view.

O'erturned his infant's bed he found,
  With blood-stained covert rent;
And all around the walls and ground
  With recent blood besprent.

He called his child—no voice replied—
  He searched with terror wild;
Blood, blood he found on every side,
But nowhere found his child.

"Hell-hound! my child's by thee devoured!"
  The frantic father cried;
And to the hilt his vengeful sword
  He plunged in Gelert's side.

His suppliant looks, as prone he fell,
  No pity could impart;
But still his Gelert's dying yell
  Passed heavy o'er his heart.

Aroused by Gelert's dying yell,
  Some slumberer wakened nigh;
What words the parent's joy could tell
  To hear his infant's cry!

Concealed beneath a tumbled heap,
  His hurried search had missed,
All glowing from his rosy sleep,
  The cherub boy he kissed.

Nor scathe had he, nor harm, nor dread;
  But, the same couch beneath,
Lay a gaunt wolf, all torn and dead,
  Tremendous still in death.

Ah, what was then Llewelyn's pain!
  For now the truth was clear;
His gallant hound the wolf had slain
  To save Llewelyn's heir:

Vain, vain was all Llewelyn's wo;
  "Best of thy kind, adieu!
The frantic blow which laid thee low
  This heart shall ever rue."

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In the reign of Mary Queen of Scots, the wolf-plague, which had been gradually coming to a crisis, suddenly spread unexampled devastation through the country. A system of the most vigorous repression was adopted; forests in Rannoch and Lochaber were burned down, to prevent harbourage of the ravagers; and so heavy was the slaughter that only a few stragglers were left skulking among the Highland wastes and mountains. The breed, however, did not become extinct for more than another century. In one of the Sutherland account-books is an entry, under date, 1621, of £6 13s 4d Scots being paid "for the killing of ane wolff, and that according to the Acts of the countrey." Various districts far apart retain each its legend of the death of the last wolf. Sir Ewen Cameron, the valorous Chief of Lochiel, who defied Cromwell's power, and fought on Dundee's side at Killiecrankie, killed the last wolf in his country, in 1680; and another was slain about the same time, in Forfarshire, by a scion of the house of Ogilvy. It is said that two wolves, "the last seen in Scotland," in that century, were chased from the wood of Trowan, near Glenturret, and slain at some distance. But there is a respectable tradition which goes to prove that the last wolf in Scotland existed so late as 1743, when it was shot, on the banks of the Findhorn, by a famous Highland hunter named MacQueen, a few hours after it had throttled two children on the hills.

Whilst Government was hounding out the peasantry to the wolf-hunt, it was waging war against the popular pastimes of football and golf. The crusade was instigated by the highest patriotic motives. During their oft-renewed strife with England, the Scots found good cause to dread the superiority of their "auld enemies" in the use of the long bow; and yet this was a weapon which the Lowland infantry persistently neglected for the spear. It was the terribly-incessant "arrowy shower" of the English that routed the Scottish army at Halidon Hill—a scene of ruin and death which the dramatic page of Sir Walter has so vividly depicted :

King Edward.—See it descending now, the fatal hail-shower,

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The storm of England's wrath—sure, swift, resistless,
Which no mail-coat can brook. Brave English hearts!
How close they shoot together!—as one eye
Had aim'd five thousand shafts—as if one hand
Had loosed five thousand bow-strings!
Percy.—The thick volley
Darkens the air, and hides the sun from us.
King Edward.—It falls on those shall see the sun no more.
The winged, the resistless plague is with them.
How their vex'd host is reeling to and fro,
Like the chafed whale with fifty lances in him!
They do not see, and cannot shun the wound.
The storm is viewless, as death's sable wing,
Unerring as his scythe.
Percy.—Horses and riders are going down together.
'Tis almost pity to see nobles fall,
And by a peasant's arrow.

But the Lowland Scots never took kindly to the bow, as a weapon of warfare; and history relates what their huddled masses of spearmen suffered at Flodden, where "fell England's arrow-flight like rain." In the Highlands, however, the bow found favour with the Clan-warriors, who brought it into the field of battle after the middle of the seventeenth century. The Highland bows were made of the yews of Glenure, which were esteemed the best for the purpose; the shafts were fabricated of the wood of Esragoin forest, in Lorn, and feathered with the plumage of the eagle. Highland archers often displayed an accuracy in transfixing the stag in the height of his headlong career which would have done honour to the merry men of Sherwood. When Charles I. was mustering soldiers for the French war, in 1627, he requested the Laird of Glenorchy, *Donacha dhu na curich*—Black Duncan of the Cowl—an ancestor of the house of Breadalbane—to assist in levying a body of two hundred Celtic archers, having heard great praise of their skill. When the same monarch visited Scotland for his coronation, in June 1633, the following missive was despatched to Sir Colin Campbell of Glenorchy, son of Black Duncan, in reference to his Majesty's intended progress to Perth, which city he entered, in royal state, on the 8th July:—

To our richt traist freind the Laird of Glenurquhe.

After our very hartlie commendatiouns. Whereas the

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king's maiestie is most solicite and desyrous that the tyme of his being at Perth there may be a show and mustour mad of hielandmen, in thair countrie habite and best order, for the better performance quherof these ar to intreate and desyre you to single owt and conveene a nomber of your freinds followers and dependers, men personable for stature, and in thair best array and equipage, with trews, bowes, dorloches, and others thair ordinarie weapouns and furniture, and to send thame to the said burgh of Perth upon Mononday the eight day of Julii nixt, quhereby his Maiestie may receave contentment, the countrie credite, and yourselffe thanks; and so looking for your precise keeping of this dyet in maner foresaid, we committ you to God. Frome Halyrudhous the xxix day of Junij 1633. Your verie good freinds,

G. Kinnoul, *Cancellarius.*
Morton.
Wigtoun, Tullibardin, Lauderdale, Meluill.

It is to be presumed that the party of tartaned archers duly appeared at the pageants in the Fair City. At the commencement of the Civil War in England, the Earl of Essex issued a precept, dated in November 1643, for stirring up all well-affected people by benevolence towards the raising of a company of archers for the service of the Parliament. The slender force with which Montrose won the battle of Tibbermuir included a body of Highland archers; and doubtless the bow played its part on the other fields of his fame. It was used in a conflict between the Clans of Breadalbane and Glencoe, after the Restoration: and about 1664, Lochiel had 300 archers in the battle which he fought with the Macintoshes.

In the fifteenth century the Scottish Government strove with commendable energy to promote the toxophilite art amongst the people; and as the Lowlanders were passionately fond of football and golf, it was determined to suppress these sports in the interest of the valued bow. Here, again, England afforded a precedent—Edward III. having issued an edict in 1349 prohibitory of football and some other amusements, with a similar purpose in view. Accordingly, in 1424, when James I. had just returned from his protracted captivity at Windsor, where he wooed and won his fair and faithful consort, a statute was passed, enacting that "Na man play at the fute-ball, under the paine of fiftie shil

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lings;" and another that "all men busk them to be archers fra they be twelve yeir of age," under the penalty of "a wedder a man," and that bow-butts or targets be set up beside every parish kirk. The young monarch, richly endowed with poetic genius, invoked the powers of satire in support of law; and his poem of "Christ's Kirk on the Green" ridicules with great force of humour the unskilfulness of his subjects in shooting with the bow. When strife broke out in that mirthful assemblage, one fellow shot an arrow at his enemy but missed him by "ane aikerbraid:" a second drew his bow so furiously that it flew in flinders: and another—

> 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 myle beyond ane myre;
> Then bow and bag fra him he keist,
> And fled as ferrs as fyre
> Of flint,
> At Christis Kirk of the Greene that day.

James II., in 1457, instituted provincial military musters, called Weaponschawings, and the universal practice of archery, and ordered "that the fute-ball and golfe be utterly cried downe and not to be used." Again, in 1491, James IV. denounced "fute-ball, golfe, or other sik unprofitable sports," and renewed the previous acts in favour of archery. Despite, however, the national importance of the object, the Lowland Scots were very slack in their obedience. Yet, in the year 1534, at a match between several Scottish and English bowmen, the former bore the bell! This event is detailed with great precision by Lindsay of Pitscottie in his *Chronicles of Scotland.* The Lord William Howard had reached Scotland, as envoy from Henry VIII., bringing with him the Order of the Garter with which to invest James V. who was then two and twenty. In Howard's train were three-score horsemen, "wailled," or picked, "gentlemen for all kynd of pastime, as schotting, louping, wrastling, runing, and casting of the stone." The Scots competed with, and almost always beat them;

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which so mortified Margaret, the Queen Dowager of Scotland, King Henry's sister, that, as Pitscottie relates—

Shoe tuik ane waigeour of archerie vpoun the Inglishmanis handis, contrair the King hir sone, and any half dozoun Scottismen, either noblmen, gentlmen, or yeamanes, that so many Inglisch men sould schott againes them at riveris, buttis, or prick-bonnett. The King, heiring of this bonspeill of his mother, was weill content. So thair was laid an hundreth crounes and ane tun of wyne pandit on everie syd. The ground was chosin in St. Androis; the Scottis archeris was thrie landit gentlmen and thrie yeamanes, to witt, David Weimes of that ilk, David Arnott of that ilk, and Mr Johne Wedderburne, viccar of Dundie. The yeamanes was Johne Thomsone in Leith, Stevin Tabroner, and Alexander Baillie, who was ane pyper, and schott vondrous neir, and wan the vaigour from the Inglismen; and thairefter went in to the toun, and made ane banquett to the king and the queine, and the Inglisch ambassadour, with the wholl tuo hundreth crounes, and the tuo tunes of wyne. Albeit, that the Inglismen confessed that the Scottismen sauld have been fried of the payment of that banqueitt, quhilk was so gorgeous that it was of no les awaill than the said gold and wyne extended to.

Strangely enough, at the very juncture when firearms were beginning to change the whole system of warfare, the English Government evinced much anxiety for the encouragement of archery, and resuscitated the old mandates against games supposed to be inimical thereto. Moreover, it was in 1545, that Roger Ascham published his *Toxophilus*, arguing "that styll, according to the oulde wont of England, youth should use" the bow "for the most honest pastyme in peace, that men myght handle it as a moost sure weapon in warre." But we need not smile at Ascham's advocacy of what the musket was fast relegating to the category of the obsolete in military equipment, when we find a notable general of last century—John, Earl of Craufurd—gravely recommending the adoption of archery in the British army as "an advantage to these nations." Benjamin Franklin, too, advocated the same thing, in a letter to Major General Lee, dated 11th February, 1776, upon six reasons:—

1. Because a man may shoot as truly with a bow as with a common musket.

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2. He can discharge four arrows in the time of charging and discharging one bullet.

3. His object is not taken from his view by the smoke of his own side.

4. A flight of arrows seen coming upon them terrifies and disturbs the enemy's attention to his business.

5. An arrow sticking in any part of a man, puts him *hors de combat* till it is extracted.

6. Bows and arrows are more easily provided everywhere than muskets and ammunition.

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SPORTS AND PASTIMES.—Part 2d.

——Some, with many a merry shout,
In riot, revelry, and rout,
Pursued the foot-ball play.
—*Lay of the Last Minstrel.*

It is, indeed, a goodly sight to see
Those red-coat champions marshalled for the fray,
Driving the ball o'er bunker, rut, and lea,
And clearing, with impetuous "hove," the way,
Enlivening still the game with laugh and say,
Whilst trotting club-men follow fast behind,
Prepared with ready hand the *tees* to lay,
With nicest eye the devious ball to find,
And of the going game each player to remind.
—*Lines on Golf.*

Acts of Parliament evidently failed to put down the proscribed games of football and golf in Scotland: or, at least, when the legislative pressure was withdrawn on the general introduction of fire-arms, these pastimes experienced a great revival. Football had been a Sunday sport before the Reformation, and half a century after that event the Kirk was still scandalized by this species of Sabbath profanation. An example from the Perth Kirk Session Books may be quoted:—

1591–2, February 21. Whilk day compeared John Pitscotty, apparand (heir) of Luncarty, Finlay Eviot, servitor to the Laird of Balhousie, John Grieve, Patrick Stiell, Alexander Wilson, Thomas Wilson, *alias* Webster, Alexander Wilson younger, Alexander Ramsay, John Reid, John Robertson, Robert Miller, and confessed that on the Sunday of the Fast, in time of preaching, afternoon, they were playing at foot-ball in the Meadow Inch of the Muirtown, and that the same was an offence, therefore they were ordained on Sunday next to make their repentance for break of the Sabbath.

We must also remember, as a proof of the former prevalence of the game, that several, if not all, of the Incorporated Trades of Perth, exacted a payment for football as part of the entry money of every new member, which is still leviable, although its application has been altered. Football was the chief pastime on the Border, where it often occasioned broil and bloodshed amongst its moss-trooping patrons. "Such games,"

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says Pitcairn, in his *Criminal Trials*, "were often taken advantage of for the perpetration of deeds of violence; at least, they were frequently terminated by violence and bloodshed, through the feuds of neighbouring clans or districts." One Sunday, in the month of June, 1600, Sir John Carmichael of that Ilk, Warden of the Middle Marches of Scotland, was present at a great football match, and on his return home was waylaid and murdered by a party of Armstrongs, who bore him a deadly grudge. On another day, a gathering of the Scottish Borderers, at the town of Kelso, held ostensibly for a friendly game at football, became the prelude to a marauding excursion into England. The mischief attendant on the boisterous game, in a rude and reckless age, has been aptly characterised in a quatrain preserved in the Maitland MS:—

> Brissit brawnis, and brokin banis,
> Stryf, discorde, and waistit wanis,
> Cruikit in eld, syn halt with all,
> Thes ar the bewties of the fute-ball.

The tendency to cause personal injury and general disorder, which was inherent in the play itself, must have gradually helped to loosen its hold as gentler manners and habits of life advanced. *Tempora mutantur*—taste, fashion, everything changes: and the rough sport, against which prohibitory statutes had been launched in vain, fell into neglect long after these had become food for the moths. But down to somewhat recent dates, annual matches were played at various places throughout Scotland, on Shrove Tuesday or Fastren's E'en. At Fisherrow, in the parish of Inveresk, Midlothian, the contest lay between the married and unmarried *fish-women*, and it is said that "the former were always victorious!" A curious game of ball was played on Fastren's E'en, at the ancient village of Scone, in Perthshire, between the Benedicts and the Bachelors, the wild turmoil of which gave rise to the significant proverb—"A' is fair at the Ba' o' Scone." The writer of the old statistical account of Scone thus speaks of the competition:—

Every year on Shrove Tuesday, the bachelors and mar-

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ried men drew themselves up at the Cross of Scone on opposite sides. A ball was then thrown up, and they played from 2 o'clock till sunset. The game was this. He who, at any time, got the ball into his hands, ran with it till overtaken by one of the opposite party, and then, if he could shake himself loose from those on the opposite side who seized him, he ran on: if not, he threw the ball from him, unless it was wrested from him by the other party; but no person was allowed to kick it. The object of the married men was to hang it, *i.e.*, to put it three times into a small hole in the moor, the *dool* or limit on the one hand; that of the bachelors was to drown it, *i.e.*, to dip it three times into a deep place in the river, the limit on the other. The party who could effect either of these objects won the game. But, if neither party won, the ball was cut into two equal parts at sunset. In the course of the play one might always see some scene of violence between the parties; but, as the proverb of this part of the country expresses it, *all was fair at the ball of Scone.*

This custom is supposed to have had its origin in the days of chivalry. An Italian, it is said, came into this part of the country, challenging all the parishes, under a certain penalty in case of declining his challenge. All the parishes declined the challenge excepting Scone, which beat the foreigner; and in commemoration of this gallant action the game was instituted.

Whilst the custom continued, every man in the parish, the gentry not excepted, was obliged to turn out and support the side to which he belonged; and the person who neglected to do his part on that occasion was fined; but the custom being attended with certain inconveniences, was abolished a few years ago.*

In a poem evincing much of the broad humour and manners-painting genius of our first James, we find the Rev. John Skinner, author of "Tullochgorum," commemorating the "Christmas Ba'ing" at Monymusk, Aberdeenshire:—

> The hurry-burry now began,
> Was right weel worth the seeing,
> Wi' routs and raps frae man to man,
> Some getting, and some gieing;
> And a' the tricks of fit and han',
> That ever was in being;
> Sometimes the ba' a yirdlins ran,
> Sometimes in air was fleeing,
> Fu' heigh that day.
>
> * * * * * * *
>
> Has ne'er in Monymuss been seen
> Sae mony weel-beft skins:
> Of a' the bawmen there was nane

* Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. 18 (1796), p. 88.

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But had twa bleedy shins.
Wi' strenzied shouders mony ane
Dree'd penance for their sins;
And what was warst, scoup'd hame at e'en,
May be to hungry inns,
And cauld that day.

In most cases, these old customs have disappeared. At the present day, football numbers comparatively few admirers in Scotland, and chiefly maintains its place at the two Universities of Glasgow and St Andrews,—the former holding a position in relation to the game north of the Tweed similar to that of Rugby School as regards England. The English people have a far greater liking to the game than their northern neighbours: and it is a singular fact that, even in the time of the poet Gay, the London apprentices, always a roystering fraternity, were in the constant habit of playing at football along the Strand, although there were then open fields in the vicinity, to which they could have betaken themselves, instead of confusing and obstructing a great metropolitan thoroughfare. Gay's *Trivia*; *or*, *The Art of Walking the Streets of London*, describes the scene :—

Where Covent-Garden's famous temple stands,
That boasts the work of Jones' immortal hands;
Columns with plain magnificence appear,
And graceful porches lead along the square:
Here oft my course I bend, when lo! from far,
I spy the furies of the football war:
The 'prentice quits his shop, to join the crew,
Encreasing crowds the flying game pursue.
Thus, as you roll the ball o'er snowy ground,
The gathering globe augments with ev'ry round.
But whither shall I run? the throng draws nigh.
The ball now skims the street, now soars on high;
The dext'rous glazier strong returns the bound,
And gingling sashes on the penthouse sound.

Equally odd,—the game of cricket was then played by the 'prentices under the porches of Covent Garden; and women ran smock-races in Pall-Mall!

It is related that sometime in the seventeenth century, the minister of Blairgowrie was a Mr John Ross, a gentleman of unwonted muscular strength, which he often exercised in seeking to restrain his parishioners from the evil of their ways, as he was always ready

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with a cuff or a blow to enforce his precepts and admonitions. The young men of the parish were fond of playing at the football on the Sabbaths between the forenoon and afternoon diets of worship, heedless of the stern dehortations of their worthy pastor. One Sunday, Mr Ross suddenly appeared at the beginning of the game, and sticking his staff upright in the ground, divested himself of his coat, which he hung upon it, saying—"Stand you there, as minister o' Blair, while I, John Ross, get a game at the ba'!" To the amazement of the players, he immediately mingled in the contest; but instead of kicking the ball, he struck right and left with his heavy boots, until he sent one fellow after another limping out of the *melee*, and in a few minutes there was nobody in the field to oppose him. Invariably after this, when the minister came to the play-ground, the game was stopped, and in the end Sabbath football was abandoned.*

Golf seems to have become part of the athletic exercises taught at Scottish parochial schools and colleges immediately after the Reformation. The fascinating ecclesiastical diarist, James Melvill, tells us that, at Montrose, in the "happie and golden tyme" of his boyhood—about 1566—he and his schoolmates "were teached" by their master "to handle the bow for archerie, the club for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to swoom, to warsell, to preve pratticks, everie ane haiffing his matche and andagonist bathe in our lessons and play." When he went to St Andrews, he says—"For archerie and goff, I had bow, arrose, glub and bals." In 1627, the young James Graham, afterwards the great Marquis of Montrose, entered as a student in the same university, and soon shono as an adept in golf, archery, &c. His accounts of expenditure comprise many items such as the following:—

The 19th of May for two Golf balls to my Lord 10 sh:
Item, to James Pett, for furnishing my lord
in bows, arrows, and clubs that year ...... 7 lib. 10 sh:
Nov. eftirnoon, for my Lord's loss at the Golfe 10 sh:

* *Rambles in Forfarshire.* By James Myles. Dundee: 1850. (P. 209.)

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Item, for balls in the Tennis Court at Leith ... 16 sh:
Item, for 2 Golf balls, my Lord going to the Golf there ... ... 10 sh:

It is impossible to say whether golf was ever popular throughout the lowlands. At all events, it has been localised time out of mind in those east-coast provinces which alone possess the most suitable ground for its practice. But there is no reason to consider golf as being an exclusively Scottish game. It was known, in some fashion or other, to the ancient Romans. With them the ball (which was made of leather stuffed with feathers) was termed *paganica*, because the peasantry were fond of the amusement. Strutt's researches prove that golf was played in England long ago, though its recent revival in that quarter of the island has been taken for its original introduction.

In the reign of Edward III. the Latin name *cambuca* was applied to this pastime; and it derived the denomination, no doubt, from the crooked club or bat with which it was played; the bat was also called a bandy, from its being bent, and hence the game itself is frequently written in English bandy-ball.

It should seem that goff was a fashionable game among the nobility at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and it was one of the exercises with which Prince Henry, eldest son to James I., occasionally amused himself, as we learn from the following anecdote recorded by a person who was present: "At another time playing at goff, a play not unlike to pale-maille, whilst his schoolmaster stood talking with another, and marked not his highness warning him to stand farther off, the prince thinking he had gone aside, lifted up his goff club to strike the ball: meantyme one standing by said to him, 'beware that you hit not master Newton:' wherewith he drawing back his hand, said, 'Had I done so, I had but paid my debt.'"

A pastime called stow-ball is frequently mentioned by the writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which, I presume, was a species of goff, at least it appears to have been played with the same kind of ball. In Littleton's Latin and English Dictionary, under the word *paganica*, the golf-ball and the stow-ball are the same.*

On 4th April, 1603, James VI. conferred the appointment of "Mr Fledger, Bower, Club-maker, and Speirmaker to his Hienes, als weill for gayme as weir," on

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* Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes of the People of England.* (Hone's edition), p. 102.

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William Mayne, Bower and Burgess of Edinburgh, during all the days of his lifetime. Afterwards, in 1618, his Majesty, "understanding that thair is no small quantitie of gold and silver transported zeirlie out of his Hienes' kingdome of Scotland for bying of golf ballis, usit in that kingdome for recreatioun of his Majestie's subjectis, and his Hienes being earnestlie dealt with by James Melvill, in favours of Williame Bervick and his associate, who onlie makis, or can mak golf ballis within the said kingdome for the present, and were the inbringeris off the said trade thair:" and seeing that the said three parties undertook "to furnische the said kingdome with better golf ballis, and at ane moir easie rate then have been sauld there these manie zeiris bypast," the king granted them a patent for the native manufacture of these articles for the space of twenty-one years, to the exclusion of all other dealers, under the condition that "the saids patentaris exceid not the pryce of four schillingis money of this realme for everie ane of the saidis golfe ballis as for the pryce thairof;" and power was given "to the said James, by himself, his deputies, and servantis, in his name, to seirch, seik, and apprehend all sik golf ballis as sal be maid or sauld within his Hienes said kingdome vtherways then according to the trew meaning of his Majestie's grant, and to eschiet the saymn." This letter of patent is dated at Salisbury, 5th August, 1618.

The Kirk-Session records of Perth bear witness that Golf had its share with Football and other out-door games in promoting Sabbath desecration :—

1589, October 6.—Forasmeikle as at the playing of the kylles [the nine pins] in the North and South Inches, the Sabbath is broken, and God's holy Name profaned, ordains the Bailies to cause break them, and note their names that play at them, and give them in to the Assembly ilk Monday, that they may be punished.

1599, November 19.—John Gardner, James Bowman, Lawrence Chalmers, and Lawrence Cudbert, young boys, confess that they were playing at the Golf in the North Inch, in time of the preaching after noon on the Sabbath. The Session rebuked them, and admonished them to resort to the hearing of the Word diligently on the Sabbath in time coming, which they promised to do.

1604, January 2.—The visitors report that good order was

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kept the last Sabbath, except that they found some young boys playing at the gowf in the North Inch in the time of preaching afternoon, who were warned then by the officiars to compear before the Session this day. Compear Robert Robertson, William Stenis, Andrew Donaldson, Alexander Neving, Adam Paul, Robert Meling, all warned to this day, who were convicted of profaning the Lord's Sabbath by absenting themselves from hearing of the Word, and playing at the gowf in time of preaching; and therefore the Session ordained, first, Robert Robertson, who was ringleader to the rest, to pay an merk to the poor, and, secondly, ordains him and the rest to compear the next Sabbath into the place of repentance, there to declare their repentance in the presence of the whole congregation.

Kings have been the enemies of golf, and kings have been its eager patrons. Both Charles I. and James II. enjoyed the pastime in their Scottish kingdom. During the former monarch's visit to Edinburgh, in 1641, he frequently played golf on the Links of Leith with his Scottish courtiers, most of whom, though loaded with his favours, were secretly disloyal to his cause. In the middle of a busy game, Charles received news of the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion. The club dropped from his hand, and, calling his coach, he drove back to the city, whence he hastened his departure to the south. James II., while Duke of York, and resident in Holyrood Palace as Royal Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, wielded the club with apparent zest on the breezy links, and by a show of affability, which was perhaps foreign to his narrow, morose nature, acquired much reputation with the populace. It is said that the Duke, on one occasion, had a match with two English noblemen, for heavy stakes, when he assumed as his partner a poor cobbler, but famous golfer, named John Paterson, along with whom he won the victory. The skilful son of St Crispin was presented with the full amount of the stakes, which enabled him to build for himself a substantial dwelling-house in the Canongate of Edinburgh, and the celebrated Jacobite wit, Dr Pitcairn, furnished it with a Latin over-door inscription to perpetuate the owner's name and fame. The *Caledonian Mercury* of April 6, 1724, reported "a solemn match at golf," which was played on Leith Links, for twenty guineas, between the Hon. Alexander Elphin-

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stone, one of the sons of Lord Balmerino (and younger brother of the Lord Balmerino, who lost his head on Tower Hill in 1746), and the notorious Captain John Porteous of the Edinburgh Town Guard. It attracted a very numerous and aristocratic assemblage of spectators, including the Duke of Hamilton and the Earl of Morton. The match was won by Mr Elphinstone. Ten years thence he fought a duel with a Lieutenant Swift on the same spot, and killed him; and we know what fate overtook Porteous after the lapse of a dozen of years.

Many eminent Scotsmen have been keen votaries of golf. President Forbes, of Culloden, notes in his Journal of date 1st November, 1728:—"This day, after a very hard pull, I got the better of my son at the gouf on Musselburgh Links. If he was as good at any other thing as he is at that, there would be some hopes of him." The President was so ardent a golfer that he was known sometimes to take a turn of the Links of Leith in the dead of winter, when they were sheeted with snow and ice. Nor was he singular in his enthusiasm. Stories are told of an "Auld Reekie" wight, who frequently prolonged his rounds of Bruntsfield Links till night overtook him, when he would continue the game, on a circumscribed scale, by the feeble aid of a lantern; and his neglected spouse strove in vain to shame him home by sending him sometimes his supper and sometimes his nightcap! The fishwives of Fisherrow, already mentioned, who indulged once a year in football, used to recreate themselves at golf on particular holidays! Their well-known parish minister, that "shrewd auld carle" (as Sir Walter Scott called him), the Rev. Dr Carlyle of Inveresk, was a crack golfer in his day, and when in London, in 1758, astonished the Cockneys with his skill. This, as we learn from his *Autobiography*, was on his visit to Garrick's house, in company with Dr Robertson, John Home, and some other gentlemen.

Garrick was so friendly to John Home, that he gave a dinner to his friends and companions, at his house at

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Hampton, which he did but seldom. He had told us to bring golf clubs and balls, that we might play at that game at Molesly Hurst. We accordingly set out in good time, six of us in a landau. As we passed through Kensington, the Coldstream Regiment were changing guard, and, on seeing our clubs, they gave us three cheers in honour of a diversion peculiar to Scotland: so much does the remembrance of one's native country dilate the heart, when one has been some time absent. The same sentiment made us open our purses, and give our countrymen wherewithal to drink the "Land o' Cakes." Garrick met us by the way, so impatient he seemed to be for his company.

. . . .

Immediately after we arrived, we crossed the river to the golfing ground, which was very good. None of the company could play but John Home and myself, and Parson Black, from Aberdeen. . . . .

Garrick had built a handsome temple, with a statue of Shakespeare in it, in his lower garden, on the banks of the Thames, which was separated from the upper one by a high-road, under which there was an archway which united the two gardens. Garrick, in compliment to Home, had ordered the wine to be carried to this temple, where we were to drink it. under the shade of the copy of that statue to which Home had addressed his pathetic verses on the rejection of his play. The poet and the actor were equally gay, and well pleased with each other, on this occasion, with much respect on the one hand, and a total oblivion of animosity on the other; for vanity is a passion that is easy to be entreated, and unites freely with all the best affections. Having observed a green mount in the garden, opposite the archway, I said to our landlord, that while the servants were preparing the collation in the temple, I would surprise him with a stroke at the golf, as I should drive a ball through his archway into the Thames once in three strokes. I had measured the distance with my eye in walking about the garden, and accordingly, at the second stroke, made the ball alight in the mouth of the archway, and roll down the green slope into the river. This was so dexterous that he was quite surprised, and begged the club of me by which such a feat had been performed. We passed a very agreeable afternoon; and it is hard to say which were happier, the landlord and landlady, or the guests.

The Edinburgh Company of Golfers was formed, it is believed, before 1744, in which year the city presented them with a silver club, to be played for annually. At St Andrews the first Golfing Society or Club was instituted in 1754. The Royal Perth Golfing Society had a much later origin—namely, on 5th April, 1824; but, of course, the game has flourished in the Fair City for ages; and, according to tradition, the Perth golfers at

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one time kept their clubs in an ancient house at the north-west corner of the Watergate, called the *House* or *Castle of the Green*, and afterwards Balhousie Castle was the repository.

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SPORTS AND PASTIMES.—Part 3d.

Now like themselves again the archers raise
The Bow, in brave array, and claim our lays.
Allan Ramsay.

The statutes for the promotion of archery habituated the Low-country Scots to the use of the bow: and though the weapon seemed unadapted to their military genius, and they, in general, never attained such proficiency with it as distinguished the countrymen of Robin Hood and Little John, yet after its supersedence in warfare, it was voluntarily retained throughout Scotland for purposes of recreation. It was much in vogue, during the earlier years of the seventeenth century, among the better classes of society: and King James' Declaration of Sports, which was promulgated at Edinburgh in June, 1618, included archery among the "lawful recreations of the people" on Sundays. In this way the bow-butts, which had been set up at every rural parish kirk and in the green fields adjoining the towns, still continued serviceable. The civic authorities of Perth had formerly appropriated, for the toxopholite exercises of the citizens, an ample area of ground, lying between the present Glasgow Road and the south side of the upper High Street from about opposite Paul Street to Clayholes. This level space was called indifferently the Bow-butts and the Playfield. But afterwards a portion of the lands on the north side of the town, called those of the Gilten Arbour, belonging to the Dominican Monastery, was sought to be acquired for the like uses. As it happened, the ghostly fathers of the Blackfriars were living on bad terms with the town's-folks, and the latter put forth their hands and took forcible possession of what they had coveted. On the 19th of July, 1535, James V. addressed a letter to William, Lord Ruthven, Sheriff of Perthshire, directing him to "do justice" to the Black Friars, in opposition to the Magistrates and

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Town Council, who had illegally seized "certain crofts and pieces of land," near the Monastery, and had erected bow-butts on part thereof called the *Gilded Herbar*, and cast down the boundary dykes. The Dominican Prior and his Convent protested, on the 16th of August, that they had been refused a copy of the King's missive, whereupon his Majesty, of date 18th August, reversed the order he had issued to Lord Ruthven, and with consent of parties appointed Patrick Ogilvy of Inchmartine and Colonel Hay, Chamberlain or Bailie of Errol, to be judges in the matter. The affair was not decided in 1538, when the King commanded witnesses to be summoned; but during the interim the Dominicans retained the property, though the bow-butts were allowed to stand. The town also seized the waste ground of the ruined Chapel of St Lawrence at the Castle Gable, which was claimed by the Friars. These disputes were doubtless the cause of a ludicrous indignity to which the fathers were subjected on a May morning of 1543. Between eight and nine o'clock, a band of town's people went to the Monastery, and there conducted themselves in a very riotous manner. They struck up the front gate, broke its locks and bands, and also drove up two inner doors of the thoroughfare on the north side of the cloister, and also the water door and the kitchen door, and took away chandeliers and glasses, and lifted the kettle with meat off the fire, and carried it about the town! Several of the rioters were summoned to Edinburgh to answer for the offence; but the result has not been recorded.*

For a considerable period the citizens of Perth appear to have been very fond of archery. They shot in the Playfield and also in the South Inch. At the time, 1774, when Mr Cant republished Adamson's *Muses Threnodie*, a stone was still standing near the top of the South Inch, which tradition assigned as the southern mark of the bowmen. The northern mark, a similar stone which had been lately removed, was fixed on a

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* *Book of Perth*, pp. 22, 32, 77.

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ising ground called the Scholars' Knoll. The distance betwixt the marks was above 500 fathoms; and, certainly, "they must have been very strong and expert archers who could shoot an arrow" over such a space. The poet of the *Muses* puts into old George Ruthven's mouth, a lament for the decline of Archery in the Fair City, which had once been highly renowned by the feats of her sons.

How can I choose but mourne? when I think on
Our games Olympick-like in times agone.
Chiefly wherein 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 home;
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 yee did hail your shaft unto the head;
And with a strong and stedfast 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.

The jocose physician then makes an extravagant vaunt of his own skill. Eager to excel good Gall, he took aim at the knee of Orion in the firmament, and hit the celestial hunter!

Then on the plain we caprel'd wonder fast,
Whereat 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 danc'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.

The butts in the South Inch proved, of course, a temptation to Sabbath-breakers—an instance of which we may extract from the Kirk-session record, which shows

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how, on one occasion, when the ports were closed, in time of sermon, a keen archer clambered over the wall of the Greyfriars Burying-ground to get into the Inch :

1589, September 15. Forasmeikle as William M'Dill, son to Andrew M'Dill, an burgess of Perth, being accused of breaking and overleaping the Greyfriars' dyke in time of preaching, to have access to the butts by all kind of good order, and especially at such time when the rest of the town were at the preaching serving God, he confessed the same, and in hope of his amendment in times coming the rigour of his punishment was suspended, with certification that if he do the like in times coming he shall incur such punishment as shall be enjoined by the minister and elders.

Archery was a common pastime among the young boys and lads of Perth, as the Town Council, on 29th January, 1624, issued an order concerning "children going about weekly with their bows and arrows, as use and wont."

The parishioners of Rattray, in eastern Perthshire, formerly possessed a silver arrow, which was said to have been gifted by James VI., as a prize at the butts. It was last shot for in 1727, when it was won by Lord Nairn; and on the 22d of August that year his Lordship granted a bond binding himself to produce the said arrow with its four tablets appended, if it should be required by a challenge, and that if no challenge was given within three months, he should then deliver the arrow to the keeping of the principal Heritor of the parish. The trophy has since been lost.*

Kilwinning, an ancient burgh of the west, famous in the annals of Scottish Masonry, is equally famous in those of Scottish Archery. From about 1483 down to our own time, with only brief intermisssons, Kilwinning has kept an annual meeting for competition with the bow. Every year in June the Kilwinning archers assembled for "Shooting at the Papingo"—a wooden painted parrot stuck on the end of a pole, and placed 120 feet high on the bartisan of the Kirk. He who struck this mark was honoured with the title of "Captain of the Papingo" for a year, and latterly had

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* *A Handbook to Blairgowrie, Rattray, and Neighbourhood*, p. 109.

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his name inscribed on a medal which was then attached to a silver arrow. The reader of Virgil will remember that at the funeral games instituted by Æneas, when in Sicily, to celebrate his father's memory, the archers contended by shooting at a pigeon tied to the top of a mast.

> ——— Æneas orders, for the close,
> The strife of archers with contending bows.
> The mast, Sergesthus' shatter'd galley bore,
> With his own hand he raises on the shore:
> A flutt'ring dove upon the top they tie,
> The living mark at which their arrows fly.

One of the archers who missed—

> —— Miss'd so narrow, that he cut the cord
> Which fasten'd by the foot the flutt'ring bird.
> The captive thus releas'd, away she flies,
> And beats with clapping wings the yielding skies.

But another Sagittarius, more skilful, brought down the dove as she flew. Thus, the Hurlingham pigeon-shooters can plead classic precedent for their "sport." At Kilwinning, till 1688, the prize was a sash of parti-coloured Persian; but that year a piece of plate was substituted; and this, again, gave way, in 1723, to a silver arrow, which has hitherto continued. But these ancient sports have not been renewed since their 387th anniversary in 1870.

At the Bow-butts of St Andrews the local archers held competitions from 1618 to 1751. The prizes were three silver arrows, and the winners' names were engraved on silver medals attached. These relics are still shown among the curiosities of the University. The first medal on the second arrow bears the name and arms of the great Montrose. A number of gentlemen revived the old sport in 1833; but finding scant encouragement, their association broke up after a few years. Their arrow is also preserved in the College.

The Students of Edinburgh University did not neglect the bow. About the end of the sixteenth century, the City Magistrates agreed to "repair the bounds of Mure Lands," now called Warrender Place, for the practice of archery; and on the 4th July, 1673, the Treasurer of the College received orders from the Town

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Council to put up, at the town's expense, "a pair of butts in the college for the colleginers' recreation." About this last date, archery was rising into great popularity in the Scottish capital. Many noblemen and gentlemen formed a company of archers, which in 1677 was honoured with the recognition of the Scottish Privy Council, who also gave £20 to procure a prize for competition. The Marquis of Athole was Captain General of the Company, and the meetings were frequent until the Revolution, when an interval of some years ensued. But the accession of Queen Anne inspired the Society with new life. In 1703, they obtained a Charter under the great seal constituting them as the "Royal Company of Scottish Archers," reviving, in their behalf, the old laws in favour of archery, empowering them to appoint their commanding officers, "and to meet and go forth under their officers' conduct in military form, in manner of weapon-shawing, as often as they should think convenient," and prohibiting the civil magistrate from giving them any interruption; which rights and privileges they were to hold in free blench of her Majesty and her successors, paying therefor an annual acknowledgment of a pair of barbed arrows. The membership was wholly composed of Jacobites, and it is very probable that the party aimed at forming, "under a pretext of sports and recreations, a military corps, which, as occasion offered, might assemble under authority of law," and be ready to support the interest of the Chevalier de St George. In fact, the Company did not hesitate to engross in their Minute-Book a declaration that they remembered, on his birthday, an exiled prince! Their first military parade was in 1714, when the illness of Queen Anne and the dissensions of the Ministry excited the hopes and fears of political parties to the highest pitch. The Company's uniform was tartan, lined with white, and trimmed with green and white ribbons; a white sash, with green tassels; and a blue bonnet, with a St Andrew's Cross. They carried two standards fluttering in the breeze. The first bore, on one side, Mars and

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Cupid encircled in a wreath of thistles, with this motto —"*In peace and war:*" and on the other, a yew tree with two archers, encircled as before, and the motto— "*Dat gloria vires.*" The second flag displayed, on one side, the lion rampant, *gules*, on a field *or*, encircled with a wreath, surmounted by a thistle and crown, with the motto—"*Nemo me impune lacesset;*" and on the other, St Andrew and his cross, on a field *argent*, and at the top a crown, with the motto—"*Dulce pro patria periculam.*" About fifty noblemen and gentlemen, under the aged Earl of Cromarty, marched in array to Leith Links and there competed for their prize. But the accession of the family of Hanover and the failure of Mar's rebellion damped the ardour of the Archers, and they had no parade for the next nine years. After the insurrection of 1715, the officers of State regarded the Society with so much suspicion that their meetings were watched by spies. The Archers, in course of time, had three prizes: 1st, a silver arrow given by the town of Musselburgh, and to which medals were hung: 2d, a silver arrow, presented by the city of Edinburgh in 1709: and 3d, a punch-bowl, said to be of Scottish silver, valued at £50, which was made at the cost of the Company about 1720.* Allan Ramsay was the warm admirer and panegyrist of a body whose political creed coincided with his own, and his muse was often invoked to sing the praises of the Archers. As a sample of his effusions, we shall quote the lines "On his Grace the Duke of Hamilton's shooting an arrow through the neck of an Eel:"—

As from a bow a fatal flane,
Train'd by Apollo from the main,
    In water pierc'd an Eel;
Sae may the Patriot's power and art
Sic fate to souple rogues impart,
    That drumble at the common weal.
Tho' they, as ony Eels, are slid,
    And thro' what's vile can scud,
A bolt may reach them, tho' deep hid
    They skulk beneath their mud.

Probably on account of being involved in the odium of

* Arnot's *History of Edinburgh.*

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Jacobitism, the Society's fortunes lapsed into a declining state for many years, until, the old leaven having been purged out by the utter extinguishment of all hope of a Stuart restoration, a better era opened. In 1776, the Company, then consisting of about 300 members, built a hall near the Meadows, for their meetings, at the cost of £1200. When George IV. visited Edinburgh in 1822, the archers acted as the royal body-guard: and the king gave them a dress uniform, and conferred on their Captain-General a gold stick. In terms of their charter they delivered to his Majesty through the Earl of Hopetoun, their Captain-General, a pair of barbed arrows—the shafts being composed of snakewood and the barbs of silver,—each bearing the inscription, "To His Majesty King George IV. Reddendo of Royal Company of Archers. Holyrood, August, 1822." When William IV. came to the throne, the Captain-General received a gold stick, the two officers next in command a silver stick each, and the Councillors ebony sticks. The uniform was also changed: and in 1832 the king sent down a splendid pair of colours. The archers again acted as the body-guard of royalty when Queen Victoria came to Edinburgh in 1842. They still uphold their ancient pastime by annual competitions, at which the prizes are now numerous; and we learn with much pleasure that one of the members is about to issue a history of the body from its origin, which cannot fail to prove of enduring interest in a national point of view.

The bow, our readers will smile to be told, has been pressed into the service of the duellist. An Edinburgh paper of the time has recorded that on the 10th of February 1791, two gentlemen met in the Meadows, there, equipped with bows and arrows, to decide a point of honour. They were accompanied by seconds, and had a surgeon in attendance, in case their Indian artillery should by any chance prove effective. After a harmless exchange of three shots, the parties retired, the point of honour, doubtless, being thus satisfactorily arranged. If (remarks the writer) similar weapons were always employed in duelling, this amusement would speedily

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become unfashionable, seeing that the seconds would run quite as great, if not a greater, risk, than the principals.

After the general disuse of the bow in war, King James VI., about 1617, presented a toy silver gun to the town of Dumfries, which the Trades of the burgh were to compete for annually with the musket. This gun is a silver tube, like the barrel of a pistol, and about ten inches long. It has standard marks stamped on it, and according to tradition was originally mounted on a carriage with wheels, all of silver; but of these no vestige remains. Near the touch-hole the letters I·M are engraved on the barrel, supposed to be the initials of the Provost of Dumfries at the time when this ceremony was first instituted. This, however, is mere conjecture: such records of the Corporations as were prior to the reign of Charles I. have suffered so much by decay, that they are no longer legible; and after that period, the only mention of the *Silver Gun* in them is an occasional memorandum of its having been shot for "agreeably to the institution." The royal donor's behest was observed, with general punctuality, for nearly two centuries; and throughout the long reign of George III. the prize was invariably shot for, on the 4th of June, being the g's birthday. John Mayne's poem of *The Siller Gu* , which will be freshly remembered by all lovers o Scottish poetry, embodies a laughter-moving picture of the meeting and its worthies a century back:—

For loyal feats, and trophies won,
Dumfries shall live till time be done!
Ae simmer's n.orning, wi' the sun,
The Seven Trades there,
Forgather'd, for their Siller Gun
To shoot ance mair!

. . . .

But ne'er, for uniform or air,
Was sic a group review'd elsewhere!
The short, the tall; fat fowk, and spare;
Syde coats, and dockit;
Wigs, queus, and clubs, and curly hair;
Round hats, and cockit!

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As to their guns—those fell engines,
Borrow'd or begg'd, were of a' kinds,
For bloody war, or bad designs,
Or shooting cushies—
Lang fowling-pieces, carabines,
And blunder-busses!

Maist feck, though oil'd to mak' them glimmer,
Hadna been shot for mony a simmer;
And Fame, the story-telling kimmer,
Jocosely hints
That some o' them had bits o' timmer,
Instead o' flints!

Some guns, she threeps, within her ken,
Were spik'd, to let nae priming ben;
And, as in twenty there were ten
Worm-eaten stocks,
Sae, here and there, a rozit-end
Held on their locks!

. . . .

Some chaps, bumbaz'd amid the yowder,
Put in the ball before the powder;
Some clapp'd their guns to the wrang shou'der,
Where, frae the priming,
Their cheeks and whiskers got a scowder,
Their een, a styming!

Steeking his een, big John M'Maff
Held out his musket like a staff;
Turn'd, though the chiel was ha'f-and-ha'f,
His head away,
And, panting, cried, "Sirs! is she aff?"
In wild dismay!

After the many blunders and mischances of a host of competitors, the prize was finally won by William M'Nish, a Knight of the Thimble.

His winsome wife, wha lang had miss'd him,
Press'd through the crowd, caress'd and kiss'd him:
Less furthy dames (wha could resist them?)
Th' example take;
And some held up his bairns, and bless'd them,
For daddy's sake!

In William's hat, wi' ribbons bound,
The Gunny was wi' laurel crowned;
And, while in triumph ower the ground
They bore him tenty,
His health in streams o' punch gaed round,
"Lang life and plenty!"

Wi' loud applause, frae man and woman,
His fame spread like a spate wide foamin'!
Warse deeds hae gi'en to mony a Roman
Immortal fame;
But prodigies are grown sae common,
They've tint the name!

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The Notes to the poem, which have already supplied us with some information about the prize, state further that the silver gun is at all times deposited among the archives of the Dumfries Corporations. When a day was fixed and a mandate issued for the gathering, all the freemen of the Trades were obliged to appear in arms at the time and place appointed by the Convener. If any individual refused to appear, he was subjected to a fine of £40 Scots, equal to £3 6s 8d sterling, and, till payment thereof, interdicted from voting in any of of the Corporation affairs. But for a long time the "gunny" has lain undisturbed in its repository.

A similar prize belongs to the burgh of Kirkcudbright, and is said to have been the gift of James VI. to the Corporations of that place. It is about seven inches long, and marked "T * M.C * 1587;" which letters are supposed to be the initials of Sir Thomas M'Clellan, Laird of Bombie, and Provost of Kirkcudbright in 1587. The last competition is said to have been in the summer of 1781.

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SPORTS AND PASTIMES.—Part 4th.

Three cheers for the Highland Meeting!
Three cheers for the Highland Games!
Bless you, gallant gentlemen!
Bless you, bonny dames!
And sneer not at the brawny limbs
And the strength of the Highland men—
When our bayonets next are levelled,
They may all be needed then.
Sergeant M'Turk's "Jubilation."

HIGHLAND GAMES! Speaking of Highland Games naturally evokes a visionary panorama of hill and glen, lake and river, forest and moor, and we are transported in imagination to the rugged heart of the "north countrie." The golden mists of an autumn morn scatter before the sun and the gale—rolling in huge billows across a wide, undulating waste, knee-deep in heather, and ringed in, at a far distance, by mountain-chains, dim enough to seem but cloud-banks, the dwelling-places of the thunder: whilst the streaks of radiance, darting like the lances of celestial warriors, reveal the clear springs and pools, where beast and bird slake their thirst, and around which, so legends tell, the *Daoine Shi* revel under the solemn beams of the midnight moon. The mist-wreaths, too, are festooning the crests of a conglomeration of crags and cliffs, where sparkling torrents foam adown their stony bed, through a bald wilderness, misnamed a *forest*, and where the near sky-line is dotted with clusters of branching antlers, tossed in the pride of wild freedom, as a herd of deer, headed by the monarch-stag, tilt gaily over the sunny ridge. Yonder, again, the gauzy veil melts from the shimmering bosom of a noble lake, encircled by towering heights, some thickly-waving with the dark fir, and some clad from base to brow with purple heath: and the vapours boil along the course of the river that, issuing from its parent loch with a brawling voice of triumph, pours down the green Strath to fer-

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tilize and gladden the low-country. The pibroch thrills through the exhilarating air: the eagle screams from her splintery, inaccessible peak: and the thistle, "the symbol dear," shakes the glistening dew-drops from its fiery crown. We are in the Highlands! And if we are in quest of manly sport and pastime, this

> Land of brown heath and shaggy wood,
> Land of the mountain and the flood,

is pre-eminently the land of athletics, and of deer-stalking, grouse-shooting, and salmon-angling.

In touching on the Highland games, we may begin with *Camanachd*, or Shinny:—

> The Camac fight! the Camac fight!
> The hardy Highlandman's delight:
> It beats a' play clean out o' sight,
> Our matchless game—the Camac fight!

It is the same as what the Lowlanders call *Shinty*, and the English Club-ball; but it is not so often played among grown-up Highlanders as it was formerly, being now left much to the youth. About Christmas-tide it was wont to be in high popularity,—the contest generally lying between the men of adjacent parishes; and pipers were always present, who "skirled" all the time, with might and main, to inspirit the competitors. The prize was a keg of genuine mountain-dew, which, when won, was broached and drunk out on the field by both sides. In some parts of the Highlands the ball is formed of wood, and in others of hard-twisted hair. *Camac* has been honoured in song; and a Perthshire poet, Alexander Campbell, of Tombea, has dignified it in the heroic verse of *The Grampians Desolate:*—

> The appointed day is come—th' eventful day,
> When on the snowy field, in firm array,
> Glen meeting glen—(yet not with tempered blades,
> But sapling-oaks cut from the neighbouring glades),
> Engage with ardour keen—in jovial guise,—
> A cask of whisky strong, the victor's prize!
> 'Tis noon, but half the narrow plain is bright,
> The sun just tips the southern hills with light;
> The mountains gleam that shade the vale below,
> Calm and reflective with encrusted snow.
> Now Dermid, dexterous in manly art,
> And Douglas of the dale, with dauntless heart,
> Lead to the contest fierce their marshalled ranks;
> To wield their weapons—namely, *shinny-shanks.*

. . . .

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Now front to front the armies in array,
Await the signal to begin the fray:
Hark!—'tis the signal!—an ear-piercing smack,
Which bending echo peals as briskly back;
The well-struck ball whirls whizzing thro' the air,
While each keen combatant, with eager glare,
Is on th' alert to hit it ere it fall,
And to th' destined goal urge home the ball:
Sheer in the centre of the hostile train,
The orb now rolls along the glittering plain;
How brisk the onset!—fearless man meets man
In kindling ire, of old as clan met clan,
Aims at the globe, as swells the bickering din,
Yet hits it not—but hits his neighbour's shin!
Club rings on sapling-oak,—or shin, or thigh,
As in the contest champions keenly vie.

. . . .

And still they urge the dubious orb along,
Till Sol declines the Atlantic waves among;
When, with a powerful arm and sapling oak,
Lo, Douglas to the goal, with giant stroke,
Home sends the ball!—high peals the joyous "Hail!"
While Dermid and his heroes gnaw the nail!
Thus ends the contest—but not so the play,
Our jovial frolicks close not with the day.
Behold the victor, with joy-beaming eyes,
Triumphant marches with the well-won prize,
And in the hall aloft 'tis placed with care,
That all anon may drink a liberal share.

An aptitude for athletics seems inherent in the Highlander. His forefathers were "mighty hunters;" but, in strange contrast, they disliked fish and fishing—a dislike attributable perhaps to the fact that fish had some place in the Celtic mythology. Their pastimes were feats of strength and agility, most of which have descended to the present day. Putting the stone, throwing the hammer, and tossing the caber, are amongst the oldest of the Highland games. Tossing the caber is a difficult feat in which few excel. The caber is the branchless trunk of a young tree, which is balanced perpendicularly in both hands, and then suddenly propelled upwards with a jerk, so as to make it describe a somersault before touching the ground. As to the putting stone, we are assured that in former times "it was the custom to have one of these lying at the gate of every chieftain's house, and on the arrival of a stranger, he was asked as a compliment to throw." Another feat was to raise a stone of 200lb., at least,

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from the ground, and deposit it upon the top of another, four feet high. The stripling who could accomplish this was thereupon dubbed "a man," and allowed to wear a bonnet: and he attained to the higher dignity of "a pretty man," when he evinced due dexterity in wielding the claymore. Hammer-throwing must have been an every-day recreation at the Highland *smiddies* or forges. The Vulcan of the clachan was an important personage among the primitive society of the glens: and in the *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, collected in four thick volumes by Mr J. F. Campbell—the familiar stories of the peasantry, recited for generations at the winter hearth and in the summer shealing—the smith occasionally acts a prominent part. The antiquity of two of the games spoken of appears from "The Story of Conall Gulban." This hero, when on his travels, was asked by "the high-ruler" of a place he had reached, what were the customs of his own people, "and if they tried to do any feats? Conall said that they used to try casting the stone of force *(clach-neart)*, and hurling the hammer. The high-ruler asked Conall to come in, and he set some to try putting the stone against Conall. Conall could throw the stone farther than any of them, and they saw that he had no want of strength if there were enough of courage in him." The editor adds in a note to this passage :—

I myself once tried a match with a small Greek shepherd in a sheep-skin capote, in a glen near the top of Mount Parnassus. He had guided me there, and we were waiting in hopes a mist would clear away. To keep ourselves warm, we fell to at putting the stone, leaping, and hop-skip-and-jump. Such games prevailed in ancient Greece long ago, as they still do in the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland.*

Another feat, once common, and originating obviously among the loungers at a smithy door, was to turn over a thick bar of iron lying on the ground by placing the foot under it.

The sword-dance (called *Gilli-callum* from the accompanying tune), as performed over two drawn swords

* Campbell's *Tales of the West Highlands*, vol. 3, p. 256.

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laid down cross-wise, is held to be modern. The Germans of Tacitus' time had a sword-dance, which did not escape the observation of the historian. "One public diversion," he says, "was constantly exhibited at all their meetings; young men, who, by frequent exercise, had attained to great perfection in that pastime, strip themselves, and dance among the points of swords and spears with most wonderful agility, and even with the most elegant and graceful motions. They do not perform this dance for hire, but for the entertainment of the spectators, esteeming their applause a sufficient reward." The old Gael had a dance over swords in the Pyrrhic style, and also a dirk dance; but both dropped out of fashion, and nobody, it is believed, can now describe what they were. The existing *Gilli-callum*, which arose in their stead, bears, we are told, only a faint resemblance to the original sword-dance of the Highlanders of Scotland.*

A Highlander's speed of foot was ever proverbial—the young men being trained to the exercise. The old Highland foot-race, *Geal-ruith*, always included a hurdle leap. Running up the steep breast of a mountain has long been a popular race.

Bagpipe-playing forms an essential feature in the programme of a Highland competition:—the bagpipe being now regarded as the Scottish Gael's distinctive musical instrument, though the harp once ranked higher with his ancestors. The harp has vanished from the Highlands; yet it was coeval, at least, with the bagpipe, and more honoured among the ancient Celts. "The harp," says a competent judge, "is the true instrument of Gaelic song, which we had of old in common with our brethren the Gael of Ireland, among whom the great bagpipe was never known."† "The Bards of the Celts," according to Ammianus Marcellinus, a writer of the fourth century, "celebrated the actions of illustrious men in heroic poems, which they sung to the sweet sounds of the lyre." At the

* Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. 2, pp. 302, 307.
† *The Grampians Desolate.* Notes, p. 268.

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feast of shells, "in the days of song," Fingal "heard the music of harps, the tales of other times." And the soul of Ossian, in his age, and solitude, and darkness, yearned to his harp as the last solace: "Bends there not a tree from Mora with its branches bare? It bends, son of Alpin, in the rustling blast. My harp hangs on a blasted branch. The sound of its strings is mournful. Does the wind touch thee, O harp, or is it some passing ghost? It is the hand of Malvina! Bring me the harp, son of Alpin. Another song shall rise. My soul shall depart in the sound. My fathers shall hear it in their airy hall. Their dim faces shall hang, with joy, from their clouds; and their hands receive their son." To the warrior, the harp was the voice of fame: its music was the most grateful to the people: the child in its cradle was soothed and charmed by the soft melody. Trathal's spouse, in the poem, "had remained at home. Two children rose with their fair locks about her knees. They bend their ears above the harp, as she touched with her white hand the trembling strings. She stops. They take the harp themselves, but cannot find the sound they admired. 'Why,' they said, 'does it not answer us? Show us the string where dwells the song.' She bids them search for it till she returns. Their little fingers wander among the wires." For centuries, the accomplishment of singing to the harp was deemed an indispensable part of the education of the upper grade of Highland society; and at festivals, the harp was handed round, that each of the company might sing to it.* Mary, Queen of Scots, played on the harp. During her excursion to Athole, in 1564, she is said to have gifted a harp, ornamented with jewels, to an ancestress of the Robertsons of Lude, who bore the palm at a competition of harp-players which took place in the royal presence. This precious relic of the beautiful, but ill-starred, Queen was carefully preserved by that family, along with a still more ancient

* Gunn's *Harp in the Highlands*, p. 55.

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harp, which had come to them in 1460 through marriage with an Argyleshire lady. When the blind Bard, Rory Dall, or Roderick Morison, one of the last of the trained and professional Highland Harpers, visited Lude, in company with the Marquis of Huntly, about the year 1650, the Queen's harp was put into his hands, and he composed a *port*, or air, in honour of the occasion, which was called *Suipar Chiurn na Leod*, or The Supper of Lude. In the time of the rebellion of 1745, this instrument was despoiled of its precious stones, either by the persons to whose care it had been confided for concealment, or, as they asserted, by the Duke of Cumberland's soldiers. It was recently in the possession of the Stewarts of Dalguise; and the other old harp seems to have been ultimately deposited with the Highland Society of Scotland.

The last appearance of the Highland Harp on the field of battle was at Glenlivat, 3d October 1594, when the Earl of Argyle, as the royal lieutenant, encountered the rebel Roman Catholic lords, Huntly and Errol. To encourage the clansmen, of whom his army was mainly composed, Argyle brought his harper with him, and also a sorceress, who predicted that, on the following Friday, his harp should sound in Buchan and his pibroch in Strathbogie—the provinces of his enemies. But the battle took place on Thursday, the royal troops were routed, and the Pythoness herself perished in the slaughter. An old narrative mentions that there were so many archers in this battle that "att the charge for the space of a full quarter of ane hour, the daylight was palpably ecclipsed with the continwell clowd of darts and arrowes that hung ouer the place, the same as Lucan reports of the battaile of Pharsaly." A writer of the end of the sixteenth century states that the Highlanders "delight much in musick but chiefly in harpes," which "they take great pleasure to deck with silver and precious stones; and the poore ones that cannot attain heereunto deck them with cristall."* The harp-keys

* "Description of Scotland," appended to Monipennie's *Abridgement of the Scots Chronicles.*

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or *wrests*, were also richly adorned: one, which had belonged to Rory Dall, and was kept at Armidale, in 1772, when Dr Johnson and Boswell were in the Hebrides, was "finely ornamented with silver and gold, and a precious stone, and valued at more than eighty guineas." Every Chieftain kept his hereditary Bard, who celebrated the honour and renown of the sept; but this fashion, together with the use of the harp, gradually declined—that instrument being apparently superseded by the violin, which became fashionable in the seventeenth century; though, we must remember that the violin's precursor, the viol or *cruit*, was known in the north perhaps as early as the harp itself. The harp was finally discontinued in the Scottish Highlands about 1734, leaving the Bagpipe master of the field.

The high antiquity of the Highland bagpipe is indisputable; and the pipe-music is endeared to the people by "the stirring memory of a thousand years." Many of the airs, though seeming rude to a polished ear, are peculiarly plaintive, and exert an influence over the unsophisticated feelings of a Celt similar to that of the *Ranz de Vaches* on a Swiss mountaineer. How often have the salt tears hailed down the cheeks of the expapatriated Gael when "Lochaber no more" brought back to his mind's eye the never-to-be-forgotten mountains and vales, the rolling rivers and the dashing cataracts, the rocks of the eagles, and the forests of the deer! Each Clan had its own *Piobrachd*—a war tune, "savage and shrill." which incited to the fray, or celebrated a victory: and each Clan had likewise its own *Cum-hadh*, or lament for the dead. One piece of pipe-music is said to date from 1314, and was played before the Clan Donnachy or Robertsons of Athole, when they marched to Bannockburn. It is named *Theachd Clann Donnachaidh*—The Coming of the Robertsons. But the most ancient tune known is *Cumha Somhairle*—Somerled's Lament—which was composed on the assassination of that leader, at Renfrew, in his own camp, in 1164. "The bagpipe is sacred to Scotland, and speaks a language which Scotsmen only feel.

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There is not a battle that is honourable to Britain in which its war blast has not sounded. When every other instrument has been hushed by the confusion and carnage of the scene, it has been borne into the thick of the battle, and, far in the advance, its bleeding but devoted bearer, sinking on the earth, has sounded at once encouragement to his countrymen and his own coronach."* Highland music, moreover, is widely diversified, giving expression to all the varied moods. Look at the festive gatherings where

> Native music wakes in sprightly strains,
> Which gay according motion best explains:
> Fastidious Elegance, in scornful guise,
> Perhaps the unpolished measure may despise;
> But here, where infant lips in tuneful lays,
> And Melody her untaught charms displays;
> The dancers bound with wild peculiar grace,
> And Sound thro' all its raptur'd mazes trace;
> Nor awkward step, nor rude ungainly mien,
> Through all the glad assemblage can be seen.

What can be more spirit-stirring and mirth-inspiring than the "strathspeys and reels," which "put life and mettle in the heels" of a population exceedingly fond of saltatory diversion?

It is on such an occasion as a Gathering for competition in Highland games, that Donald Macdonald is seen in all his pride and glory. He then struts forth in holiday spirits as well as in holiday attire, resolved to do his utmost to impress favourably the minds of those Sassenach strangers, who throng northwards in autumn with the same regularity as the Highland reapers used to descend in bands to the golden-waving plains of the Lowlands. "Idstone," an English sporting writer, who was present, last season, at a meeting among the Grampians, has paid a generous compliment to the Highland character:—

> On two sides ran a rapid winding hill-stream; on the third side was a *big mountain*—according to my Lowland views; and on the fourth were the marquees, the refreshment-stalls and the judges' tent. The mountain-side was occupied by a motley assemblage of gay colours—kilts, pipers, and competitors. In the circle where the games

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* M'Donald's *Ancient Martial Music of Caledonia.*

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were to take place a chosen circle chatted together beneath a large flag, bearing an inscription which "no fellow could understand." The benches for the ladies were gradually filling, for it was just twelve o'clock, and the assistants were fast bringing in the various implements necessary for the games.

One could not help contrasting this scene with English ideas of athleticism as they *did* exist—the "stakes," the "referee," the "cinder-path," the "beer," the impudent landlord and his gate-money, the long pipes and pot-stained tables of the past, the sham Indian runners, the professional "ped." or (save the mark!) the pigeons, and the professional pigeon shots wrangling over guns and charges, sweepstakes and distances,

The scenery, the picturesque effective northern garb, and the national character of the gathering, had much to do with the general effect of the meeting; and the superior education of the Scotch peasant decidedly influenced the proceedings. You heard no coarse language—least of all profane oaths—from the competitors. There was no "dog trial" wrangling as to the awards. The defeated piper appeared equally pleased when he was adjudged second or third rate as a player of reels; the marksmen at the rifle-butts were polite and self-possessed whether they lost or won.

Long may Donald retain the simple, decorous, manly manners, and the independent self-respect, which merit such encomiums!

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SPORTS AND PASTIMES—Part 5th.

My heart 's in the Highlands, my heart is not here;
My heart 's in the Highlands, a-chasing the deer;
Chasing the wild deer, and following the roe;
My heart 's in the Highlands wherever I go.

Old Song.

WAR and the chase, that "image of war, without its guilt," followed by the feast of shells and the harmonious strife of bards, filled up the chief routine of life enjoyed by the ancient tribes of Caledonia. The chase was their pastime, whence, moreover, they derived a large share of their subsistence, although they also kept domestic herds and flocks and cultivated a sprinkling of corn. From choice, as much as from necessity, the Celtic races were enthusiastic followers of Nimrod. "The desert," said Fingal, "is enough for me, with all its woods and deer!" The fame of a mighty hunter was a precious possession: and the hunter's training inured the youth to vicissitude and peril, and moulded the future warrior. In his mythological creed, the Gael believed that the spirits of the dead found delight in pursuing ærial deer over the mountains of the silent land, and often on those of earth. The departed "children of youth," said Ossian, "pursue deer formed of clouds, and bend their airy bow. They still love the sport of their youth; and mount the wind with joy."

The chase of the deer can never be robbed of its romance. But when we speak of *stalking*, we must bear in mind that the fashion of "killing at the stalk," which requires the most patient endurance and consummate skill on the part of the hunter, is only one of several methods of slaying the deer. Stalking, coursing, driving, and baiting are the four modes of hunting. The stalker creeps, stealthily and unseen, to within rifle-range of his quarry. But "hound and horn" were employed at that great hunt on Erin's green hills, when Fingal had conquered in battle, and was about to set his sails for Morven:—

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"Call," said Fingal, "call my dogs, the long-bounding sons of the chase. Call white-breasted Bran, and the surly strength of Luath! Fillan, and Ryno; but he is not here! My son rests on the bed of death. Fillan and Fergus! blow the horn, that the joy of the chase may arise; that the deer of Cromla may hear, and start at the lake of roes."

The shrill sound spreads along the wood. The sons of heathy Cromla arise. A thousand dogs fly off at once, gray-bounding through the heath. A deer fell by every dog; three by the white-breasted Bran. He brought them, in their flight, to Fingal, that the joy of the king might be great! One deer fell at the tomb of Ryno. The grief of Fingal returned. He saw how peaceful lay the stone of him who was the first at the chase! "No more shalt thou rise, O my son! to partake of the feast of Cromla. Soon will thy tomb be hid, and the grass grow rank on thy grave. The sons of the feeble shall pass along. They shall not know where the mighty lie."

With what a depth of pathos has the voice of Cona recounted those sylvan triumphs! But we have later pictures of Highland sport which we shall pass before our readers in a succession of dissolving views. Nowadays much of the slaughter in our forests is effected by the system of *driving*, the deer being forced to run the gauntlet of a narrow pass, where the sportsmen, well and securely posted, fire away as fast as their gillies can supply them with loaded rifles. It was thus, though on a far grander scale, that the *Tainchel*, or greater driving, of old was conducted. The chieftains summoned their vassals; and a wide compass of hill and wood and glen was beaten up by a *tainchel* or cordon of men, who slowly drove the deer toward the spot where the hunters lay concealed.

In the summer of 1528, King James V. made a hurried expedition to the Borders, on the pretence of hunting, but really and truly to vindicate law and justice in those turbulent regions, and "make the rush-bush keep the cow." The mosstroopers were taken by surprise, their leaders seized, and the most obnoxious consigned to the hangman. Next year the king betook himself to the Perthshire Highlands, on a peaceful excursion, accompanied by the Queen-mother and the Papal ambassador; and the magnificent reception which

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the royal party experienced in Athole has been detailed with great minuteness in the pages of Pitscottie:—

Wpoun the nixt sommer thairefter, the King, togidder with his mother, and ane Ambassadour of the Paipis wha was in Scotland for the tyme, went all togidder to Atholl to the huntis. The Earle of Atholl heiring of his coming, maid great and gorgeous provisioun for him in all thingis pertaining to ane prince, that he was als weill eased in all thingis as if he had beine in ane of his awin pallaces. For this noble Earle of Atholl caused mak ane curious pallace to the King, his mother, and the Ambassadour, quhairby they were als weill eased as if they had beine in ony pallace aither of Scotland or Ingland, and equivalent for the tyme of thair hunting; quhilk was biggit in the midle of ane greine medow, and the wallis thairof was of greine timber, wovin with birkis, and biggit in four quarteris, as if it had beine ane pallace, and in everie quarter ane round lyk ane blokhous, quhilkis war loftit and jeasted thrie hous hicht; the floore was laid with grein earthe, and strowed with sick floures as grew in the medow, that no man knew quhairon he yead, bot as he had beine in ane greine gardeine. Fardder, thair was tuo great roundis on everie syd of the yett, and ane great portcullies of trie falling doun as it had beine ane barrace yett with ane gritt drawbridge, and ane foussie of sixteine fute deip, and thrittie fute broad of watter. This pallace was hung with fyne tapistrie within, and weill lighted in all necessar pairtis with glassin windowis.

The King was verrie weill intertained in this wildernes the space of thrie dayes, with all sick delicious and sumptuous meattis as was to be hade in Scotland, for fleschis, fischis, and all kindis of fyne wyne, and spyces, requisit for ane prince. Fardder, thair was no fisches that could leive in fresch watteris, but war thair swimming in the foussie about the pallace. [That is to say, all kind of drink, as aill, beer, wyne, both whyte and claret, malvasie, muskadaill, eligant hippocras, and aquavitæ; fardder, thair was of meattis, wheat bread, maine bread, and ginge bread, with fleshis beiff and mutton, lamb, veill, and venison, goose, gryse, capon, cunning, cran, swan, pairtrick, plever, duik, drake, brissel, cock, and paunies, blackcock, and muirfoull, capercailles. And also the stankis that were round about the pallace were full of all delicat fishes, as salmond, trouttis, pearshes, pykes, eiles, and all other kind of delicat fishes that could be gottin in fresch water, and were all readdie for the banket. Syne were ther proper stuarts, cunning baxters, excellent cooks, and potingaris, with confectionis, and drugs for ther disserts.] It is said, by the space of thir thrie dayes that his grace was thair, the Earle of Atholl was everie day ane thousand pundis of expenss. This Pope's Ambassadour, sieing so great ane triumph in ane wildernes, quhair thair was no toun neir be twentie myllis, he thought it ane great marvell that sick ane thing sould be in Scotland: that is, so courtlyk and delicious intertainment in the Highlandis of Scotland, quhair he saw nothing bot woodis and wildernes. But most of all,

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this Ambassadour, when the King was cuming back from the huntis, marvelled to sie the Highlanderis sett all this pallace on fire, that the King and the Ambassadour might sie it. Then the Ambassadour said to the King, "I marvell, sir, yea latt burne yon pallace quherin yea war so weill eased." The King answeirit, "It is the vse of our Highlandmen, that be they nevir so weill lodged all the night, they will burne the same on the morne." This being done, the King returned to Dunkell that night, and on the morne to St Jonstoun. It is said, at this tyme, in Atholl and Stratherdaill boundis, thair was slaine threttie scoir of hart and hynd, with other small beastis, sick as roe and roebuck, woulff, fox, and wild cattis, etc.*

Probably the fame of this right-royal hunting induced the fair daughter of King James to honour Athole with her presence in 1564, when she made a progress of two months through her northern dominions. It has been said by one of Mary's biographers that the years 1563 and 1564 were "the quietest and the happiest she spent in Scotland;" † for all political troubles were dispelled, and she was looking forward to a happy union and a peaceful and gracious reign. "Love was young, and Darnley kind." She was at Perth in May, 1564, and about the beginning of August she reached Athole, and witnessed the glories of the *tainchel* in the wilds of Glen Tilt. The exciting scene has been described, in stately Latin, by a gentleman of her train—William Barclay, the scion of a good family in Aberdeenshire. He was then three and twenty, and a Roman Catholic. He continued attached to the Court till the Queen's captivity in England, when he crossed to France, and applied himself to the study of civil law. He subsequently married a French lady, and lived till 1605, when he died Professor of Civil Law in the University of Angers. He was the father of the erratic author of *Argenis*, which Cowper, the poet, declared to be "the most amusing romance that ever was written." The account of the Athole hunting is contained

* *The Cronicles of Scotland.* By Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie. (Edited by J. Graham Dalyell.) Vol. ii., p. 343. The passage within brackets is from a later MS. than that adopted by Mr Dalyell, and bears, in his opinion, strong evidence of interpolation.

† Sheriff Glassford Bell's *Life of Mary.* Vol. i. p. 166 (Constable's Miscellany).

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in one of the Civilian's Latin works—*De Regno et Regali Potestate adversus Monarchomachos*—(a treatise against Buchanan and his Republican school)—and has been translated by Mr Pennant :—

I had a sight of a very extraordinary sport: In the year 1563 [a mistake for 1564], the Earl of Athol, a prince of the blood-royal, had, with much trouble, and vast expence, provided a hunting-match for the entertainment of our illustrious and most gracious Queen. Our people call this a royal hunting. I was then a young man, and was present on that occasion. Two thousand Highlanders were employed to drive to the hunting-ground all the deer from the woods and hills of Athol, Badenoch, Marr, Murray, and the countries about. As these Highlanders use a light dress, and are very swift of foot, they went up and down so nimbly, that, in less than two months' time, they brought together two thousand red deer, besides roes and fallow deer. The Queen, the great men, and a number of others were in a glen, or narrow valley, where all these deer were brought before them; believe me, the whole body moved forward in something like battle order. This body still strikes me, and ever will strike me; for they had a leader whom they followed close wherever he moved. This leader was a very fine stag, with a very high head. The sight delighted the Queen very much, but she soon had cause for fear, upon the Earl (who had been from his earliest years accustomed to such sights) addressing her thus: "Do you observe that stag who is foremost of the herd? There is danger from that stag; for if either fear or rage should force him from the ridge of that hill, let every one look to himself, for none of us will be out of the way of harm, as the rest will all follow this one; and having thrown us under foot, they will open a passage to the hill behind us." What happened a moment after confirmed this opinion; for the Queen ordered one of the best dogs to be let loose upon a wolf;* this the dog pursues—the leading stag was frightened—he flies by the same way he had come there—the rest rush after him where the thickest body of the Highlanders was. They had nothing for it but to throw themselves flat on the heath, and to allow the deer to pass over them. It was told the Queen that several of the Highlanders had been wounded, and that two or three had been killed outright; and the whole body of deer had got off, had not the Highlanders, by their skill in hunting, fallen upon a stratagem to cut off the rear from the main body. It was of those that had been separated, that the Queen's dogs, and those of the nobility, made slaughter. There was killed that day three hundred and sixty deer, with five wolves, and some roes.

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* Mr Pennant erroneously renders it, "on one of the deer;" but the words of the original are—"*Laxatus enim reginæ jussu, atque immissus in lupum, insignis admodum ac ferox canis.*"

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After the hunt, the Queen is said to have presided over a competition of Highland harpers, when she awarded the prize to the Lady Beatrix Gardyn, of Banchory, Aberdeenshire. A descendant of this fair minstrel married into the Robertson family of Lude, and brought with her the harp gifted on the above occasion.

Half-a-century after Queen Mary's visit to Athole, a votary of literature, better known than the learned Civilian, journeyed from England to the north, and joined in the Highland sport of hunting the deer. Who has not heard of the *Water-Poet*—John Taylor, the poetic Waterman of the Thames?

> And did you ne'er hear of a jolly young waterman,
> Who at Blackfriars' Bridge used for to ply?
> He feather'd his oars with such skill and dexterity,
> Winning each heart, and delighting each eye.

In 1618—the year when Ben Jonson came down to meet his friend Drummond, amid the classic shades of Hawthornden—our Water Poet conceived the project of travelling to Scotland on foot, and viewing the country, without taking a penny in his purse (though he was by no means scant of cash), and trusting to the kindness of friends by the way! It looked *prima facie* a foolhardy enterprise enough—an open-eyed, deliberate tempting of Providence, inasmuch as the poverty of Scotland was proverbial, and the south was overrun with needy Scots in quest of fortune which their own country had denied them. Nevertheless, John was not reckoning without his host. His fame was widely blown: he had influential patrons in Scotland— notably Sir William Murray of Abercairney, for one, on whose hospitality he could rely.

> Then, farewell, my trim-built wherry,
> Oars, and coat, and badge, farewell.

John left London on the 14th of July, making his way out of the city by easy stages from tavern to tavern, where "good fellows trooping" insisted on drinking with him the parting bowl. At the Bell Inn, beyond Aldersgate he procured a stout nag to carry his "provant" or provisions, and then, "well rigged and ballasted, both with beer and wine," set forth on his

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"jaunt." In all the English towns and villages through which he passed he was received with open doors and open arms and plenty of good cheer. Crossing the Border, he still met the best of treatment, though "not carrying any money," and "neither begging, borrowing, or asking meate, drinke, or lodging." In due time he arrived at the town of Perth:

From *Stirling* I rode to Saint *Johnstone*, a fine town it is, but it is much decayed, by reason of the want of His Majesty's coming to lodge there. There I lodged one night at an inn, the goodman of the house—his name being *Patrick Pitcairne*, where my entertainment was with good cheer, good lodging, all too good to a bad weary guest. Mine host told me that the Earl of *Mar*, and Sir *William Murray* of *Abercairney* were gone to the great hunting to the *Brae* of *Mar;* but if I made haste I might perhaps find them at a town called *Brekin* or *Brechin*, two and thirty miles from Saint *Johnstone*, whereupon I took a guide to *Brechin* the next day, but before I came, my lord was gone from thence four days.

Although thus baulked, and with the Grampians frowning before him, our undaunted Poet determined to cross the mountains to Braemar. The difficulties and dangers of the journey might have appalled a less adventurous Southron; but John girded up his loins, and trudged on undismayed. Safely he reached Braemar Castle, where he was warmly welcomed by the Earl of Mar, and Abercairney, and the other noblemen and gentlemen, with their ladies, who were there assembled. The account of his tour, which he afterwards wrote and published under the title of *The Pennyles Pilgrimage*, or, *The Money-lesse perambulation*, is a quaint melange of rough-spun verse and sturdy prose, depicting with much fidelity the Highland gathering and sport. Of the Highlanders, he says:—

Their habit is shoes with but one sole apiece; stockings (which they call short hose) made of a warm stuff of divers colours, which they call tartan: as for breeches, many of them, nor their forefathers, never wore any, but a jerkin of the same stuff that their hose is of, their garters being bands or wreaths of hay or straw, with a plaid about their shoulders, which is a mantle of divers colours, of much finer and lighter stuff than their hose, with blue flat caps on their heads, a handkerchief knit with two knots about their neck; and thus are they attired. Now their weapons are long bows and forked arrows, swords and targets, har-

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quebusses, muskets, dirks, and Lochaber axes. With these arms I found many of them armed for the hunting. As for their attire, any man of what degree soever that comes amongst them, must not disdain to wear it; for if they do, then they will disdain to hunt, or willingly to bring in their dogs; but if men be kind unto them, and be in their habit; then are they conquered with kindness, and the sport will be plentiful. This was the reason that I found so many noblemen and gentlemen in those shapes.

Having been "put into that shape" himself—that is having donned the garb of old Gaul, John accompanied the party to the hunting-ground, which is thought to have been the district around the skirts of Ben Muicdhui.

I was the space of twelve days after, before I saw either house, corn field, or habitation for any creature, but deer, wild horses, wolves, and such like creatures, which made me doubt that I should never have seen a house again.

Thus the first day we travelled eight miles, where there small cottages built on purpose to lodge in, which they call Lonchards, I thank my good Lord *Erskine*, he commanded that I should always be lodged in his lodging, the kitchen being always on the side of a bank, many kettles and pots boiling, and many spits turning and winding, with great variety of cheer: as venison baked, sodden, roast, and stewed beef, mutton, goats, kid, hares, fresh salmon, pigeons, hen, capons, chickens, partridge, moor-coots, heath-cocks, capercailzies, and termagants [ptarmigans]; good ale, sack, white, and claret, tent [or Alicante] with most potent *Aquavitæ*.

All these, and more than these we had continually, in superfluous abundance, caught by Falconers, Fowlers, Fishers, and brought by my Lord's tenants and purveyors to victual our camp, which consisted of fourteen or fifteen hundred men and horses; the manner of the hunting is this: five or six hundred men do rise early in the morning, and they do disperse themselves divers ways, and seven, eight, or ten miles compass, they do bring or chase in the deer in many herds, (two, three, or four hundred in a herd) to such or such a place, as the Nobleman shall appoin them; then when day is come, the Lords and gentlemen of their companies, do ride or go to the said places, sometimes wading up to their middles through bournes and rivers: and then: they being come to the place, do lie down on the ground, till those foresaid scouts which are called the Tinchel, do bring down the deer: but as the proverb says of a bad cook, so these Tinchel men do lick their own fingers; for besides their bows and arrows, which they carry with them, we can hear now and then a harquebuss or a musket go off, which they do seldom discharge in vain: Then after we had stayed there three hours or thereabouts, we might perceive the deer appear on the hills round about us, (their heads making a show like a wood) which being followed close by the Tinchel are chased down into the

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valley where we lay; then all the valley on each side being waylaid with a hundred couple of strong Irish grey-hounds, they are let loose as the occasion serves upon the herd of deer, so that with dogs, guns, arrows, dirks, and daggers, in the space of two hours, fourscore fat deer were slain, which after are disposed of some one way, and some another, twenty and thirty miles, and more than enough left for us to make merry withal at our rendesvous.

He "liked the sport so well" that he composed a couple of sonnets in its praise, one of which we shall quote:—

If sport like this can on the mountains be,
Where *Phœbus* flames can never melt the snow,
Then let who list delight in vales below,
Sky-kissing mountains pleasure are for me:
What braver objects can man's eyesight see,
Than noble, worshipful, and worthy wights,
As if they were prepared for sundry fights,
Yet all in sweet society agree?
Through heather, moss, 'mongst frogs, and bogs, and fogs,
'Mongst craggy cliffs, and thunder-battered hills,
Hares, hinds, bucks, roes, are chased by men and dogs,
Where two hours hunting fourscore fat deer kills.
Lowland, your sports are low as is your seat,
The Highland games and minds are high and great.

When the hunters returned nightly to their lodgings, "there was such baking, boiling, roasting, and stewing, as if Cook Ruffian had been there to have scalded the devil in his feathers; and after supper a fire of fir-wood as high as an indifferent Maypole." Our traveller then relates that having spent certain days at this "unmatchable hunting," he accompanied the party "to the next county called Badenoch, belonging to the Earl of Enzie, where, having such sport and entertainment as we formerly had, after four or five days pasttime, we took leave of hunting for that year." He was afterwards taken to Balloch Castle (Castle Grant) and Tarnaway, and thence returned by Elgin to the Lowlands. At Leith he found his "long approved and assured good friend, Master Benjamin Jonson," who gave him "a piece of gold of two and twenty shillings to drink his health in England:" and on Thursday morning, the 15th of October, the poetic waterman reached his own house in London. Next year he issued *A Kicksey Winsey: or, A Lerry Come-Twang*, wherein

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he "satyrically suited 800 of his bad debtors," or subscribers, "that would not pay him for his returne of his journey from Scotland;" but whether this effusion produced a satisfactory result we cannot tell.

Another great hunting was held at Braemar, in August 1715. It was attended by the leaders of the Jacobite party in Scotland, with more than a thousand followers; and there the Earl of Mar arranged his insurrection in favour of the Chevalier de St George.

Captain Burt, the English Officer of Engineers, who was in the Highlands, under General Wade, about 1730, is believed to have written the *Letters from a Gentleman in the North of Scotland*, which contain so lively a delineation of Highland life and manners; and the *Tainchel*-hunting (from personal experience or otherwise) comes under his pen. But he makes no mention of dogs being employed, conceiving, in fact, that if they were kept, "their cry in those open hills would soon fright all the deer out of that part of the country;" for the barking of an English hound, at night, in one of the military barracks, "was loudly complained of by some of the lairds, as being prejudicial to their estates." He thus speaks of the sport:

When a solemn hunting is resolved on, for the entertainment of relations and friends, the haunt of the deer being known, a number of the vassals are summoned, who readily obey by inclination; and are, besides, obliged by the tenure of their lands, of which one article is, that they shall attend the *master* at his huntings. This, I think, was part of the ancient vassalage in England.

The chief convenes what numbers he thinks fit, according to the strength of his clan: perhaps three or four hundred. With these he surrounds the hill, and as they advance upwards, the deer flies at the sight of them, first of one side, then of another; and they still, as they mount, get into closer order, till, in the end, he is enclosed by them in a small circle, and there they hack him down with their broad-swords. And they generally do it so dexterously, as to preserve the hide entire.

If the chase be in a wood, which is mostly upon the declivity of a rocky hill, the tenants spread themselves as much as they can, in a rank extending upwards; and march, or, rather, crawl forward with a hideous yell. Thus they drive everything before them, while the laird and his friends are waiting at the farther end with their guns to shoot the deer. But it is difficult to force the roes out of their cover; insomuch that when they come into the open

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light, they sometimes turn back upon the huntsmen, and are taken alive.

What I have been saying on this head is only to give you some taste of the Highland hunting; for the hills, as they are various in their form, require different dispositions of the men that compose the pack. The first of the two paragraphs next above, relates only to such a hill as rises something in the figure of a cone; and the other, you see, is the side of a hill which is clothed with a wood; and this last is more particularly the shelter of the roe. A further detail I think would become tedious.*

* *Letters.* Edited by R. Jamieson. Vol. 2, pp. 67 70.

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SPORTS AND PASTIMES.—Part 6th.

Now westlin' winds and slaughtering guns
Bring autumn's pleasant weather;
The muircock springs, on whirring wings,
Amang the blooming heather.

Burns.

A STEADY marksman may bring down stag after stag as they are driven past his "coign of vantage;" but *stalking*, which requires great experience and a thorough acquaintance with the habits and haunts of the deer, may be accounted as the highest branch of wood-craft.

It was in the forest of Glenartney, near the head of Strathearn, that the late Prince Consort, during the Royal visit to Scotland, in September, 1842, stalked his first stag. Mr Campbell of Monzie (now also gone,) undertook to initiate his Royal Highness in the mysteries of the sport, and, accompanied by a practised attendant, discharged his office to admiration, while the Prince, entering heartily into the spirit of the pursuit, proved himself an apt pupil, careless of toil and danger.

Having got to a place a little way from the brow of the hill, they began to move forward on their knees, as there was reason to hope that the deer were at no great distance. As it was absolutely essential that silence should be preserved, Monzie whispered to the old forester, "Hold the Prince back, Donald, whilst I creep to the brow, to see where the deer are." "Hoo am I to do that?" replied Donald Cameron. "Just lay hold of his arm, if the deer come forward, until it is time to fire." "Haud the Prince!" said Donald, with a degree of astonishment, which, forty years' deer-stalker as he was, had nearly deprived him of his presence of mind. "Haud the Prince! I'll no do that. You maun just grip him yoursel', Monzie, and *I'll* look over the broo." Monzie was obliged to consent to old Donald's arrangement, and, to insure success, was compelled to take the necessary liberty with the Prince's arm. The herd did not come forward, but turned back round the hill.

. . . .

Shortly after this, they descried a single deer standing by himself on a brow, considerably in advance, and somewhat below them. The Prince had by this time shown so

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much promptly-acquired knowledge of the work, that his conductor was anxious he should stalk this deer by himself, and His Royal Highness was equally desirous to make the attempt. Off he set, therefore, entirely alone, creeping and wading on his hands and knees through a long succession of moss-hags—sinking deep into their black chaos—now unseen, and then again appearing—until at length, when he had been for some time out of sight, the smoke of his rifle curled up behind a knoll—its smart crack was heard—and although it turned out that the deer had gone off, it was afterwards retrieved.

The party shifted their ground, and the Prince hit another deer. Having struggled through more moss-hags, they suddenly came within range of a herd leisurely crossing their line of advance.

The Prince had only time to discharge one barrel before the herd disappeared from his sight. By that peculiar sound, which is so gratifying to the ear of a deer-stalker, it was known that the ball had told, and some hair was observed to be *dusted* out of the point of the shoulder. His Royal Highness thought he had missed, and seemed somewhat incredulous when Monzie told him where he had seen the ball hit. But all doubt upon the question was speedily removed, for while they were reloading the rifle, Donald trotted onwards a few hundred yards, and came to a sudden stop, and, with his eyes fixed on the ground, like a pointer on game, began to fumble for his skian-dhu. "Ha!" exclaimed the Prince, "He stops! He takes out his knife! It is dead!" And dead indeed it was; for on going up to it, there it lay with a hole through the point of the shoulder, just as Monzie had said. "Ah!" exclaimed the Prince, "it is a hind. I am *so* sorry it is not a stag; for I promised the teeth of the first I killed to the Queen." The teeth, which are considered by the superstitious as a charm against the evil eye, are likewise preserved as trophies by deer-stalkers, and various little ornaments are made of them, such as beautiful studs or buttons. It must be observed that this was the first deer that had dropped to his hand, though those previously fired at were afterwards retrieved.

Altogether, the day's slaughter produced two stags and three hinds, the trophies of which were collected and sent to Windsor.* The Queen has noted the day in her *Journal*:—

Monday, September 12.

Albert got up at five o'clock to go out deer-stalking.

. . . .

At length—a little before three—to my joy, Albert returned, dreadfully sunburnt, and a good deal tired; he had

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* *Memorial of the Royal Progress in Scotland.* By Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, Bart. Edin.: 1843: pp. 393–397.

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shot a stag. He said the exertion and difficulty were very great.

And the Prince, in a letter on the subject, written to Prince Leinengen, (Her Majesty's half-brother,) expressed himself as follows :—

Without doubt deer-stalking is one of the most fatiguing, but it is also one of the most interesting of pursuits. There is not a tree or a bush behind which you can hide yourself. . . . One has, therefore, to be constantly on the alert to circumvent them; and to keep under the hill out of their wind, crawling on hands and knees, and dressed entirely in grey.

At some remote and misty era, the Moose Deer, it is believed, had its habitat in Scotland, along with several other animals now long extinct.* According to an old authority, the Norwegians were anciently accustomed to pass from Orkney to the mainland of Scotland, to hunt the Reindeer! Sir Robert Gordon asserts that in the mountain of Arkel, in the forest of Dirimore, Sutherlandshire, there was a peculiar sort of deer, which had forked tails, three inches long, whereby they were easily known from any others.† Barclay the Civilian's account of Queen Mary's hunting mentions Fallow-deer; but this must be an anachronism, because it seems clearly established that that species was not known in Scotland till the time of James VI., who, indeed, is said to have brought the first specimens with him, when he returned home from Denmark along with his consort Anne, the Danish Princess; and the breed was subsequently carried into England. The famous ancestor of the Breadalbane family, Black Duncan of the Cowl, who built his castle of Balloch where Taymouth Castle now stands, was a great rural improver,

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* The *Beaver*, for example, was once a denizen of this country. Professor Cosmo Innes, in his *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, speaks of an old MS. collection of Scottish laws, containing a capitular of Custom duty, which probably was enacted in the twelfth century by King David I.; and " in the enumeration of furs upon which duty was to be taken on exporting, along with the common skins of tods, whitret, martrick, and cat, we have, specially mentioned, in all the manuscripts, the skins of beaver and sable."

† Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. ii., pp. 30, 34.

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and eagerly assisted in the introduction of Fallow-deer into Scotland. This was in the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1614, he leased the Isle of Inchesaile from the Earl of Argyle, and next year "put fallow deir and cunnyngis" therein. Here a fact worth noting suggests itself. Rather more than twenty years ago, a number of Fallow-deer broke out of the parks at Taymouth Castle, and spread themselves over all the neighbourhood. Some descended to the hills around Dunkeld and Birnam, where they grew quite wild, and became the pest of the country by ravaging kitchen-gardens, potato-pits, and the like. They were systematically shot down as opportunities offered, until their extermination was supposed to be completed. But this was not so; for, in the summer of 1870, a solitary survivor—a last year's fawn of the fallow breed—appeared in a grass park, within a mile of Birnam, where it was seen grazing along with a flock of sheep and lambs! The peculiarity of its companionship ensured this last of its race against powder and shot during the time it herded with the fleecy denizens of the fold; but it ultimately disappeared, and its fate is unknown.

In the year 1622 there was a *White Hind* about Corrichiba, in the country of Breadalbane, which King James VI. hearing of, was exceedingly anxious to secure, for the sake of the curiosity. He was at the pains to send down from England one of his foresters named Scandoner, and some others, with the following letter to Black Duncan:—

To our trustie and welbeloued Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenurquhay, Knighte.

JAMES R.—Trustie and welbeloued, Wee greete you well. Hauing understood that ther is in your boundes a white hinde, wee haue sente this bearer, one of our servantes, to take and transporte her hether unto us; and becaus that contrie is altogether unknowne to him, wee haue thought good hereby to recommende him to yow most earnestlie, requiring yow to assiste him and cause him to be furnished with all thinges necessarie, as well for taking of the said hinde as for his oune interteynment; and nothing doubting of your best endeuour for accomplishing of this our pleasour, wee bid you farewell. Giuen at our mannour of Theobaldes, the 13th day of Januaire, 1622.

It is recorded that "the said Englishmen saw the hind

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in Corrichiba on 22d February, 1622;" but they did not succeed in taking it, and so had to return empty-handed. The King was so anxious about this *lusus naturæ*, that on learning his servants' ill luck, he directed Sir Patrick Murray to write another letter to Black Duncan:—

To my honorabill Cheiff the Laird of Glenorquey, theiss.
NOBLE CHEIFF. I haue resceaued from the Earll of Mar a packet of letters concerninge the takinge of this trublesum whyt hynd of yours, and hes delyuered and red them to his Maiestie, he beinge not weill of a payne in his legs, I dar not seye the gutt. His Maiestie is weill plesed with you for the caire you hawe hed to forder his Maiesties desyr in all things concerninge this bissines of takinge theis deir, and seing his Maiestie fynds be Scandoners owine letters and all yours that it is a hard mater ather to tak hir or carey hir to the sea, by resone of the difficultie and hardnes of the place and hard tyme of the yeir; and fyndinge also be his Maiesties owine experience that iff sche cane not be takine befoir May or June, beinge so laitte in the yeir, that iff sche prowe with calf mey indenger hir owine lyff and hir calf also, his Maiesties plesour is that sche schall not be sturde this yeir, and that his Maiestie will think of sum wther courss befoir the nixt yeir for the better effectinge of his desyrs; and his Maiestie hes commanded me to wrytte wnto the Earll of Mar to send wnto all thoiss that bordors or marchies with Corrachaba that none presume to sture hir wnder his Maiesties highest displesor. And becaus his Maiestie will trye what Scandoner can do be his arte, he hes wryttine his letters to the Earll of Pearthe, that he mey mak tryall in Glenartnay for takinge of sum deir and rois now presently, that he may, be his tryall their, judge what he cane do heirafter in Corrachaba. I hawe downe you the best officeis that lyis in my power to his Maiestie, bothe in this and in all wther things that schall ather tuiche or concerne you, as I am bound in dewtie of bloud to do. Thus, with the rememberance of my trewe loue to yourself and all yours, I rest your werie assured friend and kinsman to serue you.

P. Murray.

Theabolls Park, the 9 of Marche 1622.

The King himself wrote Black Duncan a special letter of thanks in the following July.* So far as appears, however, the hind never fell into the toils of the hunters, but wandered her time among the solitudes of her native woods and wilds—a thing of marvel and superstitious mystery, and beautiful in her snowy purity as the White Doe of Rylstone:—

* Professor Innes' *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, pp. 516-518.

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White she is as lily of June,
And beauteous as the silver moon
When out of sight the clouds are driven,
And she is left alone in heaven;
Or like a ship some gentle day
In sunshine sailing far away,
A glittering ship, that hath the plain
Of ocean for her own domain.

A sad misfortune which befel Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, while following the chase in Lord Zouch's park at Harringworth, in Hampshire, shows that deer-hunters were late in abandoning the bow. It was the 24th of July 1622. The prelate was on horseback, and armed with the cross-bow. As the deer darted past him, he discharged a barbed arrow, but (like the bolt that slew the Red King,) it flew wide, and lodged in the left arm of one of the park-keepers named Peter Hawkins, and the man died in less than an hour. The event has no parallel in the ecclesiastical annals of England. The Archbishop was deeply grieved; and it is said that, throughout the remainder of his life, he observed a monthly fast on the day of the week on which his hand had been thus stained with blood. He also settled a pension of twenty pounds on the keeper's widow. In Scotland, after the middle of last century, a Highland poacher committed great depredations in the forests with his bow and arrows, and was probably the last who so used such weapons. He was seized *red-hand*, and brought before the Duke of Athole, who, hearing him vaunt of his skill in archery, pointed to a stag, and desired him to shoot it through the off eye. The Highlander giving a particular whistle, the animal looked round, and immediately received an arrow in the intended spot.*

The extreme longevity of the deer was once popularly credited. "Thrice the age of a man is that of a deer," said the Gaelic adage. But it is now ascertained that twenty years comprise the utmost term of life enjoyed by the species. That deer are keenly susceptible of the charms of music has also been asserted. Waller,

* *English Forests and Forest Trees*, p. 273. Logan's *Scottish Gael*, vol. 2, p. 45.

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the poet, alludes to this notion in his Farewell Verses to Dorothy—"At Penshurst"—

> While in this park I sing, the list'ning deer
> Attend my passion, and forget to fear.

And again in his lines "Of my Lady Isabella," as she played on a lute—

> Here Love takes stand, and while she charms the ear,
> Empties his quiver on the listening deer.

Playford relates, in his *Introduction to Music*, that once he "met on the road near Royston, a herd of about twenty stags, following a bagpipe and violin, which, while the music played, went forward, when it ceased they all stood still, and in this manner they were brought out of Yorkshire to Hampton Court!" Ought not the Highland deer to be slaves of the bagpipe music—unless, in their case, familiarity begets contempt?

From the Deer-forest we now pass to the Grouse-moor.

During the last thirty or forty years the rents of the moors have risen so much as to form a new and most important element in the value of Highland estates. High as are the rents, it is not impossible in good seasons, since the extension of railways has afforded facilities for the speedy conveyance of game to the southern markets, that moor lessees may manage to reimburse themselves. The recurrence of bad seasons is now more than ever to be dreaded; for, of recent times, the moors have been frequently devastated by what is called the "Grouse disease," the cause of which seems as yet to have eluded discovery. Looking back upwards of fifty years we find the distemper attracting attention. The *Sporting Magazine* for October, 1817, says:—

> An extraordinary disease has lately spread more havoc among the grouse in the North of Scotland, than the double-barrelled guns of the numerous sportsmen. The birds are found dead on the hills in great numbers, and in a state of extenuation, as if they had perished from hunger.

In the same magazine for August, 1819, appeared a notice from an Edinburgh paper:—

> A correspondent in the Highlands observes, that this season some unaccountable pestilential disease has attacked the moor game in some of the northern counties, and which has destroyed a very great number of them; their smell is

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so loathsome and offensive that their common enemies, viz., the wild birds and colly dogs, will not approach them.

The disease broke out in 1828, when the *Greenock Advertiser* had the following remarks :—

Having heard a great deal said about a destructive disease spreading devastation among the moor game of this district, we have taken some trouble to inquire into the truth of the report, and having ascertained it to be correct, we afterwards caused some inquiries to be made into the nature of the malady. From Mr Wallace, of Kelly, a well-known adept in sporting matters in this immediate neighbourhood, several grouse, in a state of complete emaciation, were sent to town. These were carefully dissected by one of our medical friends, and the disease found in all of them to be tape-worm. It is quite astonishing to observe the extent to which this disease can exist in the feathered tribe before causing death.

Mr Wallace attributes this dreadful malady, and the occasional scarcity or plentifulness of game generally, to one and the same cause, viz., a continuance of damp and wet weather, with little sunshine, during the spring and summer months; or, as his own words gave it—"Game, like wheat, will abound in proportion to the heat of the season, and the continued brilliancy of the sun." Mr Wallace is aware that this opinion is at variance with the generally received one of the older sportsmen; but a laborious series of observations made by himself have confirmed him in the accuracy of the remark. The sporting men of other days affirmed that dry summers cause death to game for want of water: Mr Wallace thinks that with warm nights there cannot be too much sun or too little rain, and this for any species of game in the west of Scotland, for in such weather heavy dews never fail to supply their wants.

To suggest a cure for this evil (when we have to do with the untamed and uncontrolled tenants of the moors) is obviously next to impossible. The disease can be cured in domesticated animals, it is true; and in small preserves, perhaps, some means might be taken to induce the birds to eat of food imbued with so much turpentine, or other substances known to be destructive to the worms, as to effect their removal.

Since 1849, the moors have suffered *at intervals of half-a-dozen years;* so that, according to this cycle, a devastating season may be expected in 1879. As to the origin of the disease, and also whether there are not two of distinct types, opinions are still at variance. The whole question is beset with difficulties; but probably the disease may be traced to atmospheric influences, or, in other words, exceptional and protracted disturbances of the due

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temperature of seasons acting prejudicially on the natural food of the grouse. This theory obtains respectable support. Dr Thomas Cobbold, of London, attributes the distemper to intestinal irritation caused by the presence of parasites—tapeworms and thread-worms. A Dumbartonshire writer, of some experience, lays much to account of the heather-blight; but holds that "the crying evil" is the overstocking of moors with sheep. He thus argues:—

Pasture the increasing stock of sheep must have, and that can only be supplied at the expense of the grouse. Not more necessary is good pasture for sheep or cattle, or grain for the use of man, than is sound and wholesome heather for the sustenance and nourishment of grouse. Take almost any good grouse moor in Scotland for an example. Twenty years ago, perhaps, that whole expanse bloomed with the purple heather. Twenty years ago that stock of sheep—that crowd of white moving specks which you see dotted over the mountain side—could not have subsisted within their present boundaries. What has been given to the sheep has been taken from the grouse. The result is inevitable. When deprived of their natural means of subsistence they are put to their shifts to maintain life; and yet men wonder what can cause their intestines to be so crammed with worms, and that disease should periodically decimate their numbers. The wonder would be if the case were otherwise. Deprive any animal of its natural food, and feed it on what may be to it unwholesome, and disease will inevitably ensue.

No doubt the seasons have changed very much from what they used to be twenty or thirty years ago, and grouse have materially suffered from cold late springs, which have blighted the heather. Dr Cobbold sneers at such an idea. Nothing, in short, will satisfy the learned doctor which seems to interfere with the parasitic origin of the disease, as he lays claim to the discovery of the internal parasite in grouse. But granting, as I do, that this nasty little parasite does occasion disease in grouse, is there anything illogical in attributing the cause of the worm to the bird being compelled to eat unwholesome food, from its natural food, the heather, being damaged or destroyed from continued blighting east wind? And thus the blight of the heather is really at least one cause of grouse disease. True, it has been rejoined, that occasionally disease has appeared when the season has been most propitious for vegetation; but if sheep and grouse have alike been unduly increased on any moor, and both are greedily competing for the nice green young shoots of heather, it requires no conjuror to predict which of them must go to the wall.

For ourselves, we cannot venture to speak authoritatively on the subject: but, doubtless with farther pains-

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taking observation, conducted irrespective of all preconceived notions, the real root of the evil will be reached, and a remedy found.

From the moors to the salmon rivers on which the "honest angler" pursues his darling vocation is no abrupt transition. It is to be regretted that seasons have not been uncommon in which our rivers have proved comparatively barren as regards angling. But this has been entirely owing to the long droughts, which prevented the fish ascending; and a flood always brought them up in shoals. The extension of field drainage along the course of a river, especially in a hilly country, has the effect of rendering such droughts more felt, by carrying off the rainfall too rapidly. The occasional paucity of sport and of captures by the net need not, therefore, have given rise to so many theoretic propositions for the "improvement" of the fisheries. To all appearance our existing regulations, in the main, are working well. Enlightened legislation is bearing good fruit. While our first of Scottish rivers, the Tay, is kept in ordinary depth, the supply of salmon, grilse, and sea-trout usually proves abundant. For these reasons, rash interference with the present laws of the fisheries ought to deprecated as much by the lovers of sport as by the river-proprietary themselves.

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SPORTS AND PASTIMES—Part 7th.

Healthful sports that graced the peaceful scene.
Goldsmith's "Deserted Village."

The banks of our salmon rivers have often echoed the confused clamour of a sport, with which, in its hurrying bustle and excitement, the Waltonian art, the "contemplative man's recreation," bears no comparison. The otter, that

Water-wolf, of species undefined,
Or fish, or quadruped, or both conjoined,

was formerly a constant object of pursuit on Scottish streams, and the otter-hunt ranked high in the category of national diversions,—the animal being classed, by the old writers on hunting, with the badger and the wild-cat, as affording "greate dysporte," though conventionally belonging to the "rascal" kind. But this water-wolf has now disappeared from most of its long-accustomed haunts, and its chase, north of the Tweed, has almost become a thing of the past. Peculiarly obnoxious to the piscatorial interests of rivers, the otter is held in detestation by the angler. "I am, sir, a brother of the angle, and therefore an enemy to the otter," quoth old Isaak; "for you are to note that we anglers all love one another, and therefore do I hate the otter, both for my own and for their sakes who are of my brotherhood." On the other hand, the "base vermin" has been regarded with far different feelings by the peasantry of a water-side. The Highland people affectionately call it *caraid nam bochd*, "the poor man's friend," because of its habit of eating no more than a bit from the back or shoulder of a salmon, and then leaving the fish lying on the bank, to be picked up by the first passer-by. In Scotland it has been an old belief that the otters have a king, of larger size than the rest of the species, and farther distinguished by having his coat streaked or varied with white. His skin, moreover, was thought to possess inestimable

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virtues to mankind. It was an antidote for infectious diseases: the Highlanders were anxious to line their targets with it to ensure victory in battle: and mariners valued it as an infallible preservative against shipwreck at sea. But, as we are told, "the otter-king is very rarely seen, and very hard to be killed;" and he is never killed without the sudden death of a man or an animal at the same moment!

The otter is capable of being utilised in the capture of salmon. Analagous modes of sport were prevalent in other days. Falcons were used in "flying at the fur," or hunting hares. Cormorants, too, were trained to fish for the amusement of their masters; and it appears that this fashion, which had been long practised by the Chinese, was introduced into Europe during the sixteenth century. Our British Solomon, James I., kept cormorants and otters on the ponds in the London parks. This is shewn by the Pell Records:—

1611, April 11. To John Wood, the sum of £30, in respect he hath been at extraordinary charge in bringing up and training of certain fowls called cormorants, and making of them fit for the use of fishing, to be taken to him of his Majesty's free gift and reward £30.

1612, May 30. To the same, keeper of his Majesty's cormorants, £30, for his charges, being appointed by his Majesty to search in some of the farthest parts of this realm for young cormorants, which afterwards are to be made fit for his Majesty's sport and recreation.

1618, October 10. To Robert Wood, keeper of his Majesty's cormorants, ospreys, and otters, the sum of £66 13. 4, in part of £286, to be by him disbursed for the charges of making nine fish ponds, which the said Wood hath undertaken to make in a parcel of ground within the vine garden at Westminster, which for the better bringing up and keeping of the said cormorants, &c., for his Majesty's disport, he hath taken a lease of for four years of the Lord Danvers, wherein he hath to make the said fish ponds, the same to be paled and stored with sundry sorts of fish, with a sluice to bring water out of the Thames to the said ponds; and also for building a house, which he hath likewise undertaken to build there, to keep the said cormorants, ospreys, and otters in; and also to perform other things requisite for such work, the charges of all which amounteth to the sum of £286, appearing by the bill of the particulars, subscribed by Sir Thomas Watson, knight, of which said work the said Wood hath already finished a great part.

1624, August 28. To Robert Wood, the sum of £98. 8. 6,

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in full satisfaction of the charge and loss sustained by Luke Wood in his late travels with three cormorants, to Venice, having been stayed in his passage thither, and his cormorants taken from him, by the Duke of Savoy, to his great loss and hindrance.

In France, Henry IV., Louis XIII., and the *Grande Monarque* patronised Cormorant fishing on the ponds and canals of Fontainebleau, where there was a "Keeper of the King's cormorants" as late as the year 1736. Many curious instances might be given of the taming and domestication of the otter. An English gentleman had one, who followed him with his dogs when he went to hunt other otters; but though the hounds did not molest their queer companion, they would hunt no otters in his presence, upon which account, although he was useful in fishing, and in driving the trouts towards the net, his owner had to part with him. A man near Inverness had likewise a tame otter, which was frequently employed in fishing, and would take eight or ten salmon in a day. When one was taken from it, it dived for another, and when tired and satisfied with eating its share, it curled itself round and fell asleep, in which state it was generally carried home. An otter in the possession of a gentleman farmer near Coupar-Angus was quite domesticated. It was as tame as a dog, and slept every night with one of its master's sons. In the day time it regularly frequented a loch in the neighbourhood for the purpose of procuring fish, but would always come out of the water when called by any person of the family. In 1807, a young man, at Lochside, in the parish of Blairgowrie, having shot at and wounded a young otter, carried it home, where it speedily recovered, and became as tame as a lap-dog. It accompanied its master to the lochs and rivers in the vicinity, where it dived for fish, brought them to land, and returned for more.* A year or two ago, a correspondent of a London sporting paper suggested that the otter might be employed in catching trout on lochs where boats are scarce or difficult to procure; but, in our opinion, there is little chance of the animal coming

* Daniel's *Rural Sports*, vol. i., pp. 519,520: vol. iv., p. 55.

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into favour, under any circumstances, as a substitute for the rod or the net.

Although it has not been our intention to traverse the complete round of sports and pastimes kept up in Scotland, yet there are still several games, respecting which we desire to offer some desultory historical notices.

The game of *Bowls* has been traced back in England to the thirteenth century. Bowling-greens are supposed to have been first formed in that kingdom; but the time soon followed when they were to be found as adjuncts of most of our Scottish mansion-houses and castles. The old ballad of "The Bonnie House o' Airly" relates that the Lady Margaret concealed her treasure about the bowling-green, where, however it did not escape the hands of Argyle.

> He has ta'en her by the middle sae sma',
>   Says, "Lady, where is your drury?"
> "It's up and down the bonnie burn side,
>   Amang the planting of Airly."
>
> They sought it up, they sought it down,
>   They sought it late and early,
> And found it in the bonnie balm-tree
>   That shines on the bowling-green o' Airly.

Dr Thomas Somerville of Jedburgh, in his retrospect of the social state of Scotland during the earlier period of his life, beginning with 1741, says—"Many of our national games, as handball, football, golf and curling, though not discontinued, are less generally practised than when I was a younger man. Bowls were then a common amusement. Every country town was provided with a public bowling-green for the diversion of the inhabitants in the summer evenings. All classes were represented among the players, and it was usual for players of different ranks to take part in the same game. A bowling-green usually formed part of the *policy* or pleasure grounds of country houses. At these private bowling-greens ladies also shared in the amusement, thus rendering it greatly more attractive."* As a quiet, interesting, and healthful recreation, particul-

† *My Own Life and Times*, p. 345.

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arly for sedentary persons and those who cannot join in sports requiring a great exertion of physical strength, the game of bowls, we are glad to observe, has of late years been extending in many quarters.

The *Discus* or Quoit was played by the ancient Greeks and Romans, and its invention was attributed to the Lacedæmonians. It was made of stone, brass, copper, or iron, three or four inches thick, and was discharged, with a circular motion, by the help of a thong passing through a hole in the middle, and attached at one end to the hand of the thrower. According to the classic myth, Hyacinthus, a beautiful Spartan youth, beloved by Apollo, was accidentally killed by his celestial patron in a quoiting match. When the Sun-God had launched his discus, Zephyrus, actuated by jealousy cruel as the grave, blew it aslant upon the brow of the young mortal, who fell dead on the spot. His blood sinking into the ground, Apollo created therefrom the flower Hyacinth, bearing on its leaves the exclamation of woe, A I, A I – (alas! alas!)—

> Flower! with a curious eye we scan
> Thy leaf, and there discover
> How passion triumphed—pain began—
> Or in the immortal, or the man,
> The hero, or the lover.
>
> The disk is hurled: ah! fatal flight!
> Low droops that beauteous brow:
> But oh! the Delian's pang! his light
> Of joy lies quenched in sorrow's night:
> The deathless record *thou.*

Our early ancestors doubtless became familiar with the game during the Roman occupation of Britain. Formerly, the English rustics, when not possessing regular quoits, played with horse-shoes; and in some parts of Scotland, round flat stones were used, and the game was called the *Penny-stanes.*

Caitch-ball is a very old Scottish game—consisting, as we need scarce explain, in the striking of a leather-covered ball against a high wall, with the hand, and striking it back again after it rebounds, falls to the ground, and rises. It is favourably mentioned in the *Basilicon Doron*, which James VI. wrote for the in-

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struction of "his dearest sonne Henry the Prince." His Majesty says that the exercises which he would have his son to use, in all moderation, were "running, leaping, wrestling, fencing, dancing, and playing at the *caitch* or tennise, archerie, palle-malle, and such like other fair and pleasant field sports." Not long ago, the *Caitch* was much played at Perth, where "there were some very fine situations" for its practice. One of these places was between the first house in Charlotte Street next to the north side of the Bridge, and what was then called the Ladies' Pend, where the ground at first was so low that there was a descent into the Inch by a flight of nine steps. This stair was uncovered in June, 1872, during the operations of carrying the Tay Street drain through the first or dry arch of the Bridge, and had a width of about three feet. "Here," says the author of the *Traditions of Perth*, "parties were engaged from morning till night at this game; and there was often a struggle to get possession of the ground. But the best place was the south side of the square of Gowrie House. In that wing the windows faced the south, whilst on the north side they were all built up. There was then a spacious square, with a wall of about 40 feet high. The artillery, who had but little duty to perform, frequently took a game at the ball, and always allowed any respectable party to join them. In fact, the company of artillery were so seldom changed, that they became quite domesticated, and were respected by the inhabitants. Another station for the game was the porch of the West Church door, then open. This was chiefly occupied by the youths and young tradesmen; here the game was played by doubling the ball on both sides."

Cricket is of English extraction, and was only introduced, at a comparatively recent period, into Scotland, where it has now become thoroughly naturalised. In its origin, it was probably an offshoot from the old pastime of club-ball, which was played in England as early as the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries: but when cricket first became a distinct game is unknown.

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The scholars of the Free School at Guildford played cricket in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,—this being the earliest mention of the game by its modern name, though it seems to have existed long before under another name. Milton's nephew, Edward Phillips, notices cricket in 1685. One of the songs—"Of a noble race was Shenkin"—in Tom D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy,* commences thus—

Her was the prettiest fellow
At football or at cricket.

Pope and Swift both allude to the game. It was played at Eton in Horace Walpole's younger days. The *British Champion* of 8th September, 1743, published an article on "Publick Cricket Matches," from which it appears that "noblemen, gentlemen, and clergymen" were then, as now, in the habit of joining with their social inferiors in playing the game; that notices of the matches were given by advertisement in the newspapers, and that large numbers of people flocked to behold them. The game afforded an anonymous poet in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1756, occasion "to point a moral:"

THE GAME OF CRICKET:
An Exercise at Merchant Taylors' School.

Peace and her arts we sing—her genial power
Can give the breast to pant, the tho't to tow'r,
Tho' guiltless, not inglorious souls inspires,
And boasts less savage, not less noble fires.
Such is her sway, when Cricket calls her train,
The sons of labour, to the accustom'd plain,
With all the hero's passion and desire,
They swell, they glow, they envy, and admire;
Despair and resolution reign by turns;
Suspense torments, and emulation burns.
See! in due rank dispos'd, intent they stand,
In act to start—the eye, the foot, the hand,
Still active, eager, seem conjoin'd in one;
Tho' fixt, all moving, and while present gone.
In ancient combat, from the *Parthian* steed,
Not more unerring flew the barbed reed
Than rolls the ball, with vary'd vigour play'd,
Now levell'd, whizzing o'er the springing blade,
Now toss'd to rise more fatal from the ground,
Exact and faithful to th' appointed bound,
Yet vain its speed, yet vain its certain aim;
The wary batsman watches o'er the game;
Before his stroke the leathern circle flies,

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Now wheels oblique, now mounting threats the skies.
Nor yet less vain the wary batsman's blow,
If intercepted by the encircling foe,
Too soon the nimble arm retorts the ball,
Or ready fingers catch it in its fall:
Thus various art with vary'd fortune strives,
And with each changing chance the sport revives.
Emblem of many-colour'd life—the State
By Cricket-rules discriminates the great:
The outward side, who place and profit want,
Watch to surprise, and labour to supplant:
While those who taste the sweets of present winnings
Labour as heartily to keep their *innings*.
On either side the whole great game is play'd,
Untry'd no shift is left, unsought no aid:
Skill vies with skill, and pow'r contends with pow'r,
And *squint-ey'd prejudice* computes *the score*.
In private life, like *single-handed play'rs*,
We get less *notches*, but we meet less cares.
Full many a lusty effort, which at court
Would fix the doubtful issue of the sport,
Wide of its mark, or impotent to rise,
Ruins the rash, or disappoints the wise.
Yet all in public and in private strive
To keep the ball of action still alive,
And just to all, when each his ground has run,
Death *tips the wicket*, and the game is done.

In 1774, cricket underwent some modifications, when a number of noblemen and gentlemen formed themselves into a Committee, of which the Duke of Dorset was the chairman, and drew up a code of laws for the regulation of the game, which only existed before in a loose and desultory form. From this cause, the year 1874 has been styled by some as the centenary of cricket.*

A pastime of the days of chivalry was *Riding or Tilting at the Ring.*—We read in the old Scots ballad:—

He was a braw gallant,
  And he rid at the ring;
And the bonnie Earl of Murray,
  Oh! he might ha'e been a king.

He was a braw gallant,
  And he play'd at the ba';
And the bonnie Earl of Murray
  Was the flower amang them a'.

And Roslin's fair daughter thus pled:—

'Tis not because Lord Lindesay's heir
  To-night at Roslin leads the ball,
But that my ladye-mother there
  Sits lonely in her castle-hall.

* *Notes and Queries:* 5th Series, vol. ii., p. 121.

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'Tis not because the ring they ride,
And Lindesay at the ring rides well,
But that my sire the wine will chide,
If 'tis not fill'd by Rosabelle.

Up to about the end of last century, this sport was practised by the different Societies of Scottish Chapmen or Pedlars, at their annual gatherings for the election of officebearers. But, at the present time, Tilting at the Ring holds place among the popular games in some districts of Scotland, It is included in the sports of the town of Lanark's festival called "Lanimer Day." A Lanarkshire gentleman, writing to a London paper in June 1874, states that every year at Carnwath, on the estate of the Lockharts of Lee (the ancient house possessing the *Lee Penny*), a foot-race is run for "a pair of red hose" given by the Lee family, and the legend is that they hold their lands under a Charter which enjoins this being done annually. At this meeting, Tilting at the Ring has been carried on for a very lengthened period, the prize being a gold ring, given by the Lady Lockhart of the day. Some years ago, for successive years, what was styled a tilting tournament was held at Maryhill, near Glasgow, and handsome prizes given for tilting; and these were keenly competed for by many gentlemen, some of them coming long distances to do so. About four years ago, a competition of the same kind took place, with stiff hurdles on both sides of the transverse beam and ring, within the Hamilton Palace policy grounds. The public were admitted, and large crowds attended, and had the pleasure of seeing the Duke of Hamilton, despite his welter weight, tying with another competitor, who ultimately won, for the principal prize. In 1873 a public competition was held at Hamilton, several of the officers of the 1st Royal Dragoons, quartered at Hamilton, competing along with a large number of other gentlemen. The writer adds—"As to private competitions among friends, I have witnessed hundreds of them; and, while tilting on level ground without hurdles is sometimes practised, it is considered poor fun without a 'lep' on each side, the hurdles being generally 3 ft. 3 in. to 3 ft. 6 in. high, at

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fifteen yards distance from the transverse beam on each side, and the ring has to be taken off and carried on the lance over the second hurdle." Another correspondent holds that this pastime "far excels in manly skill and horsemanship the now famous game of Polo."

Of late years, Tilting at the Ring has been successfully revived at that favourite Scottish Spa, the Bridge of Allan.

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SPORTS AND PASTIMES.—Part 8th.

When chittering birds, on flicht'ring wing,
  About the barn doors mingle,
And biting frost, and cranreuch cauld,
  Drive coofs around the ingle;
Then to the loch the curlers hie,
  Their hearts as light's a feather,
And mark the tee wi' mirth and glee,
  In cauld, cauld frosty weather.

Rev. James Muir.

Among the pastimes of the "Land of Cakes," there is one which is vaunted as being exclusively national—"Scotland's ain game o' Curling." Well-merited are the ardent panegyrics which have been lavished upon it! What winter recreation can rival the Bonspiel? Many sports are precluded by the rough weather; but the "keen, keen curler" exults when Boreas and John Frost are in their bitterest moods, muffling Mother Earth in her winding-sheet and congealing the waters to the consistency of stone. Look at the thronged and resounding rink on a clear, hard, nipping day, when

The ice is here, the ice is there,
  The ice is all around:

and your heart will warm and leap in unison with the geniality and good fellowship pervading the busy assemblage! As admirably conducive to the promotion of genuine fraternity between all classes of men, curling must be pronounced unequalled among games.

For on the water's face are met,
  Wi' mony a merry joke, man,
The tenant and his jolly laird,
  The pastor and his flock, man.

Need we strive to depict the deepening contest that animates the snowy scene? This has been done to our hand by the amiable poet of the Sabbath, in his *British Georgics:*

  Now rival parishes, and shrievedoms, keep,
On upland lochs, the long-expected tryst
To play their yearly bonspiel. Aged men,
Smit with the eagerness of youth, are there,
While love of conquest lights their beamless eyes,
New-nerves their arms, and makes them young once more.

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The sides when ranged, the distance meted out,
And duly traced the tees, some younger hand
Begins, with throbbing heart, and far o'ershoots,
Or sideward leaves, the mark: in vain he bends
His waist, and winds his hand, as if it still
Retained the power to guide the devious stone,
Which, onward hurling, makes the circling group
Quick start aside, to shun its reckless force.
But more and still more skilful arms succeed,
And near and nearer still around the tee
This side, now that, approaches; till at last,
Two seeming equidistant, straws or twigs
Decide as umpires 'tween contending coits.
Keen, keener still, as life itself were staked,
Kindles the friendly strife: one points the line
To him who, poising, aims and aims again;
Another runs and sweeps where nothing lies.
Success alternately, from side to side,
Changes; and quick the hours un-noted fly,
Till light begins to fail, and deep below,
The player, as he stoops to lift his coit,
Sees, half-incredulous, the rising moon.
But now the final, the decisive spell,
Begins; near and more near the sounding stones,
Some winding in, some bearing straight along,
Crowd jostling all around the mark, while one,
Just slightly touching, victory depends
Upon the final aim: long swings the stone,
Then with full force, careering furious on,
Rattling it strikes aside both friend and foe,
Maintains its course, and takes the victor's place.
The social meal succeeds, and social glass;
In words the fight renewed is fought again,
While festive mirth forgets the winged hours.

No trace of curling can be found among the out-door amusements of the English in former days. On the other hand, the claim that it is indigenous to Scotland —though this has been urged with all the *perfervidum Scotorum ingenium*—seems at the best somewhat problematical. The scanty and fragmentary history of curling in Scotland points to the theory that the "roaring play" was an importation from the Low Countries. Some of the chief technical terms of the game appear to owe their derivation to the Dutch or German. *Curl* may have come from the German word *Kurzweil*—a game; and *Curling* from *Kurzweillen*—to play for amusement. The old name for curling in some parts of Scotland was *Kuting* or *Cooting*, and the stones were called *Cooting* or *Coiting*-stones—evidently from the Teutonic

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Kluyten—to play with round pieces of ice, in the manner of quoits, on a sheet of ice; or, the denomination may have come from the Dutch *coete*—a quoit; as if, indeed, the game of quoits, and not that of bowls, originated curling. The word *Bonspiel*, as understood in Scotland, signifies a match at any game—curling, golf, football, archery, &c., and it has even been applied in some quarters to a prize-fight! Perhaps it comes from the French *bon* and the German *speilen;* but the more likely derivation is from the Belgic *bonne*, a village or district, and *spel*, play—thus expressing a friendly competition between people of different townships or parishes. *Tee* is the winning point: Icelandic *tia*, to point out; and *witter* is another name for the tee: Suio-Gothic *wittra*, to point out. *Wick*—Suio-Gothic *wik*, a corner; and only a corner of the stone is hit in the operation of what is called wicking. *Skip*—a director of the play: Suio-Gothic, *skeppare*; whence skipper of a ship. *Hack*, or *hatch*, a cut on the ice, to save the foot of the player from slipping when delivering the stone: Icelandic *hiacka*, or Suio-Gothic *hack*, a crack. From which etymological coincidences, taken in conjunction with the period when curling is first mentioned as being played in Scotland, the inference has been drawn that the game was introduced by the numerous companies of Flemings who emigrated from Flanders to Scotland about the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Still, we must not forget that the game seemed unknown in Germany and the Low Countries until of late years, and no mention of its former existence there has been discovered in any record. But the signification of *kluyten* shows that the Germans had once a game similar to curling—namely, throwing or sliding lumps of ice upon the frozen surface of water, apparently in imitation of the game of quoits. Besides, the utter extinction of curling on the Continent is not so very improbable a supposition, when we know that, although curling was introduced into Ireland by the Scottish colonists of the time of James I. of England, it soon fell into oblivion

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there, and has only been recently revived. Unquestionably the Teutonic tongue still lingers in the game, and no conjecture has the plausibility of that which assigns the origin of curling to the people whose language is connected with it.

Until within the last half-century, curling was neither practised nor even known *universally* in Scotland. Some provinces knew nothing about it. Among the ancient sports of the Highland population, it had no place. It was entirely a Lowland pastime. The emigrant Flemings have been credited, as we have said, with its introduction; and the first historical notice of curling in Scotland occurs long after their arrival. It is an English antiquarian writer who is the earliest known authority. Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1607, mentions the game in his description of the Isle of Copinsha, one of the Orkneys, "in which, and in several other places of this country, are to be found, in great plenty, excellent stones for the game called curling." Thirty years elapse, and Henry Adamson, in his *Muses Threnodie*, published in 1638, speaks of curling-stones brought from Lednock, on the banks of the Almond:—

> And ye my *loadstones* of *Lednochian* lakes,
> Collected from the loughs, where watrie snakes
> Do much abound, take unto you a part,
> And mourn for *Gall*, who lov'd you with his heart.
> In this sad dump and melancholick mood,
> The *burdown* ye must bear, not on the flood
> Or frozen watrie plaines, but let your tuning
> Come help me for to weep by mournful cruning.

And "The Inventary of the Gabions in Mr George Ruthven's Closet or Cabinet" enumerates

> His alley bowles, his curling-stones;
> The sacred games to celebrate,
> Which to the gods are consecrate.

In the same year which saw Adamson's work "touch the press" and "come to light," the Bishop of Orkney, —who, along with the rest of the Scottish prelates, was deposed by the General Assembly of the Kirk which met at Glasgow,—was stigmatised by his Covenanting enemies as "a curler on the Lord's-Day." Any notice of the game in the subsequent portion of the century

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is equally meagre and incidental. A reference occurs in Fountainhall's *Decisions*, under date 1684:—"A party of the forces having been sent out to apprehend Sir William Scott of Harden, younger, one William Scott, in Lainghope, getting notice of their coming, went and acquainted Harden with it, as he was playing at the curling with Riddel of Haining and others." Passing on for a space, we bear of another clergyman charged with the crime of curling out of season. A letter from Mr Charles Cokburne, son of the Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, addressed to the Duke of Montrose, and dated at Edinburgh, 2nd June, 1715, intimates the trial at Perth of an Episcopal clergyman, named Mr Guthrie, who intruded into a church, not praying for King George, nor keeping the Thanksgiving for his Majesty's accession, but "going to the curling that day," and drinking the Pretender's health on his birthday.* In 1715, likewise, Dr Alexander Pennecuik of Newhall (the friend who suggested to Allan Ramsay the plot and scene of *The Gentle Shepherd*) gave his poems to the world, and in one of his effusions makes a very complimentary allusion to curling, shewing that the game was popular in his day and neighbourhood:—

> To curl on the ice does greatly please,
> Being a manly Scottish exercise:
> It clears the brains, stirs up the native heat,
> And gives a gallant appetite for meat.

While the rebellion of 1745 was at its height, a curling match took place at Blairgowrie, and the usual "beef and greens" having been provided, a party of Prince Charlie's Highlanders made a foray on the tempting dinner, and effectually disposed of it, to the great disappointment and dismay of the hungry competitors. An anecdote is also related of the Rev. Mr Lyon, who was minister of Blairgowrie parish from 1723 to 1768. The worthy incumbent was so fond of curling that he continued to pursue it, with unabated ardour, even after old age had left him scarce strength enough to send a stone beyond the hog-score; and on one occasion, hav-

* *Third Report on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 373.

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ing over-exerted himself in the act of delivering his stone, he lost his balance and fell on his back. Some of the bystanders hastened to his assistance; and, in the meantime, one of the party placed the stone he had just thrown off on the centre of the tee. While still on his back the minister eagerly inquired where his stone was, and being informed that it was on the tee, exclaimed, "Oh, then, I'm no a bit waur!" * The land of Burns has long been marked for its attachment to the game: and the poet's Tam Samson was a famous curler:—

> He was the king o' a' the core,
> To guard, or draw, or wick a bore,
> Or up the rink like Jehu roar
> In time o' need;
> But now he lags on death's *hog-score*,
> Tam Samson 's dead!

We have already seen that the Town of Perth could boast of knights of the broom early in the seventeenth century. During a portion of the period embraced in Penny's *Traditions*, curling was much played at Perth. There was "frequently excellent ice on the Tay, but almost constantly, whilst the frost lasted, at the back of the Muirton, before the mound was thrown across the bog; as well as at Balhousie orchard; and on the pools in the South Inch;" but these latter places became filled up, or unsuitable, and the salmon-fishers broke and secured ice wherever they could find it, so that the game was "driven to the country."

Recurring to the question of the origin and antiquity of the game in Scotland, it must be noted that no old curling-stones are extant of unquestioned dates earlier than the seventeenth century at the farthest. A writer on the subject, in 1830, himself an enthusiastic curler, has observed—"Another circumstance leads to the supposition that the origin of the game, in this country at least, is not very remote,—the specimens that still remain of the unhandled, unpolished blocks which were used by the curlers of, comparatively, even modern times. The improvements since adopted are so obvious that they must have suggested themselves

* *Annual of the Grand Caledonian Curling Club for 1842*

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long before the time when they actually were made, had the practice of the game been very ancient. Though no evidence exists to show that curling is now practised, or that it ever was practised, on the Continent, further than what arises from the etymology of the art, as above noticed, yet we have evidence that something very like it was at one time in operation there. Kilian, in his dictionary, renders the Teutonic *kluyten kallyuten*—ludere massis sive globis glaciatis, certare discis in æquore glaciato. Whatever those round masses of ice were, they seem to have been employed in a game on the ice after the manner of quoits. Indeed, it is highly probable that the game we now call curling was nothing else than the game of quoits practised upon the ice. The old stones which yet remain, both from size and shape, favour the conjecture, having only a niche for the finger and thumb, as if they had been intended to be thrown.*" Some old stones, however, have been found both handled and dated. An unhammered curling-stone was found in an old curling pond near Dunblane, bearing the date 1551; but the age of the inscription has been much doubted. In the dry summer of 1826, an old stone was recovered from the bottom of the Shiels Loch, near Roslin, which had been dried up by the great drought, and which the Roslin people had used time out of mind for curling. The stone was found embedded in the mud, and was about to be consigned to the walls of the new chapel of Roslin, which were then being erected, when the mason, by the merest accident, discovered that the "channel stane" bore the date 1613. The stone was a grey whin, 5½ inches thick, of triangular form, and quite rough as it came out of the bed of the river; while the handle had been iron, which was entirely corroded away, but the lead remained. The triangular shape of this stone resembles that of the "goose" of other days, which was generally employed as the "prentice stone" given to young players

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* *Memorabilia Curliana Mabenensia.* Dumfries: 1830, p. 10.

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to try their hands on. The "goose" served both as a "leader" and "wheeler": in the first capacity it was a dangerous shot when well played, leading many a stone directed against it a wild goose-chase, by fairly turning round like a Jim Crow, as it never moved from the spot except when hit exactly in the centre. In the month of December, 1830, while the foundation of the old House of Loig, in Strathallan, was being dug out, a curling-stone of peculiar shape was discovered. It was of an oblong form, and had been neatly finished with the hammer, and bore the initials "J.M." and the date 1611. About half-a-dozen old curling stones were unearthed in digging a drain to the east of Watson's Hospital, near Edinburgh. They were all roughly made, but had handles, though no dates. They were allowed to lie about the field for a fortnight, till they were all broken to pieces (perhaps for the sake of the iron of the handles,) save one, a fair sample of the rest. It was a semi-spheroidal block of coarse-grained whinstone, weighing 65lb.,—about 6 inches high,—and with an iron handle of the common kind fixed in the usual place. Upon the whole, the sixteenth century would thus appear as the proper time when curling became known in Scotland, either by invention at home or introduction from abroad.

The Grand (now Royal) Caledonian Curling Club was instituted in 1838, the year of the hard water. It has now a widely-ramified affiliation, comprising about 450 provincial clubs in Scotland and many others in America. The great annual match is between the brethren north and south of the Forth. From 1847 to 1874, eleven matches have come off, in eight of which the Southrons were victorious over the "hardy Northmen." The expectations of the Club in reference to the grand match have been so often disappointed by sudden changes of weather, that it has become a common by-word that the match has only to be fixed in order to bring on a thaw. To obviate this plaguey uncertainty of the weather, a writer in the *Edinburgh Courant* of 3d February, 1873, recommended the con-

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struction of Curling Ponds on a simple scale. "Frost," he says, "there must be before there is curling, but, thanks to our insular position and changeable climate, it is only in exceptional years that there are any number of days when the ice is strong enough for the game. We think that more might be made of the frosts we have than is now done; and we fear we may shock some ardent knights of the broom, who glory in contending with the bias of a frozen loch, when we say that our present purpose is to urge the expediency of making artificial curling ponds, not certainly to supplant, but to supplement, the ordinary ones which we at present have. How often do years pass away without there being a sufficient amount of frost to afford even a single day's curling! How frequently, after waiting and watching, day after day, till the ice has become strong enough, has a thaw set in just when the longed-for hour had arrived, and the curlers had to trudge home in the wet, all their hopes disappointed! And yet we are well assured, from practical experience, that prejudice, or want of knowledge of the facts, is the chief cause which prevents capital curling being obtained on any day when there is actual frost, and the thermometer marks 32° of Fahrenheit. The whole difference between an ordinary curling pond and what we have called an artificial one is, that the floor of the latter is laid with wooden planks, which are flooded with a very thin covering of water. This slender sheet becomes frozen in a few minutes, and under proper conditions as to shade, remains keen and glassy as long as there is the slightest degree of frost. On such a pond we have seen scores of famous games, when there was curling nowhere else, whilst sceptical old curlers soon forgot that the water on which they stood was not so deep as Duddingston."

Heartily seconding this suggestion, we shall conclude our rambling dissertations on sport and pastime by repeating a sentiment which has doubtless been often applauded to the echo when brimming cups succeeded the beef and greens on the curlers' board :

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May Curlers on life's slippery rink,
  Frae cruel rubs be free, man.
Or should a treacherous bias lead
  Their erring course ajee, man,
Some friendly in-ring may they meet
  To guide them to the tee, man.

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