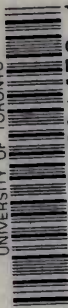


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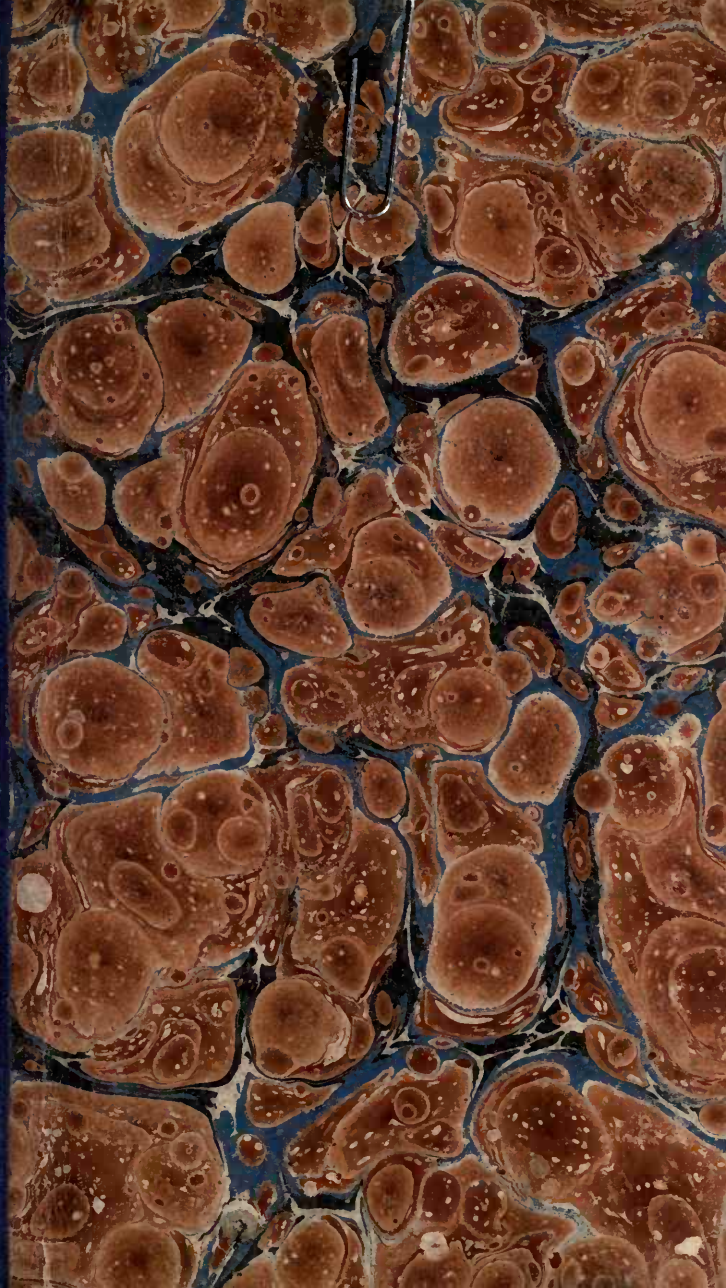


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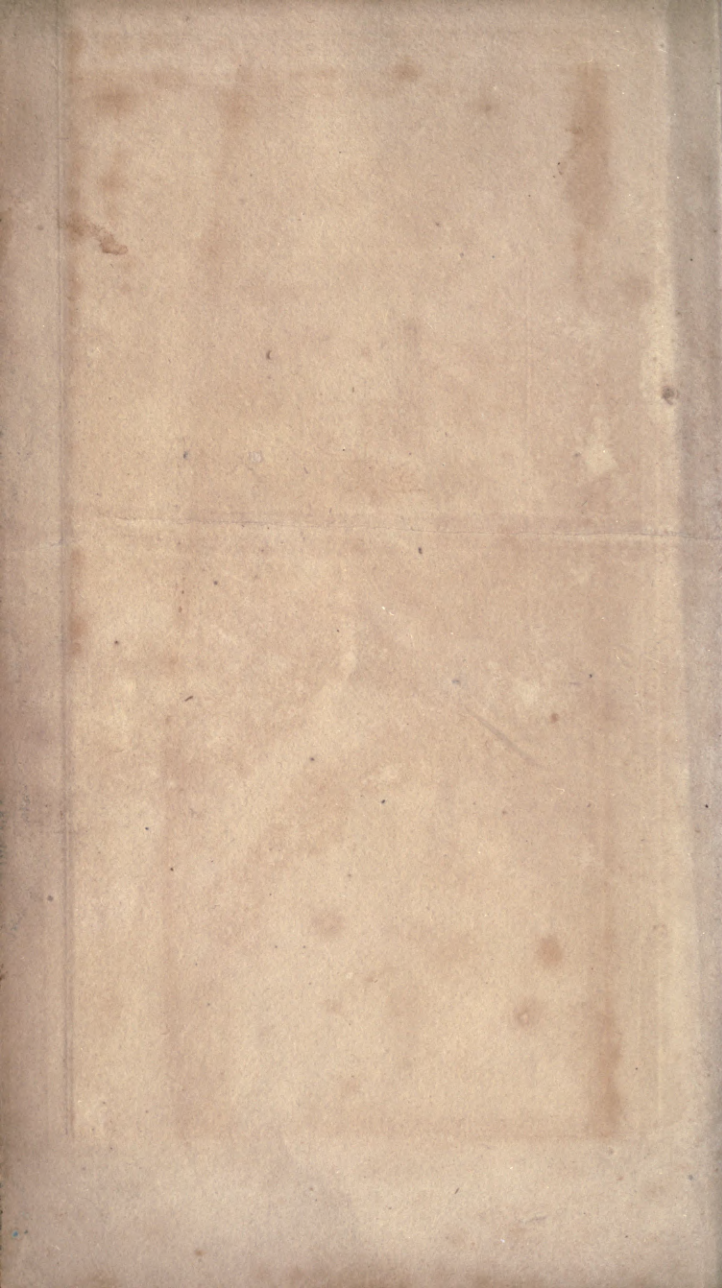


10. Douglas Simpson
from his father
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Plan

THE
HISTORY
OF
ABERDEEN;

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF THE
RISE, PROGRESS, AND EXTENSION OF THE CITY,
FROM A REMOTE PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY;

INCLUDING ITS
Antiquities, Civil and Ecclesiastical State,
MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AND COMMERCE;

AN ACCOUNT OF
The See of Aberdeen, and the two Universities;

WITH
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF EMINENT MEN CONNECTED
WITH THE BISHOPRICK AND COLLEGES.

By WALTER THOM,
AUTHOR OF SKETCHES ON POLITICAL ECONOMY,
&c. &c. &c.

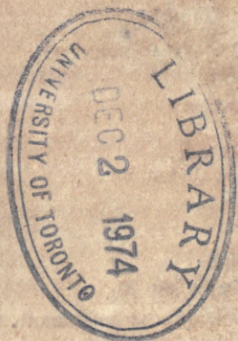
IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

ABERDEEN:
Printed by D. Chalmers and Co.
FOR ALEX. STEVENSON, BOOKSELLER, CASTLE-STREET,
AND SOLD BY HIM, AND ALL THE OTHER
BOOKSELLERS.

1811.

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PREFACE.

THE utility of topographical history is generally acknowledged. It is composed chiefly of local facts, and minute details relative to men and manners, which form valuable materials for the antiquary and national historian. But the authors of such works can lay little claim to that merit which is the basis of literary reputation, as their labours are of an humble cast, and require only the exertion of industry. Without presuming, therefore, to solicit any higher title than that of a collector and compiler, the writer of these volumes only expects, that his pretensions to impartiality, both as to his statements and deductions, will not be disputed. He can assure the public, that he has not been in any respect influenced by party prejudices; and while he has avoided whatever might prove a just ground of offence, he has manifested no desire to court the favour of those in power.

He is aware that candour and impartiality are the first qualifications of an author; and he trusts that the pages of this work will evince his adherence to these principles. He would also hope, that no sentiment hostile to the civil or religious liberties of his country, has escaped him; and he is almost certain, that he

will not be accused of flattering *great men*. He has ever considered rank and fortune as only temporary distinctions, which must sink in the scale of merit, when compared with that true glory which arises from talents and virtue.

In illustrating the insulated facts relative to the early history of Aberdeen, it was found expedient, in order to render them generally intelligible, to interweave them with our national history: and therefore, a great part of the first volume is occupied with those important transactions which constitute the annals of our country. It is presumed, that this method of connecting local events with general history, will not be unacceptable to the reader, as it will relieve him from the prolixity of what otherwise must have been a dry, and, in some cases, an uninteresting detail.

The author feels it incumbent upon him to mention his obligations to several gentlemen, whose kind communications have greatly assisted him in the execution of this work; and also, to return his warmest thanks to those who have furnished him with information connected with his subject.—The proprietor of the work has contributed all the assistance in his power; but he is in no respect accountable either for the facts or the sentiments it contains: and the author alone is responsible for whatever may be thought objectionable in these volumes.

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ERRATA.—Vol. i. p. 282. l. 13. for 1636, read 1637.
 Vol. ii. p. 125. l. 18. for L.20, read 20s.

CHAPTER I.

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[THE ORIGIN OF CITIES—INDUCEMENTS TO SETTLE AT ABERDEEN—PROGRESS OF THE ROMANS—TACITUS—AGRICOLA—DEVA—DEVANA—TAIXALI—PTOLOMEY'S GEOGRAPHY—ITINERARIUM ANTONINI—RICARDUS CORINENSIS—INQUIRY AS TO THE SITE OF DEVANA—THE ORIGIN AND ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME OF ABERDEEN—CELTIC NAMES—SUBSOIL OF ABERDEEN, AND ITS ANCIENT LIMITS.]

* * * *

TO some local advantage, connected with the subsistence or safety of the people, we may fairly ascribe the origin of towns or cities. In all countries, and in every stage of their progress from barbarism to refinement, mankind pursue the same objects when subjected to similar wants, or impelled by similar desires. The savage who disputes the dominion of the earth with the beast of the forest, must direct his exertions to the acquirement of the first necessaries of life, and in this state of his existence, he is destitute and forlorn. But

in society he finds an asylum, and learns from experience, that, by union, men derive an aggregate strength that produces individual safety. His interest therefore, as well as that social principle which pervades the human heart, leads him to associate with his fellow men. Families, thus, coalesce into tribes; and their union is a step towards the amelioration of their condition: but the dawn of improvement suggests the expediency of a fixed settlement; and some favourite spot, where they can procure subsistence and find protection, is selected, as the permanent station of the society. A defensible position, contiguity to the sea-coast, the banks of a river, or a productive soil, are generally the inducements which have weighed with the founders of cities to give a preference to one situation over another. And when we inspect the map of Europe, we find Rome on the Tyber, Constantinople on the Bosphorus, Marseilles on the ocean, Paris on the Seine, and London on the Thames, surrounded by fertile districts, and protected by strong military positions.

When we apply this principle to the original settlers of ABERDEEN, which is situated in 57. 8. 59. north latitude, and 2. 8. 0. west longitude,* we can discover sufficient motives for establishing themselves on the sea-coast, where two considerable rivers, nearly united, discharge their waters into the ocean. An abundant supply of various kinds of fish, and the protection of commanding eminences, to which the inha-

* The exact position of the Observatory of Aberdeen, according to Dr. Mackay.

bitants could resort in the moment of danger, were peculiar advantages that could not fail to attract the attention of the most ignorant people. Accordingly it has been said, that Aberdeen was the capital city of the TAIXALI, who inhabited that district of Caledonia, extending from the DEVA or Dee to the river TUESIS or Spey; but we are certain, that it was early known to the Romans under the name of *Devana*.*

Our native historians are so full of fable and contradiction, that no reliance can be placed on their relations. But the Roman and Greek writers have thrown some light on the early state of our country; and *their* testimony is confirmed by those stupendous works of ancient greatness and grandeur, which are still evident in the mutilated remains of Roman walls, military roads, stations, and towns. When historic narration is thus supported by lasting and indelible monuments, we cannot refuse our assent to its fidelity; nor question facts that are established by such indubitable proofs. The progress of the Romans, from *Bodotria* or the *Forth*, to *Ptoroton* or the *Burghead*, on the Moray Firth, is distinctly exhibited by Ptolemy's Geographical Tables, and the Itineraries of Antoninus, and Richard of Cirencester. But the discoveries of modern times have illustrated the records of antiquity; and we can trace their stations from the

* *Oceani littus ultra horum fines, accolebant Taixali, his urbium princeps Devana, fluvii autem Deva et Ituna. Pars Grampii montis, quæ, ut promontorium, late se in oceanum, quasi in Germaniæ occursum, extendit, ab illis nomen mutuatur.*—[Ricardi. Corinensis de situ Britanniæ, Lib. ii. cap. vi. § 46. Ibid. ix.]

one extremity of their progress to the other, with correctness and accuracy. To imagine, however, that they confined themselves merely to the line of their roads, or to the ramparts of their fortified camps, is unnatural. And with justice we may suppose, that they explored the greater part of the country, through the means of their parties, their detachments, and military establishments.

Tacitus, the elegant historian of Agricola's campaigns, details the operations of that celebrated Commander with tolerable accuracy. But it is to a later period we must assign the knowledge of the Romans with the north of Caledonia; and *Ptolomy* of Alexandria, who flourished about the middle of the second century, is the first who mentions *Deva*, *Devana*, and the country of the TAIXALI.—“*Deinde qui magis orientales sunt Taixali. Et urbs Devana,*” which he places in 58°. 45^m. Although his map is reversed with respect to *east* and *west*, and he makes the coast tend more to the east than it actually does; yet his relative situations of places are more nearly correct than might have been expected, from an Egyptian geographer, so distant as he was from the country he describes, and informed only by the reports of others. But it shows the intimate acquaintance of the Romans with the wilds of Caledonia; and how much we are indebted to them for the first glimmerings of our history; which certainly chides our national vanity, and proclaims that our ancestors were then a subjugated people.

In the “*Itinerarium Antonini,*” *Devana* and the river

ver Deva are noticed. This work appears to have been written about 270 years after Ptolomy's geography; but historians are unwilling to identify the author with any of the Imperial Antonines, and to his labours alone we must bestow the tribute of respect.

Ricardus Corinensis, or Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the 14th century, compiled an itinerary of the Romans, in which he mentions Devana and Deva: "Oceani littus ultra horum fines accolebant Taixali. His urbium princeps Devana, &c." Richard, it is said, travelled into Italy; and having consulted Cæsar, Strabo, Tacitus, Ptolomy, and other authentic authorities, compiled an itinerary of the Roman armies in Britain, so accurate and distinct, as to form a guide to the researches of antiquarians, who by its means have disclosed the *sites* of camps and stations after a concealment of sixteen centuries.

In Richard's *itineræ* the progress of the Romans is marked by stages, and the distances between them measured by miles. It would be foreign to our purpose to pursue the whole of Richard's itinerary from Carlisle to the Moray Firth. But it may be proper to observe, that he makes the distance to be thirty-one miles, from the Esica or Esk, to Devana on the Dee, which nearly corresponds with the exact breadth of the county of Kincardine, which is bounded by these rivers. It would be too fastidious indeed to apply the nicety of a modern engineer to the mensuration of ancient geographers. If they approach the truth, so far as to mark the particular objects of our inquiry, it is all we can expect or obtain.

That such a place as Devana existed, and was situated somewhere on the banks of the Dee, and well known to the Romans, is beyond all doubt. But the love of theory, and the discordant opinions of antiquaries in general, have often perplexed or obscured, and, not seldom, tortured, the plain meaning of the ancients. It is, therefore, not surprising that the exact *site* of Devana should still be a matter of controversy—General Roy having placed it in Old Aberdeen, and the laborious author of “*Caledonia*,” somewhere in the parish of Peter Culter.

On the maps of Ptolomy and Richard, Devana is set down, apparently at the distance of about six miles from the sea. In hundreds of our modern maps, we shall find similar errors, when we apply the compass to the rule. The hand of the engraver is sometimes arbitrary, and assumes a latitude that defeats the accuracy of the most skilful engineer. If such be the case in this age of arts and science, with how little reason do we expect extreme correctness in the geographical delineations of the ancients, who were destitute of those ingenious instruments which so much facilitate our astronomical observations, and enable us so easily to fix the precise situation of places.

Mr. Chalmers, the author of “*Caledonia*,” minutely traces the progress of the Roman armies, from the Tay to the Dee. The accuracy of his statements, however, depends upon properly fixing the different intermediate stations to which Richard alludes in his *itinerary*: with the aid of a few settled points, and
much

much ingenuity, he leads them directly to *Norman Dikes*, in the parish of Peter Culter, where he places the city of Devana.*

It is generally believed, that the Romans advanced along the base of the Grampian mountains, keeping these natural ramparts on their *left*, and the open country, with the German Ocean, on their *right*. It is certain, that Agricola followed this line of march, by which he confined the hostile inhabitants to the tops of the mountains, and reserved to the army, the means of a safe retreat to his shipping in the event of disaster. In this route, we can still find the remains of several Roman fortifications, which sufficiently indicate the progress of the armies; and, with the assistance of Richard, we can have little difficulty in following them from the Tay to the Dee. But as the distances between the stages do not exactly correspond with our measurements, we have nothing to direct us to the precise situation of the city Devana, but only know, that it was thirty-one miles from the Esk, and situated on the Deva. This circumstance has given occasion to Mr. Chalmers to fix it at *Norman Dikes*, which are evidently the remains of a Roman fortification.

The camps at Keithoc, Fordun, Arduthy, Rae Dikes, and *Norman Dikes*, are certainly in the line of the Roman progress to the Moray Firth; and from the nature of the ground they must have been strong military positions. They would, therefore, be regularly fortified, and permanently garrisoned; but we have

* *Caledonia*, vol. 1.

no reason to believe that such was the case. For Richard mentions no station from the Esk to the Dee, but "*Tina*," which is eight miles from the former; and besides, the camp of Rae Dikes is generally allowed to be that of *Galgacus*, when he opposed Agricola; and must therefore be assigned to a period long previous to the time of the Itinerary, which alludes to the progress of the Romans when their empire among us "was in its greatest glory, and at its farthest extent."

That Rae Dikes was not a Roman fortification, and the camp at Arduthy not a permanent station, is pretty evident. To the age of Agricola we must refer these camps; the one being that of the Caledonian, and the other that of the Roman army.

Notwithstanding Mr Chalmers positively asserts, that Agricola never penetrated so far north as Rae Dikes, and that the battle of the Grampians was fought at Ardoch in Perthshire; yet there is a balance of evidence in contradiction, that outweighs his arguments, and in no small degree, authenticates the relations of our native historians.

In Agricola's eighth campaign the Caledonians were pressed to an extremity—they were confined to their mountains. The Romans occupied the low, and we may presume, the only fertile districts of the country. No considerable battle had been fought during that campaign; and the whole strength of the Caledonian nations was collected to repel the invaders. They waited the approach of the enemy, and consequently had it in their power to choose their own ground. It

is reasonable, therefore, to suppose, that they would select the situation best adapted for defence; and besides, the position at Rae Dykes is the last strong hold that the Grampians present. It is situated on the top of *Garnishill*,* which gradually rises to a height equal to that of the other Grampians, and is separated from them, by a valley not more than a mile in breadth. The fortification is certainly constructed somewhat after the Roman manner—of nearly a rectangular form, with lofty ramparts, and an immense fosse; it fronts the *south*, and on that side, is carefully guarded by redoubts, and an advanced post. It is evidently the camp of an army expecting an enemy from the *south*.

But within these few years, the remains of another camp were discernible at *Arduthy*; which there is strong reason to believe was Agricola's; and it closely corresponds with Tacitus' description of the position of the Romans, before they engaged the Caledonian army. It is situated on an eminence, with a precipice to the *north*, about three miles directly *south* from Raedykes, and within half a mile of the sea. That the Romans were the assailants in the battle of the Grampians is not questioned; and it appears, that they turned the *left* of the Caledonian camp, by marching north-eastward to *Kempstonehill*, where the sanguinary contest undoubtedly took place: and on which, are still to be seen many *tumuli*, and other indications of hostile contention. Although it is ge-

no-

* Transactions of the Society of Antiquarians, Edinburgh, vol. 1.

nerally believed that after that battle, Agricola retreated to Fife, the country of the Horesti, yet he may have sent a detachment to Devana, from which he was only ten miles distant.

But, as we have no positive authority for supposing that the Romans advanced so far north as Devana in the time of Agricola, we must ascribe to Lollius Urbicus their first progress to the country of the *Taixali*, and perhaps to the *Varar*.

The camp of Norman Dikes, which is certainly Roman, unequivocally points out the line of march to *Ituna*, or the *Ythan*. But from this circumstance alone, it is not a justifiable inference to assert, that Devana was situated at that fortification. The existence of a camp is no proof of the locality of a city; the one is by no means a necessary consequence of the other. Indeed, we find Roman camps in situations the least adapted for the stations of towns. The art of war is different from the pursuits of peace; and the military system of nations has been nearly the same in all ages. Positions favourable either for defence or attack, are eagerly sought after by the experienced soldier, and a commanding eminence, or a difficult pass, is the object of his peculiar solicitude.

In traversing a hostile country, where the inhabitants were brave, and not unskilful in the military art, the Romans, it is to be presumed, would intrench and fortify themselves in the strongest and most commanding positions; but when they defeated the native armies, they would naturally scour the open country, and push their parties to take possession of the towns

and villages. Notwithstanding the camp of Norman Dykes might have been the permanent station of the Roman army, yet it is probable, that parties would be detached to Devana, as well as to every other place of strength in the country of the Taixali.

When the subjugation of the people rendered the precaution and watchfulness of war no longer necessary; and when confidence was fully restored between the conquerors and the vanquished, the intercourse that subsisted in the Roman provinces, would naturally pass by the shortest road. In that case, the distance from the Esk to Devana, is correctly enough expressed by thirty-one miles, although it had been situated at the mouth of the Deva.

But Mr. Chalmers is aware of the difficulty, and cannot reconcile Richard's distance with true measurement, without supposing *Esica* to be Brechin—*Tina*, some place *two and a half miles from the North Esk*—*Rae Dikes* a Roman station—and *Norman Dikes, Devana*; but these assumptions are hypothetical, for Richard merely says, *ad Esicam* 23 miles—*ad Tinam* 8 miles—*ad Devanam* 23 miles. The site of *Tina* is unknown, and it is uncertain whether Richard alludes to the *south* or the *north* Esk by his *ad Esicam*. The intermediate camps of *Fordoun, Arduthy*, or, according to Mr. Chalmers, *Rae Dikes*, which are indispensable links in his chain of stations, are not mentioned by Richard; but Mr. Chalmers, removes this objection by stating, that the *ninth* Itinerary had been compiled previous to the formation of these fortifications.*

It

* Richard's *Ninth* Iter comprehends the progress of the Romans from Carlisle to Burghead, on the Moray Firth.

It is pretty evident, however, that the camps of Arduthy and Rae Dikes existed long before the period of Richard's Itineraries, the earliest of which is assigned by Whitaker to about the middle of the second century, or about seventy years after Agricola's campaigns. As these fortifications were never permanent stations, but only known to the Romans as the temporary camps of the army in Agricola's expedition, Richard could not *mark* them as *fixed* settlements in the progress, and therefore determines the distance to be 23 miles between the two points, Tina and Devana, which had been well known stations at that time.

Although there are several reasons for discrediting Mr. Chalmers' opinion, that Devana was at Norman Dikes, yet there is no evidence that can be relied upon, to identify it with Aberdeen. Without any better authority than what we possess at the present day, the learned Cambden says, "Devana urbs per-antiqua a Ptolomeo, nunc vero Aberdonia, id est, Devæ ostium Britannica dictione ab ipsis Scotis appellatur." The same assertion has been re-echoed through different authors without the slightest inquiry or investigation, and in fact, we have no means of determining the question but such as arise from probability or conjecture.

Devana (scilicet urbs) signifies the city situated on the *Dee*, from which the Latin Deva is borrowed, with very little alteration in the pronunciation; but its Gaelic name is *Deabhadh*, pronounced *Deray*, which implies speed or swiftness, and is expressive of the velocity or rapidity of the river.

Unless we believe that Devana was erected by the Romans for their own conveniency and accommodation, we must admit, that it previously existed, and must have been known, by a name of Celtic origin, the Gaelic at that time being the prevailing language of the country. But it is no where said, that it was built by the Romans; and we may therefore conclude, that they only gave it a name which was applicable to its local situation on the river. This supposition is the more probable, as it corresponds with the practice of that proud people, who despised the language, the manners, and customs of all nations, and arbitrarily imposed names on the inhabitants and their towns, wherever they penetrated.

That Devana existed under a Gaelic name, previous to the time of the Romans, is extremely probable; and as we have no tradition, or authority for supposing, that any city or town was ever known on the banks of the Dec, situated between Norman Dykes and the mouth of the river, but *Aberdeen*, we have, therefore, some reason to presume, that it was the Devana of the ancients. And this supposition is supported by inference from the words of Ptolomy and Richard, who call it the *chief city of the Taixali*, which is a mode of expression inapplicable to a new or Roman erection; and plainly means, that the tribe Taixali had a *principal city* which the Romans denominated Devana, as a name appropriate to its situation on the Devay or Deva; for if the Romans had founded and reared Devana, it would not have been called by their writers, the city of the Taixali, but a city in the *country* inhabited by that people.

It may be stated as an objection to this opinion, that if Aberdeen had been *Devana*, our native historians would have retained the name, and not latinized it by *Aberdonia*, as Hector Boece, and others of our early writers have done. But the Celts had an invincible antipathy to every innovation in their language, and would not have adopted a foreign name; and it must be remembered, that after the Romans retired from Britain, their language and their arts were lost. From the period of their retreat, to the revival of letters, a long night of darkness intervened. The utmost ignorance and most gross barbarity every where prevailed; and it was from the east that the western nations again obtained the first glimpse of literature and science. The Roman authors were read, studied, and admired; and their language became that of the learned throughout Europe. Our early historians, therefore, recorded their facts, and conveyed their sentiments in the elegant language of ancient Rome; but the *Roman* names of places in Caledonia had been long sunk in oblivion; and of necessity, they latinized the original or Celtic names, with which their readers were familiar.

That Aberdeen is the *Devana* of the ancients is highly probable; and if we have no direct proof from fact, we have, still, strong presumptive evidence from circumstances. That it has been generally supposed to be so, may have some weight. Its local situation which is so well adapted for the site of a town; the antiquity of its name which is purely Celtic; and the considerations above mentioned, are, in no small

small degree, corroborative of the prevailing opinion of our early historians. We shall, however, detain the reader no longer with the inquiry, but proceed to investigate the origin of the NAME by an etymological analysis of the compound word ABERDEEN.

That the island of Britain was originally peopled by Celts is universally admitted. They issued from the borders of the Euxine Sea, and overspread Scandinavia, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. They are supposed to be of Scythian extraction, or at least descended from the same stock; and indeed to have been the ab-original inhabitants of Europe throughout its wide extent.* This opinion seems to be confirmed by a similarity in the ancient languages. The Goths at a period long after, followed the Celtæ, and intermingled with them in manners, customs, and language. But it is sufficient for our purpose to produce the authority of Gibbon, who says, “The present age is satisfied with the simple and rational opinion, that the islands of Great Britain, and Ireland were gradually peopled from the adjacent Continent of Gaul. From the coast of Kent to the extremity of Caithness and Ulster, the memory of a Celtic origin was distinctly preserved, in the perpetual resemblance of language, religion, and of manners.†”

The remaining dialects of the Celtic language, are the Erse or Gaelic in the Highlands of Scotland; the

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* Governor Pownal's "Treatise on the Study of Antiquities." Also see Pinkerton's "Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths."

† 8vo. ed. v. iv. p. 291.

Irish, in Ireland; the Welch or Cornish in England; the British in Bretagne or Brittany, in France; and the Armoric on the sea-coast of Flanders; but the two last are nearly extinct. The Gaelic was universally spoken in this country until a late period; and consequently, the names of places are generally of Celtic origin.

The name *Aberdeen* is a compound of the Gaelic *A-bar* and *Dun*, which signifies—*Hill in the Marsh*.—The word *Aber* or *Abar* has been differently interpreted by Etymologists; but is generally misunderstood. Pinkerton says, it is the German *Uber*, (beyond,) and “*means simply a town beyond a river;*” but it is not easy to conceive how a town can be beyond a river to the people who live on the same side with it. He deduces its Gothic origin from the fact, that many towns in Germany have *Aber* or *Eber* prefixed, in the formation of their names. The Celts, however, were the precursors of the Goths, who intruding upon them at a late period, borrowed much of their language, and adopted many of their names of places. The German *Uber*, or *Ober*, is therefore, merely a corruption of the Celtic *Abar*. But, Borlase, in his *Cornish Vocabulary*, informs us, that *Aber* implies “a ford, a fall of water, a mouth of a river, a meeting of two rivers;” and the author of “*Caledonia*,” says, “it signifies a confluence of water, the junction of rivers, the fall of a lesser river into a greater.

The variety of meanings thus attached to *Aber*, make it applicable to many situations; but we find it used where there is no river, which shows, that it has
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been misunderstood by those who have pretended to explain it. Indeed, it has been generally confounded with *Inver*, which is a very different word, and has a very different import; yet *Aber* and *Inver* have been made synonymous by those who are ignorant of the true origin and meaning of the former.

Inver (Ion-mhar, Gaelic, that is, ann (s'a) mhuir, into the sea) signifies situated near the mouth of a river running into the sea; but it is sometimes applicable to a situation near the confluence of two streams, as *Ionnhar-Lochaidh*, or *Inver-Lochy*, (Fort William) situated between the Nevis and Lochy, on the spot where these rivers discharge themselves into the sea. The explanations of *Aber*, by Pinkerton, Chalmers, and others, apply to *Inver*, which is well understood in the Gaelic, and in the dialects of Lochaber and Argyle, is generally used to express a situation near the conflux of two rivers.

Aber, spelt *Abar* in Gaelic, is a compound of two words—*Au*, water, and *Bar*, an obstacle. Hence it signifies a *marsh*; for whatever obstructs the course of water causes stagnation, and generates a marsh. This term, as a proper name, is well known in the Highlands of Scotland, and is often employed as an appellative to denote *slime*, or *sediment deposited in the bottom of marshes, bogs, or stagnant waters of any kind*; hence, figuratively, a *marsh*. It was in this sense, the aboriginal Celts used it, and in this sense it is still used by the Gael, who are the descendants of the Celtæ, and to this day speak a dialect of their language.

When the meaning of *Aber* was so completely misunderstood by etymologists, as to be substituted for that of *Iver*, it is no wonder that they could not reconcile its application to places at a distance from the sea, or from rivers. But, wherever *Aber* has been applied, it will be found, on enquiry, that it is descriptive of the nature and situation of the place. The language of the Celts is strong, powerful, and discriminating; copious and full of metaphor, it enabled them to impose figurative, but significant, names on all the prominent objects of nature in their country. Rivers and lakes, hills and mountains, towns and villages, received appellations descriptive of their peculiar qualities or situations. These names have, in general, remained in Caledonia to this time; although in many cases corrupted, and with more or less alteration in the orthography. But *Aber-deen* has undergone little change either in sound or orthography, for *A-bar* is still pronounced *Aber*; and *Don*, *Downe*, *Doon*, or *Deen*, are only provincial alterations of the Gaelic *Dun*, which signifies a Fort, and hence, metaphorically, a *hill*; as forts were formerly nowhere erected but on hills.

In no instance is the propriety of Celtic appellatives more forcibly evinced, than in the name of Aberdeen; for we can establish, from indubitable evidence, that the whole area of the town was a *marsh*, with the exception of the *Castle* or *Fort-hill*, which is gravel, and *St. Catherine's Hill*, which is sand, and has evidently been deposited by the sea. That this country was formerly covered with wood,
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and full of morasses, is undeniable, as we have the testimony of Roman writers to that effect. But our daily experience confirms the fact, as we every where find the remains of trees in our existing marshes. The origin of morasses and *moss earth* has admitted of some doubt, and afforded room for discussion. But whether the overthrow of the forest has induced the morass, by stagnating the waters; or the springs and rills have caused the destruction of the forest, by loosening the earth and rendering it less solid around the roots of the trees, by which they would become unable to withstand the violence of the blast, is extremely uncertain. We are, however, certain, that moss earth, or peat, is the production of decayed vegetables and stagnant water; and that the growth of those vegetables from which moss is formed, is promoted by atmospheric air, and the decomposition of water. The formation of mosses, is uniformly to be traced to the same cause, the accumulation of dead and partly decayed vegetables, assisted by humidity. But the *musci*, and aquatic plants will only grow in wet situations; and where there is no water there will be none of that class of vegetables. Water is indispensable to the formation of peat or moss earth; and is the primary cause of its existence.* We are therefore certain that wherever we find peat, the soil must have been covered with stagnant water, or in other words, that it has been in the state of a marsh.

That the area on which the city of Aberdeen is
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* "A Treatise on Moss Earth," by William Aiton.

situated has been formerly a swamp or morass, with the exception of the hills already mentioned, is established by indisputable evidence. Strata of peat have been found at various depths, along the range of Broad-Street, and all the north-east quarter of the town; also, in the south end of Castle-Street, the Shiprow, the Shore-Brae, the Netherkirkgate, and along the south-west quarter. In these beds of peat and moss earth, timber has been found in various stages of decay, and some of it with the appearance of having been in a state of ignition. The peat strata are no doubt frequently interrupted by beds of sand and gravel; but such breaches of continuity are common to all mosses, and arise from a natural cause.* If a marsh were level in the surface, and the water uniformly extended over it, the strata would be regular and unbroken; but the surface of marshes is seldom level, and consequently the obstacles to the water are partial. One part is therefore dry, while another is covered; and on such parts only where there is abundant moisture will moss plants vegetate, or moss earth be produced.

In digging foundations for houses, in several places in Aberdeen, beds of peat have been found, not less than six or eight feet in thickness. As the growth of moss is extremely slow, it must have required ages to produce such a quantity. But when the people who established themselves around the Castlehill, or their descendants, first turned their at-
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* Aiton on Moss Earths.

tention to the cultivation of the soil, or from their increase of population wanted room to rear new habitations, they would naturally begin to drain the ground by cutting tracks or ditches to let off the water. In this manner they would gradually reclaim the land; and from the deficiency of moisture the increase of peat moss would cease. In a progression of this kind they would proceed, until the whole of the most elevated grounds were drained, and rendered fit for the sites of houses, or the production of useful vegetables. But the advance to improvement is tardy. The progress of mankind in the amelioration of their condition is gradual, and the work of ages. Within the memory of the present generation, that quarter of the town situated west of the Gallowgate, called the *Lochlands*, on which houses and streets are now erected, was completely a marsh. And not very many years ago, an aqueduct was carried from that *Loch*, along Broadgate in the site of the houses which now form the west side of that street.

As it is an undoubted fact, that peat or moss earth is every where found to be the subsoil of the land on which Aberdeen is built, with the exceptions before mentioned, it is perfectly clear that the surface must have been covered with stagnant water, or in other words, that it was a marsh. For nothing is more certain, than that where there is moss or peat there must have been water, as the effect infallibly discovers the cause. Although it does not follow, that where there is water there must be moss earth, yet it admits of

no question, that where there is peat there must have been water, as it is an indispensable requisite to the formation of moss, and the agent that induces its generation.

As it is evident that the town of Aberdeen is situated on ground that was formerly a *marsh*, the propriety of the Celtic name *Aber-deen*, *don*, *doune*, or *dun* is apparent. For the descriptive appellation "HILL IN THE MARSH," not only corresponds with the situation of the place at that early period, but it affords a strong instance of the expressive and appropriate language of the CELTS. The labours of the antiquary are thus facilitated by the researches of the etymologist; and, in the absence of historic record, a ray of light illumines our path, and enables us to trace something certain as to the early state of our country.

The limits of Aberdeen, until a comparatively modern period, were confined within natural and distinct bounds. The Castlehill, extending from its eastern extremity to St. Catharine's, which must also be included, and the elevated ground on which the streets of Broadgate and Gallowgate are erected, comprehended the whole extent of the ancient town, and its limits were particularly defined by its PORTS. The river Don swept the base of the Broadhill, and by a turn southward nearly approached to the Dee. The sea washed the southern base of the *Castlehill*, and the Dee overflowed the *Green*. We have no reason, therefore, to believe, that the low ground lying between the two rivers was early occupied; part of it

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indeed was only lately reclaimed. The Don, by accident turned more to the east, and the Dee was restrained by art: but within these three centuries the German Ocean has greatly receded along the east coast of Scotland, and left unequivocal indications of its former bed. In this district we include the *Green, Virginia-Street*, and the whole space extending from the Denburn Bridge to the Canal, and from thence eastward to the former efflux of the Don. But the walls of the town were latterly its boundaries, and they can still be traced by the ports, which were standing within the recollection of the oldest inhabitants. The city was accessible by five gates or ports. One was placed at the north-east corner of Castle-Street, called Justice Port, from its being the way to the hill where justice was administered and enforced. The other, Footdee Port, at the east extremity of Castle-Street—a third and fourth called the Nether and Upper-kirkgate Ports, because, by these gates the people passed to St. Nicholas' Chapel, and the fifth Port was situated at the head of the Gallowgate. Part of the wall between the Nether and Upper-kirkgate is still standing, and within the area described by the five Ports the city was confined till of late years. But manufactures, commerce, and industry, have expanded the town on all sides, over an irregular and diversified surface; and it now occupies more than ten times its former extent.

in the year 1200, the town of Lancaster was founded by King John. The town was situated on the banks of the River Lune, and the king was desirous to have a town in that neighbourhood, not only for the sake of the river, but also for the sake of the castle which he had built on the hill above the town. The town was founded by King John, and the king was desirous to have a town in that neighbourhood, not only for the sake of the river, but also for the sake of the castle which he had built on the hill above the town. The town was founded by King John, and the king was desirous to have a town in that neighbourhood, not only for the sake of the river, but also for the sake of the castle which he had built on the hill above the town.

CHAPTER II.

CONTENTS.

[THE FIRST NOTICE OF THE PICTS—DIFFERENCE OF OPINION RELATIVE TO THE PICTISH NATION—ORIGIN OF THE NAME PICT—ORIGIN OF THE NAME CALEDONIAN—ORIGIN OF THE SCOTICÆ GENTES—SCOTO-IRISH—SAXONS, THEIR LANDING IN SCOTLAND—NORTHUMBRIANS—UNION OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS IN SCOTLAND UNDER KENNETH M'ALPINE—LANDING OF THE DANES AND NORWEGIANS—CONSTANTINE—ED, EOCHOID, AND GREIG OR GREGORY—CHARTER OF ABERDEEN—STATE OF LEARNING—IONA—IONIAN SCHOOL—GREGORY THE MAORMOR OF THE COUNTRY OF ABERDEEN AND BANFF—CHARTERS—CHARTER OF ABERDEEN FICTITIOUS.]

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WHEN the Romans penetrated into Caledonia; they found it inhabited by a people in every respect the same as the South Britons. In manners and in language the resemblance was striking; and the natives of both countries were evidently of Celtic origin. During two ages the inhabitants were denominated *Caledonians* by the Romans; but in the third century, or rather in the beginning of the fourth, they received

ed the additional name of *Picts*, and were distinguished by the appellatives *Caledonii* and *Picti*. Eumenius in his panegyric oration* to Constantius is the first who mentions the Picts; and he seems to consider them the same people as the Caledonians, for he speaks of “*the woods and marshes of the Caledonians and OTHER Picts.*”†

This distinction of names has given rise to endless discussions, and it is yet an unsettled point amongst antiquaries, whether the Picts were a new race who had invaded and established themselves in this country, or only the aboriginal Caledonians under a different appellation. While the opinions of learned and eminent men are so contradictory, it is difficult to ascertain the truth, but it is our duty to adopt that side of the question on which the strongest probability rests, and the greatest weight of evidence preponderates.

The classic authors of the fourth century acknowledge, that the Picts, who were first noticed at that time, were the same people as the Caledonians. Buchanan and Cambden agree with the Roman writers; and the former judiciously remarks, that before the arrival of the Saxons, the different people of Britain could converse together without the assistance of interpreters; that no traces of a foreign language remained in the country of the Picts; and that the names of districts, of towns, of villages, mountains, lakes,

* This oration, it is said, was delivered in March, 310.

† “*Non dico Caledonium, aliorumque Pictorum, silvas et paludes, sed, &c.*”—See Pinkerton’s Enquiry into the History of Scotland, vol. 1. p. 119.

lakes, and rivers, are of Celtic origin. Maul,* Lhuyd,† Innes,‡ and many other assiduous inquirers, are decidedly of opinion, that the Picts and Caledonians were the same people, and of the same stock as the South Britons, who are universally allowed to be the descendants of the Celtic Gauls.

Bede and his followers, however, with Stillingfleet, Pinkerton, Jamieson,§ and others, think, that the Picts were *Goths*, who had emigrated from the north of Europe, and consequently a distinct race from the South Britons.

The question seems to rest more on circumstantial than on historic evidence. Pinkerton acknowledges that the Caledonians and Picts were the same people, under different names; but he ascribes to both a Gothic origin, and supposes they came from Scandinavia, about two centuries before the Christian æra, when they expelled the Cambro-Britons from Caledonia. But probability is against such a supposition, and history is silent as to such a migration. It implies a knowledge of ship building, and some acquaintance with navigation, to say that a barbarous nation crossed a boisterous sea; but the stupid Goth, at that remote period, was ignorant of almost every art. Those who deny that the Picts were the descendants of the Cambro-British, suppose them to have been Gothic invaders,

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* "History of the Picts." † "Archæologia."

‡ "Critical Essay."

§ Vide Dr. Jamieson's Introduction to the Dictionary of the Scottish language.

ders, who arrived in this country during the third century. But we can no where trace an invasion previous to the fifth century, when the Anglo-Saxons appeared on the banks of the Tweed. If Caledonia had been invaded by a new people at that time, the Roman writers, of the third and succeeding century, would not have failed to record such an event.— But, from the reign of Vespasian to the time of Gratian and Valentinian, including a period of three hundred years, there is no Roman author who mentions such a circumstance; and in vain should we search for any evidence of such an event in the pages of Tacitus, Ptolemy, Dion, Herodian, or Eumenius.

As there is no historic testimony in favour of the opinion that the Picts were Goths, who had invaded this country, either before or after the Christian æra; or that they were a race in any respect differing from the Caledonians, in the time of Agricola; we must, therefore, appeal to circumstantial evidence for a solution of the question, and deduce the truth from such topographical illustrations and probabilities as the nature of the subject will admit.

To the north of the Forth, Scotland is naturally divided into two great districts. The Grampians reach to the Dee, at the confluence of which with the German Ocean, at Aberdeen, they terminate, and, from that river, a range of lofty mountains runs northward to the extremity of the island. The people assigned appropriate names to these districts. The higher, they denominated *Celyddon*, and the lower, *Peithu*. In the language of the

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Gael, the former denotes the mountainous, and the latter, the flat or plain country. *Cel, cal*, or *coil*, are pure Celtic words, and signify a *wood*; and *don* implies a *hill*, hence *Celyddon*, *wooded hills*, or the mountainous district. The inhabitants therefore distinguished themselves according to their respective bounds, by the names of *Celyddoni* and *Peithi*, which the Romans latinized by *Caledonii* and *Picti*.* But as the Roman armies were first opposed by the people of the Celyddon district, they denominated the whole inhabitants Caledonians, and their country Caledonia. This distinction, which had been always observed by the natives themselves, and which arose from the natural division of their country, was not attended to by the Roman and Greek writers, during the three first centuries; and it was not until the beginning of the fourth that the inhabitants were particularised by the specific appellations of *Caledonii* and *Picti*, which certainly meant the *Highland* and *Lowland* North Britons.

Throughout Scotland, the ancient names of mountains, rivers, and places, are Celtic, and express a sense declarative of their nature or situation. This circumstance, alone, affords a strong presumption in favour of the opinion, that the *Caledonii* and *Picti* were the same people, and of the same descent. If the Picts had been a race different from the Aborigines, and had invaded this country at a period subsequent to the age of Agricola, we could certainly have traced some remains of their language in the topographical

* Chalmers' Caledonia, p. 65. 201.

history of North Britain. But we every where find Gaelic names, and in these names the genius of the Celtic language to predominate. In the lowlands of Scotland, however, we discover Teutonic names; but these were imposed by the Anglo-Saxons, and English, at a time comparatively modern; and are therefore, no *criterion* by which we could ascertain the language of five previous centuries.

The Anglo-Saxon language, which is a dialect of the Gothic, is remarkable for its poverty and barrenness; and forms a striking contrast to the beautiful and copious diction of the Celts. The Goths originally adopted many of the Celtic names in Germany and in the north of Europe; and from the same cause, their descendants, the Anglo-Saxons, borrowed much from the Celtic and Scoto-Irish languages, with which the Scoto-Saxon is enriched to this day. The difference of the language of the Celts from that of the Gothic colonists shows a difference of origin in the people; but in manners, in customs, and in religion, there is also a marked distinction. If it be admitted, however, that the Picts and Caledonians were the same people, it follows of course, that the Picts were neither Gothic colonists nor of Gothic extraction, for the Caledonians were evidently of Celtic origin. And on the whole we may conclude, that the descendants of the same people who fought Agricola at the foot of the Grampians finally repulsed the Roman legions at the distance of more than three centuries. In language and in manners a striking uniformity can be distinctly traced in the Caledonian nations, from the age of Agricola to the reign of Honorius; and to a Cel-

Celtic stock therefore, we may safely ascribe the inhabitants of this country, until their intermixture, at a later period, with Gothic Saxons, and other nations.

About the year 360, the *Scoticæ gentes* are first mentioned in the pages of Roman history, as acting in conjunction with the Picts, and making fierce attacks on the provincials of South Britain. It is generally imagined, that they were emigrants from the shores of Ireland, who settled in the west of Scotland, and incorporated with the Picts and Caledonians. The Scoto-Irish spoke the same language as the Picts, which indicates that they proceeded from the same stock, and were descended from the Gael. A similarity of manners, and the identity of language, at that time, in South and North Britain, and in Ireland, sufficiently evince the common origin of the people; and the Gaelic tongue is certain proof of a Celtic descent.

From the time of Agricola to the final retreat of the Romans, a period of 350 years is included. Although the Romans maintained military stations and settlements for about two centuries throughout Scotland; it is a melancholy fact, that the people made no progress in arts and civilization; for we must consign the polished age of Fingal to the imagination of the bards, and consider the poems of Ossian as the fabulous history of a subsequent period. The weakness of the Roman empire, which had been assailed on all sides by furious barbarians, prevented the Emperors from sending assistance to the provincials of South Britain, who were unable to withstand the

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the attacks of their more warlike neighbours. The Scots and Picts carried havoc and devastation into the heart of South Britain; and to repel them, the Britons imprudently called in the assistance of the Saxons, who were followed by the Jutes and Angles. They turned their arms against the Britons, and after a bloody and destructive contest, finally subdued them, and established a Gothic dynasty. But the first appearance of the Saxons in Caledonia was in 449, and soon after, a body of that people debarked on the shores of the Forth, where, it is said, they formed settlements.

The Northumbrian monarchy was established in the year 547; and the Scoto-Irish and Pictish territories on the south and west, were protected and bounded by the Forth and the Clyde. For one hundred and thirty-eight years the descendants of the Goths and Celts carried on almost incessant warfare, but in 685 the Saxons received a signal defeat at Dunnichen in Angus, where the Northumbrians lost their King; and for a few years, the Scots and Picts enjoyed the security of peace.

The restless nature of barbarous nations, however, precludes the continuance of tranquillity, and the Picts renewed the war, by a wasteful incursion into the country of the Northumbrians; but they were punished for their temerity by a complete overthrow upon the banks of the Tyne. After the defeat of the Picts in 710, the Saxons in Lothian remained unmolested, and gradually extended their settlements to the west. From the Forth to the Tweed, the Gothic names

names of places indubitably show the conquests, the settlements, and language of the Saxons; and that they had remained for many years in possession of the southern districts of Scotland.

The kingdom of Pictavia had been much weakened by contests with the Saxons, and was still further reduced by a series of destructive wars with the Scots, who had assumed the tone and character of conquerors. But by intermarriages between the royal families of the two kingdoms, both nations were united under one sovereign, and, in the year 843, KENNETH M'ALPINE became the heir and representative of the regal line. The name and characteristic distinctions of the Pictish nation were now lost; but in manners and in language they had differed little from the Scots. By mutual conquests, intercourse, and settlements, they had so intimately mingled with the Anglo-Saxons, that the language and policy of the latter had come to predominate over the greater part of Pictavia; and the united nation was a mixture of Picts or ancient Caledonians, Scoto-Irish or Dalriads, and Goths or Anglo-Saxons.

The reign of Kenneth was disturbed by the invasions of the Danes and Norwegians, who first poured upon the coasts of France, and then upon England and Scotland. Kenneth opposed the ravagers, and in 860 left a kingdom strong and united, to his brother and successor Donald. It is represented, that the ancient laws of the Scots were revised by Donald, who quelled an insurrection among his Pictish subjects,
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and died after a short reign of four years.* He was succeeded in the sovereignty by Constantine the son of Kenneth. The Danes having renewed their depredations, Constantine fought them on the banks of the Leven in Fife, where he was successful in the first onset; but rashly leading his forces to assault their camp, which was strongly fortified, he was discomfited. The Danes passed into Strath Clyde, and thence over to Ireland; but allured by plunder or revenge, they again returned to Scotland, defeated the Scots, and ravaged their territories. Amidst these disasters Constantine died in 882, and was succeeded by his brother Ed, who was slain by Eochoid and Greig.

Eochoid seems to have been a nominal Sovereign; and it is said, that Greig enjoyed the whole power.—From this Greig or Gregory, the municipal origin of the town of ABERDEEN is deduced. In the Statistical Account, and in different printed works, it is gravely asserted, *that all historians agree in saying that Gregory granted a Charter to the Town of Aberdeen, in the year 893, which was consequently erected into a royal burgh.*

In the short sketch we have given of the state of Scotland from the invasion of the Romans to the time of Gregory, it may be seen, how little progress had been made in civilization by the inhabitants of Caledonia, and how little reliance may be placed on any thing that is said relative to them. During that gloomy

* Heron, vol. 1. page 42.

gloomy period, and, indeed, for several ages after, the people were in a state of almost savage nature.—Constantly embroiled in warfare, they had neither leisure nor inclination to prosecute the useful arts, and learning was unknown, or only studied within the cells of the monks. The Gaelic was the only language of the country during the Scottish period; but there was no man sufficiently learned to commit it to writing, and it is doubtful if Gregory could sign his name.*

The abbey of Iona was the seat of learning in that age. The cultivation of the human mind is the work of leisure, of security, and of peace. But this sacred retreat was frequently violated by barbarous invaders, who respected neither the sanctity of its walls nor the pure lives of its scholars. In the space of eight years, from 797 to 805, it was thrice burned by the Danes, and its inhabitants murdered. At an after period it was twice destroyed, and its Abbots and disciples massacred by Norwegian pirates; and it was once burned by accident. In rapid succession the Abbots of Iona followed each other to the grave; and this celebrated school gradually disappeared. Amidst such eventful changes, the voice of learning was only heard on the shores of Iona. But it was too feeble

* The English language was first introduced into Scotland by the Dano-Saxons, between the 9th and 11th centuries, but it did not become general in the country, until after the conquest of Edward I. towards the close of the 13th century. And in the Gaelic, which was the prevailing language of the country, there is not a single work in existence.

to reach the boisterous scenes of Scottish turbulence; and the school of Kenneth, established at the capital of the Pictish kingdom, was only a faint and useless imitation of that of Iona. This age, and for long after, was the period of war and of bloodshed. The minds of men were sunk in ignorance and debased by barbarous manners.

In such circumstances, have we any reason to suppose, that municipal regulations were attended to; or that the formality of a charter could constitute a right, when the sword was the only arbiter of law and of justice? Indeed it is generally believed that no charters existed previous to the time of Edgar, or about the beginning of the 11th century, or fully two hundred years after the death of Gregory. The history of the life of Gregory is, besides, involved in such obscurity and contradiction that we can ascertain nothing concerning him that can be relied upon. One class of historians ascribe to his memory great and glorious deeds, while another represent him as an usurper and a robber. The credulous Abercrombie devotes a whole chapter to celebrate his martial achievements, illustrating his character by a lengthened view of his disinterestedness and moderation, piety and worth. But so vague and indefinite are our accounts of the transactions of those times, that we are uncertain of the duration of his reign, the time, place, or manner of his death.

When the early history of our country is divested of its fabulous interpolations, the *lives* of such heroes are generally resolved into a few inconsiderable facts.

Accordingly, our late writers deny to Gregory his glory and his conquests; and consider them merely as the fictions of the clergy, who blazoned his name, and consecrated his character, in return for largesses and benefactions. As far as prayers and protestations could go, the followers of the church, in all ages, and in all countries, have been ever grateful to those who have bestowed favours upon them; and Gregory, as the founder of the See of St. Andrews, merited and obtained the homage of their praise.*

It is generally admitted, that Gregory was the *Maormor* of that part of the country which comprehended the counties of Aberdeen and Banff—that he was a bold and intrepid chieftain, who ascended the throne through the murder of Hugh the brother of Constantine—and that he reigned, in conjunction with Eochoid, for eleven years; but that he was deposed, and lived three years in retirement; and, it is said, that he died in 897, at his Castle of Dunadeer.†

It is probable, that Gregory afforded his protection to Aberdeen, and granted such verbal privileges to the people, who were perhaps his faithful adherents, as conveyed some distinction or pre-eminence over the less considerable villages in his ample domain.—But it is inconsistent with probability, and the state of the country at that period, to suppose, that Gregory could have given a charter in writing, or any thing corresponding to our ideas of such grants in the time of Alexander, of David, or of Robert de Bruce. The

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* Chalmers' Caledonia, p. 429. † Ibid.

Scoto-Saxon period, or from the year 1100, is the age of charters; and none are in existence previous to that time, which are deemed authentic. We may be assured, therefore, that the charter said to have been granted by Gregory to the town of Aberdeen, in the year 893, never had any existence, or only existed in the imagination of the credulous advocates for the antiquity of the municipal privileges of this city.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II. CONTINUED.

[THE SCOTISH KINGS FROM 894 TO 1157---SEE OF MORTLACH
ESTABLISHED—ITS REMOVAL TO ABERDEEN—STATE OF
THE COUNTRY—STATE OF LEARNING, &c.]

* * * *

FROM the time of Gregory to the reign of David I. who removed the religious establishment of Mortlach to Aberdeen in the year 1154, we find nothing relative to this city that could be either credited, or worth recording. When we consider the distracted state of Scotland, and the deficiency or scantiness of written documents, for more than three centuries, it is not surprising, that there should be little to relate concerning the civil policy of this kingdom. It may not be improper, however, to rapidly trace the most important events in the history of our country, from the close of the ninth to the middle of the twelfth century; which will exhibit a faithful, tho' gloomy, picture of a rude and barbarous, but warlike nation;

and, at the same time, convince us, that municipal regulations were unknown in such turbulent ages. In the year 894, *Donald*, the son of *Constantine*, became king of Scotland. He was greatly harrassed by the Danes and Norwegians, who had effected a settlement, and powerfully established themselves in Moray *. He quelled an insurrection of his own subjects, fought and defeated the Danes, but died of his wounds at *Forres*, according to *Fordun*, after a reign of nine years. *Boece* affirms, however, that he went into Northumberland, where he died: but it is evident, that our accounts of his life are founded upon conjecture, and consequently unworthy of confidence.

Donald was succeeded by *Constantine*, the son of *Ed*, in 904; who, like his predecessor, was embroiled with the Norwegians in bloody warfare. They over-ran Pictland, but were finally defeated at *Tinmore*, and did not return for many years to disturb the kingdom. But *Æthelstan*, the English monarch, a no less powerful enemy than the Danes, invaded and devastated Scotland, which induced *Constantine* to form a close alliance with the Northumbrians; with whose forces, in conjunction with the Dano-Irish and his own people, he penetrated into England. *Æthelstan* met them at *Brunanburg*; and a desperate battle ensued, in which the confederates were overthrown. *Constantine* escaped, and returned to his capital; but soon after retired to *St. Andrews*, where he finished his days in peace, in the society of holy men†. *Constantine* appears

* Heron's Hist. of Scotland, vol. I. p. 44.

† Buchanan, vol. I. p. 211.

appears to have been engaged in almost incessant warfare; but historians are very contradictory as to the events of his life, and his transactions are therefore involved in as much obscurity as those of the preceding reign.

Malcolm, the successor of *Constantine*, quelled an insurrection of the "men of Moray," who had been instigated to rebellion by *Kellach* their chief, or *Maormor*. *Kellach* was slain; and *Malcolm* turned his arms against Northumberland. His Danish subjects in Moray again rose in rebellion; and he was killed by them at *Fetteresso*, in the *Mearns*, in the ninth year of his reign.*

On the death of *Malcolm*, *Indulf* ascended the throne, in 953, but he was not more fortunate than his predecessor. The Danes ravaged the coasts of Scotland. A numerous party having landed in 961, in the bay of *Cullen* in *Banffshire*, *Indulf* met them; and a furious battle was terminated with the loss of his life, after a short reign of eight years.†

Duff, the son of *Malcolm I.* assumed the sceptre in 961, and his reign was embittered by civil discord. A competitor for the throne involved the country in all the calamities of domestic warfare; and *Duff* was assassinated at *Forres*, in 965, after a distracted reign of four years and a half.‡

Culen, succeeded *Duff*, and, by his crimes, involved the country in war with the *Strathcluyd Britons*, who met him in battle in *Lothian*; and slew him with his brother *Eocha*.§

* *Buchanan*, vol. 1. p. 212. † *Chalmers' Caledon.* v. 1. p. 391.

‡ *Chalmers*, vol. 1. p. 392. § *Ibid.* vol. 1. p. 393.

Kenneth III. in 970, was invested with sovereignty. He wielded the sceptre with a powerful arm; and continued the war against the Strathclyd Britons, until he subdued them, and annexed their country to the territories of the Scottish kings. He penetrated into Northumberland, spoiled the country, and carried off the son of the king*. The Danes renewed their attacks, and landed on the banks of the Tay. *Kenneth* fought and defeated them at Luncarty. He murdered, it is said, *Malcolm*, the son of *Duff*. He quelled an insurrection in the county of *Mearns*, and put to death the son of *Finella*. But a woman's revenge is sometimes terrible, and he fell a victim to her perhaps just resentment. *Finella* fled, but did not escape; and on this circumstance a popular story is founded, which is still related in the county of the *Mearns*.† Thus terminated the guilty career of *Kenneth III.* after a long and bloody reign of twenty-four years.

Constantine IV. assumed the sceptre of *Kenneth*.— He was the son of *Culen*, and his reign was short and inglorious. His right to the crown was disputed by *Kenneth IV.* called *Grim*. The hostile parties met on the banks of the *Almond*, and *Constantine* was killed.‡

Kenneth IV. son of *Duff*, surnamed *Grim*, ascended the throne in 995; but *Malcolm* of *Cumberland* conceiving himself to be the lawful heir to the crown, invaded *Scotland*, and *Grim* was killed in battle, after an unfortunate reign of eight years.§

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* *Chalmers*, vol. 1. p. 394. † *Ibid.* vol. 1. p. 396.—See also, *Mr. Robertson's* excellent Survey of *Kincardineshire*, p. 191-2.

‡ *Heron's* History of *Scotland*, vol. 1. p. 56.

§ *Chalm.* vol. 1. p. 397.

Malcolm II. in 1003 seized the sceptre of Kenneth ; and his reign was a continued scene of warfare. The Danes, the Swedes, and Norwegians, with Sigurd, the Earl of Orkney, invaded the east and west coasts of Scotland, in all quarters. The Danes seized the Burgh-head of Moray, (the *Ptoroton* of the Romans), which afforded a safe harbour to their shipping, and an impregnable retreat to their forces.* Sigurd carried his depredations along the shores of the Moray Firth. A reinforcement of Danes having landed, they advanced to meet Malcolm, who had collected the strength of the Scottish nation. They joined in battle at *Mortlach*, where a bloody conflict ensued ; and after fiercely contending for victory, the Danes were compelled to yield to the courage of the Scots. In obedience to a sacred vow, Malcolm endowed a religious house and church at *Mortlach*, which were erected on the site of the battle. *Mort-lach* are Gaelic words—*mort*, death, and *lach*, lake, which imply, the *Lake of Death*, or *Havock*. This religious establishment was confirmed by Pope Benedict, who, from the year 1012 to 1024, was the supreme head of the “ Universal Church ;” but it was afterwards removed to ABERDEEN.†

The Danes still continued their hostile descents on the shores of Buchan and Angus. Malcolm encountered them at Aberlemno, in Forfarshire, where they sustained a signal defeat ; and monumental pillars have perpetuated the remembrance of the victory.—

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* Chalmers, vol. 1. p. 398.

† Ibid. vol. 1. p. 399.

A fresh body of Danish warriors landed at Panbride, under the valiant *Canus*, but he had penetrated only a few miles into the country, when he was killed, and his army totally routed by the Scots. But the Danes were neither intimidated nor repressed by such repeated defeats, and they landed again on the coast of Buchan, near to Slains Castle. The Maormor of the district attacked and overthrew them.* Malcolm's vigour having finally repelled the Danish invaders; the Scottish nation was delivered from their depredations for a few years: but this unhappy country was still destined to feel the scourge of war. For Malcolm attacked Northumberland, and fought a severe battle with Earl Uchtred. He afterwards defended his country from the assaults of the powerful *Canute*, who penetrated into Scotland in the year 1031.—Malcolm's warlike reign was closed in the year 1033; but so contradictory are our chroniclers, that it is impossible to discover whether he died a natural death; or by the hand of the assassin.†

Duncan, the grandson of Malcolm, immediately succeeded the aged King. The tranquillity of his government was disturbed by insurrections; and he fell a victim to the ambition of Macbeth, who murdered him at Bothgowanan, near Elgin, 1039, after a reign of six years.‡

Macbeth ascended that throne to which he had paved the way by assassination. His administration was wise

* Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. 1. p. 403.

† Heron's Hist. of Scotland, vol. 1. p. 59.

‡ Chalmers, vol. 1. p. 405.

wise and vigorous, but discontent prevailed in the nation, and revenge rankled in the bosom of Malcolm, the son of the murdered Duncan. Assisted by Siward, Earl of Northumberland, Malcolm marched into Scotland, and a bloody conflict took place between him and Macbeth, at Dunsinan. Macbeth retired to the country of his adherents; but again met his enemy, and was slain in battle at Lumphanan, in Aberdeenshire, in the year 1056, by the hand of Macduff, the Maormor of Fife.* Shakespeare has finely dramatized the story of Macbeth; but his character has been injured as much by the poet as by some of our early historians; who appear to have been greatly prejudiced against him. The duration of his reign was seventeen years.†

Lulach,‡ the son of “*Lady Macbeth*,” ascended the throne; and for a few months defended his crown and his life, against his rival, Malcolm Canmore. But Malcolm’s good fortune gave him the victory at Essie in Strathbogy, where Lulach was slain, in 1057, after a short reign of four or five months.§ His body, with that of Macbeth, was conveyed to the sacred isle of Iona, and entombed in the cemetery of the Scottish Kings; a circumstance which proves, that they were considered as of the blood royal, and their remains accordingly respected by the conqueror.

After a contest of two years, *Malcolm III.* quietly ascended the throne in 1057, having been crowned at

* Chalmers, *Caledonia*, vol. 1. p. 413.

† Heron’s *History of Scotland*, vol. 1. p. 60.

‡ Chalmers, vol. 1. p. 415. § *Ibid.* vol. 1. p. 415.

at Scone with the usual solemnities. His first military enterprise was undertaken against Northumberland, which he invaded and laid waste. In 1070 he penetrated into England as far as Durham, spreading universal desolation, burning the edifices sacred to religion, and the unfortunate people who had taken refuge in them as sanctuaries respected by the usage of war. He spared neither age nor sex, and with savage barbarity massacred all without distinction. In the meantime, his own territories of Cumberland were ravaged by Gospatrick, Earl of Northumberland. In 1076, Malcolm again invaded Northumberland, and wasted the country as far as the river Tyne. In 1091, the English in their turn carried the war into Scotland, under William Rufus, but Malcolm negotiated a peace, and thus saved his country from the horrors incident to the theatre of hostilities. In 1093 Malcolm "burst into Northumberland with a tumultuary army, and renewed the miseries of that unhappy province."* He was attacked, however, by Robert de Moubray, and slain, along with his eldest son.

Thus fell Malcolm Canmore, after a reign of 37 years, of almost continued warfare. He possessed intrepid courage, and it is said, that the cruelty of his disposition was much softened by the milder virtues of his wife Margaret; but it does not appear, by his actions, that he was ever guided by the dictates of humanity. He was completely illiterate; and in fact,

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* Lord Hailes' Annals of Scotland, vol. 1. p. 4. to 27.

a fierce barbarian, who ruled despotically over a savage people.

Donald, the brother of Malcolm, assumed the government, and expelled the family of the late king, with all the foreigners who had found protection at the Scottish court. *Duncan*, the bastard son of Malcolm, invaded Scotland at the head of a numerous army of English and Normans to dispossess Donald.—Duncan was successful, and reigned in his stead; but Edmund, a lawful son of Malcom III. in conjunction with Donald, engaged in a conspiracy against Duncan.* At their instigation, Duncan was murdered by *Malpeder*, Maormor of Mearns, and Donald again ascended the throne. He now more rigorously enforced the expulsion of foreigners; and so brutal were the manners of the age, that it was a national object to efface civility from the kingdom.† Edgar the son of Malcolm invaded Scotland in 1097, with an army raised in England, under the command of his uncle Edgar Atheling, and overcame Donald, whom he made captive, and put out his eyes, according to a barbarous practice. Donald closed the miseries of his life at Rescobie in Forfarshire.‡

The Scottish nation having endured innumerable calamities, in a series of civil wars, instigated by rival usurpers, or contending factions, gladly placed Edgar in 1098, on the throne of his ancestors. He was the fourth son of Malcolm, by Margaret, and the law-

* Lord Hailes' Annals, p. 53, 54. † Ibid.

‡ Chalmers, vol. 1. p. 425.

lawful heir to the crown, his elder brothers Edward and Edmund being no more, and Ethelred having retired from the busy scenes of active life to the more happy occupations of the altar.*

Edgar, in 1098, ascended the dangerous eminence which had been stained with so much royal blood. The dissensions of his enemies, perhaps, more than his amiable qualities, secured to him a reign of tranquillity for eight years; and on the 8th January, 1106 or 1107, he died in peace.†

Alexander I. succeeding his brother *Edgar* in 1106, or 1107, enjoyed a quiet reign of 18 years, and died at Stirling, in April 1124, after having successfully resisted the pretensions of the Bishop of Canterbury, who claimed the supremacy of the Scottish church.

David, the youngest son of *Malcolm III.* succeeded *Alexander*. The first important event of his reign was the rebellion of the people of Moray, who had marched south; but they were opposed at Strickathrow, in Angus, where they were totally routed, and their leader slain. He supported the rights of *Matilda* the daughter of *Henry*, against the pretensions of *Stephen*, who had usurped the throne of England. But his force was inadequate to the magnitude of the enterprise; and he was obliged to resign to *Stephen* the conquests he had made for *Matilda* in the north of England. To revenge his former disgrace, or to retrieve his reputation, he again invaded Northumberland, which his army wasted with merciless barbarity.

Stephen

* Heron's History, p. 263. † Hailes' Annals, vol. 1. p. 56.

Stephen hastened to meet him, and retaliated on the Scottish borders the enormities committed on the English territories. But insurrections of the nobles called Stephen to the south of England; and David taking advantage of his absence, in 1138, penetrated into Northumberland.* His army renewed the excesses of the former invasion; and carried desolation wherever they went. Stephen was so pressed in the south, that he could make no effectual opposition to the Scots, and the security of the north of England was entrusted to the valour of the people, and the dexterity of Thurstin the Archbishop of York. This Prelate raised the standard of England, from which he suspended a consecrated host; and by the aid of religion, promises, and threats, collected a numerous army, which defeated the Scots on Cotton Moor, in the neighbourhood of Northallerton. David, with the shattered remains of his army, escaped to Carlisle, where Alberc the Papal legate negotiated a truce with him. And so barbarous were the Scottish troops, that the legate deemed it necessary to exact a solemn vow from them, that they should "*neither violate churches, nor murder any incapable from their age or sex of making resistance.*" In the following year, 1139, peace was concluded between David and Stephen at Durham.

Scotland was not again disturbed by war during the remainder of David's reign, if we except the predatory incursions of *Wimand* Bishop of Man, whose exploits

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* Lord Hailes' Annals, vol. 1. p. 81.

terminated in the loss of his eyes and of his liberty. In the year 1153 David retired to Carlisle where he fixed his future residence ; but died the 24th May, while employed in the exercise of devotion.*

The life of David has been handed down to posterity with peculiar minuteness, through the friendly and sedulous care of the monks. He was a great benefactor to the church, establishing bishopricks, and erecting and endowing many monasteries. Such things in that age were esteemed acts of pious beneficence. He removed the See of Mortlach, which was established by Malcolm III. to Aberdeen, in the year 1154, and formed it into the "*Bishoprick of ABERDEEN,*" liberally endowing it with large revenues and extensive privileges.

In vain we have searched through the bloody history of Scotland for two centuries and a half, to find something worth recording relative to the city of Aberdeen. But the ignorance of a rude people has disappointed our expectations ; and the mind is sadly torn by the melancholy exhibition of the diversified calamities with which our country was afflicted, during those dark and gloomy ages. Of the eighteen Kings who swayed the Scottish sceptre, from the beginning of the tenth to the middle of the twelfth century, only four died a natural death. One of these was deposed, but saved his life by becoming a monk. The other three were the last in this catalogue ; and, in their time, some slight improvement had taken place in the
manners

* Lord Hailes' Annals, vol. 1. p. 104.

manners of the people, through the benign influence of Christianity. Of the first fifteen kings, fourteen fell in battle, or by the hand of the assassin. This dreadful picture stands in full view on the pages of Scottish history, and expressively marks the character of the people.

Although we are destitute of minute and particular information as to the civil institutions of those ages, yet we may deduce some knowledge of the state of society from the great and leading features of the times. The dethronement of kings, the frequent contests for the succession, and the repeated changes from one royal line to another, sufficiently evince the uncertainty of law; and that there was no fixed principle of justice existing among the people, powerful enough to direct their deliberations, or to guide their conduct. The frequent insurrections which took place in all parts of the country indubitably show, that the government was weak or disjointed, and that the Maormors or Chiefs possessed an authority, which was acknowledged in their respective districts, independent of the sovereign. The invasion of the Anglo-Saxons, and the consequences that ensued; the continued inroads of the Danes, and the obstinate valour with which they contended; the civil wars in the bosom of the country; and the frequent contests with the Northumbrians and English, evidently prove, that the inhabitants of Scotland were too much occupied with the business of war, to pursue the arts of agriculture and manufacture, in a manner that could much ameliorate their situation, or remove them to a dis-

tance from savage life. The atrocities they committed in warfare, by murdering the young and old, the weak and infirm, without mercy or distinction; the burning, havock, and devastation, that every where followed the tumultuary march of the Scottish armies, are palpable evidences of the barbarous manners of the people; and demonstrate, that they were alike strangers to the feelings of humanity, or the habits of civilized society.

During this period, learning was unknown, or only darkly studied in the cells of the monks, and the amount of their researches was confined to their legends, the lives of their saints and martyrs, and the worst part of the doctrines of the church of Rome. Some of them could read and a few could write, but the lamp of science glimmered with a feeble light that was invisible beyond the walls of the monastery. The little knowledge they possessed, was employed in recording what related to the church, and they have transmitted nothing as to the civil policy of the country. The absurdities which the monks then studied and taught, were deemed paramount to every thing that concerned worldly affairs. The science of legislation, by which the conduct and happiness of mankind are regulated and confirmed, was neglected for legendary lore. The principles of government, and the maxims of civil life, were neither studied nor understood; and their whole system of science was reduced to this simple position, that what *they* taught, comprehended all knowledge; and to *believe* their dogmas, ensured everlasting happiness in the world to come.

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In such times the progress of intellect was tardy or imperceptible ; but we have to thank these holy men, however, for the practical lessons they gave our forefathers in agriculture and architecture. They cultivated and improved their own lands, practised gardening*, and erected buildings. Their example would naturally be imitated ; and although they made frequent and heavy requisitions on the labour of the people, for the purpose of rearing those stately edifices which piety consecrated to the true God, yet the heads and the hands of men were better employed in the erection of such magnificent buildings, than in the bloody business of war. Some of these monuments of human industry still remain to attest the genius of the monks, and the zeal of our ancestors ; and more would have remained, if the ferocity of the REFORMERS, at a time comparatively modern, had not wantonly destroyed them. But the malicious passions of men, in every age, have made the reformation of religion the ostensible excuse for the destruction of the temples consecrated to Divinity, as well as for every atrocity that the fury and madness of fanatics may have induced them to perpetrate.

In the period of which we are treating, the laity were wholly illiterate. At the demise of Donald, or down to the end of the eleventh century, the Gaelic
was

* To the monks we are indebted for the importation into Scotland, of the fruits of the continent, and all the improvements in horticulture, which were then known.

was the only spoken language of Scotland proper*. From that time (1097), the Scoto-Saxon tongue gradually superseded the Scoto-Irish in the south and *lowlands* of Scotland; but for long after, it had not penetrated so far north as Aberdeen. Malcolm Canmore could neither read nor write, which shews, that learning was as little regarded in Northumberland, where he spent his early youth, as in Scotland. The nobles and laymen were accustomed to sign written deeds with the mark of the cross; and as the Gaelic never was a written language, and the only tongue they understood, it is hardly to be expected that they could write their names. The whole learning of those ages was confined to the clergy, who made no exertion to spread it, because they thought that their dominion over the minds of men was best maintained by the ignorance and superstition of the people. This fatal maxim, that obedience springs from ignorance, was not confined to the Papal church, but pervaded all the civil governments of Europe, and has been the cause of innumerable calamities to mankind. If man be a rational creature, the improvement of his faculties will make him a wiser and better member of society; and as the sphere of his action is enlarged, he will discover that his own happiness is best promoted by the ready performance of his duty to his God and to his country.

CHAPTER.

* Chalmers's Caledon. vol. i. p. 481.

CHAPTER III.

RELATIVE TO OLD ABERDEEN.

(*The Bishop's See and Cathedral.*)

FROM the obscurity of our records, we are uncertain of the precise time of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland; but that it took place at a very early period, is beyond all contradiction. About the middle of the sixth century (A. D. 565), Columba founded a monastery in Iona, which became the school of the Caledonian people. He sent instructors, and established monasteries throughout the Pictish territories; and the school of Iona was celebrated for several ages. Although denominated monks, they were regular clergy, and subjected to strict discipline. The abbot of Iona was the head of the Scottish church, until the establishment of the see of St. Andrews, by king Gregory, towards the close of the ninth century*.

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* Pinkerton, vol. ii. p. 270.

At that time, and for long after, the Papal church had not assumed any authority over the religious establishments of Scotland; and the different orders of ecclesiastics who afterwards deluged the country, were unknown. The bishops and abbots, with the culdees, or monks, constituted the whole of the religious orders of that period. John of Crema was the first legate who appeared in Scotland (anno 1126), with papal authority, and the dominion of the church of Rome gradually prevailed. Canons Regular supplanted the culdees, and various sorts of monastic orders were established during the twelfth century.

We have seen that Malcolm Canmore, in the year 1010, erected a bishop's seat at Mortlach, in commemoration of a victory he had gained over the Danes; but it was likely nothing more than a church of the rudest workmanship, with a house for the residence of the bishop, or officiating priest. This establishment, however, was endowed with the lands of Mortlach, Cloveth, and Dunmeth; and we are informed, that Beanus, or Beyn, was the first bishop, elected in 1010, and sat thirty-two years. He was succeeded by Donort a Barnoc, who died in 1098: sat forty-two years. Cormack, thirty-nine years. Nectan, sixteen. Alexander sat fourteen years at Mortlach, and in 1137 was transferred to the see of Old Aberdeen.

At that time Old Aberdeen was a small village, containing four ploughs of land, and had a little kirk where the cathedral now stands, dedicated to St. Machar. It appears from the date of the charter to Nectan, by David I. that the translation of the see of
Mortlach

Mortlach to Aberdeen, took place in the year 1137, in the 13th year of his reign* ; and Adrian IV. granted in 1154, a bull of confirmation. As the revenue of Mortlach was inconsiderable, the see of Aberdeen received additional and extensive endowments. The charter comprehends “ the haille village of Old *Aber-*
“ *don*, half the water of North Sclattie, Goule-Murie-
“ croft, Kinmundy, Mameulach, and the kirk of Kirk-
“ town; the parish of Clatt; the parish of Daviot,
“ Tillienestie; the parish of Raine; the tithe of the
“ ships called *Snows*, which arrive at Aberdeen; the
“ tithe of victual there; my own tithe of the revenues
“ of Aberdeen; the tithe of the thanage-revenues and
“ escheats belonging to me, within the sheriffdom of
“ Aberdeen and Banff †.

It is uncertain when Nectanus died; but he was succeeded by Edward, who was bishop in the third year of Malcolm IV. Galfrid succeeded Edward, but both had died before the 11th of Malcolm; for we find a charter of confirmation by Malcolm to Matthew Kininmonth, bearing date at Striviling, the 20th August, eleventh year of his reign †. By this charter the see received additional grants, viz. “ the kirk of Fet-
“ ternier, with its lands and pertinents; the kirk of
“ St. Nicolaus, of Aberdeen, with the pertinents; the
“ land of Ellon, with the pertinents; the kirk of Auch-
“ terless, with the lands and pertinents; the kirk of
“ Oyne, with the land and pertinents; the kirk of In-
“ vercruden,

* Keith's Catalogue of Bishops.

† Orem, p. 3.

† Ibid, p. 15.

“vercruden, with the land and pertinents; the lands
 “of Banchory-Devenick, with the lands and perti-
 “nents; the kirk of Belhevie, with the lands and per-
 “tinents.” Malcolm granted another charter to Ma-
 1164 thew, dated at Banff, 15th November, same year,
 which conveyed “the barony of Murchill, with the
 “pertinents; and pasture in the forest of Aberdeen
 “as he pleases, any one forest of the four, lying as
 “above mentioned, to chuse, or have for a perpetual
 “barony*.” William the Lion succeeded Malcolm,
 anno 1165, and confirms the above charters to Ma-
 thew, granting to him the lands of Brass, now called
 Birse, with the forest thereof, by a charter dated the
 fifth year of his reign.

At this time, and for more than two centuries after,
 the bishop's residence was in a house at Lochgoule,
 which stood on a rising ground, and was surrounded with
 water †. His lodging consisted of a large hall, stand-
 ing east and west; with a large office-house at the west,
 and another at the east end; and upon the south side
 stood the oratory, also east and west, according to the
 superstitious notions of the people of those times. This
 establishment was protected by a moat filled with
 water, and ingress and egress were permitted by a
 draw-bridge. Bishop Benham died in this lodging,
 in the 29th year of Alexander III., or about A. D.
 1279. Alexander Kininmonth, who became bishop
 of Aberdeen about the year 1329, built the bishop's
 lodging

* Orem, p. 17.

† Ibid, p. 10.

lodging in the chanonry, and his summer house at Fetternier*. In the year 1336 the bishop's and canons' lodgings were burned by Edward III. on his return from the north. Alexander Kininmonth, the second of that name, became bishop of Aberdeen, in the year 1357. He demolished the old church, and laid the foundation of another, which was completed by his successors. Bishop Leighton, who was translated to Aberdeen, anno 1424, built St. John's Aisle, upon the north-east end of the cathedral, in the year 1430; and laid the foundation of the great steeple, and the two small ones, and very much advanced the fabric†. The roof was laid on, the church slated, and the floor paved with free-stone, in 1445, by Bishop Lindsay. Bishop Spence, who is said to have been of an active spirit, repaired the bishop's lodging in the chanonry, which was ruinous, and had been lying waste since the conflagration by the English, in 1336. He also furnished the stalls in the chancel, and the bishop's chair; and greatly ornamented the church. Bishop Elphinston completed the great steeple on the east end of the church, in the year 1489, and furnished it with 14 bells. He covered the roof of the church with lead; for which purpose he received money from James IV. Bishop Dunbar, who succeeded in 1518, completed the smaller steeples on the west end of the church, and in 1522 built the south aisle‡.

The bishop's palace which stood at the end of the cathedral,

* Orem, p. 17.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid, p. 18.

cathedral, consisted of a court of building, with a tower on each of the four corners, and contained a great hall, and chambers for his accommodation. The prebends and canons-regular had commodious lodgings, with large yards and gleibs. They were the bishop's chapter, or council, and he could do nothing relative to ecclesiastical affairs without them. They were therefore obliged to live near him, that they might be ready on all occasions to assist with their advice, or go about church matters. They were incumbents of churches in the country, but had curates under them, who performed the duties of their respective parishes. Those prebends, who were canons-regular, preached in the cathedral at the time of high festivals, and on the week days, gave lessons in divinity, and taught the canon and civil law previous to the erection of the university*. In terms of an order from Pope Innocent IV. Bishop Ramsay, with consent of the dean and chapter, appointed thirteen prebends to the chanonry; and the bishop being one himself, presided over the others. The dean enjoyed considerable power, and was rector of the parish of St. Machar, and had a chaplain and clerk under him, who performed divine service to the parishioners; but in 1579 this office was annexed to the college, and the principal became dean†.

The parson of *Auchterless* was chantor, or chief musician, and rector of the music of the church. The instruction of the singing boys was his peculiar duty.

The

* Orem, p. 27.

† Ibid.

The parson of Birse was chancellor of the bishop's chapter, and it belonged to him to correct books, and to keep the common seal of the church and chapter, and to perform the duties of librarian. He had also to provide a fit master for the school of Aberdeen, and to superintend the education of the boys in the science of grammar, &c.

The parson of Daviot was treasurer, and to his care was entrusted the money belonging to the church. It was his duty to cause the ornaments to be kept clean, and to provide candles for the church.

The parson of Raine was archdeacon, and it was his duty to go about the province, and correct the manners of the clergy; an office that was extremely necessary, and arduous in proportion to their number, and the magnitude of their vicious propensities. The sixth prebend was the parson of Belhelvie; the seventh, of Mortlach; the eighth was parson of Oyne, who was *protonotarius capituli*, or chief notary of the chapter. It was his duty to travel to Rome with commissions to the pope, and to bring instructions to the bishop and clergy of the chanonry. In consequence of his duty in this office, he was called *Rome-raker**, — a name sufficiently indicative of his business. The ninth prebend was the parson of Invercruden, or Cruden. The tenth, of Clatt. The eleventh, of Banchory-Devenick: and the twelfth, of Old Deer, who was made a prebend of the chanonry, by agreement

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between

* Orem, p. 92.

between the bishop and chapter, and the abbot of Deer*.

Richard Pottach, who became bishop in 1256, joined the parson of Crimond to the chapter, in 1262; and Henry Cheyne, anno 1281, added four more prebends, viz. the parsons of Lonmay, of Aberdour, of Forbes, and of Ellon†. Alexander Kininmonth added the parson of Kincardine O'Neil to the chapter; and the second bishop of that name, joined other prebends; viz. the parsons of Invernochie, of Philorth, of Methlick, of Tillienestle, and of Drumoak. Bishop Greenlaw added the parson of Turriff to the chapter; and bishop Henry Leighton joined the parson of Kinkell, who was a considerable man in the chapter, as he was parson of the following churches‡, viz. Kinkell, Kintore, Kinellar, Skeen, Kemnay, Dyce, and Drumblait. The parson of Cauldestane was also added by Leighton; and his successor, bishop Lindsay, in 1441, joined the parson of Ruthven to the chapter; also, the rector of the church of Monymusk, for which purpose he obtained the consent of the bishop of St. Andrews: and the parsons of Logie-Buchan, and of Fetternier. Bishop Lindsay statuted and ordained, that annually one of the residing canons should be procurator-general, receiver, or collector, of all the fruits and revenues of the churches belonging to them, and make equal distribution of the proceeds among the prebends or canons, and render an account annually of his intromissions to the chapter.

When

* Orem, p. 33.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid, p. 38.

When any of the clergy committed a fault, or violated the laws enacted by the bishop, he was punished by penal mulct, or in any manner the dean and chapter thought proper. If fined, the one-half was applied to the fabric of the church, and the other to the repair of the ornaments. But if his fault was aggravated by any thing of a criminal or heinous nature, he was punished by excommunication. As the dean was set over all the canons and vicars, he exacted ready obedience from them. When he went into the chapter-house they stood up in the quire, and in absence of the bishop made obeisance to him when they retired, and otherwise treated him with great respect*.

The whole rent of the bishoprick of Aberdeen, amounted in Scots money (estimating the victual at £4 : 3 : 4, Scots per boll), to £3519 : 3 : 8.

The foregoing account of the bishop's see, and cathedral of Old Aberdeen, is compiled from Orem's "Description of the Chanonry," which contains so full a history of every thing relative to that place, and is so widely circulated in this part of the country, that we deem it unnecessary to make any further extracts from it, but shall incidentally take notice of any thing of importance in it, that may be connected with the history of the New Town.

* Orem, p. 40.

CHAPTER IV.

CONTENTS.

[CHARTER OF ABERDEEN BY WILLIAM THE LION—HIS RESIDENCE—RED FRIARS—BISHOPS KININMONTH, JOHN, ADAM—ALEXANDER II. GRANTS A CHARTER TO ABERDEEN—DOMINICANS—BISHOPS SCOTT, STIRLINE, RANDOLF—CHARTER BY ALEXANDER III.—BISHOPS RAMSAY, POTTON, BENHAM—ABERDEEN A MART FOR FISH—BALIOL—BRUCE—WALLACE—EDWARD I.—ROBERT BRUCE—HIS RESIDENCE AT ABERDEEN—BATTLE OF INVERURY, AND THE TRANSACTIONS OF HIS REIGN—THE ENGLISH GARRISON OF ABERDEEN MASSACRED BY THE CITIZENS—BRUCE'S CHARTERS TO ABERDEEN—BISHOP-CHEYNE—BRIDGE OF DON—POPULATION OF SCOTLAND—PRICE OF PROVISIONS—COIN—OBSERVATIONS ON THE VALUE OF SPECIE, AND PRICE OF LABOUR.]

* * * *

THE first charter granted to Aberdeen was given by William the Lion, and is beautifully written on a small piece of parchment, which is still in good preservation. It is very indefinite, and comprehends all the burgesses in Moray, and to the north of the *Month*, or Grampians, as well as those of Aberdeen. The following is copied from the original.

“ *Willielmus Dei gracia Rex Scottorum, omnibus probis*
 “ *hominibus tocius terre sue Salutem. Sciatis presentes*
 “ *et futuri, me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse,*
 “ *Burgensibus meis de Abirdoen, et omnibus Burgensibus*
 “ *meis de Moravia, et omnibus Burgensibus meis ex*
 “ *aquilonali parte de MONTH manentibus, liberum*
 “ *ausum* suum, tenendum ut voluerint et quando vo-*
 “ *luerint. Ita libere, integrè, plenarie, et honorifice, sicut*
 “ *antecessores eorum tempore Regis Malcolumbi, avi mei,*
 “ *ausum suum liberius, et honorificentius, habuerunt.*
 “ *Quare prohibeo firmiter, ne quis eos inde vexet, aut dis-*
 “ *turbet, supra meam plenariam foris facturam†. Testibus*
 “ *Andrea Episcopo Katenensi. Comite Dunecano Justicia-*
 “ *rio, Gilberto Comite de St-hern, Comite de Anegus, Ri-*
 “ *cardo de Morevill constabulario Waltero de Berkelai Ca-*
 “ *merario, Comite de egalvill, Hugone Bissard, Malisio*
 “ *fratre comitis de St.-h.—Apud Pert.”*

As there is no date mentioned in this charter, we cannot fix the precise time at which it was granted. But from certain circumstances we have reason to think it was given about the year 1178, or the 13th of William's reign. *Andrew*, bishop of Caithness, died in 1184‡, and as he is a witness to this charter, it is evident

* *Ausen*, Latine, *Ausum*. Privilegium ad mercaturam terra marique faciendam.—*Vide Tilius, et Spelmannum.*

† *Supra meam plenariam foris facturam*, signifies literally, “ On pain of becoming an outlaw, and being held as a rebel.”

‡ *Keith's Catalogue of Bishops*, p. 122.

evident it must have been granted previous to that year. The charter to the abbey of Aberbrothick was granted in 1178, to which Andrew is also a witness* ; and it is probable that both charters were given at the same time. *Walter de Berkley*, who is another witness to this charter, was appointed *Chamberlain* in 1165, and was one of those who returned with William to Scotland, about the close of the year 1174†. In the year 1179, William marched with a large army into Ross-shire, to quell an insurrection in that district‡; and it is probable that he had granted the charters to *Aberdeen*, and the abbey of *Aberbrothick*, in the latter end of the year 1178, when he was collecting his army at Perth. It is by such circumstances, in the absence of dates, that we are enabled to approach, or to determine the precise æra of events in those dark ages.

It is impossible to ascertain the amount of the population, or the extent of the trade or commerce of Aberdeen, at the period William the Lion granted this charter; but that it was comparatively a place of some consequence, is pretty evident. By David's charter to the bishop of Aberdeen, of date 1137, "*the tithe of the ships called Snows, which arrive at Aberdeen,*" is conveyed

* Keith's Cat. p. 122.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 134.

‡ William was taken prisoner by the barons of Yorkshire, in 1174, before Alnwick Castle, and was sent for greater security to Falaise in Normandy. He obtained his liberty by surrendering the independency of the nation, and becoming the liegeman of Henry, for Scotland, and all his other territories.—*Annals*, vol. i. p. 130.

veyed to him as a part of the revenue of the see ; and the same grant is confirmed by William the Lion. This circumstance certainly implies the arrival of ships at the port of Aberdeen, and that the inhabitants carried on some sort of trade ; but, if we except grain or provisions, we can scarcely conjecture what kind of commodities were imported and exported. In the course of his long reign, William went three times to the northern districts of Scotland, at the head of large armies, to quell insurrections among his turbulent subjects* ; and we may believe that he occasionally visited Aberdeen. It is said, indeed, that he built a house on St. Catherine's Hill, in which he resided for a considerable time ; and erected a chapel on the site of the Trinity church, which he bestowed on the order of Red Friars, giving them at the same time, the lands of *Banchory, Coway, Merellof*, a fishing in *Dee* and *Don*, with the mills *Skerthak, Rothenny, Tillifully*, and *Monismuch* †. We are certain, however, that many of his charters were dated at Aberdeen, at different periods, which sufficiently establishes, that he either frequently visited the town, or resided for some years within its boundaries.

Long before this period a church had been erected in Aberdeen, which was dedicated to St. Nicolas ; and it is included in David's charter to bishop Nectanus. As no other is mentioned in that charter, we must suppose that it was the only church in Aberdeen at that time,

* Buchanan, Hollinshed, Annals, &c.

† Keith's Catal. p. 242.

time, and established for the accommodation of the inhabitants of the town, previous to the æra of the episcopal see.

At the beginning of William's reign, Mathew Kinmouth was bishop of Aberdeen, and died about the year 1197. He was succeeded by John, prior of Kelso, who died 1206 or 7; and Adam, who succeeded John, died in 1227, according to Hector Boece*.

King William, after a long and lingering illness, died at Stirling, the 4th December, 1214, being in the seventy-second year of his age, and forty-ninth of his reign†. He was succeeded by his son, Alexander II., a youth of 17; who was crowned at Scone, 10th December, the same year‡.

Alexander II. granted a charter to the burgesses of Aberdeen, in 1217, in which he bestows the same privileges as he had given to the town of Perth. It confines the whole trade of buying and selling in the shire of Aberdeen, to the burgesses of the town. It farther appoints all cloth made in the county, to be sold in the town; and permits none to be manufactured in the county, except between the feast of Ascension, and "ad Vincula Sti. Petri;" and permits no shops or taverns (*tabernas*) in any village, but when the lord of the village is *Milcs*, and resides there himself; and even in that case only *one taberna* is allowed. Alexander founded a convent of Dominicans, or Black Friars,

* Keith's Catal. p. 62, 63.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 154.

‡ Ibid, p. 157.

Friars*, as they were called, which became very considerable; and their church was situated near that of St. Nicolas, where the east church now stands, and dedicated to St. John the Baptist†. The followers of St. Dominic are represented as being men of loose or immoral habits, and addicted to “vicious living‡.” But John Adamson, doctor of divinity in the university of Aberdeen, and cotemporary with Hector Boece, undertook the arduous task of reforming them, which our historian says he accomplished||. These friars, however, were held in high estimation for the efficacy of their prayers, by David II. who grants to them “*centum solidorum annuatim ex baronia de Banchory-de-veny*” in the shire of Aberdeen, “*pro anima Margarete de Logy, Dilectæ Nostræ,*” as the king was pleased to style her in the charter which is dated at Aberdeen, 20th January, in the year 1361§, being the thirty-third of his reign. They also had received grants from several pious persons, viz. from Adam, a burges of Aberdeen, so early as the year 1271, *quatuor perticatas terræ, quæ terra nunc dicitur Madercroft*: From Annabella de Lydall, daughter and heiress of Peter Kennedy, several tenements in the city of Aberdeen: this charter is dated the 10th August, 1381. And from Elisabeth Gareauch, Domina de Tuligonis, twenty pounds

* Annals, vol. i. p. 177.

† Keith's Catal. p. 271. ‡ Hollinshead, vol. i. p. 394.

|| Hollinshead, vol. i. p. 394.

§ Robertson's Index to Charters, p. 72.—See also on this subject, Keith's Catalogue, p. 271.

pounds Scots money, annually, from her lands of *Tulligon*, in the county of Aberdeen, which charter is dated 1st May, 1490*.

King Alexander II. who had been several times in Aberdeen, as indicated by the dates of various charters, died anno 1249, in the island of Kerary, the 8th July, in the fifty-first year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign†. During his time, Mathew Scott, archdeacon of St. Andrews, and chancellor of the kingdom, was postulated bishop of the see of Aberdeen, but death prevented his consecration: Gilbert de Stryvelin, or Stirlin, succeeded in 1228, and died ten years after. Randolph, *alias* Rodulfus de Lambley, succeeded Gilbert in 1238. He was abbot of the monastery of Aberbrothick, and is represented to have been a man of singular piety, who travelled on foot through his extensive diocese, and all his life rigidly adhered to the spare diet and austere habits to which he had been accustomed in the cloister. He died anno 1247‡.

Alexander III. ascended the throne on the 13th July, 1249, in the 8th year of his age||. He granted a charter to the town of Aberdeen, dated at Kynlorch, the 8th December, twenty-fourth of his reign, anno 1273; in which

* In the year 1244, and thirtieth of Alexander's reign, the town of Aberdeen was consumed, as we are informed, by accidental fire; and also Haddington, Roxburgh, Lanark, Stirling, Perth, Forfar, and Montrose. That such a number of towns should have been burned *by accident* in one year, is incredible.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 176.

‡ Keith's Cat. p. 69.

|| Annals, vol. i. p. 178.

which he allows the burgesses to have fairs, or markets (*"ut habeant nundinas"*), for two weeks after Trinity*. Alexander also granted a charter of protection to the burgesses of Aberdeen, dated at Kincardyn, 27th January, twenty-eighth year of his reign (1277). As the king made frequent journies through Scotland, for the purpose of correcting abuses, and holding courts of justice, it is probable that he granted the former charter when travelling through the kingdom; for it does not appear that there was any royal residence at that time at Kintore.

Alexander III. died the 10th March, 1285-6, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign. He was thrown from his horse over a precipice, between Burntisland and Kinghorn, and killed on the spot†.

In the time of Alexander III. Aberdeen was a considerable mart for fish. It appears that Edward I. preparatory to his expedition against Wales, sent people into Scotland to purchase fish for the use of his army, and Adam de Fuleham was appointed to provide 100 barrels of salmon, and 5000 salt fish, and also dry fish. The fish of Aberdeen were then in high repute, and so well cured, that they formed an article of valuable export to England. In 1290, the ship that
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* According to Chalmers (*Caledon.* vol. i. p. 788), there was a windmill at Aberdeen before the year 1271, which shews that the mechanic arts had made considerable progress at that time in this country.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 201.

was sent to bring over the infant queen of Norway to Scotland, was furnished with the fish part of the provisions from Aberdeen, which consisted of 400 salmon, 200 stock-fish, one small barrel of sturgeons, five dozen of lampreys, 50 pounds of whale, and half a last of herrings. The fish of Aberdeen (salmon) cost three pennies each; the stock-fish somewhat under one penny each; and the half-last of herrings, 30 shillings*.

In the reign of Alexander III. Peter de Ramsay was bishop of Aberdeen. He was previously a monk of Aberbrothick, and died anno 1256. He appears to have been a man of considerable consequence. In 1250 he procured a bull from Pope Innocent IV. allotting to each vicarage within the diocese of Aberdeen, a stipend of 15 merks of silver; but this grant excited the envy of the abbots of Aberbrothick and Lindoris, who termed it exorbitant and oppressive. They appealed to the pope, and obtained a reversal of the ordinance†. Richard de Potton succeeded, and lived until the year 1267†. Hugh de Benham succeeded Richard. He was son of Hugh Benham, of that ilk (or *Benholm*, as now spelt), in the county of Kincardine. He died in 1279, at Lochgoul, the residence of the bishops of Aberdeen‡. Henry de Cheyn, of Duffus, succeeded Benham, in 1281, and the events of his life shall be afterwards noticed.

From the death of Margaret, grand-daughter of Alexander III. till the decision of Edward I. of England,

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England,

* M'Pherson's Annals of Commerce, vol. i. p. 436.

† Keith's Catal. p. 64.

‡ Ibid, p. 65.

England, in favour of John Baliol, in the year 1292, the people of Scotland were occupied with the disputes of the rival candidates for the crown*. Baliol was crowned at Scone, the 30th November, 1292, (St. Andrew's day†). He made a feeble attempt to restore the independence of the country, or, at least, to relieve it from the degrading influence of Edward, by dismissing all the Englishmen whom he had maintained at his court‡. But a fatal alliance with Philip, king of France, into which Baliol imprudently entered in 1295, occasioned a series of wars, in which the best blood of Scotland was shed; and induced a train of calamities that were only terminated by the intrepidity and persevering valour of Robert, the grandson of the competitor, Bruce, after a bloody contest with England, which continued for more than thirty years, with various success; when finally, the English government was obliged to acknowledge the independence of Scotland§.

In terms of the treaty with Philip, the Scots invaded Cumberland, 26th March, 1296; but were repulsed in this, as well as in another attempt, on the 8th April||; and Edward, in return, penetrated into Scotland, by the eastern borders, with a numerous and well appointed

* The dean of Aberdeen was one of the forty commissioners on the part of Robert Bruce, who were appointed to examine the claims of the competitors in 1291, and to make a report to Edward.

† Annals, vol. i. p. 243.

‡ Ibid, p. 256.

§ The E. Par. at York, 1st March, 1328.—*Chalmers*, p. 819.

|| Annals, vol. i. p. 257.

pointed army. He marched with such rapidity that the fate of Baliol and of his country was decided on the 28th April, at Dunbar*. The Scots, who occupied the commanding heights in the neighbourhood of that place, left their strong position, and tumultuously poured down on the English. They were received with firmness, repulsed, broken, and dispersed. All the fortified places in Scotland now surrendered to Edward, as there was no army to oppose him. Baliol implored the mercy of the conqueror, and renounced his liberty and his crown, on the 2d July, at Brechin, or, according to some historians, in Kincardineshire†. Edward penetrated to Elgin in Moray‡, but soon returned to Berwick upon Tweed, and held a parliament on the 28th of August, where he received the fealty of the clergy and laity of Scotland§. He had left troops in all the important and defensible places in the kingdom; and to overawe the inhabitants of Aberdeen and the north, had placed a strong garrison in that town.

The tranquillity of the kingdom, however, was of short duration. The spirit of the Scots was as yet unbroken. The presence of the conqueror intimidated the people, but their love of independence was not extinct; and a desultory warfare was commenced by the intrepid WILLIAM WALLACE. The exploits of this valiant captain are recorded in a metrical romance, with much exaggeration. But, divesting his history of the

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embellish-

* Annals, vol. i. p. 261.

† Ibid, 264.

‡ Ibid, 265.

§ Ibid, 266.

embellishments of the poet, we may believe, for it is well authenticated, that he once more set Scotland free. In May, 1297, he attacked the English quarters, at the head of a resolute band. Sir William Douglas joined him, and they attempted to surprise Ormsby, the justiciary, at Scone, where he held his courts, but he escaped by flight*. After this bold assault on the centre of government, the Scots roved over the country, and massacred all Englishmen who unfortunately fell into their hands. They also besieged castles, and attacked the enemy in their strong holds†. Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose, fell into their hands, and their garrisons were put to the sword. Wallace got possession of the castle of Dunnottar by surprise, and killed all those whom he found in it‡. He then marched to Aberdeen; and it is said § by Buchanan and Abercromby||, that he saw it all in a flame; the English having burned the town which they had previously plundered, and then retired to the citadel. Hollinshed, however, only mentions that he found the town deserted by the inhabitants, and the castle so strongly garrisoned, that it could not be won without a great sacrifice of men; which he did not then deem it expedient to make, and accordingly returned into Angus||. The burning of the town at this time, is extremely

* Annals, vol. i. p. 270.

† Ibid.

‡ Hollinshed, vol. i. p. 421.

§ Buchanan's History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 292.

|| Martial Achievements, vol. ii. p. 238.

¶ Hollinshed, vol. i. p. 421.

extremely doubtful. Buchanan and Abercromby generally follow the fables of Boece, who never hesitated about an assertion, although inconsistent with probability, or altogether destitute of foundation. The progress of the English army in the south of Scotland unquestionably called Wallace from the siege of the citadel of Aberdeen, and with his usual rapidity he retreated to Dundee.

From success, the Scottish army acquired strength, and Wallace was joined by many potent and respectable men, who united their fortune to that of this champion of his country's rights*. The whole strength of the patriotic party assembled at Irvine to oppose the English in battle, and at once to decide the destiny of Scotland; but distrust and suspicion engendered disunion, and all the powerful associates of Wallace submitted to the English, with the exception of Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell†.

The people had either more spirit, or were more impatient of submission than their chiefs; and the gallant army under Wallace and Sir Andrew, daily increased‡. The castle of Dundee was besieged; but Wallace learning that the English were advancing to Stirling, left the blockade of that fortress to the care of the citizens, and marched to guard the passes of the Forth. He met them at the bridge of Stirling, and overthrew their numerous army. The victory was complete; the English were panic-struck, abandoned their baggage, and fled.

* Annals, vol. i. p. 273.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid, 274.

fled precipitately to Berwick. Wallace had to deplore the loss of Sir Andrew Murray, whose life, at this critical time, was of more value to his country than a whole army*.

The surrender of the castle of Dundee, and the other strong places in Scotland, was the consequence of the victory at Stirling: and Wallace marched into England, which he ravaged for three weeks, and then retreated†. The English army assembled at Berwick, in spring 1298, under the animating presence of their sovereign. A detached body landed in Fife, but were routed by Wallace, on the 12th June, 1298, at the forest of *Black Ironside*‡. Edward approached with a mighty host by the eastern frontiers, and established his head-quarters at Temple-liston, between Edinburgh and Linlithgow. The Scots advanced to Falkirk. Edward attacked them. They were routed and dispersed, notwithstanding the skill and valour of Wallace.

The scarcity of provisions obliged Edward to retire from Scotland, which he did by the western borders. The cruel policy of devastating the country, which so generally prevailed in those barbarous ages, frequently compelled the conquering army to retreat, by denying it the means of subsistence; and such was the case with Edward on this occasion. He retired to Carlisle, where he held a parliament; and to reward his followers, bestowed on them the estates of many Scottish lords. In 1299, William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews, Robert

* *Annals*, vol. i. p. 276.

† *Ibid*, 278.

‡ *Ibid*, 280.

bert Bruce, of Carrick, and John Comyn, the younger, were chosen guardians of Scotland*. Wallace was now deprived of any command in the armies, or influence in the councils of his country. The castle of Stirling was besieged by the guardians, and Edward hastened to succour it; but his army, which had assembled at Berwick, refused to advance, and Stirling capitulated†. In summer, 1300, Edward invaded Scotland by the western marches; but his expedition terminated in wasting Annandale. A truce was concluded between the nations, 30th October, 1300, to continue till Whitsunday, 1301, and in the meantime, both parties prepared for war.

At the expiration of the truce, John de Segrave was sent into Scotland, with an army which he conducted in three divisions as far as Edinburgh. The Scots attacked and routed them in detail‡. But Edward being now relieved from the pressure of the war with France, bent the whole force of his kingdom against Scotland, into which he marched with a mighty army, in May 1303§. The Scots were unable to resist him, and he over-ran the country. The castle of Brechin was defended by the intrepid Sir Thomas Maule, who checked his progress for a short time||; but he reached Aberdeen by the 24th August, where he remained for ten days¶. He was at Banff on the 4th September; at Kinloss

* Annals, vol. i. p. 291.

† Ibid, 292, 293.

‡ Ibid, 299.

§ Ibid, 302.

|| Ibid. 303.

¶ Chalmers's Caledonia, vol. .p. 670.

Kinloss in Moray, on the 9th, where he remained a month; at Kildrummy, on the 8th of October; and thence he went again to Kinloss, on the 10th; but returning southward, he was at Dundee on the 20th of October.

The only fortress that now stood out against the power of Edward, was the castle of Stirling, and to protect it, Comyn collected all his forces, which he posted on the south bank of the river, in the vicinity of that place. The wary Edward crossed at a ford at some distance from them—turned their left, and they were dispersed*. Bruce and Comyn, with their followers, now submitted, and stipulated only for their lives, liberties, and estates. But the castle of Stirling was still defended by the brave Sir William Oliphant, who was obliged, however, to surrender at discretion, on the 20th July, 1304, after a vigorous siege of three months†. Robert Bruce, the son of the competitor, died about this time; and to his son, the earl of Carrick, Edward gave sasine of the lordship of Annandale. Wallace, who had retired from active life, to seek repose in the security of concealment, was discovered—carried to London, and after a mock trial, executed on the 23d August, 1305‡. Edward now proceeded to settle and arrange the affairs of Scotland, as a province of England§. He established sheriffs in the different districts, and Norman de Lesly was appointed to the sheriff-

* Annals, vol. i. p. 304.

† Ibid, p. 308.

‡ Ibid, p. 310.

§ Ibid, p. 311.

sheriffdom of Aberdeen*. After a long, obstinate, and bloody contest, Scotland was thus subjected to the dominion of England. Within a few months, however, the English system was overthrown, and the sword was again unsheathed to assert the independence of the country.

Robert Bruce, the grandson of Bruce the competitor with Baliol, claimed the throne of his ancestors, which he ascended on the 27th March, 1306, and was crowned at Scone†. His first enterprise was undertaken against Perth; but he was discomfited, and his army dispersed, on the 19th June, by the English, under Pembroke, the guardian. The king retired to the mountains of Athole with the remains of his troops‡. After enduring many privations and hardships, they came to Aberdeen, where Robert met his wife, and many other ladies, the wives and daughters of his followers, whom his brother Nigel had collected, and conducted thither§. The approach of the English obliged them to retire from Aberdeen, and their ladies accompanied them in their route across the mountains, to Breadalbane. They were conveyed on horseback, and the whole party were often in great distress from the scarcity of provisions. According to Barbour (p. 39), Sir James Douglas, in the true spirit of gallantry, took charge of these faithful dames. He caught trout, eels, and salmon, and killed venison, to afford them subsistence. When the king had

* Annals, vol. i. p. 314.

† Ibid, p. 7.

‡ Ibid, vol. ii. p. 1.

§ Ibid, p. 8.

had reached the borders of Argyle, he was attacked by the lord of Lorn*. A fierce combat ensued on the 11th August, and Robert's party were overpowered. The royalists had hitherto supported themselves by hunting and fishing; but the approach of winter denied them all hopes of subsisting themselves longer in that manner; and the queen, with the other ladies, was sent to Kildrummy Castle in Marre, under the protection of Nigel, and all the horsemen. The king, Sir James Douglas, and a few of their followers, after suffering innumerable hardships, escaped to the island of *Rachrin*, where they remained in safety.

The queen and her daughter, dreading the consequence of a siege in Kildrummy Castle, took shelter in the sanctuary of St. Duthac, at Tain, in Ross-shire; but the earl of Ross violated a retreat that was held sacred by law and religion, and delivered the unfortunate wife and daughter of Bruce to the English†. The castle of Kildrummy was besieged by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford. The magazine was burned, and the garrison surrendered at discretion. Nigel, the king's brother, was carried a prisoner to Berwick, and beheaded; and many others of the king's partizans suffered capitally‡.

During winter, Bruce made no effort to regain his kingdom; but in spring, he arrived on the coast of Carrick, and with about 300 followers, attacked the English at Turnberry, and put them to the sword§.

His

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 8.

† Ibid, p. 16.

‡ Ibid, p. 10.

§ Ibid, p. 21.

His faithful friend, Douglas, with a few of his vassals, surprised the castle of Douglas, and slew the English garrison who defended it, on the 19th March, 1306-7. Bruce defeated the earl of Pembroke; and three days after, routed Ralph de Mouchermer with great slaughter, and compelled him to seek shelter in the castle of Ayr*. Edward I. died the 7th July, 1307, on the frontiers of Scotland, and the prosecution of the war now devolved on his son and successor, Edward II. who marched to Cumnock, on the borders of Ayrshire, and then returned to England. Bruce and his friends considered this inglorious retreat as auspicious to their cause, and invaded Galloway; but the guardian defeated them, and Bruce retired to the north of Scotland†. He surprised the castle of Inverness; and all the strong holds in the north fell into his hands. His army now daily increased in numbers, in spirit, and in courage. On the 25th December, 1307, the earl of Buchan, with a numerous body of English and Scots, met him in Glenesk: but on the approach of Bruce they fled, and he returned to Aberdeen‡. At this time the king was seized with a distemper that nearly proved fatal. His strength gradually decayed, and that bold enterprising spirit which had surmounted so many difficulties, was enfeebled by a disease that had broken down his constitution, and rendered him entirely unfit for military operations for five months. It is said that he resided in a house in the Green, and

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 23.

† Abercromby, vol. ii. p. 306. ‡ Ibid, p. 307.

that the inhabitants furnished him with large supplies of money and provisions.

John Comyn, the earl of Buchan, and the English commander, Moubray, to retrieve the disgrace of their defeat in Glenesk, collected a numerous body of men to dispute the field once more with Bruce*. His bad state of health encouraged the partizans of the English interest; and reports were industriously spread that he was in no situation to head his army. In this, however, they were mistaken; for, weak as he was, he possessed a dauntless spirit, and knew well the importance of his personal appearance on the scene of action. The enemy were stationed at the village of Inverury, and Bruce accompanied his army on a litter, but he mounted on horseback before he came in view, and gave the necessary directions for the attack. The one army was as much animated, as the other was dismayed, by the presence of Bruce, and a bloody conflict ensued on the 22d May, 1308, which terminated in the total defeat of Buchan's and Moubray's forces. They were pursued for many miles with great slaughter; and tradition reports, that the happy issue of the day, conjoined to the exercise he had taken, entirely restored the king to health. In a fierce age, the maxims of humanity are generally disregarded; and Bruce cruelly wasted the territories of the earl of Buchan†.

About this time the citizens of Aberdeen stormed and carried the fortress of the city, which stood on the castle-

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 27.

† Ibid.

castle-hill. They massacred the English garrison, and levelled the fortifications with the ground. The English troops assembled from different quarters in the neighbourhood, and marched against the town. The citizens encountered and overthrew them; and the prisoners taken in the conflict, were cruelly put to death. The deliberate murder of those whom the chance of war had thrown into the power of the victors, shews the barbarity of the times. The good and pious canons of Aberdeen endeavoured to save the lives of the prisoners; but the voice of humanity calls in vain amidst the tumults of war, and the distractions of civil discord. The notions of the age were superstitious; and all the indulgence the holy men could obtain in favour of the sufferers, was permission to inter their lifeless bodies in the consecrated ground of St. Nicolas' church*.

The affairs of Bruce now assumed a more favourable aspect; and many who before were attached to the English interest, ranged themselves under the banners of the king. After various rencounters, battles, and sieges, during six years of desultory warfare, he obtained almost entire possession of the kingdom†. The castle of Stirling was the only strong fortress that held out; and to relieve a place so important, Edward II. invaded Scotland with a mighty army, in June 1314. Bruce waited his approach on a field between Stirling and Bannockburn; the former being on his left, the latter

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on

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 28.

† Ibid. p. 31.

on his right. The English army was five times more numerous than that of the Scottish. Edward steadily advanced in all the confidence of victory; and Bruce resolutely maintained his position, determined to conquer or die. A long, a desperate, and bloody battle ensued. The Scots triumphed. The English were completely routed; and Edward precipitately fled to Dunbar, and thence by sea to Bamburgh in Northumberland*. The castle of Stirling surrendered; and the consequences of this victory were most important. It fixed the crown on the head of Bruce, and decisively secured the independence of Scotland†. The wife and daughter of the king, who had been detained prisoners in England since the time they were betrayed and delivered into the hands of Edward I. by the earl of Ross, were exchanged for the earl of Hereford.

The affairs of Scotland were now so prosperous, that Bruce was in a situation to invade England; and he accordingly carried the war into the country of his enemy. In the following year, the Scots again ravaged the borders, and besieged Carlisle. In June 1316, Bruce conducted a reinforcement into Ireland, to support his brother's pretensions to the crown of that kingdom‡. He returned from that fruitless expedition about the beginning of the year 1317, and on 28th March, 1318, took Berwick by stratagem§. Two incursions into England followed this event.

* This battle was fought on the 24th June, 1314.

† Annals, vol. ii. p. 49, *et seq.* ‡ Ibid. 76. § Ibid. 89.

event. To recover Berwick, Edward assembled a powerful army, in July 1319, at Newcastle upon Tyne, with which he marched northward in August, and sat down before that celebrated fortress. In the language of war, the Scots made a *diversion* to relieve Berwick, and accordingly entered England by the western marches; which had the effect expected, and the English retreated. In December, a truce was concluded between the two nations, to endure until Christmas 1319, which gave a respite for a short time to the miseries of both countries*.

In December 1320, Robert was at Berwick; and remembering the kindness of the citizens of Aberdeen, when he remained so long among them in a state of indisposition, at the time his affairs were at the lowest, and fortune was frowning upon him, he granted them a charter, confirming all their privileges, and bestowing on the community the forest of Stocket. This charter is dated at Berwick upon Tweed, the 10th December, and fourteenth year of his reign, anno 1320; and besides the forest of Stocket, he conveys a right to the fishings, mills, customs, tolls, &c. to the burgesses, their heirs and successors, for ever, upon payment of £213 : 6 : 8, annually, at two terms of the year. In 1324, he granted another charter to the burgesses, allowing them the assize of ale†, and liberty to catch

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 104.

† Ale was the common beverage of the people of Scotland long;

red, as well as white fishes. He gave another charter, confirming the town's rights, privileges, customs, &c., dated at Carrick, 6th February, 1329; and also a charter of the same tenor, dated Galloway, 16th March, of that year.

When the truce expired, the Scots made an incursion into England*; and in the following year, Edward advanced to Edinburgh; but famine obliged him to return. The Scots pursued the English as far as York. In June 1323, a truce was concluded between the two countries, to endure until 12th June, 1336; but the Scots infringed the truce, and on the 15th June, invaded England with a numerous army under Douglas and Randolph, who returned to Scotland, after wasting the borders, and eluding a more powerful force commanded by Edward III. in person. In April 1328, the peace of Northampton was concluded†, and the right of Robert to the crown of Scotland, fully acknowledged, after a bloody contest of more than twenty years. The supremacy of England was renounced, and Scotland became again a free and independent kingdom. The illustrious defender of the rights of his country, died on the 7th June,

long before this period. In every town, village, and hamlet, there were brew-houses or alehouses, which were regulated by an assize so early as in the time of David I.—*Chalmers*, p. 804.

The kings of Scotland had malt-mills in every town, which were a source of revenue, and they frequently gave grants of these mills to the church, to corporations, or families.—*Ibid.* 788.

* *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 116, *et seq.*

† *Ibid.* p. 141.

June, 1329, at Cardross, in the twenty-third year of his reign, and fifty-fifth of his age. His remains were interred in the choir of Dunfermline, near those of his consort*; and his memory is indelibly engraven on the hearts of all true patriots.

During the reign of Robert, the bishop's see of Aberdeen was filled by Henry de Chen, or Cheyn, of whom we previously took some notice. He was elected bishop, anno 1281, and was one of those who swore fealty to Edward I.† As he had connected himself with the faction of the Comyns, he fled to England for safety, when their affairs became desperate; but the generosity of Robert Bruce restored him to his see, and no man was more deserving of the high and sacred office which he held. When he returned to Aberdeen, he diligently employed himself in correcting abuses, and redressing grievances. During his absence, the rents of the see had accumulated to a considerable sum, which he appropriated to the erection of a work that has perpetuated his memory, and justly entitles him to the gratitude of posterity. He applied the emoluments of his office to build the bridge of Don, which was probably finished about the year 1320, or the fourteenth of king Robert's reign. He died anno 1329, having been forty-eight years in possession of the episcopate.

In the time of Alexander III. the population of Scotland

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 146.

† Keith's Catal. p. 65.

land was estimated at 600,000 souls; and it is probable that the number was not much increased during the long contest with England. There was certainly a great waste of human life in these long and destructive wars with the Edwards: but the population of any country depends upon the quantity of subsistence, as the abundance of food will induce an increase of numbers, in a ratio that doubles in fifteen years. Agriculture had made some progress during that period, through the example or commands of the clergy; and we may believe, that the population of Scotland had gradually increased from the time of Alexander III. to the demise of Robert Bruce. The value of provisions, as regulated by their price in the current coin, may afford some criterion for ascertaining the scarcity or abundance of the necessaries of life; and by such a rule we may determine the probable diminution or increase of the population of any country, especially in an age when manufactures and commerce were unknown. In the year 1300, wheat was sold for seven and eight shillings per quarter; wheat-flour, at six shillings; oats, at three and sixpence; malt, at three and sixpence; beans, five and sixpence: Beer, per butt, from eight to sixteen shillings; carcasses of oxen, five shillings to six and eightpence; and hogs, from three shillings to three and ninepence each*. When we consider that the coin of Scotland was then three times the weight of our present standard, there being only

* Chalmers, vol. i. p. 805.

only twenty-one shillings in a pound weight of silver then; of which we now make sixty-three shillings; and that the power of money over the necessaries of life was fully sixteen times more than at the present day*, we shall find, that provisions were as high in price at the close of the thirteenth, as at the beginning of the nineteenth century. This circumstance establishes two points: First, That specie as a circulating medium, will always bear a price in the market, in proportion to its abundance or scarcity; and, secondly, That its *value* in every stage of society, is determined by its power over the *labour* or industry of man. For example: if one penny was the wages of a labourer per day, during the fourteenth century, we must deem it equivalent to two shillings sterling, which is the present rate of wages; because the two shillings now will purchase no more labour or provisions than one penny would have done at that period; or in other words, both being the compensation for an equal quantity of industry, the difficulty of obtaining the one or the other, is the same, and their value therefore must be commensurate. From this doctrine we may deduce an important corollary, which is, that the difficulty of living,

* According to Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn's estimate of the value of money, in the years 1100 and 1800, the one is to the other as 34 to 562; or anno 1100, it was 16 one-third times greater than in the year 1800. But at that period, the coin was three times the weight that it is now, which makes it 49 times more; or, in other words, one pound then had the same power over the necessaries of life, as 49 pounds could now have.

or the pressure of human calamity, has been much the same at all periods, and in all stages of society; and that it is in vain philosophers speculate on the *perfectibility* of man, which never was, and never can be realized, but is merely a chimera in the imagination of the enthusiast. For the established laws of nature have equipoised the material system, and thus rendering the exertion of man proportionate to his wants, have reduced his life to a constant succession of good and evil, alternately operating upon him by cause and effect, which no human ingenuity, or moral perfection, can either alter or avoid.

CHAPTER V.

CONTENTS.

[INVASION BY EDWARD BALIOL—INVASION BY EDWARD III.—THE KING AND HIS CONSORT CONVEYED TO FRANCE—QUARREL AMONG THE BARONS—BALIOL'S RETREAT TO ENGLAND—EDWARD INVADES SCOTLAND—CONCLUDES A TREATY—SIR ANDREW MURRAY APPOINTED REGENT—EDWARD JOINS HIS ARMY AT PERTH—MARCHES TO INVERNESS—ROSHAME LANDS AT DUNNOTAR—ATTACKED AND KILLED BY THE CITIZENS OF ABERDEEN—EDWARD BURNS THE TOWN—DAVID AND HIS QUEEN LAND AT INVERBERVIE—PEACE WITH ENGLAND—DAVID VISITS ABERDEEN, AND GRANTS A CHARTER—INVADES ENGLAND, AND IS TAKEN PRISONER AT NEVIL'S CROSS—ASSASSINATION OF SIR DAVID BERKLY AT ABERDEEN—KING DAVID RANSOMED, AND RETURNS TO SCOTLAND—PLAGUE—DAVID RETIRES TO THE NORTH—RESIDES IN ABERDEEN—SILVER COINAGE AT ABERDEEN—DEATH OF DAVID—BISHOPS—CARMELITES---ROBERT II. THE FIRST OF THE STEWARTS, CROWNED---WAR WITH ENGLAND---PARLIAMENT AT ABERDEEN---DOUGLAS AND PIERCY---DEATH OF KING ROBERT II.---ADAM DE TINNINGHAM BISHOP OF ABERDEEN.]

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DAVID II. the son of Robert Bruce, succeeded to the throne, in 1329, and was crowned at Scone, anno 1331, on the 25th November*. Randolph was regent, and the tranquillity of Scotland was disturbed by the pretensions of Edward Baliol, who, at the head of a small army, invaded the kingdom, to overturn that govern-

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 152.

government which the valour of Robert had established*. He landed at Kinghorn, 31st July, 1332, and defeated the earl of Fife, who opposed him. At Duplin-moor he surprised and totally routed the Scottish army, on the 12th August†. Perth consequently fell into his hands; and on the 24th September, Baliol was crowned at Scone. With that meanness peculiar to his family, he surrendered the liberties of his country to Edward III., and acknowledged him as his *liege lord*‡. The earl of Moray, Archibald Douglass, and Simon Fraser, however, assembled a body of horsemen, and assaulted Baliol's quarters at Annan, who escaped with difficulty, and took refuge in England§. Douglass, with 3,000 men, invaded Northumberland, wasted the borders, and brought off much booty, with many prisoners.

In the beginning of the year 1333, Edward, who had secretly countenanced, now openly assisted Baliol, and laid siege to Berwick with a powerful army. To relieve this important place, the battle of Hallidon was fought, in which the Scots were totally defeated||; and Baliol became once more master of the kingdom. Several castles, however, still remained in possession of the friends of David, and Kildrummy was held by Chris-

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 157.

† The gallant Randolph died on the 20th July, 1332, and was succeeded in the regency by Donald, earl of Marre, who was destitute of talents, either civil or military, and lost his life and his army, at Duplin-moor.

‡ Annals, vol. ii. p. 173.

§ Ibid. p. 175.

|| Ibid. p. 185.

Christian Bruce, the sister of the valiant Robert. In the meantime, the young king and his consort were conveyed to France, where they were honourably received.

Baliol held a parliament at Edinburgh*, which was sufficiently obsequious to his wishes. The disgraceful treaty between him and Edward was ratified, by which the kingdom was dismembered, and its national liberties renounced. But those barons who had supported Baliol, and contributed to his success, quarrelled among themselves about the division of their estates†; and Moubray being disgusted, joined Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, who assembled the surviving friends of David: thus the horrors of war were again renewed in Scotland. Baliol fled to England‡; Edward penetrated into the country with a large army, and wasted the Lothians. The friends of the young king were disunited by private quarrels, jealousy, and ambition; but several strong fortresses withstood the power of the English; and on the 11th July, 1335, Edward again invaded Scotland§, and marched to Perth, where he concluded a treaty on the 18th August, with the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, who acknowledged their subjection to the English king||. The earl of March, however, with Douglas and Sir Andrew Murray, still refused to submit; and with 800 men, joined to a party of 300 from Kildrummy, surprised the earl of Athole in the forest of Kilblain, and slew him with many
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* Annals, vol. ii. p. 187.

† Ibid. p. 191.

‡ Ibid. p. 194.

§ Ibid. p. 193.

|| Ibid. p. 201.

of his followers, who had deserted the interest of their country, and attached themselves to Baliol. Soon after this event, Sir Andrew assembled a parliament at Dunfermline, by which he was appointed regent of the kingdom*.

Early in the year 1336, Edward joined his army at Perth, marched north, wasted Moray, and penetrated as far as Inverness. The Scots prudently avoided a general action, and confined their army amidst forests and morasses, from which it could not be dislodged. While Edward was parading in the northern counties in all the pomp of triumph, with a force too formidable for the power of the Scots, Thomas Rosheme, a knight in his service, landed in the month of August, with a reinforcement, at Dunnotar. The inhabitants of Aberdeen, with more temerity than prudence, attacked him, but were defeated. Rosheme fell in the action; and Edward highly resented their conduct. He desolated the country in his return through Buchan, and burned the town of Aberdeen, putting many of the inhabitants to the sword †. The progress of the conqueror was thus marked by blood, and desolation every where followed his steps. The Scots, however, adhered to their system

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 207.

† Ibid. p. 210.

‡ Hector Boece mentions that Edward II. sent ships to Aberdeen, anno 1333, from which a party landed, and burned the town for six days; but this seems to be a mistake, which is reiterated in the Statistical Account, and other books. Aberdeen was speedily rebuilt after 1336, and the houses being entirely new, it was henceforth called *New Aberdeen*.

system of a desultory warfare, and, when Edward returned to England, issued from their fastnesses. Sir Andrew Murray made himself master of the castles of Dunnotar, Lawrieston, and KinCLEVIN*, and greatly harrassed the English in all quarters. He became so strong indeed, that he invaded England in 1337, and wasted the country in the neighbourhood of Carlisle.

The war now languished on the part of Edward, and the affairs of Scotland assumed a more favourable aspect. Murray, who had so honourably contended during a long life, for the liberties of his country, died in 1338, and was succeeded in the regency by the steward of Scotland †. The steward added policy to courage, and by bribery or force, obtained possession of almost the whole of the fortresses in which Edward had left English garrisons.

On the 4th of May, 1341, David, with his consort, Johanna, landed from France, at Inverbervie, in Kincardineshire, after an exile of eight years ‡. In 1342, the castle of Roxburgh was taken by esca-
lade; and the Scots made frequent inroads into England. In the summer, David erected the royal standard, and led a numerous army into Northumberland, from which he soon retreated, without performing any thing memorable; and hostilities ceased on both sides, in consequence of a truce between Edward and the king of France, which included their
K allies,

* Anna's, vo'. ii. p. 212.

† Ibid. 222.

‡ Ibid. 228.

allies, and was to endure until Michaelmas, in the year 1346*.

During the tranquillity of this season, David occupied himself in visiting different parts of his kingdom, and, in February 1343, was in the town of Aberdeen. The citizens having suffered much in the royal cause, to which they had always faithfully adhered, merited his peculiar care; and he granted them accordingly, a charter, confirming all their privileges. This charter is dated at Aberdeen, 21st February, 1343, and is witnessed by his nephew Robert, and the chief officers of state †.

The truce with the English was not strictly observed by the Scots, who, in the two following years, made frequent incursions into England; and, in 1346, David assembled an army at Perth, for the avowed purpose of invading Edward's territories. He marched accordingly, and penetrated as far as Durham; but the English attacked him at *Nevil's Cross* ‡. His army was totally overthrown, and himself made a prisoner. He was conducted to the tower of London: but the Scottish nation still continued to carry on a feeble war under the regent Steward. In 1348, ineffectual negotiations were commenced for obtaining the liberty of king David; and in the year following, Scotland was

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 232.

† In the year 1345, ten marks sterling were settled as a stipend on the vicar of Aberdeen.—*Annals*, vol. ii. p. 381.

‡ *Annals*, vol. ii. p. 238.

was visited by a pestilence that had long desolated the continent of Europe*.

In this barbarous age, family feuds were revenged by secret or open murder. Sir David Berkley had assassinated Sir John Douglass, whose death his brother, the knight of Liddesdale, determined to revenge, and hired John St. Michael to murder Berkley, who was accordingly assassinated at Aberdeen (anno 1350), on Shrove Tuesday†. Such deeds were common, and are characteristic of the barbarism of those times. And about two years afterwards, Lord William Douglass, in revenge for the murder of Berkley and Ramsay, way-laid and assassinated the knight of Liddesdale, while hunting in Ettrick forest‡.

The king of Scots was permitted to visit his dominions in 1351, having been enlarged in consequence of an agreement with commissioners from Scotland, who gave hostages for his return into custody. A treaty for the ransom of the king was concluded 13th July, 1354, at Alnwick Castle, as well as a truce between the nations for the space of nine years§. For the faithful performance of the articles, hostages were to be given; and the merchants of *Aberdeen*¶, Perth, Dundee, and Edinburgh, were parties in the treaty, for themselves, and for all the other merchants in Scotland. Although this treaty was ratified by the Scottish commissioners, yet at the instigation of the French king, who sent a large sum of money to be distributed

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among

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 244.

† Ibid. 245.

‡ Ibid. 251.

§ Ibid. 252.

among the nobles, the Scots broke all faith with Edward, and invaded England. The war being again renewed, Edward penetrated as far as Edinburgh, and laid the whole country waste with fire and sword. In the year 1357, however, another negotiation was entered into for the release of David, who was, at last, liberated for a ransom of 100,000 merks sterling, after a captivity of eleven years*.

The plague broke out again in Scotland, in 1361, and continued its ravages during that year, with great violence. It is computed, that in this general calamity, about one-third of the people perished, among whom were many persons of distinction†. The king, with many of his nobles, retired into the northern parts of Scotland to avoid the infection; and at this time, a difference having arisen between him and the earl of Marre, he besieged and took Marre's castle of Kildrummy, in which he placed a garrison. His residence in the north was principally at Aberdeen and Kildrummy, where he remained for several months, but made an excursion to Morayshire. By various private charters, we find that David was in Aberdeen, on the 9th, 10th, 12th, and 14th September, 1361, and at Kildrummy, on the 19th September, and 13th October‡. He appears to have returned from Kildrummy, about the end of October; for he granted a charter of confirmation to Allan de Grahame, dated 1st November, at

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 266.

† Ibid. p. 273.

‡ Robertson's Index to Charters, p. 71.

at Aberdeen; and there are also several others, dated in the same month at that place. On the 23th November, David was at Spynie; on the 7th December, at Elgin; and on the 24th, at Kinloss. He was at Spynie again on the 5th January; but had soon after returned to Aberdeen: for we find charters dated there the 15th, 16th, and 18th January, 1361-2. He left Aberdeen on the 20th January, after a residence there, and in other parts of the north, for about four months and a half.

The history of Scotland from this period to the close of David's long reign, contains few important occurrences, and these are not very circumstantially recorded. David appears, however, to have several times visited Aberdeen; for we find, that he was there the 17th August, 1366, and again in 1369*. In the 37th year of his reign, he established a mint at Aberdeen, and coined money in terms of a statute enacted by parliament for that purpose. The value of the coin was reduced, and twenty-nine shillings and fourpence were made out of a pound of fine silver, which before that time was made into only twenty-one shillings; and David is the first king of Scotland who coined groats, according to our best authorities†.

David II. died at Edinburgh Castle, on the 22d February, 1370-1, and in the forty-seventh year of his age, forty-second of his reign. He was buried

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before

* Robertson's Index, p. 82.

† Nicholson's His. lib. p. 310.

before the great altar in the church of the abbey of Holyrood*.

Alexander de Kinninmonth succeeded Henry de Cheyn in the bishoprick of Aberdeen, in the year 1329, and sat about ten years†. During his time, the bishop's palace, and the houses of the canons, were burned by Edward, when he returned from his northern expedition, anno 1336, and set fire to the town of Aberdeen. He was succeeded by William de Deyn in 1345, after a vacancy in the see, for six years, and died in 1351, according to Hector Boece. John Raft was bishop, anno 1351, and died in 1355. He was succeeded by Alexander de Kinninmonth, second of this name, who was elected A. D. 1357. He laid the foundation of the new cathedral; but was sent on an embassy to France, and died at Scone the year after his return, anno 1382. Barbour, who writes the life of Robert Bruce, was archdeacon of Aberdeen about this time, and finished his history in 1375.

A monastery of Carmelites or White Friars, was founded at Aberdeen, in 1350, by Philip de Arbuthnot, in honour of the Virgin Mary; and he granted them *thirteen shillings and fourpence sterling* annually, from his lands. Their charter is given in the year 1355, and confirmed by king David II. the 17th August, and thirty-seventh year of his reign. David also confirms, "*fratribus de monte Carmeli, donationem*
" *illam,*

* Annals, vol. ii. p. 290.

† Keith's Catalogue, p. 65.

“ *illam, quam dictus constabularius burgensis de Aberdeen,*
 “ *fecit üsdem fratribus de Aberdeen, ad inveniend. Ceram,*
 “ *et vinum, ad Divinum officium complend. de quatuor*
 “ *marcis Sterlingorum annui redditus, de terra sua in*
 “ *vico castrì ejusdem villæ.*” King Robert II. confirms
 to these friars in the year 1382, a grant made to them
 by John Crab, burgess of Aberdeen, of ten merks ster-
 ling, to be taken out of his lands, lying in Aberdeen
 and its neighbourhood. Robert, duke of Albany, like-
 wise confirms (5th July, 1413), a donation to the Car-
 melites, by William Crab, out of his lands of Den-
 burn, &c.*. The church of the Carmelites was situa-
 ted in the Green.

Robert II. the first king of the family of Stewart,
 ascended the throne, and was crowned at Scone, the
 26th March, 1371, being the thirty-second day after
 his uncle's death, which happened on the festival of St.
 Peter's cathedral†. A great concourse of nobles and
 people attended to offer their homage to the new king,
 and to assist at the celebration of the ceremony‡. Ro-
 bert Stewart possessed none of the necessary requisites
 for war; but it was difficult to restrain a turbulent and
 marauding people. The truce with England was vio-
 lated by the earl of March, who in 1372, attacked the
 subjects of the king of England, while they were peace-
 ably assembled at a fair in Roxburgh, and destroyed
 them

* Keith's Catalogue, p. 278.

† Robertson's Index, p. 111.

‡ Heron's History of Scotland, vol. ùi. p. 1^o l.

them by a general massacre. The English retaliated, by desolating Berwickshire with fire and sword; and the horrors of war were thus renewed, through the cruelty and perfidy of the earl of March. A border war, attended with its usual circumstances of reciprocal burning, murder, and bloodshed, commenced.—Deeds of heroic valour distinguished individuals; but the unhappy people were cruelly sacrificed to the ambition, revenge, and ferocious dispositions of their chieftains. The alternate victories and defeats of the border warriors, roused the respective sovereigns of England and Scotland; and Richard II. with an army of 30,000 men, advanced by the eastern marches as far as Edinburgh, while a fleet accompanied his progress, and sailed into the Forth*. The Scots were unable to meet Richard in the field, but counteracted his operations by an invasion of England; and to protect his own territories, he retreated south. Robert, whose natural disposition better fitted him for the pursuits of peaceful life, than the boisterous scenes of warfare, made frequent journies through his kingdom in a justiciary capacity, and was in Aberdeen in the course of — his progress in the year 1382†, administering and enforcing the laws‡. In 1388, he assembled his — parliament at Aberdeen, where it was resolved to raise two armies for the purpose of invading England; and with

* Heron's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 145.

† At this time he confirmed Crab's grant to the Carmelites.

‡ Index to Charters, p. 128.

this business he was occupied for some time*. Both armies rendezvoused at Jedburgh, where they separated; the one directing its progress into England by the western, the other by the eastern marches†. In those ages, the courage of hostile leaders was often tried by single combat; and Henry Piercy, the celebrated Hotspur, having challenged Douglas to fight him hand to hand with sharp ground spears, the combatants closed, and Piercy was unhorsed. Douglas carried off his lance with his pennon in triumph. Encouraged by this happy presage of victory, the Scots assaulted Newcastle, but were repulsed, and obliged to raise the siege. Piercy burning with revenge, followed Douglas, and overtook him at Otterburn. A fierce conflict ensued, in which the English were worsted, but Douglas was mortally wounded. The armies of both nations retreated to their respective territories, and next year the horrors of war were terminated by a truce. Robert died, anno 1390, at his castle at Dundonald, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and nineteenth of his reign.

The see of Aberdeen was filled by Adam de Tiningham, dean, who, in 1382, succeeded Alexander de Kinnimonth‡. Adam was well descended, and reputed to be a man of great prudence and piety. He was held in high estimation by the king, and possessed great influence

* History of the Gordons, vol. i. p. 28.

† Guthrie's History, vol. iii. p. 144.

‡ Keith, p. 66.

fluence in his councils: indeed so much so, that he would undertake nothing of moment without Adam's advice and approbation. In a treaty between Robert II. and the king of France, he was employed as joint ambassador with the bishop of Glasgow, and Archibald, earl of Douglas. When he returned home, he became, unjustly, the object of persecution, having incurred the resentment of Alexander Stewart, lord of Badenoch, the king's natural son; but he was honourably acquitted by his sovereign, and delivered from the malevolence of his enemy, and died in advanced age, in 1390.

CHAPTER VI.

CONTENTS.

[ROBERT III.—TOWN AND CATHEDRAL OF ELGIN BURNED
—FEUDS—CLANS KAY AND CHATTAN—COMBAT AT PERTH
—INTRODUCTION OF THE TITLE OF DUKE—BORDER WAR
—BATTLE OF HOMILDON-HILL—JAMES THE KING'S SON,
TAKEN BY THE ENGLISH, AND DETAINED—DEATH OF
ROBERT—COINAGE AT ABERDEEN—EXTENT OF ABER-
DEEN IN THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY—RECORDS OF
ABERDEEN—BATTLE OF HARLAW—BISHOPS—JAMES I.
RELIEVED FROM IMPRISONMENT IN ENGLAND IN TERMS
OF A TREATY—HIS RETURN TO SCOTLAND, AND CORO-
NATION.]

* * * *

JOH^N, earl of Carrick, the eldest son of Robert II. by Elisabeth More, succeeded to the throne, and was crowned at Scone, 15th August, 1390. As the name of John was unknown in the list of Scottish kings, he assumed the auspicious appellation of Robert. Infirm in body, and naturally of a mild temper, he detested war, and cultivated the arts of peace; but the ferocious barons disdained a life of ease: and as the truce
with

with England prevented their incursions into that country, they awakened their family feuds*. The earl of Buchan pursued the bishop of Moray to his episcopal seat; but failing to get him within his grasp, he burned the town of Elgin, with its noble cathedral. This sacrilegious wretch was the son of king Robert II., and the same who persecuted the good bishop of Aberdeen, in his father's life-time. His son Duncan, with the vassals of his father, made an inroad into the county of Angus, for the purpose of committing mischief, and obtaining plunder. Ogilvy the sheriff, and his brother, Walter Leighton, opposed him at Glenbrereth, with the armed force of the county. A fierce contest took place, and Ogilvy and Leighton, with about sixty of their followers, were killed†. So feeble was the power of Robert, that these outrageous actions passed with impunity.

About the year 1398, a deadly feud subsisted between the clans, Kay and Chattan, which all the power of government could not suppress. But an extraordinary and cruel expedient was resorted to, in order to settle the quarrel. Under the eye of the king and court, thirty warriors were selected from each of the two clans, to decide the dispute by combat; which accordingly took place on the North Inch of Perth‡. Of the clan Kay, only one survived this fierce combat, and of the clan Chattan, only eleven. For a time the disturbances

* Heron, vol. iii. p. 162.

† Ibid.

‡ Abercromby, vol. iii. p. 240.

turbances of the North Highlands were quieted by this event ; which sufficiently illustrates the barbarous manners of the people of that age, and shews the imbecility of Robert's administration.

At this time the title of DUKE was first introduced, to gratify the vanity of the earl of Fife*, and David, the king's eldest son, who at a solemn meeting of parliament at Perth, were created *Dukes* of Albany and Rothsay†. The dissipated and thoughtless Rothsay became the object of universal contempt, and fell a victim to the dark intrigues of his uncle Albany, by whose orders he was imprisoned and starved to death, in the tower of Falkland. The border war was renewed with all its horrors, and the gallant Douglas penetrated as far as Newcastle ; but on his return with the spoils of Northumberland, he was intercepted by the valiant Hotspur, who dispersed his army at Homildon-hill, with great slaughter. Douglas, and many others, were taken prisoners. Piercy, invading Scotland, laid siege to the castle of Cocklaws, which withstood his attacks, however, until relieved by the duke of Albany.

Robert's infirmities had long rendered him unfit for the duties of government ; and the administration of public affairs had been entrusted solely to the duke of Albany. The king viewed him with abhorrence as the murderer of his eldest son, and, justly dreading the

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atrocities

* The earl of Fife was the king's brother, and chief adviser.

† Heron, vol. iii. p. 166.

atrocities of Albany, intended to send his second son, James, to France, for safety and protection. But the vessel which conveyed him, was captured by an English ship of war, and the prince and his attendants, were landed as prisoners at Flamborough Head, and thence carried to the tower of London. At that period a truce subsisted between the nations, and the conduct of Henry, the king of England, was therefore unjust and perfidious. The good king Robert, fell a victim to the mental distress which this new calamity occasioned, and expired in his castle of *Rothsay*, in *Bute*, in the year 1406, and sixteenth of his reign.

At this time there were few considerable towns in Scotland. *Perth*, *Dundee*, and *Aberdeen*, however, had become places of some consequence, from their local situation on the east coast, and the trade they carried on with the *Flemings*. *Aberdeen* had occasionally been the residence of our kings from an early period, and was distinguished by the partiality of several of them, as appears from the various charters granted by *William the Lion*, and his successors. During *Robert's* reign, there was a coinage at *Aberdeen*, of groats, half-groats, and pennies. They represented the king open-faced and crowned, but without a sceptre, with the inscription, "*Robertus Dei Gra. Rex Scotorum.*" On the reverse, are three globules in each quarter of the cross; and on the inner circle, "*Villa de Aberd*.*" This is the second coinage that was made at *Aberdeen*,
for

for we can find no authority for supposing that Robert Bruce ever had any coinage in this place, as is generally alledged.

In the charter of confirmation to the Carmelite friars, by Robert II., dated anno 1382, the Green, the Castlegate, Upper and Nether kirk-gates, and Gallowgate, or Thiefgate, as it is sometimes called, are mentioned. If we add, therefore, the few houses that might have been erected on St. Catherine's Hill, to these streets, we then shall include the extent of the town of Aberdeen, in the fourteenth century. But we can scarcely imagine that the area of these streets was filled up with houses as at present; and it is probable, that they were only partly built, and in the irregular manner of all the old towns in Scotland.

The records belonging to Aberdeen, it is generally supposed, were destroyed at the time the town was burned by Edward III., anno 1336. But it is doubtful if any existed at that period, at least relative to the municipal government of the borough. In the year 1398, however, a set of council books were begun, and have been regularly kept, down to the present day, with the exception of an interruption of about twelve years. In a "*Survey of the famous City of Aberdeen,*" annexed to Barclay's "*Memorials for the government of the Royal Burghs of Scotland,*" we are favoured with a list of eighteen provosts during fourscore and eight years. But it would be of little importance to enrol their names, while we are totally unacquainted with their actions: and the first provost we shall mention, is WILLIAM CHALMERS, who was elected by coun-

sent of the COMMUNITY, anno 1398, on the Monday after Michaelmas. He appears to have held his office for one year only, as Adam de Benin was elected in 1399, chief magistrate.

In this year (1399), the haugh of Gilcomston was let to Mathew Richards by the corporation, for eight shillings Scots annually; and it was ordered, that the whole lands and fishings belonging to the town, should, in future, be let yearly. In 1400, Adam de Benin was again elected provost. After the election of magistrates, the council appointed nine *liniatores*; six *gustatores cervisie*; two ditto *vini*; four *appretiatores carnis*; three *magistri ecclesie*; and two *repositoires*. In 1401 and 3, Laurence Leith was elected provost. In 1404, William Chalmers. In 1405-6-7-8, Robert Davidson. We are informed, that nothing worthy of notice is to be found in the records during these years. But there is one important fact sufficiently evident, and it is, that the magistrates were chosen annually by the burgesses.

In 1409, John Fitchet was provost; and next year Robert Davidson was elected, who was killed at the battle of Harlaw. As the provost and many of the citizens of Aberdeen, fell in that battle, it is an event which the nature of our work embraces. We shall, therefore, give a detailed account of it from the best authorities: but it may be proper first to relate concisely the state of our national affairs, and we shall then discover the more easily the causes which led to that celebrated battle.

We have seen that at the time of the demise of Robert

bert III. his son James was unjustly and cruelly detained a prisoner in England, by king Henry IV. who by this action had violated the truce with Scotland. The duke of Albany, who had virtually been regent during the life of Robert, now ruled Scotland with uncontrolled sway; and the nobles acknowledged his right to the regency, although they lived on their domains more like independent sovereigns, than like subjects under the authority of established government. It was the policy of the court of England to weaken Scotland, by encouraging disaffection among the nobles, and promoting popular insurrections. In pursuance of this plan, Henry entered into an alliance with Donald of the Isles, who at any time but faintly acknowledged his subjection to the crown of Scotland. In right of his wife, Donald claimed the earldom of Ross. His title was rejected by the regent, and he fled to the court of Henry, who openly espoused his cause. Encouraged by the promises of the English monarch, he raised an army in his own dominions of the isles, and passing into Ross-shire, seized the estate in dispute. The vassals on the property, and other Highlanders, joined his standard, and he marched south. Moray, Strathbogie, and the Garrioch, were ravaged; and he promised his followers a rich booty in the plunder of Aberdeen. His real motive for penetrating so far south, is not well known; but it is probable he had some farther object in view than plunder, and may have been prompted by the intrigues of Henry to aspire to the throne of Scotland. But whatever were his views, they were frustrated by

the bravery of the people of the counties of Angus, and Mearns, and city of Aberdeen.

The progress of Donald alarmed the regent, who sent a commission to Alexander Stewart, earl of Marre, to levy forces, and oppose him. The earl hastily drew together almost the whole of the nobility and gentry between the rivers Tay and Spey, consisting of the *Lyons, Ogilvies, Maules, Carnegies, Lindsays, Erskins, Fotheringhams, Leslies, Frazers, Irvines, Menzieses, Gordons, Abercrombies, Bannermans, Burnetts, Leiths, Forbeses, Duguids, Mowats, Barclays, &c.* with their followers; including Provost Davidson, with the citizens of Aberdeen*. Supported by these brave knights and their vassals, the earl of Marre encountered the enemy at Harlaw, a village situated about 16 English miles from Aberdeen, on the 24th July, 1411. A desperate battle ensued. The combatants fiercely fought arm to arm, and the issue was uncertain; but the darkness of the night put an end to the contest: and Marre claimed the victory, because he remained on the field. Donald lost 900 of his men, with the chiefs of the clans *M'Intosh* and *M'Leane*, and being surrounded with a hostile country, he retreated first to Ross-shire, and then to the isles. The shattered state of Marre's army precluded all pursuit, and they had to regret the loss of many of their best and bravest men: indeed, so great was the slaughter of this day, that the first families in Angus, Mearns, Mar, Buchan, and the Garrioch, were nearly destroyed. Leslie of Balwhain, with six of his seven sons; *Ogilvy*, sheriff of Angus, with

* Abercromby, vol. iv. p. 14.

with his son and heir; *Scrimgeour*, constable of Dundee; *Irvine*, of Drum; *Maule*, of Panmuir; *Abernethy*, of Saltown; *Straiton*, of Lauriston; and ROBERT DAVIDSON, PROVOST OF ABERDEEN,—were honourably numbered with the dead; but their names are enrolled in the pages of Scottish history.

Robert Davidson's remains were interred in the consecrated ground of St. Nicolas; and his grave was found when the West Church was rebuilt, about three-score years ago.

At this time Gilbert Greenlaw was bishop of Aberdeen, having succeeded Adam de Tinningham in the year 1390*. He was descended from an ancient family in Berwick, and in 1396, was made chancellor of Scotland†, but continued to hold his episcopal office. This eminent prelate was sent on an embassy to Charles VII. king of France, by the duke of Albany‡. But when he returned home, he found the regent had died; and resigning the chancellorship, he retired to his diocese, where (anno 1424), he died, and his body was interred in the choir of the cathedral church of Aberdeen‡. He was highly esteemed by Robert III. who, “as a testimony of his favour to him, presented this bishop with a silver cross, in which was contained a bit of the wooden cross on which the apostle St. Andrew was crucified.—The gift bears date at Eliotstown, 4th May, the fourteenth year of his reign§.” According to the superstitious notions

* Keith's Catalogue, p. 66.

† Crawford's Lives, p. 22.

‡ Ibid.

§ Keith's Catal. p. 67.

tions of that age, this relick was deemed of high value, and was supposed to be a present worthy the dignity of a king to bestow, as a reward to a faithful servant for meritorious services.

At Michaelmas, 1411, Andrew Giffurd was elected provost. In 1412, Thomas Chalmers; and in 1413, William Jackson. From this year to 1426, the records are lost; and we cannot therefore trace, during that period, any thing relative to the municipal regulations of the town.

landoch In the year 1419, the regent of Scotland died, and was succeeded by his son, Mordac, who seriously entered into a negotiation for the liberation of James I. who had been so long detained a captive in England. Commissioners were accordingly sent to the English court to settle the terms of his release, which were at last arranged at York, the 10th September, 1423, and finally ratified the 4th December, the same year*. James obtained his liberty for the sum of £40,000, of which £10,000 were remitted as a dowry with his wife, the daughter of the earl of Somerset, the son of John of Gaunt. Hostages were given for the payment of this sum, and obligatory letters also were taken from the boroughs of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen; which shews that the mercantile interest had become of some consequence in that age. James returned to Scotland, the 29th March, 1424, and was crowned at Scône, along with his queen, the 20th April, the same year.

CHAPTER

* Abercromby, vol. iv. p. 43.

CHAPTER VII.

CONTENTS.

[WARDENS—DEAN OF GUILD—VARIOUS PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO ABERDEEN, FROM 1426 TO 1490---JAMES III. ---HIS DEATH---SCHISM IN THE CHURCH---BISHOPS--- JAMES IV.]

* * * *

IN the years 1426 and 7, Gilbert Menzies was provost. This year (1427), *Wardens* were set over the craftsmen, and appointed to fix prices on their work*. Any interference with the fair price of labour, is at all times extremely impolitic; for labour may be called a commodity, that will always find its level in the market, and will rise or fall, in proportion to the demand for it, which again is regulated by the necessities of the employers, between which, and the necessities of the labourers, there is a natural, but equal and just

* By James I. p. 7. ch. 103, it is enacted, that "councils in boroughs choise a warden of every craft, with assistants, to prize the matter and workmanship of ilk craft."

just competition, which ought not in any respect to be shackled by legislative interference.

In 1428, John Vaus was provost. Previous to this period, there were only the provost and four bailies, as office-bearers in Aberdeen; but at the election this year, a dean of guild was chosen for the first time. *Vaus* appears to have continued in office for four years.

About this time, the North Highlands were in a state of insurrection against the government, and it was found necessary to call a parliament, for the purpose of granting supplies to enable the king to suppress these disturbances, which met at Perth, 15th — October, 1431, and appointed a subsidy to be raised from all the lands of the realm. John Fife, a citizen of Aberdeen, was nominated one of the auditors, to settle the accounts of the collectors, and to receive the money, which was lodged in a chest in the castle of St. Andrews, under the charge of the bishop and prior.

Thomas Chalmers was provost, anno 1433. John Blenshall, in the succeeding year; and John Scroggs, in 1435. In this year a parliament met at Perth, — 10th January. The city of Aberdeen was represented by Thomas Chalmers*; for he is mentioned as being one of a committee that was unanimously elected and sworn to hear and report all causes and controversies which

* Burgesses were first admitted into Parliament, anno 1326, by Robert Bruce.—*Robertson's History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 77.

which were to be moved or insisted upon during that session*. The object for assembling this parliament seems to have been to judge in an accusation which the king had brought against George Dunbar, earl of March, whose title to his lands was found deficient, and he was accordingly deprived of them. The merits of this question are foreign to our purpose; but it is impossible not to remark, that the king was unjust, and that this parliament, like many modern ones, was extremely obsequious.

Our records say, that in Aberdeen this year (1435), the boll of wheat was sold for sevenpence sterling; malt for fourpence; and meal for three pence two-thirds sterling.

In 1437, John Fife was elected provost. It was this year enacted in council, that no provost, bailie, or office-bearer, shall be continued in office longer than one year†; and that within forty days after he goes out of office, he shall give in his accounts, and pay what he may owe the corporation without delay, under pain of being rendered incapable of holding any office within the town in future. By this act of council it would appear, that the provost of the borough was also treasurer. The council at this time had either found, or suspected that abuses existed in the management of the revenue; for they enacted that no man shall spend above twenty pence sterling of the "common guid,"

* Abercromby, vol. iv. p. 77.

† James III. P. 5. c. 50. enacts, "that officers in burghs be not continued farther than a year."

guid," (*tempora mutantur*), without the consent of a majority of the council. Perhaps the council had no real cause for this suspicious enactment, but were only moved by that detestable reforming spirit, which in modern times, has so much alarmed placemen and pensioners, and therefore made a law against a visionary case. We shall imagine it so, for the sake of the reputation of the provosts of Aberdeen, previous to the year 1437!*

Thomas Chalmers was again elected provost, at Michaelmas, 1438; and next year, Gilbert Menzies. Robert Erskine, earl of Mar, was this year (1439), admitted a guild brother, and on the occasion, delivered to the council a *white purse*, containing five pence sterling. The ceremony of delivering a white purse containing fivepence, into the hand of the provost, by the burgesses when they receive their tickets of admission to the freedom of the town, is still continued.

John Fife was elected provost, anno 1440, and the same year Sir Alexander Irvine, of Drum, was appointed governor of the town. At that period, the kingdom was in a very unsettled state, being distracted by the quarrels of the barons, and the predatory incursions of the

* James I. was murdered this year in the convent of the Dominicans at Perth, on the 29th November, by the earl of Athol, his grandson, Robert Stewart, and Robert Grahame, an outlaw, with their assistants. The conspirators burst into the apartment of the king, while he was at supper with his queen, and cruelly butchered him. The queen received two wounds in endeavouring to save her husband from the daggers of the assassins:—*Guthrie's Hist.* vol. iii. p. 347.

the islanders of the Hebrides. A minority generally occasioned such calamities to the country, as the office of regent was frequently a subject of dispute, and the people did not regard that form of government with the same reverence which they were accustomed to bestow on the royal power, when it proceeded directly from the king himself. In this troublesome state of our domestic affairs, it was prudent in the people of Aberdeen to appoint a military governor,—to array their defensive force,—and to prepare it to resist any sudden attack of open or concealed enemies.

In 1441, Mathew Fichet was provost, and Sir Alexander Irvine continued governor. In 1442, John Mar, provost: the year following, Alexander Chalmers; and, in 1444, John Vaus. In this year (1444), William White, a shoemaker, was convicted of entertaining players of cards and dice in his shop, by the verdict of an assize*, and was ordered to refrain from so doing in future, under pain of banishment from the town.

Dice are an invention of remote antiquity; but cards were introduced about the year 1390, for the purpose, it is said, of diverting the melancholy of Charles VI. king of France. From the close connexion which at that time subsisted between the Scots

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and

* It was enacted, James II. Parl. 11. c. 46. "That in all burghs there be eight or twelve persons, after the quantity of the town, chosen of secret council, and sworn thereto, to decide matters of wrong or unlaw, to the avail of five or eight pounds, within eight days warning."

and French, we can easily believe, that the vices of the latter would be early introduced among the former, which, first contaminating the higher ranks of society, would soon descend to the lower. But as no statute then existed against card and dice playing, the interference of the magistrates with the amusements of the shoemaker, was *ipso facto* illegal, although coloured by the verdict of an assize*.

John Vaus was provost, anno 1445. In this year, a play entitled, "*The Mystery of the Halie Blude,*" was enacted at Aberdeen, on the Windmill-hill†. It was the practice in those times to enact such buffooneries as this play, on the sabbath-day. At a period long subsequent, they were suppressed‡; but the magistrates of Aberdeen, highly to their credit, endeavoured, though without success, to suppress them at that time.

In 1446, Alexander Chalmers was provost: in 1447, William Sherrar: 1448, John Fife: 1449 and 50, John Scroggie. In this year, 1450, a religious house was founded for the Observantines, by Richard Vaus, and the citizens of Aberdeen§. These monks were called Grey Friars, and their monastery was situated where the Marischal College now stands, and it is said

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* The first statute against card and dice playing, was enacted anno 1621, 14th James VI.

† Irving's *Lives of the Scotch Poets*, vol. i. p. 201.

‡ Act discharging the players and personages of *Robin Hood*, *Little John*, *Abbot of Unreason*, and *Queen of May*, Q. M. Parl. 6. c. 61.

§ Keith's Catalogue, p. 276.

to have been a fabrick of great size. King James III. granted a charter of confirmation to the Observantines, dated at Edinburgh, 21st December, 1479, or twentieth of his reign.

In 1451 and 2, John Fife was provost : 1453, John Marr : 1454, Andrew Menzies : 1455, John Scroggie : 1456 and 7, John Fife* : 1458†, 9, and 1460, Richard Kintore. In this year James II. lost his life at the siege of Roxburgh, by the bursting of a cannon, a piece of which struck his thigh, and killed him on the spot, on the 3d August, 1460, and twenty-fourth of his reign. His son, James III. was immediately de-

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clared

* In this year (1457-8), a parliament was assembled at Edinburgh, on the 6th March, which appointed judges to sit during the space of forty days, to administer the laws at Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen. The clergy, nobility, and burgesses, were then the administrators of justice by rotation. The lords appointed to sit at *Aberdeen*, were the bishop of Ross, the abbot of Deer, and Mr. Walter Idell, for the clergy : the earl of Errol, the lord Glamis, and the lord Forbes, for the barons : John Fife, Andrew Menzies, and Walter Thomson, for the boroughs. From these courts no appeal lay either to the king or parliament.—*Guthrie's Hist.* vol. iv. p. 43.

† In this year (1458), the coinage was altered by act of parliament. It was ordered that eight groats should be made out of an ounce of silver, and each groat to be of the value of twelve pennies. This regulation was, however, not strictly adhered to, and it is difficult to ascertain exactly the value of the Scotch coin, which was very fluctuating, and often affected by the state of the coinage in neighbouring nations.—*Guthrie*, vol. iv. p. 45.

A groat was equal to sevenpence halfpenny sterling, and the penny Scots to one-half and one-eighth of a penny sterling.

clared king, in the seventh year of his age, and recognized by the whole army.

In 1461, Andrew Menzies was elected provost; and in 1462, Richard Kintore. In this year, a curious contract was entered into between the earl of Huntly and the magistrates of Aberdeen. They signed a bond, in which Huntly obliged himself to defend the town against all its enemies, and to maintain the rights and privileges of the community, on the one part; and they, on the other, bound themselves to assist him with advice, and to supply him with men and money, to enable him to defend himself against all hostile attacks whatever, reserving only their allegiance to the crown. This obligation was to continue for the space of ten years; but soon after it was contracted, Huntly made a requisition for men and horses to be sent to him in the Cabrach. The provost, however, acquainted his lordship by letter, that he could not so hastily provide such a number of horses as were requisite, and besides, he had received orders from government to be careful to defend the town against an English fleet that was coming to attack it. In the history of Scotland we can find nothing that could occasion such a requisition on the part of Huntly: and as a truce took place that year between the English and Scots, it is not very probable that a fleet should have been sent against Aberdeen. We must, therefore, view the demand of Huntly as an experiment to try the fidelity of the people of Aberdeen, and the answer of the provost as an artful evasion of the terms of the compact.

In

In the years 1462-3-4-5 and 6, Richard Kintore was provost: in 1467-8-9, Alexander Chalmers: in 1470, Alexander Allison: 1471, Richard Kintore: 1472, Andrew Sherrar: 1473, Andrew Allison: 1474, Alexander Chalmers: 1475, Alexander Menzies: 1476, Andrew Sherrar was provost. This year (1476), the council granted, for the purpose of building the quire of the church, all fees usually paid to the provost, bailies, dean of guild, and to the abbot and prior of the borough, out of the revenue of the town, for seven years. In 1477, Alexander Chalmers was provost: in 1478, Andrew Sherrar. In this year Alexander Coutts was allowed by the council to receive for every fire-house within the borough, 1-6th of a penny sterling yearly, for keeping the causeways clean, and repairing the same. In 1479, Alexander Chalmers, provost: in 1480, Alexander Menzies. This year the magistrates and council assembled a head-court, which taxed the inhabitants for a sum of money to defray the expence of blocking up the entrance to the harbour; and at the same time the council ordained, that if any person should send his goods out of town, and absent himself from the defence of it, while in danger, his goods should be escheated, and himself banished for a year and day; and if he held any lease or feu from the town, he should forfeit the same, and his house be demolished, in terms of common law.

A war having at this time commenced betwixt England and Scotland, by border hostilities, the magistrates and inhabitants of Aberdeen, appear to have adopted measures of precaution for the safety of the town; but

as no serious danger could reasonably be apprehended from an English fleet at that time, and no attempt at a maritime invasion did afterwards actually take place, we may presume that the harbour never was blocked up, and that the money levied, was only intended as a *reserve* to meet a possible contingency.

In 1481, James Leslie was provost. This year the best ale in Aberdeen was sold for eight pennies Scots per gallon*, which were equivalent to fivepence sterling, of our present money; and bread of wheaten flour, at about one penny farthing sterling per pound, of fourteen ounces. In 1482, Robert Blenshall was provost. It was ordered by the council this year, that candle having a good dry wick, should be sold for four pennies Scots per pound, or twopence halfpenny sterling. It was likewise ordained, that no person should open his shop on the Sabbath-day, under the penalty of one pound of wax, or its value, to be paid to St. Nicolas' church. John Rutherford was provost in 1483; and it was this year ordained by the council that the inhabitants shall have their arms in their shops, and be ready at all times to assist the provost in the execution of his duty, either in his civil capacity, or as military commander of the town†. By

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* One penny Scots is a halfpenny and one-eighth sterling.

† In Scotland formerly, every man from the age of 16 to 60, was obliged to arm himself according to his rank. By act James I. Parl. 3. c. 60, it was ordained, "that ilke gentleman, havand ten pounds woorth of land, or mair, be sufficientlie harnished and armed with basnet, hail legge harnes, sword,

a head court assembled at Michaelmas this year, it was ordained, that no provost, bailie, or office-bearer, shall expend more than the annual revenue of the town, that the community may not be burdened with debt; but if he should do so, he shall be individually liable for it.

In 1484, Alexander Chalmers was provost. In this year the magistrates and council appointed the incorporations of craftsmen to wear the badges of their respective trades on their breasts, in their procession on Candlemas day, under the penalty of the loss of borough privileges for one year. In 1485, Sir John Rutherford of Tarland, was provost. The town's mills were let this year to David Menzies, for seven years, at the annual rent of £1 : 13 : 4, sterling, the tenant being bound to defray the necessary repairs, during the currency of his lease. In 1486, Alexander Menzies was provost: 1487, Sir John Rutherford; and in 1488, David Menzies, younger. For these three years and

“ speare, and dagger; and gentlemen havand less extentes of
 “ landes, nor na landes, sall be armed at their gudlie power, af-
 “ ter the discretion of the schireffs; but all other zeamen of the
 “ realme, betwixt XVI. and sextie zears, sall be sufficientlie
 “ bowed and schafted, with sword, and buckler, and kniffe:
 “ And that all burgesses and indwellers within the borrow-
 “ tounes of the realme, in like maner be anarmed and harnished,
 “ and make *Weapon Shawinges* within the burrowis of the realme
 “ in like maner foure times in the zear, and that be the alder-
 “ men and baillies, upon the quhilk the chamberlaine and his
 “ deputies sall knaw and execute the said thinges.”

and the five following, nothing is to be found in the town's records worth relating. We shall, therefore, turn our attention to the great and important events of our national history.

James III. who had succeeded to the throne under the favourable auspices of popular affection, soon betrayed a natural weakness of mind that rendered him unfit for the government of a turbulent people. He became addicted to judicial astrology, which absorbed the whole faculties of his mind, and embittered his life. His favourites were professors of this ridiculous science, with which he was infatuated; and they artfully employed it to engender suspicion and distrust against the members of his own family, as well as against the most powerful of the barons. His youngest brother, the earl of Marre, fell a victim to the prediction, that "*the Scottish lion would be devoured by his own whelps,*" and his other brother, the duke of Albany, saved his life only by flight. From a lover of science and the liberal arts, James became an adept in sorcery, which bewildered his understanding, and plunged him in all the horrors of jealousy and suspicion. He thought every man was his enemy, and acting upon that conviction, degenerated into the gloomy tyrant.

The chief barons of the borders of the west and south were the objects of his particular hatred, and from necessity they confederated against him. The Humes—the Hepburnes—the dependents of the house of Douglass—the Stewarts of Avondale, with the earl of Angus—and the two families, Gray and Drummond, assembled forces, and marched towards Stirling. The king.

king called upon the northern barons, the boroughs, and all his vassals, to join his standard. The earls of Crawford, Huntly, Athole, Argyle, and Monteith, with Lindsay, Ruthven, Erskine, and Grahame, repaired to him at Perth, and the royal army mustered about 30,000 strong. They advanced to Torwood to meet the rebels, and a battle ensued. The son of James was in the army of the insurgents, and countenanced their measures, which so shocked his father, that his resolution forsook him, and he pusillanimously fled when the battle joined. He was thrown from his horse in crossing Bannockburn, and, more dead than alive, was carried into the house of a miller, where he was murdered by some of his pursuers. Thus fell the unhappy James III. on the 11th June, 1488, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign.

During this reign a schism arose in the church of Scotland. Patrick Graham succeeded James Kennedy, as bishop of St. Andrews, but had been withheld from the possession of his temporalities through the intrigues of the Boyds, who were his personal enemies, and maintained unbounded sway in the court of James. Unable to prevail against such powerful interest at home, he repaired to Rome, where he was graciously received by the pontiff, and not only confirmed in his see, but was created archbishop, and appointed metropolitan of Scotland, with the authority of legate. By this appointment, the supremacy of the church of England over that of Scotland, was annihilated; but the clergy viewed his elevation with envy, and raised a cabal against him, by whose misrepresentations he

was deprived of his dignities and his liberty. This worthy prelate was left to languish in a prison, a melancholy instance of the ingratitude of the king, the envy of the clergy, and the malignancy of Schevez, the astrologer, who impudently ascended the metropolitan seat of the learned, the pious, and amiable Patrick Graham, which he disgraced by his follies and his crimes.

Since the death of Gilbert Greenlaw, the see of Aberdeen had been filled by several eminent men. Henry Leighton was translated from Moray to Aberdeen, in the year 1424. He was descended from the ancient family of Leighton of Ulysses-haven, or Usan, in the county of Angus*. He was one of the commissioners sent to London, for negotiating the ransom of James I., and returned home with him. He was a very learned man, and died, as it is said, in the year 1441. Ingeram Lindsay immediately succeeded, who was also a very learned and studious man. He was very hospitable, and ruled his diocese with prudence and moderation. By his orders the roof of the high church was laid on, and the floor paved with free-stone. His integrity was such, that the royal influence could not prevail on him to admit some unworthy persons to benefices whom the king had presented, by which he incurred his majesty's displeasure. He died at Aberdeen, anno 1459, universally lamented, and was buried with great solemnity.

Thomas

* Keith's Catal. p. 67.

Thomas Spence, bishop of Galloway, was translated to the see of Aberdeen, on the death of Ingeram Lindsay*. He was a man of singular prudence, and employed in several embassies, particularly in negotiating a treaty of marriage between the duke of Savoy, on behalf of Lewis Count de Maurienne, his son, and Anabella, sister to king James II. in the year 1449. He was also appointed one of the ambassadors to arrange the terms of a truce with Henry VI. of England, anno 1451. He was made keeper of the privy-seal in the year 1458, but resigned his office next year, when translated to Aberdeen. In 1468, he was again appointed keeper of the privy-seal, which he retained, until William, bishop of Orkney, was made keeper in the year 1473. Bishop Spence was well acquainted with public business, and accordingly employed in several legations. He erected an hospital at Edinburgh, where he died on the 15th April, 1480, and was buried in the Trinity College church, at the foot of Leith Wynd, near to his hospital†.

Robert Blacader succeeded bishop Spence. He was the son of Sir Patrick Blacader of Tullieallan, and was first a prebendary of Glasgow, and rector of Cardross. Being then in Rome in a public capacity, on a mission from James III. he was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen, by pope Sixtus IV. Having succeeded in the business about which he had been sent, he returned home, and was honourably received by the clergy and people

* Keith's Catal. p. 163.

† Ibid. p. 68.

people of his diocese. The king entertained so high an opinion of his talents, that he was appointed a privy counsellor, and translated to the see of Glasgow, in 1484-5. Bishop Blacader was a man of great dexterity and address, and deeply skilled in the politics of the times. He was employed in several important negotiations, in which he successfully acquitted himself; and in conjunction with the earl of Bothwell and Andrew Foreman, settled the marriage betwixt king James IV. and Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. of England, which produced the union of these kingdoms under one sovereignty. He possessed so much influence at the court of Rome that he prevailed on the pope to erect the see of Glasgow into an archbishoprick; of which the diocesans of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway, and Argyle, were appointed the suffragans. He undertook a journey to the Holy Land, but died in his progress, on the 28th July, anno 1508.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

CONTENTS.

[VARIOUS PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO ABERDEEN—JAMES IV.—FLODDEN-FIELD—LIFE OF BISHOP ELPHINSTON.]

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AT Michaelmas 1489, Sir John Rutherford was elected provost; and again in 1490. Next year, John Cullen: 1492, Sir John Rutherford: 1493, Alexander Reid: in 1494*, David Menzies; and in 1495, Alexander Chalmers, of Mortlech. In 1496, Sir John Rutherford was again elected provost; and this year

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* During this year (1494), the Scotch parliament made an act, obliging all workmen and tradesmen to submit to the regulations of the civil magistrates, with regard to the prices of articles sold by them, more especially of eatables and drinkables. But the magistrates of Aberdeen had exercised this power so early as the year 1427, which was now countenanced by legal authority.—*See Act James IV.* Parl. 5. c. 56.

an assessment was laid on the inhabitants, by an order from the king, for the purpose of maintaining eight men of the duke of York's regiment. A tax was also imposed on the community to defray the expence of Alexander Menzies' journey to court, who was sent on a mission to the king, to request that he would excuse the inhabitants from attending him in the expedition into England, or to commute that service for a sum of money, as they were anxious to retain their men "to defend their own town from their old enemies, the English." It was ordained, July 11th, by the magistrates, council, and community, at a meeting called for the purpose, that all the freemen of the borough should appear on the Monday following, with their warlike accoutrements and arms, according to their respective rank or station; and that every man should have a spear five ells in length*, and a bow and target, with all other defensive and offensive weapons, in terms of the royal proclamation; but that every one must remain within the town, for the defence of it against the English, certifying, that those who failed to appear, should pay eightpence each per day, to hire others in their place.

On the 1st August, three singers for the quire were appointed,

* The length of the spear was regulated by the statute of James III. parl. 6. c. 44., which ordains that it shall be five ells in length, under the pain of escheat of the spears, and the maker or home-bringer, to be at the king's will. By a subsequent act the same reign, parl. 11. c. 81, the spears were ordered to be five ells and a half in length, and of proportional thickness.

appointed with the following salaries, viz. Robert Vaus, 16s. 8d.; John Strachan, 6s. 8d.; and Robert Hutcheon, 3s. 4d. It was ordered that these salaries should be collected from John Wamot, Andrew Cullen, and Gilbert Menzies, being their rent for three nets salmon fishing, which was all they paid for them.

The town was taxed (September 19th), in the sum of £16 : 13 : 4, sterling, as a *propine** to the king, for permitting the inhabitants to remain at home, and relieving them from military service with the army.

In order to discover the causes which produced these proceedings, it is necessary to attend to the situation of public affairs at that time. But it is impossible not to observe that the citizens of Aberdeen appear to have entertained a constant dread of a debarkation from an English fleet, since the time of Rosheme's landing in 1336, and that this phantom perpetually haunted their imaginations.

During the early part of the reign of James IV. he was occupied with the regulation of the internal affairs of the kingdom; and his cotemporary of England, Henry VII. was desirous to maintain the relations of

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peace

* *Propine*. S. signifies "drink-money, or the act of handing "drink to another, or drinking to him, and expressing a wish "for his health. This custom prevailed among the Greeks, "from whom the term has been transmitted to us."—When used as a *verb*, it signifies to present a cup to another; but in a general sense, it implies to present, or to give any thing whatever. Here it is used as a gift or bribe.—See Dr. Jamieson's *Dictionary of the Scottish Language*.

peace with the Scottish nation, and accordingly the truce was renewed from time to time. But James possessed a martial spirit, and was fond of tournaments and manly sports, in which he eminently excelled. An occasion, however, for a war with England, had not yet occurred, when an unfortunate stranger appeared at his court, with irresistible claims on his protection and patronage. Some doubt existed as to the reality of the murder of the two sons of Edward IV. of England, which was generally imputed to their uncle, Richard the Third; and a young man of elegant manners, and bearing a striking resemblance to Edward the Fourth, claimed the dignity of his parentage, and the inheritance of the house of York. He was warmly recommended to James by the duchess of Burgundy, and the king of France; and his handsome appearance and interesting story won the friendship and sympathy of the king, while it afforded him a fair pretence for indulging his passion for war. James keenly espoused his cause, and made preparations to invade England, to dethrone Henry VII., and to place the crown on the head of Perkins Warbeck, the reputed duke of York. This unfortunate youth had attempted to land in England and in Ireland, but meeting with no encouragement in these countries, he steered his course for Scotland, with about six hundred followers. To support these attendants of the duke of York, an assessment, equal to the maintenance of eight men, was laid on the town of Aberdeen.

With an army numerous and well appointed, James
invaded

invaded England, but soon retreated, without effecting any thing worthy the magnitude of his preparations, or in any respect benefiting Warbeck's cause. It was to relieve the town from furnishing its contingent of men in this expedition, that Alexander Menzies was sent to the king (anno 1496), who, it would appear, commuted their service for L.16 : 13 : 4, sterling. The unfortunate Warbeck was honourably dismissed from the court of James IV.; and in a few years afterwards (anno 1501), a peace between the two countries was settled, and cemented by the marriage of the king with Margaret, the daughter of Henry.

During the four following years, Sir John Rutherford of Tarland, was provost. In January 1497, the magistrates and council ordered that the corporations of craftsmen should provide standards respectively, for their members to rally round in the moment of danger.

In this year it appears that the venereal disease had spread in Scotland to an alarming height; and it was enacted by the magistrates of Aberdeen, on the 24th April, "that all light women be charged to desist from the vice and sin of venery," under pain of being marked with a red-hot iron on the cheek, and banished the town; and it was ordered, that those already infected, should be expelled from the town, and their houses shut up. This terrible disease, which can only be propagated by vice and folly, was thought to be highly infectious, and attracted the attention of the privy-council, which ordered all persons afflicted with

that distemper in Edinburgh, to be conveyed to the island of Inchkeith, and “there to remain till God provide for their health*!” The physicians and others who had attended the infected, were included in this order†, and the penalty of contravention was burning in the cheek. This disease, it is said, was imported from America by Columbus’s sailors; but there is reason to believe that it had previously existed in Europe, although it was less virulent in its effects, and but little noticed until the siege of Naples in 1493, where its ravages were dreadful.

St. Nicolas was the tutelar saint of Aberdeen; and the magistrates and council, with the burgesses, annually made a procession in honour of their protector. They assembled this year on the 8th May, on Woolman Hill, and appointed Thomas Leslie and Robert Cullen, abbot and prior for twelve months, with an allowance of 5s. 6d. two-thirds, to defray their expences, to be paid out of the revenue of the town, at the expiry of that time.

June 9th. The magistrates and council order a blockhouse to be built “*of great strength*” at the mouth of the harbour, for resisting the English; and they ordained at the same time, an array of the inhabitants with their arms and habiliments, in compliance with the king’s orders. As James had early accustomed himself to the use of arms, he earnestly endeavoured

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* Arnot’s History of Edinburgh, p. 260.

† It was issued the 22d September, 1497.

to make all his subjects soldiers. And for that purpose, the sheriffs were empowered to muster, four times a-year, the inhabitants of their respective districts; the aldermen and bailies doing the same within the boroughs, as they should answer to the chamberlain or his deputy.

In 1498, nothing occurs in the records worthy of notice. On the 23d July, the following year, it was ordered by the provost, Sir John Rutherford, that the appreciators of feshes shall value the same, and that no person shall buy them until the price be fixed.

In 1500, the town was taxed in L.5:11:1 $\frac{3}{4}$, as their proportion of the assessment for defraying the expences of the ambassadors employed to settle the king's marriage.

In 1501, and the two following years, Alexander Menzies was provost. In June, 1503, the dean of guild, with his council, ordained, that no man should be admitted a free burgess for less money than 5s. 6d. two-thirds. It is ordered by the magistrates and council, that blacksmiths shall take no more for horse-shoes than two, three, or four pennies Scots, according to their size. October 20th—It is appointed, that James Cumming, physician, shall receive ten merks Scots, until such time as he shall be provided with a net's salmon fishing, either in the Midchingle, or Fords, grassum free, but for which he is to pay the same rent as another would do. It is probable, that Mr. Cumming was the only medical man in the town, and that he had threatened to leave it, unless remunerated for his services

services with something else than the fees of his practice.

On the 30th September, 1504, John Leslie, of Wardhouse, was elected provost: in 1505, Gilbert Menzies; and next year, Andrew Cullen. On the 30th January, 1505-6, a procession of the trades was ordered, specifying the fleshers, barbers, bakers, shoemakers, skinnners, coopers, wrights, hatmakers, bonnet-makers, waukers, listers, weavers, taylors, goldsmiths, blacksmiths, and other hammer-men, and that they shall march two by two socially together, under their respective standards.

February 26th, 1507. The magistrates and council ordered the sum of 6s. 8d. to be laid out on wine and spiceries, for the celebration of the king's birth day. In the years 1507-8-9 and 10, Gilbert Menzies was provost. In 1508, the barrel of salmon was sold for four shillings and sevenpence.

In the year 1510, the queen made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Duthac in Ross-shire, and she passed through Aberdeen. The council and whole community (May 5th), agree that the queen shall be received in as honourable a manner in this, as in any town in Scotland, excepting Edinburgh, and appoint commissioners to provide presents for her majesty, of such things as may appear to them suitable, to the amount of L.16 : 13 : 4, sterling.

In this year an account of the number of brewers of ale for sale in this city, was taken, and found to amount in all to 153, as follows: in the town-quarter, 37; in the crooked quarter, 35 freemen, and nine that are not burgesses;

burgesses; in the Green quarter, 32 free, and six not free; and in the Footdee quarter, 23 free, and 11 not so.

In 1511, 12, and 13, Gilbert Menzies was again chosen provost. In this year, the memorable battle of Flodden-field was fought, in which James IV. was killed, and a great many of the Scottish barons. The intrigues of the French court had precipitated James into a war with England. Almost all our contests with our potent neighbours originated through French influence, and Scotland, for ages, was the unhappy dupe of Gallic politics. Nothing could be more imprudent than to attack England at that time, for the sake of an ally who was unable to defend himself, and could not possibly afford any assistance to the Scots in the event of disaster. But the fortune of James was determined, and he hurried to his destiny. The French ambassador, and the lady Heron*, were the evil *genii* that surrounded him. The former presided in his councils, and the latter betrayed his secrets. On the 22d of August, James passed the Tweed, and encamped at Twissel-haugh; but, sunk in amorous dalliance, he forgot the object of his expedition, and allowed the English forces to form a junction. The castles of Norham, Etal, and Wark, were taken and demolished; and James took up a strong position on the Cheviot-hills. The earl of Surry, who commanded the English army, manœuvred so skilfully, that he drew the Scots from

* The daughter of Heron of Ford, hence called *Lady Ford*.

from this position, and forced them to fight on Flodden-muir under every disadvantage. The particulars of the battle it is unnecessary to relate; but we may be assured, that all that desperate courage could achieve, was performed by the Scottish army, which was nearly annihilated. The king, and the flower of our nobility, were numbered with the dead; and so great was the slaughter of this day, that our bards have perpetuated it in our national melody, and mingled the events of the battle with our early predilection for Scottish song.

Thus fell James IV., in the forty-first year of his life, and twenty-sixth of his reign. During his administration the condition of the people was considerably ameliorated, by many wise and prudent enactments, for the protection of life and property. The church was yet all powerful in Scotland, although alarmed at the progress of heresy in England; and the country enjoyed on the whole, more of prosperity and happiness than in any preceding reign.

The see of Aberdeen, at that period, was filled by William Elphinston, a man eminently conspicuous for his talents, piety, and worth, and who justly merits the homage of our gratitude. He devoted the fruits of a long and laborious life to the establishment of the college at Aberdeen, and the erection of the bridge of Dee, both works of national utility, and lasting monuments of the public spirit and disinterested sentiments of the amiable prelate, who also faithfully served his country in the elevated station of chancellor of the kingdom.

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The city of Aberdeen owes so much to bishop Elphinston's generosity, that we deem it unnecessary to make any apology for the insertion of a lengthened detail of the principal incidents of his life, which we shall select from the most authentic sources.

Bishop Elphinston was the son of William Elphinston, a merchant in Glasgow, who is generally reputed to be the founder of the trade of that city*. His son, William, was born in Glasgow, in the year 1437, and gave early presages of great genius, which was fondly cherished by his parents, and carefully cultivated by the best teachers. He studied in the newly-erected university there, and in the twentieth year of his age became master of arts. He then applied himself to the study of divinity, and was made rector of Kirk-michael†. After continuing four years in this situation, he went to Paris, the university of which was then deemed the first school in Europe for theology and philosophy. The canon and civil law were the fashionable studies of the times; and Elphinston acquired such proficiency in these branches of learning, that his reputation as a profound scholar attracted the attention of the university, and he was chosen professor of laws. His lectures were attended for six years, by a crowded audience of the students; but the improvement of his own mind was the particular
object

* It is said that William Elphinston amassed a considerable fortune by exporting pickled salmon.—*Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow.*

† Keith's Catalogue, p. 68.

object of his solicitude, and he canvassed the most abstruse and difficult parts of his profession with the most eminent and learned doctors of that age*. After nine years intense study in France, he returned home at the earnest solicitations of his friends, particularly bishop Muirhead, who made him parson of Glasgow, and official of his diocese†. As a mark of respect, he was chosen rector of that university in which he had received the rudiments of learning. After the death of his friend and patron, Muirhead, he was made official of Lothian, by archbishop Schevez of St. Andrews; and at the same time was called to parliament, and to a seat in the privy-council. As his talents were of the most acute and discerning kind, he embraced subjects remote from his religious studies, and became conspicuous as an able politician, and skilful negotiator. In this capacity, he was employed by James III. on an embassy to France, in conjunction with bishop Livingstone and the earl of Buchan. It is said, that he managed so dextrously, that the old league and amity was renewed, and all cause of discord between the two kingdoms removed‡. The French monarch was so charmed with his conduct and conversation, that he loaded him with valuable presents. When he returned home, he was made archdeacon of Argyle, anno 1479, and soon after, bishop of Ross; but, in 1484, he was translated to the see of Aberdeen. His
address

* Hector Boece.

† Keith's Catalogue, p. 68.

‡ Ibid. 69.

address in diplomatic negotiation, induced the king to send him as one of the commissioners from Scotland to treat of a truce with England, and a marriage between his son and the lady Anne, the niece of Richard III.

When the earl of Richmond assumed the crown of England by the name of Henry VII. bishop Elphinston was sent to his court, with other ambassadors, to arrange the terms of a truce, which was accordingly settled for three years, on the 3d July, 1486. The discontent of the nobles threatening to involve the country in a civil war, bishop Elphinston mediated between them and the king; but finding it impossible to reconcile their jarring interests, he went to England about the latter end of the year 1487, to solicit the friendly interposition of Henry, as the ally of the Scottish king*. Although this great and good man did not succeed in the negotiation as he wished or expected, yet James rewarded his fidelity by advancing him in February, 1488, to the office of lord high chancellor of Scotland, which he enjoyed until the king's death, when he retired to his diocese. During the time he remained at Aberdeen, he was occupied in correcting the abuses that had prevailed in the diocese, and in composing a book of canon law. But he was not long permitted to enjoy the calm of retirement,

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* Crawford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown, vol. i. p. 50.

and was again called to the parliament that assembled at Edinburgh, the 6th October, 1488, to assist at the coronation of James IV. The earl of Bothwell, who then ruled as prime minister, suspecting that bishop Elphinston would not concur in an act of indemnity in favour of those who were concerned in the rebellion of the last reign, contrived to send him on an embassy to the court of Maximilian of Germany, with a proposal for a marriage between the king, and Margaret, the emperor's daughter; but the mission was ineffectual, as that lady had been previously promised to the prince of Spain, and was married accordingly before Elphinston arrived at Vienna.

Although the bishop did not succeed in this embassy, yet he performed a lasting service to the country in his way home, by settling a treaty of peace and amity between the states of Holland and the Scottish nation. This service was deemed of more importance than if he had effectuated the marriage, which was the particular object of his mission to the continent*. In 1492, when the bishop returned, he was made lord privy-seal, and the same year appointed one of the commissioners on the part of Scotland, for the prolongation of the truce with England. But the truce was not strictly observed by the Scots, and a new commission was found to be necessary for the more effectual

* Crawford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown, vol. i. p. 51.

effectual settlement of all existing differences. Bishop Elphinston was included in this commission, and the Scottish deputies meeting with the English at Edinburgh, the 21st June, they agreed to prolong the truce till the last day of April, 1501.

The distractions of the state being appeased, and tranquillity restored both at home and abroad, the bishop found leisure to attend to an object that he had long meditated, and which engrossed much of his thoughts. Religion and learning had been the chief pursuits of his life, and he wished to diffuse the happy influence of both over the north of Scotland. For that purpose he applied to the king to solicit the papal authority for the erection of the UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN, which was granted by a bull from Alexander VI., dated the 10th February, 1494. From this time the bishop bent all his attention to the completion of his design; and having applied to the king that he would permit the college to be founded in his royal name, letters-patent under the great seal were passed accordingly, erecting the college, and granting it large privileges. As a full and distinct account, however, of this valuable institution is to be found in the appendix, it is unnecessary to take further notice of it here.

Besides the erection and endowment of the college, bishop Elphinston left ample funds to build and to support a bridge over Dee. It is mentioned to the credit of this worthy man, that he never held any benefice in *commendam*, as was the case with most of the prelates of that time, but, from the revenue of the see

alone, made such savings as enabled him to execute these great works, which are so honourable to his memory. When not employed in the duties of his office, he devoted his leisure hours to writing the lives of the Scottish saints, which were occasionally read to the clergy of the diocese for their instruction in religion, and practical improvement in life. He also wrote the history of Scotland from the rise of the nation to his own time, which is still extant, and preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*. James IV. having precipitated the country into a war with England, in opposition to Elphinston's advice, who was cautious from experience, lost his life at Flodden-field, where the better part of the Scottish nobility also shared a similar fate. This circumstance so afflicted the venerable prelate's mind, which was once so strong and vigorous, that his wonted cheerfulness of spirits entirely forsook him, and his debilitated frame fast verged to the grave. The affairs of Scotland, however, being again in a distracted state, Elphinston, ever anxious to do good, made an exertion to attend Parliament, that he might offer his advice and counsel; but the fatigue of the journey exhausted his wearied body, and he resigned his soul on the 25th October, anno 1514, at the age of seventy-seven. His corpse was brought from Edinburgh, and interred in the collegiate church at Aberdeen, before the high altar.

This

* Crawford's Lives of the Officers of the Crown, vol. i. p. 52.

This eminent prelate has justly obtained the encomiums of our historians, and no man more deservedly merited the meed of praise. Whether we view him as a divine, exercising the duties of his episcopal office, or as a statesman, directing the affairs of the nation, he is equally eminent. His love of learning, his integrity, and piety, were virtues that contributed to his own happiness: but his great talents and his fortune were devoted to the service of others, and sacrificed, not at the shrine of ambition, but on the altar of his country, and for the good of posterity.

This eminent genius has justly obtained the name
 of an African, and no man more deserving
 the name of African. Whether we view him as
 a divine, exercising the duties of his sacred office,
 or as a statesman, directing the affairs of the nation,
 he is equally eminent. His love of learning, his
 industry, and purity, were virtues that contributed to his
 own happiness: but his great talents and his labours
 were directed to the service of others, and especially
 not of the cause of ambition, but on the altar of his
 country, and for the good of posterity.

The following is a list of the names of the
 persons who were employed in the
 service of the African Company, from
 the year 1700 to 1750. The names
 are arranged in alphabetical order.
 A. B. C. D. E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L. M. N. O. P. Q. R. S. T. U. V. W. X. Y. Z.

The names of the persons who were
 employed in the service of the African
 Company, from the year 1750 to 1780,
 are arranged in alphabetical order.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONTENTS.

[VARIOUS PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO ABERDEEN—LETTER FROM THE MAGISTRATES TO BISHOP DUNBAR, RELATIVE TO THE BRIDGE OF DEE—THE MAGISTRATES TAKE UPON THEM THE MANAGEMENT OF THAT BRIDGE, AND INTROMIT WITH THE FUNDS—FEUDS—DEATH OF JAMES V.—INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING—ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COURT OF SESSION—BISHOPS OF ABERDEEN, VIZ. GAVIN DUNBAR, AND WILLIAM STEWART—HECTOR BOETHIUS.]

* * * *

IN October, 1514, John Marr was chosen provost. In February that year, £3 : 0 : 11 sterling, was paid to Andrew Fife for providing artillery to defend the town against the English; and, on the 20th March, a tax of £5 sterling, was imposed on the inhabitants, for the purpose of fitting up the blockhouse, and paying the gunners for six months, with four able-bodied men

men, to be employed to give notice of the approach of the English fleet, two of whom were stationed at the Bell-house, on the south side of the river, and directed to raise a fire as soon as the enemy appeared, in order to apprize the other two on the castle-hill, one of whom was to ring the common bell, to alarm the citizens. These precautions against the attack of an English fleet may have been very necessary; but as it never made its appearance, the gunners had no opportunity of shewing their skill as engineers, nor the four men their alertness as watchmen.

On the 12th March, 1514, John Mar, the provost, with Sir John Rutherford, John Collinson, Gilbert Menzies, and Patrick Leslie, were chosen by the council as commissioners to the parliament. To defray his expence, the provost was allowed L.1 : 2 : 2 two-thirds sterling, and each of the others half that sum.

It was ordained by the council, May 11th, that no fresh salmon should be sold, until first presented in the market-place.

In the years 1516 and 17, Gilbert Menzies was provost. On the 2d January, 1517, the council fixed the price of the boll of wheat at one shilling sterling, and the loaf weighing twenty-six ounces, to be sold for one-sixth of a penny.

Gilbert Menzies, anno 1518, was again provost: and on the 4th July this year, the council and community agree to give the earl of Huntly three pieces of the town's best artillery, to be sent on their expence to Sutherlandshire, to enable the earl to attack the castle of Dunrobin, in consideration of the townsmen
being

being exempted from marching against that place, and permitted to remain at home.

In the years 1519, 1520, and 1521, Gilbert Menzies was provost. July 12th, 1521: The provost is appointed to go to the king and council to raise letters of lawburrows against lord Forbes, to prevent him from molesting the tenants of the borough in their fishings and freedom lands*.

So early as James I. the process of law-burrows was instituted; but by James IV. parl. 3. c. 27, it was enacted, "that upon complaint of a party, law-burrows be found that he shall be harmless and skaithless in his person or goods, under what pain the lord chancellor or justice shall modifie;" and on this statute the provost of Aberdeen complained.

September 16, 1521: The magistrâtes, by orders from the king, resigned their offices. A new election having taken place, John Collison was chosen provost; and on the 30th, the community ratified his election.

On August 11th, 1532, the whole community agreed to be taxed L.58 : 6 : 8, to be paid into the exchequer as a commutation of their military services, and to be relieved from joining the army at Roslin-moor, on the 1st September.

The duke of Albany, who was regent of the kingdom, and entirely devoted to the interest of France at that time, assembled a powerful army to invade England.

* It was enacted by James V. parl. 4. ch. 27, "that no earl, lord, baron, nor other, molest burrows, their officers, or merchants, in using their liberties, under the pain of oppression."

land. They marched from Roslin on the 2d September; but many of the barons refused to advance beyond the frontiers of Scotland, as they considered the war to be impolitic; and after a fruitless attempt to take the castle of Wark, in which he lost 300 of the French troops, the regent retreated, and disbanded the army.

In 1521, 22, 23, and 24, Gilbert Menzies, of Fintona, was provost. In August, 1524, the provost and bailie Collison, were chosen commissioners to represent the borough in the first parliament of James V. They were allowed 6s. 8d. per day, and furnished with eight horsemen to attend in their train, that they might appear at court with a splendour becoming the representatives of the opulent city of Aberdeen.

On October 3, 1525, Thomas Menzies of Pitfoddels, was chosen provost. In August that year, a letter from the king, said to have been written at the solicitation of bishop Gavin Dunbar, was sent to Sir John Rutherford and Thomas Menzies, the sheriffs, ordering them to search for those who owned the heresies of Luther, or read his books, that they might be punished in terms of the act of parliament, of which an extract was transmitted*.

The

* It was ordained by act James I. p. 2. c. 28. "that ilke bi-
"shoppe sall garre inquire to the inquisition of heresie, quhair
"ony seik beis founden, and that they be punished as law of
"halie Kirk requires. And gif it misteris, that secular power
"be called, in support and helping of hailie Kirk."

The reformation of religion in Scotland was silently making progress at that time, and was secretly promoted by the intrigues of the English monarch, who, in his own country, had roughly overthrown the papal authority; but we shall afterwards have occasion to trace the progress of the new opinions in a chapter devoted to that subject.

On the 2d October, 1525, commissioners were appointed to let the town's lands and fishings for five years. By James IV. parl. 3. ch. 36, it was enacted, "that the rents of burrows be not set but for three years, under pain of nullity." But the statute in this instance seems to have been disregarded.

In 1526 and 7, Gilbert Menzies was provost. On the 1st April, 1527, the thanks of the magistrates and community were voted to the bishop of Aberdeen, for the active part he had taken in building the bridge of Dee. The necessary funds for the erection of that useful work had been entrusted by bishop Elphinston to Alexander Galloway; but during the three years that bishop Gordon filled the see, nothing had been done to forward the work, and it fell to the lot of bishop Gavin Dunbar to execute the intentions of the good bishop Elphinston, by completing the college and bridge of Dee, to both which, he largely contributed from his own revenue. The bridge being now finished, bishop Dunbar proposed that the magistrates of Aberdeen should take charge of it, and receive the funds for the purpose of keeping it in repair. Accordingly, the magistrates and burgesses assembled to consider

sider of the proposal, and after some deliberation, sent the following letter to bishop Dunbar :

“ MY LORD,

“ WE, your servants, the provost, bailies, coun-
 “ sellors, and whole community of Aberdeen, having got ex-
 “ plained to us by your commissioner, Mr. Alexander Hay,
 “ parson of Turriff, your good intentions with regard to the
 “ bridge built over the river Dee, and finished at your Lordship’s
 “ great expence, for the common weal of the country and of us ;
 “ for which good deed God Eternal reward your Lordship—we
 “ cannot. And whereas your Lordship desires of us and of our
 “ successors, to uphold the said bridge on your expence in the
 “ most sure way can be devised by wise men ; and that your
 “ Lordship will infest us and our successors in your lands of
 “ Ardlair, to be holden of you and your successors in fee, we
 “ heartily agree to the same, only making us sure thereof by the
 “ pope, the prince, and your church, with every other thing ne-
 “ cessary ; for we desire no inconveniency, but only to be made
 “ sure, which is your Lordship’s good intention. Yet notwith-
 “ standing, if you were pleased to infest us in any of your lands
 “ lying nearer to us, or exchange said lands for others lying
 “ nearer to us, such as Reedreslen, or sic like, it would be more
 “ profitable for preserving your Lordship’s work, and more
 “ agreeable to us ; however, we refer the whole to your Lord-
 “ ship’s pleasure, beseeching you may labour the same, if it
 “ seem to you goodly. And moreover, we, considering the
 “ many good turns done by your Lordship within your diocese,
 “ both to our cathedral and other places, and understanding that
 “ your Lordship has no kirk within your diocese appropriated
 “ to your mitre, except our mother-kirk,—we would intreat
 “ your Lordship to give help to some notable actions intended
 “ to be done thereto, and to which we shall contribute our as-
 “ sistance in the largest form at sight of your Lordship, that
 “ some remembrances may remain of you, as of several of your
 “ reverend

“ reverend predecessors, to wit, Bishop Thomas Spence, and
 “ Bishop William Elphinstone. But in this case as in all others,
 “ we refer to your Lordship’s pleasure, to which we are greatly
 “ indebted, as knows the great God Eternal, whom we humbly
 “ intreat to preserve your Lordship’s soul and body.”

The magistrates and council accordingly “ agreed
 “ to indent with my lord bishop of Aberdeen, for
 “ keeping, upholding, and preserving his bridge over
 “ the river Dee, for themselves and their successors,
 “ so long as they bruiked peaceably the lands of Ard-
 “ lair, given and assigned over to them by his lord-
 “ ship; but if the said lands should be evicted from
 “ them or their successors, either by law or reason,
 “ then they shall be no longer obliged to uphold the
 “ said bridge, but from their own good-will and bene-
 “ volence. And further, with this condition, that the
 “ money arising from the profits of the said lands shall
 “ be put in a sure keeping, for upholding the said
 “ bridge, and not to be disposed of any other way;
 “ and that there be three keys made for the purpose,
 “ one of them to be kept by the chapter; another by
 “ the provost and good town; and the third by the
 “ principal deacons of the craftsmen of Aberdeen;
 “ and this bond to be made out in the surest form, to
 “ the effect above-written.”

In December the following year, the business relative to the bridge of Dee was finally settled. Robert Elphinston, parson of Kincardine, and the parson of Kinkell, appeared in court as commissioners for bishop Dunbar, and gave in to the town of Aberdeen in name of his lordship, the whole charge of the bridge of Dee,

and a charter to the lands of Ardlair, by the bishop, dean, and chapter. And the magistrates on their part, delivered to them an obligatory bond, sealed with the common seal of the borough, binding themselves to uphold the said bridge in all time coming, and to "re-build the same anew if need be." They also took the great oath, the crucifix being touched by them, that they should never apply the rents of the land to any other purpose.

In 1528, Gilbert Menzies was provost. The price of oatmeal this year was sixteen pence per boll.

The council ordained, that no man be chosen hereafter into the office of provost or bailie, but real indwellers within the borough, under the penalty of one hundred pounds Scots money, to be paid to the king's majesty, and that no burgess purchase a lordship over the town, under pain of losing his freedom.

It was enacted by James V. parl. 4. ch. 26, that the magistrates of boroughs should be "honest and substantial burgesses, merchants and indwellers thereof, under pain of tinsel of their freedom, who does in the contrary."

In 1529, 30, 31, and 32, Gilbert Menzies was provost.

In 1529, Arthur Forbes of Brux killed several of the inhabitants of the town, and commissioners were sent to the king to lodge a complaint against him. But on the 19th December the following year, the magistrates served letters of law-burrows against Pitsligo, Tolquhain, Corsindae, Brux, Echt, and other gentlemen of the name of Forbes; and my lord Pitsligo

ligo was obliged to find caution to the council at Perth for his own and friends good behaviour towards the town of Aberdeen. At that time a deadly feud subsisted between the Forbeses and Leslie's; and it is probable that some of the town's people had interfered in that quarrel, which furiously raged throughout Aberdeenshire, and was attended by mutual massacres and murders.

On the 20th February, 1533, the magistrates and council order a blockhouse to be built at Sandness, of 36 feet in length, and 18 in breadth; the walls to be six feet thick, and of such a height as Thomas Menzies and Alexander Gray, the architects, shall deem expedient.

On the 6th October, Thomas Menzies was chosen provost. It was ordained at this time by the council, that if any person being in health, shall absent himself for two Sundays from the parish kirk, he shall pay eightpence sterling, to be applied to St. Nicolas's work.

On 5th October, 1534, Thomas Menzies chosen provost.

On 4th October, 1535, Andrew Cullen.

On 3d October, 1546, Gilbert Menzies of Findon.

In the years 1537 and 8, Thomas Menzies, the eldest son of Gilbert Menzies of Findon, was provost. On the 13th January, 1539, commissioners were appointed by a head court to let the lands of Ardlair; and they were instructed to let them to country farmers, and not to gentlemen of landed property. These

lands were accordingly let for five years as follows, viz. one plough-gate of the Intown at the rate of 11s. 1½d. sterling yearly; three other plough-gates at the same rent; and the plough-gate of Outfield, at 13s. 4d. Scots money. The tenants were bound to perform the usual carriages, and to reside on their farms.

During the years 1540, 1, 2, 3, and 4, Thomas Menzies was continued provost.

James V. died December 1542, in the palace of Falkland, at the age of thirty-three years and eight months, after a reign of twenty-nine years. His whole life had been spent amidst scenes of turbulence and distraction; but the defection of his army at Solway Moss, which surrendered to a handful of English, so chagrined his agitated mind, that he fell under the deepest melancholy, and either could not, or did not choose to receive any sustenance. After languishing for a few days, an affecting spectacle of the misery of kings, he resigned his breath, surrounded by those miscreants who had contributed to embitter his life. During the reign of this prince, the condition of the people had been somewhat improved. Several wise laws had been enacted, and the maritime towns had increased in opulence and power.

The art of printing was introduced by Chapman in the early part of his reign, and Thomas Davidson, a native of Aberdeenshire (anno 1532), was made printer to the king; and, in 1541, he printed the acts of parliament*.

The

* Manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.

The administration of justice occupied much of James's attention. The excellent acts which had passed in the reigns of the three first James's, relative to property, were almost totally disregarded; and their abuse had become an intolerable grievance. The authority of heritable jurisdictions was nearly paramount to all law; and ambulatory courts of justice, with trial by jury in civil cases, were but a feeble protection to the weak and innocent, against the oppressions of the strong and powerful, while appeals to the council were expensive, and consequently only within the reach of the more opulent of the community. The institution of the *Lords of Articles* was merely an engine in the hands of government, and formed no barrier to the encroachments of the crown. Some establishment, therefore, that was independent of party animosity, vigorous and permanent, was requisite for the better administration of justice*. James accordingly had recourse to the parliament of Paris for the model of a similar institution in Scotland; and the establishment of the COURT OF SESSION was the result of his solicitude to promote the equal distribution of the law throughout the realm. On the 13th May, this year, the *Lords of Articles* laid before parliament the proposition for instituting this court, which was adopted, and fifteen members were appointed, consisting of seven churchmen and seven laymen, with a President. This court has continued to the present day with very

* Guthrie, vol. v. p. 150.

little variation, and its jurisdiction is valuable and extensive; but every thing relative to it is so well known, that it is unnecessary here to enumerate its privileges and powers.

The doctrines of the reformed religion had taken root during this reign, and the clergy of the establishment, anxious to secure their livings and their influence, had lighted the faggot which consumed a few obstinate heretics, from whose ashes, however, arose a set of determined men that finally triumphed over the papal church.

The see of Aberdeen at the death of bishop Elphinston, was filled by Alexander Gordon, the third son of James, laird of Haddo, the ancestor of the earls of Aberdeen*. He was first rector of Fetteresso, in the county of Kincardine, and next chantor of the see of Moray, from which he was promoted to the bishopric of Aberdeen. It is said that he was a man of a grave disposition, and extensive learning; but he did not long enjoy his elevated situation, for, being seized with a hectic fever, he died on the 29th June, 1518, within less than four years after the death of Elphinston.

Gavin Dunbar succeeded bishop Gordon. He was the son of Sir James Dunbar of Cumnock, by Jane, eldest daughter of the earl of Sutherland†. He was dean of Moray, and clerk-register about the year 1488. In 1503, he was archdeacon of St. Andrews, and lord-register. In 1518, he was promoted to the see of Aberdeen; but he still continued in the
office

* Keith's Catalogue, p. 70.

† Ibid. p. 71.

office of lord-register. He died on the 9th March, 1532, and was much regretted by his friends and the inhabitants of Aberdeen, to whom he had shewn great partiality on various occasions. He built the bridge of Dee, projected by bishop Elphinston, and contributed to the funds appropriated for that purpose by that worthy prelate. He also endowed an hospital for twelve poor men, which was erected after his death. It is said that the bishop was the first person who advised Hector Boece to write the history of his own country.

William Stewart succeeded bishop Dunbar in the see of Aberdeen. He was the son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto, by Isabel, second daughter, and one of the co-heiresses of Sir Walter Stewart of Arthurly, who was a brother of the family of Castlemilk. The city of Glasgow was the place of the bishop's nativity; and he was born, anno 1479, in the reign of James III. His parents having early perceived his genius for learning, took great care of his education, and sent him at the proper age, to the inferior seminaries, where he went through his juvenile studies with the applause of his teachers*. He then entered to the university of Glasgow, where he applied assiduously to the study of philosophy and the *Belles Lettres*, and in due time obtained the degree of bachelor of arts. Having finished his studies at home, much to his own credit and improvement, he visited the continent, as was customary in those times, to learn in foreign schools,

* Crawford's Officers of State, vol. i. p. 373.

schools, a more perfect knowledge of theology and the canon law. He devoted himself to the church, —he took holy orders, and was soon after made parson of Lochmaben, then rector of Ayr, and a prebend of Glasgow. In that station he remained till the year 1527, when he was preferred to the lucrative deanery of Glasgow, which at that time became vacant by the death of the learned Dr. Forman. The great merit and shining talents of Dr. Stewart attracted the attention of king James V., who called him by writ to parliament. His abilities, sagacity, and industry in business, qualified him for the most important offices in the state. He was therefore made lord high treasurer of Scotland, on the 2d October, 1530, in the place of Sir Robert Barton, who was removed. The king being desirous to advance the treasurer in the church, found an opportunity by the death of bishop Dunbar; and accordingly he was promoted to the see of Aberdeen, on the 14th November, 1532. Soon after his consecration, he was joined with Sir Adam Otterburne of Reidhall, in a commission of embassy to England, to treat with Henry VIII. relative to the continuation of amity and peace between the two nations; and the object of their embassy was successfully accomplished.

To the see of Aberdeen, bishop Stewart was a considerable benefactor*. He built the consistory-house, enlarged the territory of the college, and bestowed upon it a part of the revenue which it still possesses.

After

* Crawford's Officers of State, vol. i. p. 374.

After continuing to perform the duties of lord treasurer for seven years, he resigned that high office, and retired to his diocese, where he remained until his death, which happened on the 17th April, 1545. Bishop Stewart was a learned and worthy man, "*given to virtue, charitable to the poor, and ready to do every good work*.*"

During the reign of James V. Hector Boethius, Boece, or Boeis, flourished. He was the first principal of the college of Aberdeen, and his celebrity as a scholar and writer requires our particular notice.

Hector Boece was born in Dundee in Angus-shire (anno 1470), and descended from an ancient and honourable family. After finishing his education in this country, he was sent by his parents to Paris, where he studied philosophy, and became a professor in the college of Montague†. During the happy period of his residence in that seat of learning and science, he was extremely fortunate in his acquaintance with eminent men; and the great Erasmus, whom he calls "the splendour and ornament of the age," was his friend and companion. United by a similarity of disposition and of pursuits, they contracted a friendship that endured through life; and by frequent correspondence interchanged their knowledge and their sentiments.

When bishop Elphinston projected the college of Aberdeen, he fixed his choice on Boece as the most fit

* Spottiswoode's Church History.

† M'Kenzie's Lives, vol. ii. p. 376.

fit person to perform the important duties of principal. He was accordingly called from Paris, and installed in the office. His labours in this seminary were commenced in conjunction with those of William Hay, who had studied with Boece at home and abroad, and whom he had assumed as his colleague. By the united exertions of Boece and Hay, the university acquired great celebrity, and several of their pupils were deemed the first scholars of the age.

Bishop Elphinston was the friend and patron of Boece, who became his biographer; but reflecting that many eminent men had filled the see of Aberdeen, previous to that time, he devoted a volume to their lives, which is justly esteemed a valuable work, and was published at Paris, anno 1523, by Badius Ascensus. In a few years afterwards, he produced "*Scotorum Historia ab illius Gentis origine,*" which was also, in 1526, printed at Paris.

Hector Boece did not long survive the publication of his history of Scotland; but the precise time of his death we are unable to ascertain. Among authors, there is a great diversity of opinion as to the merits or defects of this history. His style is acknowledged by all to be elegant and classical; but the perversion of facts, and the intermixture of fabulous and legendary stories with true history, have greatly diminished the value of the work, as well as detracted from his character as a man of a sound and penetrating judgment.

CHAPTER IX.

CONTENTS.

[ARRAN MADE REGENT—ENGLISH AND FRENCH FACTIONS—
TREATY FOR THE MARRIAGE OF QUEEN MARY WITH THE
SON OF HENRY VIII.—TREATY ANNULLED—CIVIL WAR—
FEUDS—FRAZERS ENTIRELY CUT OFF—EARL OF HUNTLY
PROVOST OF ABERDEEN—VARIOUS PARTICULARS RELA-
TIVE TO ABERDEEN—WAR WITH ENGLAND—MARY SENT
TO FRANCE—PEACE WITH ENGLAND—THE COURT AT
ABERDEEN, &c.—INSURRECTIONS BY THE REFORMERS—
MOB FROM ANGUS AND MEARNS—DEMOLITION OF RELI-
GIOUS HOUSES—SILVER WORK AND ORNAMENTS BELONG-
ING TO ST. NICOLAS' CHURCH.]

* * * *

JAMES V. was succeeded by his daughter MARY, who was only seven days old when he died. In consequence of a forged will, cardinal Beaton assumed the government: but Hamilton, earl of Arran, claimed the regency, in consequence of consanguinity to the royal house, which occasioned a contest of parties, and Arran finally prevailed. On the 22d December, 1543,

he

he was recognized as governor of the kingdom, and tutor to the queen; and the cardinal was imprisoned.

The parliament appointed a council for the regent, and the provost of Aberdeen was nominated as one of that body, which was composed of men of opposite principles, both as to religion and politics. The arrangements for the government of the kingdom were injudiciously settled, and produced corresponding effects. The regent was weak and timid. Two powerful parties divided the people; and the barons, according to their inclination or interest, attached themselves either to the English or to the French faction. Cardinal Beaton was at the head of the one, and the other was supported by the influence of the regent, the Douglasses, and the reformers.

The chief subject of dispute between the two factions was, the disposal of the queen. Henry of England wished to match her with his son Edward, as soon as she arrived at a proper age; and he was desirous to obtain the custody of her person, that the marriage might not be frustrated by the intrigues of the French party. A treaty of marriage was accordingly arranged with the consent of parliament and the approbation of the people; yet they were unwilling to deliver her into the hands of Henry, whose impetuous temper ill qualified him for the subtilties of political manœuvre; and his scheme was overthrown by the refined policy of the cardinal, who by arts, intrigue, and profound address, disconcerted the projects of the English monarch.

From motives of mutual interest, a reconciliation took

took place between the cardinal and Arran; but the opinions and influence of the former prevailed in the Scottish council, and this infamous priest again directed the affairs of the nation. His plans of policy were favourable to the French interest, and hostile to the reformation. The marriage, and the treaty of peace with England, were annulled by the parliament which assembled in December, 1543. The act of nullity is still extant, and it unjustly blames Henry for a breach of treaties which it was his interest to fulfil: but it is evident, that the want of faith is to be attributed solely to the Scottish government.

The two factions had recourse to arms. Lennox headed the English party, and the regent was devoted to the French interest. They came in contact at Glasgow, where Lennox was defeated, and his army dispersed. The English monarch was greatly exasperated, and sent a powerful army by sea, which debarked at Leith, and set fire to Edinburgh. In the meantime, the regent collected his forces, and marched to Edinburgh to give battle to the English; but they did not wait his approach, and hastily embarking the one half of their army, the other retired by land to Berwick. The regent advanced towards the frontiers of England; but suspecting the fidelity of Angus, and the lords of his party, he ingloriously retreated before the English army.

The regent was merely a tool in the hands of Beaton, who was more anxious to suppress the doctrines of the reformers, by extirpating heretics, than to oppose the inroads of the English, who laid waste the southern

districts of Scotland. But the gallant earl of Angus reproached the regent for being misled by the cardinal and the clergy, in opposition to the better advice of the nobility, who were willing to sacrifice their lives in defence of the country, and desirous to be led against the English. His remonstrances had the desired effect; and the earl and regent set out for the southern frontiers. With a handful of followers they encountered the English at Ancram Moor, on the 17th February, 1545, and defeated them. The regent rewarded those who had contributed to the victory, and inviting the disaffected to resume their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, then returned to Edinburgh.

Since the death of James, the reins of government were but feebly held by the weak and vacillating Arran, who was unequal to the arduous duties of his office, and a laxity in the execution of justice occasioned the revival of feuds. The north of Scotland was embroiled, by the disputes of rival clans, in all the horrors of family warfare. An old quarrel had subsisted between the Frazers and Clanronalds, both of whom had refused to acknowledge any dependence on the earl of Huntly, who had been appointed lieutenant-governor of the northern parts of the kingdom. Huntly was at the same time at variance with the earl of Argyle, and the whole body of the Highlanders were divided between these two powerful chiefs; but they came to an accommodation without bloodshed, and dismissed their followers. While returning home, the Frazers were attacked by the Clanronalds, with superior

rior numbers, and entirely cut off, so that the name was preserved only by a new generation.

The earl of Huntly enjoyed the confidence of the citizens of Aberdeen, and was elected provost. On the 16th January, 1545, a head-court being convened, provost Menzies publicly resigned his office to the community, and the earl of Huntly was elected, to continue until Michaelmas next, and being present, took the great oath faithfully to administer the office, and to defend the town's liberties. But immediately after, his lordship, with consent of the community, appointed Thomas Menzies his deputy, of which office he accepted.

In the years 1545 and 6, George, earl of Huntly, was continued provost. On the 9th November, 1545, the council ordained, that the white and claret wine, lately imported in a French ship, should be sold at one penny one-sixth sterling, per pint, under pain of escheating the wine. From the frequent intercourse with France, wine was in great abundance in Scotland, and the selling price seems to have been occasionally regulated by the magistrates of boroughs. On the 7th October, 1547, the council ordained, that all wine bought at £1 : 6 : 8 sterling, per tun, should be re-tailed at two-thirds of a penny sterling, per pint; if at £1 : 13s. sterling, per tun, at ten-twelfths of a penny sterling; and if at L.2 sterling, per tun, at one penny sterling, per pint*.—(See Note, p. 193.)

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* The Scotch pint measure contains four times the quantity of the English pint.

At Michaelmas, 1547, Thomas Menzies of Pitfodells, was elected provost, who accepted the office, to be held only during the pleasure of the earl of Huntly; and on the same condition, he continued for next year.

April 29th, 1549. The whole community agreed to tax themselves in the sum of L.83 : 6 : 8 sterling, to enable them to hire 400 stout men for defending the town against the English, who threatened to attack it during the ensuing summer. Two bailies were ordered to go through the city and inspect every house, to inquire if the inhabitants were provided with proper arms for the town's defence. On the same day, all freemen of the borough, residing on the landward part, were ordered to repair immediately to the town, and to remain there for its defence, under pain of losing their privileges.

These precautions of the magistrates of Aberdeen for the protection of the town, were extremely necessary, as the English then maintained the superiority at sea, and were in possession of the island of Inchkeith in the Forth, and Broughty Castle on the Tay, which had been re-victualled and reinforced; and its garrison had surprised the town of Dundee. Haddington and Dunbar were also in possession of the English; and lord Gray was at the head of a strong army at Roxburgh. Under these circumstances, the inhabitants of Aberdeen had just reason to apprehend an attack; and the magistrates accordingly prepared to resist it by hiring troops and arraying the citizens.

The war in which the country was then engaged, had

had commenced in 1547. Henry VIII. king of England, died in January that year, and on his death-bed, had recommended to his ministers the completion of the match between his son and Mary of Scotland, by force of arms, if persuasion should fail. The duke of Somerset, protector of England, prevailed on the council to approve of a war with Scotland, for which he immediately made preparations, and entered that kingdom in August, at the head of eighteen thousand well disciplined troops. The regent collected the whole force of the country to oppose the protector; but the native valour of the Scots was unequal to the better discipline of the English, and they were defeated on the 10th September, at Pinkie, with immense slaughter. The regent fled to Stirling with the remains of the army. The protector cruelly wasted the country, and then returned to London, with his spoils and his captives.

The war was continued, and lord Gray advanced to the gates of Edinburgh, A. D. 1548. At this time the plague was making great havock in Scotland, and a general despondency pervaded the kingdom. The unfortunate Mary was the innocent cause of the war; and it became indispensably necessary to adopt some decisive measure as to the disposal of her person. A parliament was accordingly summoned on the 7th July, 1548, and the French party obtaining the ascendancy in that assembly, Mary was sent to France, and betrothed to the Dauphin, the eldest son of Henry II. The object of contention being now removed, the English government was desirous of peace with the

Scots, and offered to enter into a truce for ten years with them; but they refused to listen to any terms of accommodation, unless the English would evacuate all the places they held in Scotland. The war was therefore continued with various success on both sides, until the beginning of the year 1550, when it was terminated by a treaty of peace between France and England, in which the Scots were included*. But to return to the municipal regulations of the town of Aberdeen.

For the years 1549, 50, 51, 52, 53, and 54, Thomas Menzies of Pitfoddels, was elected provost of Aberdeen.

On the 2d March, 1552, the whole community were called by the hand-bell to assemble in the tolbooth to consider of a proposal to let in feu all the lands and fishings belonging to the town. Thomas Menzies, Thomas Chalmers, Alexander Rutherford, Robert Lumsden, David Marr, Alexander Knowles, and Walter Cullen, were unanimously appointed commissioners for that purpose, with full and irrevocable powers.

In May, the same year, the council ordered a *propine* to be given to the queen-dowager, the governor, and the lords who were with the court at that time in Aberdeen, viz. to the queen, three tuns of wine, with wax and spiceries to the value of L.1 : 2 : 2 two-thirds sterling. To my lord governor, three tuns of wine, two lasts of beer, with wax and spiceries in proportion. To the lords who are in their train, one tun of wine, and half a last of beer.

Patrick

* Peace, March 20th, 1550.

Patrick Menzies and Thomas Neilson, who were lords of Bonaccord at that time, were allowed ten shillings, and a free man's composition, to indemnify them for the expences they incurred during the residence of the queen and court in Aberdeen.

In the year 1552, the queen-dowager, and the governor, Arran, made a progress through Scotland, as far as Inverness, for the purpose of holding courts and distributing justice. They remained for some time in Aberdeen, and it was customary on such occasions to make presents to the sovereign and his attendants.

For the years 1555, 6, and 7, Thomas Menzies was continued provost. On the 20th May, 1555, the provost and bailie Mar, were chosen commissioners to represent the borough in parliament; and L.1:13:4 sterling, was allowed to the provost, and half that sum to the bailie, to defray their expences. On the 23d November, 1557, provost Menzies was again appointed to represent the city in parliament. In that parliament, the queen's marriage with the dauphin of France was taken into consideration; but it does not appear that the subject excited much discussion. The queen-regent laid the French king's letter to the states of Scotland before that assembly, which met on the 14th December; and, in terms of the letter, commissioners were appointed to witness the ceremony, which was performed on the 24th April, 1558, by the cardinal of Bourbon.

In the year 1557, the town paid L.33.6:8 sterling, in lieu of military service.

For

For the years 1558-9, Thomas Menzies was continued provost.

The doctrines of the reformers had now made great progress in Scotland, and the country was convulsed by the propagation of their opinions. Insurrections had taken place, and outrages were committed in various parts of the kingdom. The tide of popular prejudice at that time run strongly against the established religion, and the mighty fabric of papal authority was tottering from its foundation.

On the 16th June, 1558-9, the chaplains of St. Nicolas appeared before the magistrates, who were assembled in the tolbooth, and presented a petition to them, representing, that they were well informed that certain persons in the southern parts of the kingdom, at their own hands, and without any authority, destroyed kirks, and other religious places, as well as the ornaments they contained; requesting, therefore, that the magistrates and council would be pleased to adopt such measures as would preserve the church of St. Nicolas from destruction, and also would take into their sure keeping the silver work and ornaments belonging to it, until tranquillity should be restored to the country by the suppression of such tumultuous and disorderly proceedings. This petition being read and considered, the magistrates and council unanimously resolved, that it was expedient to remove from the church the silver work and most valuable ornaments, that they might be put in sure keeping: An inventory of the different articles was ordered to be made out; after which they were to be delivered over to provost

vost Menzies, David Marr, Patrick Rutherford, and William Cullen, for preservation, under the obligation that they should again return them to the magistrates when called for.

Thomas Menzies was continued provost; and on the 29th December, 1560, the magistrates called a meeting of the whole inhabitants of the town, when the provost stated to them, that he had undoubted information, that certain persons of the *congregation*, from the counties of Angus and Mearns, were coming to the town, with an intention of destroying the churches, under the pretence of a reformation of religion. He therefore requested to know whether they would support him and his assistants in resisting these people, that the inhabitants might not incur the displeasure of the sovereign, and be deemed abettors of their crimes; at the same time protesting, that if they did not concur with him and his friends in a resolution to defend the churches, he and they might not be implicated in such atrocities; and accordingly took instruments in the presence of the whole assembly.

January 4th, 1560-1. The inhabitants of the town being assembled in the tolbooth, David Marr, treasurer, represented to the meeting, that a body of strangers, assisted by some of the town's people, had entered the religious houses of the grey and black friars, which they had demolished; and were carrying off the timber, lead, and slates, of these monasteries. He wished therefore to know if the meeting thought it expedient to preserve the remains of the timber work, the slates and stones, of these houses, and apply the proceeds

proceeds arising from a sale of them to the common good; and also, whether the lands and funds belonging to the grey and black friars, should be appropriated to the town's use. The meeting agreed, and it was accordingly ordered, that the treasurer should intromit with the materials of the monasteries, and the lands and funds belonging to them. A proclamation to that effect was publicly made at the market cross, and the meeting bound themselves to relieve the treasurer from all danger or loss that might attend his interference with these subjects.

January 13th. The inhabitants being assembled in the tolbooth, they ordered that the keepers of the silver work and ornaments belonging to St. Nicolas' church, should deliver up the same to Patrick Rutherford, Alexander Knowles, John Lawson, and Gilbert Molyson, for which they granted a receipt according to the following inventory, viz.

	lbs.	ozs.
<i>Imprimis.</i> —The eucharist, weighing	4	2
Item. A chalice of our lady of pity, do.	1	3
Item. Our lady's chalice of the south isle, do.	1	3 $\frac{1}{4}$
Item. St. Peter's chalice, do.	0	15 $\frac{1}{2}$
Item. Two pairs of censers, do.	2	6
Item. Four crowats, and a little ship, do.	1	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Item. A chalice of St. John the evangelist, do.	1	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
Item. The hospital chalice, do.	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Item. Our lady's chalice of the brig chapel, do.	1	4
	<hr/>	
Carried forward,	15	2 $\frac{1}{4}$

Item.

		lbs.	ozs.
	Brought over,	15	2 $\frac{1}{4}$
Item.	St. Duthac's chalice, do. - - -	0	12 $\frac{1}{4}$
Item.	St. Nicolas' chalice, do. - - -	2	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Item.	St. Clement's chalice, do. - - -	0	10 $\frac{1}{4}$
Item.	The Rude chalice, do. - - -	1	0
		<hr/>	
		20	0 $\frac{1}{4}$

The following ornamental articles were also delivered over to the keepers, viz.

Imprimis—A cap of fine cloth of gold. Item—Another cap of gold, freezed with red velvet. Item—A cap; a chesabil with two tunicles, haill furnished with red velvet, flowered and indented with gold. Item—A cap and chesabil with tunicles, haill furnished with gold, freezed on green velvet. Item—Two caps of red velvet, orpheist with gold, weighing—20 lbs. 4 ozs.

The form of the receipt granted for the above articles is as follows, viz. “ We, Mr Patrick Rutherford, “ Alexander Knowles, John Lawson, and Gilbert Molyson, burgesses of Aberdeen, grant us to have received by the hands of Gilbert Menzies Elder, Gilbert Collison, Mr George Middleton, and the said Gilbert Molyson, burgesses of the said burgh, at command and ordinance of the provost and haill council, the great eucharist chalices and silver work, together with the caps and ornaments specified, of St. Nicolas' parish kirk in Aberdeen, in keeping; whilk we oblige us to restore to the said provost and council convened in semblable manner as they
“ were

“ were, by their ordinance, when they require us
 “ therefor. To the which we oblige us, our heirs,
 “ executors, and assigneys, conjunctly and severally,
 “ leally and truly, but fraud or guile.”

On the same day that the silver work and ornaments of St. Nicolas' church were delivered to Patrick Rutherford and others, the council ordained that Mr. Walker, chaplain and overseer of the keepers of the kirk, should deliver to them also the sacramental piece of velvet figured with gold; the front piece of the high altar of red damask; the white veil of linen cloth; four velvet cushions; the cross, with the silver crucifix thereon; together with all the utensils of brass within the chapter. The council also ordered John Collison to deliver to the commissioners the two silver crowns of our lady and her son, for which they granted a receipt.

The council at the same time ordained, that the treasurer should appoint four men to guard the Greyfriars church, and prevent it from being pulled down; as the friars had abandoned the church, and consigned it to the care of the municipality.

On the 11th March, the inhabitants were convened, and they agreed to support the *congregation* to the utmost of their power, by furnishing men or money as the council should deem expedient, provided nothing was to be undertaken in opposition to the authority of the sovereign. The council, in consequence of this resolution, ordered that the community should be taxed to the amount of L.33 : 6 : 8 sterling, to maintain
 forty

soldiers for the service of the congregation ; and Gilbert Molyson, John Tuledaff, William Forbes, Andrew Hunter, and Robert Gray, were appointed assessors and collectors of the tax.

The reformation had now taken effect, and it is highly necessary to review the causes which had produced, as well as the progress and consequences of that important revolution, which shall form the subject of a separate chapter.

Note to page 183.—Within four years after this time, the price of wines was regulated by statute. It was enacted by act of queen Mary, *parl. 5. c. 11*, that Bourdeaux wine imported by the *east* seas, should be sold at *L.20* Scots per tun, or 10 pennies per pint ; and Rochell wine, at *L.16* Scots per tun, or eight pennies per pint. If imported by the *west* seas, it was ordered to be sold, Bourdeaux wine at *L.16* per tun, or at eight pennies per pint ; and Rochell wine, at *L.12* or *L.13* per tun, or at six pennies per pint.

This act prohibits the adulteration of wines—mentions the great quantity that is daily arriving—but complains of the high price.

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CHAPTER X.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

FOR many ages the authority of the pope had been paramount in the Christian church; but he frequently intermingled his spiritual power with the civil institutions of nations, and a fulminating bull from the vicergerent of Christ, occasionally overawed or intimidated princes and potentates. The purity of the original system of catholic faith was gradually debased by the introduction of gross absurdities; and the unwise interference of the head of the church, in matters purely temporal, provoked the more rational part of mankind, whose experience had contradicted his pretensions to infallibility. But power is intoxicating; and the Roman pontiffs grasped a dominion too extensive and unwieldy to ensure its long duration. The authority of the pope was only formidable when supported by the weakness and prejudices of men; and the dawn of

literature shed a new light that dispelled the charm which had enveloped the human understanding in darkness and ignorance. The diffusion of the elegant language and refined sentiments of the Greek and Latin authors, introduced a taste for learning, and a love of inquiry, that spread throughout Europe, and exposed the doctrines of the church of Rome to severe investigation.

The sale of plenary indulgences which Leo X. committed to the order of Dominicans in Germany*, aroused the envy of Martin Luther, who belonged to the Augustines, and he furiously assailed the whole fabric of church government. He made converts to his opinions, and the cry for reformation resounded throughout the north of Europe (anno 1517). The flame spread, and in a short time reached England. The introduction, however, of the reformed principles into that kingdom, was occasioned by the vices of its monarch. Henry VIII. having conceived a strong passion for Ann Boleyn, determined to divorce his wife, Catherine of Arragon, to whom he had been married eighteen years. The pope refused to sanction that base transaction, and Henry, in his resentment, assumed the title of Supreme Head of the English Church. He appropriated the wealth of the monasteries to himself, and alienated their possessions to secular purposes. Although his motives were impure, he corrected some abuses, and his resistance to the
supremacy

* Dr. Cook's History of the Reformation, vol. i. p. 134.

supremacy of Rome, was the prelude to the reformation in England.

In the reign of James V. the doctrines of Luther were secretly propagated in Scotland, and had made considerable progress among the barons and the people. The political state of the country at that period, facilitated the introduction of the reformed principles, and the contest between the monarchical and aristocratic interest, tended to weaken the arm of government, which only feebly supported the rights of the church. James courted the clergy, as forming a barrier between him and the nobles, who, on the other hand, naturally inclined to the people as their firmest support. The clergy were detested as the favourites of the crown, and the barons envied their wealth and power, which they wished to assume. The new opinions were, therefore, encouraged and protected from political considerations, and, in a few years, they sapped the mighty structure of the Roman church.

Persecution has been generally resorted to, as the best means of suppressing innovations in religion, but it has always failed, and the clergy in vain have lighted the faggot to consume their victims. James was disposed to agree with those of his counsellors who advised a vigorous proscription of the heretics, and he accordingly determined to act with firmness and resolution.

The doctrines of the reformation had spread among the clergy as well as among the laity; and Patrick Hamilton, abbot of Ferne, was the first who suffered.

Like all other enthusiasts, he died with fortitude (29th February, 1528), and was deemed a martyr*. Henry Forrest, a benedictine friar, was the next victim (A. D. 1533). Norman Gourlay and David Stratton, two private gentlemen, were condemned to suffer, and expired in the flames, anno 1534. Keillor and Beveridge, two Dominican friars, with Sir Duncan Sympson, a priest, Robert Forrester, a gentleman of Stirling, and Thomas Forrest, vicar of Dollar in Perthshire, were condemned, and suffered. Russel and Kennedy shared a similar fate at Glasgow (1539). Cardinal Beaton, the relentless enemy of the reformers, obtained the condemnation of Sir John Borthwick (1540), in a numerous assembly of the nobility and clergy held in the cathedral church of St. Andrews; but, aware of his danger, Sir John refused to attend, and was only burned in *effigy*†. New defections from the church were discovered, and Cunningham, Hamilton, and the celebrated George Buchanan, were imprisoned upon suspicion of heresy, and probably would have died at the stake, if they had not effectuated their escape by flight.

A court of inquisition was projected by the cardinal and his party, and formally established under the sanction

* Hamilton maintained, among other notions, "That a man is not justified by works, but *by faith only*; that good works make not a good man."—See *Dr. Cook's History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 145.

† *Dr. Stuart's History of the Reformation*, p. 12.

sanction of government. To allure James into the measure, they promised him a rich booty in the confiscation of the property of the reformed, and he yielded to their solicitations*. The motives by which James V. was then actuated to support the Romish church, were no less disgraceful than those that had induced Henry of England to disclaim the papal supremacy. They were both interested, not for the sake of religion, but to acquire riches, and it was a matter of indifference to either, whom they plundered. The morality of kings has been often questioned; and when they have not been restrained by the fixed principles of a free constitution, they have generally become the enemies of the happiness of mankind.

Sir James Hamilton, of Fennard, was appointed president of the inquisitorial tribunal, and the heretics dreaded his severity†. But they contrived to ruin him by a false accusation of treason, and he was tried, condemned, and executed‡. The court of inquisition was now at an end; and by the death of Hamilton, the reformers obtained a victory.

Henry of England countenanced the reformers of Scotland, and with their assistance intrigued, through his ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, at the court of James, whom he wished to detach from the pope and the emperor, Charles V.§ He represented, that the wealth
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* Dr. Cook's History, vol. i. p. 205.

† Dr. Stuart's History of the Reformation, p. 13.

‡ Ibid, p. 15.

§ Dr. Cook's History, vol. i, p. 199.

of the church would abundantly fill his coffers, and afford him an inexhaustible harvest of booty, if he established the reformation. But the policy of Beaton counteracted the projects of Henry, and the clergy appealing to the avarice of James, offered him a yearly pension of fifty thousand crowns, at the same time assuring him that one hundred thousand more should be annually lodged in the exchequer from the persecution of heretics*. The influence of the clergy prevailed, and James entered into a war with Henry.

The state was convulsed by the animosities of the different orders. The clergy were contending for their power, their wealth, or, perhaps, their existence, and the nobility wished to share the accumulated spoils of the church. The former were justified in the maintenance of their rights by the law of the country, and a long prescription; but the latter were actuated by motives of personal aggrandizement. The cause of religion was a pretence that equally served the views of both parties; and the "good things of this world" were the real objects of contention.

When James V. died in 1542, cardinal Beaton assumed the regency, but was soon supplanted by the better pretensions of Hamilton, earl of Arran, who was supposed to be favourable to the reformation. He entertained in his house two celebrated preachers†, who were permitted to declaim against the errors of popery‡.

But

* Dr. Stuart's History, p. 17.

† John Rough, and Thomas Williams.

‡ Dr. Cook's History, vol. i. p. 238.

But family interest, and the intrigues of the queen-dowager and her party, produced a reconciliation between him and Beaton, and he became devoted to the French faction. He regretted his apostacy, and was anxious to be again received into the bosom of the church; "accordingly, he publicly renounced at Stirling " the opinions of the reformed, and received absolution " from the hands of the cardinal*." To shew his sincerity in his new professions, he determined to undo all his former services in the cause of the reformation, and procured an act to be passed in parliament for the persecution of heretics. Cardinal Beaton obtained from the pope the dignity of legate *a latere* †, (1545,) which conveyed the highest ecclesiastical authority, and, in conjunction with the regent, proceeded with vigour to extirpate heresy. The town of Perth was the theatre of their first operations.—Robert Lamb was hanged; and Anderson, Reynold, Finlayson, and Hunter, suffered a similar death. A woman of the name of Stirke was drowned in a pool, and several of the burgesses of the town were banished. The cardinal was no less active in the other parts of his diocese; but the amiable George Wishart was the only other victim whose blood was shed by the orders of Beaton (1st March, 1546), for soon after the death of Wishart, the cardinal was assassinated within his own palace at St. Andrews, by Norman Lesly, and a small band of conspirators, on the 29th May, 1546 †.

The

* Dr. Stuart's History, p. 34.

† Ibid. p. 42.

‡ See a particular account of this transaction in Dr. Cook's History, vol. i. p. 300, *et. seq.*

The assassins of Beaton were protected by the reformers, who deemed his murder a meritorious deed; and John Rough, who had formerly been chaplain to the regent, with John Knox, who soon after became so celebrated, joined them in the castle of St. Andrews, which they defended against all the power of the government. Knox fulminated his anathemas against popery with great success, and daily made converts among the people of St. Andrews, and all who heard him. The castle, however, was compelled to surrender (13th July, 1547), by a French force that invested it by sea and land. The garrison were carried to France, some of whom were imprisoned, and others, with John Knox, were sent to work in the galleys.

The surrender of the castle of St. Andrews gave a serious blow to the protestant interest in Scotland; but the country being involved in a disastrous war with England, the persecution of heresy was overlooked amidst more important considerations, and the principles of the reformation were silently and gradually making progress. A relaxation of ecclesiastical discipline had prevailed during the continuance of the war, from circumstances of urgent necessity. But when peace was restored in 1550, the regent found leisure to renew the work of persecution, and Adam Wallace was brought to trial in the church of Blackfriars in Edinburgh.—He was condemned, and suffered at the stake amidst the contumelious insults of the clergy.

The regent continued to oppose the progress of the reformation with no common zeal; and, in 1581, obtained an act of parliament to be passed, for holding
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the subjects of the realm in the true catholic faith, by forfeiting the goods of those, who, being excommunicated, should delay to reconcile themselves to the holy church. The regent made a progress through Scotland in 1552, accompanied by the queen-dowager, for the purpose of distributing justice; but his rapacity spared neither protestant nor catholic, and his tyranny excited the contempt and abhorrence of all parties. In the following year he resigned the reins of government into the hands of the queen-dowager, stipulating, that he should retain his duchy and pension, and that no account should be taken of his administration.

By the death of Edward VI. his sister Mary succeeded to the throne of England. She was a furious bigot, and restored the Roman Catholic worship in that kingdom. Her persecutions drove many of the protestants to Scotland, among whom were several preachers. They united themselves to the reformers, and greatly promoted the cause by their dexterity and address. The removal of Arran had weakened the power of the church, and the reformers were now too numerous and too determined to be easily overawed. John Knox again appeared among them, and many of the nobility and gentry invited him to their houses, and partook with him in the ordinances of the gospel according to the reformed method. Knox possessed a bold, an intrepid, and a daring spirit, which no terrors could daunt, and no dangers could alarm. Fearless and undismayed, he firmly avowed his hatred to the church of Rome, by openly assailing her doctrines, her canons, and institutions. He was summoned to
appear

appear before an ecclesiastical court to be held in the church of Blackfriars in Edinburgh, and he attended on the appointed day, accompanied by a numerous body of his adherents (15th May, 1556). The priesthood were intimidated, and did not choose to proceed in the prosecution, which so emboldened Knox, that he publicly declaimed to crowds in the capital city of Scotland. The earl of Glencairn, who had adopted the opinions of this reformer, prevailed on the earl Marischal to hear him preach, and he also became a convert. The former delivered a letter from Knox to the queen-regent on the subject of the reformation, which she treated with disdain. In the meantime, he received an invitation to take charge of the English congregation at Geneva, which he accepted. The clergy were encouraged by his departure, and they again cited him "when they were certain he could not appear, condemned him as a heretic, and ordered him to be burned in effigy at the cross of Edinburgh*."

In the absence of Knox—Hurlaw, Willocks, Methven, and Douglass, were the champions of the protestant cause. Desertions from popery occurred daily in every town and village; and many members of the church, both secular and regular, embraced the principles of the reformation. The zeal of the populace broke forth in acts of wanton outrage, and everywhere the priests were insulted in the most indecent manner,

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* Dr. Cook, vol. ii. p. 12.

at the instigation of the protestant preachers. The government was feeble, and the reformers were powerful from their numbers, their ardour, and their enthusiasm. Men of consideration now courted them; and the earl of Glencairn, the lord Lorn, Erskine of Dun, and Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, offered to be their leaders. They entered into a correspondence with John Knox, who advised, exhorted, and encouraged them to persevere in the great work of reformation. A bond of agreement was formally entered into (2d December, 1557), which is denominated "*The First Covenant*," and all those who favoured their opinions were invited to subscribe it. The earls of Argyle, Glencairn, and Morton, with Lorn and Erskine, were the first who sanctioned this deed with their signatures*, and they now assumed the *imposing* appellation of the *Congregation of Christ*.

After the leaders of the reformation had subscribed the covenant, they pressingly urged John Knox to return to Scotland, and solicited John Calvin of Geneva to enforce their entreaties. The clergy were alarmed, and they made another effort to suppress heresy, by the trial, condemnation, and execution of Walter Mill, a decrepid and debilitated old man. He suffered with fortitude and resignation, and this unnecessary act of severity exposed them to general reprehension. The reformers now became furious, and rather than submit to farther oppressions, resolved to vindicate their cause

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* Dr. Cook's History, vol. ii. p. 31.

by the sword. But it was prudent to ascertain their strength, and accordingly emissaries were dispatched throughout Scotland to inflame the people, and to obtain signatures to the new covenant. The leaders were supported by immense numbers, who were attracted by the love of change—animated by zeal—and actuated by considerations of personal interest. But before they should proceed to extremities, they deemed it advisable to address the queen-regent in the language of supplication, and peaceably to request a redress of grievances. A manifesto, and articles of reformation, were accordingly drawn up, and presented to the queen by Sir James Sandilands of Calder (anno 1558). Their demands tended to overthrow the whole fabric of the church, and she was sufficiently perplexed, but thought it the most prudent plan to temporise with the congregation; assuring their commissioner, that every thing they could legally demand, should be granted to them, and that in the meantime they might employ the vulgar tongue in their religious exercises, which was one of their chief requests.

The meeting of parliament approached, and the congregation resolved to petition the three estates, and hastily drew up certain articles, which they wished to be passed into a law. They desired that all the acts against heresy should be abrogated—that the clergy should have only the power to accuse—and that all transgressions in matters of faith should be decided upon by the temporal judge; and, “in fine, they requested, that no protestant should be condemned for
“ heresy,

“ heresy, without being convicted by the word of God, of
 “ the want of that faith which is necessary to salvation*.”

These articles were presented to the queen-regent for her approbation; but she objected to the expediency of the proposal at that time, and used the same arguments to evade compliance with their requests, as have been since employed by modern ministers of state, to elude the petitions of the people of Great Britain for a just and equal representation in parliament. She stated *the dangers of innovation, and recommended it to them to wait for a more convenient opportunity of pressing their purposes.*

The leaders of the congregation were dissatisfied with this answer, and they began to suspect the sincerity of the queen-regent. Without her consent, their petitions could not be passed into a law, although carried in parliament. They therefore did not present them; but caused a solemn declaration to be read there, in the form of a protest, in which they intimated, that if insurrections and tumults should disturb the realm, and if abuses should be corrected by violence, all the guilt, disorder, and inconvenience thence arising, should not be ascribed to them, but to those solely who had refused to redress their wrongs: This protest fully developed the views of the congregation, and was a species of manifesto tantamount to a declaration of war, or at least betrayed a determined resolution to enforce their claims at the hazard of rebellion.

* Dr. Stuart's History, p. 106.

Such bold and unequivocal language could not fail to impress the queen-regent with a just sense of the danger that threatened the government, and with the full conviction that the protestants were resolved to carry matters to an extremity. She prepared accordingly to maintain her authority, and to defend an insulted government to the utmost of her power. The preachers were the peculiar objects of her resentment, and citations were sent to them to appear at Stirling, to answer to the charges which might be preferred against them (anno 1559). In the meantime, the reformation was established at Perth, the inhabitants of that town having publicly embraced the new opinions. The preachers prepared to obey the citations, and marched towards Stirling, accompanied by an immense concourse of their friends. The queen-regent was intimidated, and to prevent the dreadful consequences that might ensue from the trial of the preachers, it is said, she agreed to abandon the prosecution against them. The multitude dispersed, and the barons and gentlemen of the congregation remained at Perth, which was the hot-bed of the reformation.

The preachers, however, were denounced rebels by the government, for non-appearance on the day of trial, notwithstanding the agreement with the queen-regent, which the congregation certainly deemed valid, but which, if it ever existed, was evidently extorted by threatenings and terror. At this important period, John Knox arrived at Perth (May 11th, 1559), and thundered against idolatry*. His stile of declamation

* Dr. Cook's History, vol. ii. p. 78.

mation was composed of vulgar expressions, and gross abuse. It suited the rabble, whom he inflamed to madness, and they operated upon his principles. The monasteries of the Carthusians, the Grey and Black friars, were demolished, and the sacred utensils, with every thing within the walls of these edifices, were eagerly seized by the plunderers*. The rage for destruction spread, and in Cupar in Fife, the church, with its pictures and altars, was defaced. Matters were now brought to an extremity, and both parties prepared for war. The gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, with their dependents, joined the standard of rebellion, and formed a camp in the neighbourhood of Perth. The earl of Glencairn hastened to it with 2500 men from the shire of Ayr. The government was overawed, or wanted energy, and a treaty took place between the reformed and the queen-regent (29th May, 1559). The most important article of this treaty was, that in the approaching assembly of

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* Dr. Cook, who in general speaks favourably of John Knox, and in various instances ably apologizes for his violence, does not seem to be *convinced* that he was entirely innocent in regard to the burning of the monasteries of Perth. He says, vol. ii. p. 79, "These outrages were committed by the people in opposition, as Knox mentions, to the admonitions of the preachers, and to the orders of the magistrates. He probably intended this observation as an apology for the higher classes of the protestants; but it cannot be supposed that he himself vehemently condemned what had been done, for he soon afterwards instigated those who heard him to similar destruction."

the three estates, the work of the reformation should be finally established.

The congregation, however, suspecting the sincerity of the queen-regent, still farther strengthened themselves by entering into a new bond of union and support, which they termed "*The Second Covenant*" (31st May, 1559). The queen-regent is accused of having broke faith with the congregation; and it is certain, that she seized and garrisoned the town of Perth with French soldiers, and banished some of the most turbulent of the inhabitants. The reformers received a great accession of strength in the earl of Argyll, and the lord James Stewart, who at this time deserted the court and joined them; and the preachers were uncommonly assiduous in exciting the people to acts of outrage. John Knox was the most conspicuous and the most persevering agent of the whole, in the barbarous transactions of those times. He harangued the mob in St. Andrews, and the consequence was, that all the churches of that city were divested of their ornaments and grandeur, and the monasteries of the Dominican and Franciscan friars were demolished*.

The queen-regent, astonished and indignant, determined to suppress these violent proceedings, and ordered her troops to assemble at Cupar in Fife. But the lords of the congregation were active, and collected a force that outnumbered her army, and she was once more compelled to submit to a humiliating truce,

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* Dr. Stuart's History, p. 120.

as a prelude to a peace. The truce, however, expired without producing peace, and the congregation pursued offensive operations. They besieged and took the town and garrison of Perth. The success of their first exploit raised their hopes and expectations; and the furious multitude doomed the destruction of the palace and abbey of Scone*. The hardy John Knox hesitated, and it is said, that he wished to save these noble edifices, but we can scarcely believe that he was sincere, and the flames levelled them with the ground. The monasteries of the town, and in the neighbourhood of Stirling, shared a similar fate. The fine abbey of Cambuskenneth was no more respected than others; and over the smoking ruins of these stately structures, the gloomy mind of the protestant contemplated with savage pleasure the downfall of popery.

After remaining three days at Stirling, the congregation marched to Linlithgow, and thence to Edinburgh. Havock followed in their train; and terror-struck, the queen-regent fled to Dunbar. In the monasteries every thing that the piety of generations had consecrated as sacred, was destroyed; but whatever was of value and use was seized and carried off by the professors of a new morality.

The congregation resolved to remain for some time in the seat of government; and after purifying the churches from the pollutions of popery, they appointed preachers of their own principles to expound to the people

* Dr. Cook's History, vol. ii. p. 134.

people the mild and benign doctrines of the gospel. From the character of their leader, John Knox, we may conjecture the nature of the humanity they taught, and the religion they practised. To arouse the minds of the people to a sense of duty, the queen-regent issued a proclamation, ordering the congregation to retire from Edinburgh within six hours. She declared, that their object was to subvert the government under cover of religion, and appealed to their atrocities as a convincing proof of their intentions*. The protestants answered this proclamation by an address to the queen-regent (2d July, 1559), in which they stated, that they did not wish to usurp the sovereign authority, but only to promote and set forth the glory of God, and to defend the true preachers of his word. To satisfy her that their views were confined to religious objects alone, they proposed a conference by commissioners, for the purpose of terminating all disputes. The court assented to this proposal, and commissioners from both parties met accordingly at Preston, but they came to no conclusion, and the queen-regent marched with her army to Edinburgh. The troops of the congregation had gradually diminished in numbers from inactivity, or more probably, from the want of regular pay, and a desire in each man to secure at home the plunder he had obtained by acts of sacrilege and impiety. It is certain, however, that they were in no situation to oppose the queen-regent.

* Dr. Cook's History, p. 140.

regent by arms; and to avert the danger that threatened them, they proposed terms of accommodation, and a treaty was accordingly ratified on the 24th July, 1559.

It was stipulated on the part of the congregation, that Edinburgh should be open to the queen-regent; that the palace and instruments of coinage should be delivered up to her; that the protestant lords and people should obey the laws, and abstain from injuring papists, or destroying churches, religious houses, and images. On the part of the queen-regent, it was agreed, that no garrison of French or Scottish mercenaries should enter into the city of Edinburgh, and that the inhabitants should adopt the reformed religion or popery at pleasure, and that in other places of the kingdom, a similar indulgence should be allowed to the protestants and their preachers.

The leaders of the congregation proclaimed by sound of trumpet, the particular articles of the accommodation with the queen-regent*, and then proceeded to Stirling, where they held a council on the state of their affairs. Pretending to be still suspicious of the sincerity

* This proclamation misrepresents the terms of the treaty, and throughout bears a spirit of turbulence, disaffection, and rebellion, that plainly evinces the hostile intentions of the congregation. As to this matter, the author would refer the reader to Dr. Cook's valuable history, vol. ii. pages 162, 3, and 4, where he will find this transaction illustrated by the reflections of a candid and liberal mind.

sincerity of the government, they entered (1st August, 1559), into a new league for their mutual defence, which they called "*The Third Covenant**," and resolved, in the event of being again disturbed, to apply to foreign powers for assistance. The queen-regent was no less solicitous to strengthen her power, and demanded and obtained supplies of men and money from France. The arrival of the French troops excited a strong sensation in the minds of the people, and a proclamation from the queen-regent, with the answer of the protestants, only served to increase the irritation. The contending factions, by their mutual reproaches and menaces, diffused the spirit of violence and hostility throughout the country.

The lord James Stewart, and the other leaders of the congregation, again assembled at Stirling, and were joined by the earl of Arran, the eldest son of the regent of that name†. He was a fiery, impetuous young man, who had conducted himself improperly in France, and therefore had become obnoxious to the princes of Lorraine. He now burned with rage and revenge, and warmly entered into all the extravagant measures of the reformed. His father, the duke of Chatelherault, participated in his resentments, and also joined the congregation. This man had several times changed his religious principles, which were always subservient to his political views; but in that respect he

* Dr. Stuart's History, p. 135.

† Dr. Cook's History, vol. ii. p. 176.

he was not more despicable than many others of the leaders of the reformation.

The queen-regent, in the meantime, fortified the town and port of Leith, which alarmed the congregation, as indicating her intention to recur to hostilities; but they knew their strength, and had no aversion to another appeal to arms. They accordingly addressed her in a letter of expostulation, couched in strong terms, dated at Hamilton, the 29th September, 1559. They accused her of infringing the ancient laws and liberties of the state, and of breach of faith, by fortifying Leith without any provocation on their part; although it was evident that their resolution to solicit aid from foreign powers, was an act of treason against the sovereign.

The queen-regent did not return any explicit answer to this letter; and the confederated nobles had recourse to arms. Mutual manifestoes were circulated by the two factions, vindicating their conduct. But the congregation committed the first act of hostility by the seizure of Broughty Castle; and afterwards they marched to Edinburgh. The queen-regent retired from the palace to Leith, and put herself under the protection of the French troops. They addressed a new admonition to her, which she treated as presumptuous, and sent the lord Lyon, king at arms, to command them to disperse, under pain of high treason*.

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* Dr. Cook's History, vol. ii. p. 190.

The associated lords deliberated on the measures to be adopted, and they assembled a council of nobles, barons, and burgesses, to whom they proposed the question, "Is it fit or not, that the queen-regent should controul the commonwealth, and subject the people to bondage*?" This momentous question seemed to stagger the assembly, who were struck with the novelty and awfulness of their situation. It was an unexampled era in the annals of Scotland; but John Knox and John Willocks were at hand, and the matter was artfully referred to them. The latter analogically deduced the lawfulness of the deposition of kings from examples in scripture; and the former asserted, that the incurable sins of the queen-regent were sufficient reasons for depriving her of the high office. All doubts were now removed by these oracles of impiety, and, in one voice, the assembly found her guilty. The nobility, barons, and burgesses, concurred in subscribing an act of suspension, which was published in the chief cities of Scotland†.

The queen-regent, however, defended Leith, which the congregation summoned in vain to surrender; and their soldiers became clamorous for pay. They broke

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* Dr. Stuart's History, p. 145.

† This edict was notified to the regent by a letter dated at Edinburgh, 23d October, 1559, and signed by the duke and earl of Arran, the earls of Argyle and Glencairn, the lords James of St. Andrews; Ruthven, the master of Maxwell; the barons Tullibardine, laird of Dun, laird of Petarrow, and the *provost of Aberdeen*, for the burrows.—*Stuart's Hist.* p. 238.

out into acts of mutiny, and even threatened to suppress the reformation for a proper reward*. The leaders of the congregation and the rabble that followed them, were both equally unprincipled. It was not religion, but plunder, that was the object of their pursuit. The lands of the church were the prize that tempted the barons; and theft, robbery, and every species of depredation, constituted the bond of union among their followers.

The firmness and address of the queen-regent perplexed the congregation; and she found traitors among them who betrayed their councils. They applied to the governor of Berwick for a supply of money, which was granted, to the amount of four thousand crowns; but the earl of Bothwell intercepted Cockburn, the bearer of it, and discomfiting his retinue, made a prize of the English subsidy†.

Inactivity is generally fatal to an insurrectionary army; and the congregation, to occupy their troops, made an attack on Leith. But cruelty is no symptom of bravery, and the soldiers of the congregation were as dastardly when opposed by disciplined troops, as they had formerly been ferocious, when resisted only

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* Dr. Cook says, "The mercenary soldiers became tumultuous—threatened their officers who attempted to restore order—and with a total contempt of principle, declared, that for ample pay they would cheerfully desert the cause which they had supported, and fight in defence of the Romish faith."—Vol. ii. p. 223.

† Dr. Stuart's History, p. 151.

by monks, and the inanimate images of saints. The French made a sally—took their cannon—and drove them back to Edinburgh. This paltry conflict elated the hopes of the queen-regent, and augmented the dependency of the congregation. A second skirmish took place, in which the French had also the advantage; and the protestants began to suspect that their affairs were desperate. William Maitland, the queen's secretary, joined the confederated nobles at this time, and as he possessed talents without integrity, he was gladly received. All his eloquence, however, could not persuade them to remain longer in Edinburgh, and, panic-struck, they tumultuously retreated to Stirling*.

Knox harangued the congregation at Stirling, and attributed their misfortunes to their sins; but at the same time assured them, that the goodness of their cause would triumph over every obstacle, and exhorted them to unanimity and perseverance. A council was called, and a formal embassy dispatched, to solicit aid from queen Elizabeth of England. The ambassadors, Maitland and Melville, were successful in this application; and Elizabeth agreed to furnish the congregation with the necessary supplies of men and money for carrying on the war.

The confederated lords, in the meanwhile, separated, and went to different districts of the kingdom, to inspire the people, and to court new partizans†. The duke

* Dr. Cook's History, vol. ii. p. 232.

† Dr. Stuart, p. 158.

duke of Chatelherault took possession of the castle of Glasgow, which belonged to the archbishop of that see, and destroyed all the images and altars in the churches. The French forces approaching, he precipitately fled; but when they retired to Edinburgh, he again occupied Glasgow. In the name of Francis and Mary, he issued a proclamation, commanding all the clergy who had not yet joined the congregation, to appear before it, and abjure popery; threatening, that those who refused to comply, should be accounted *enemies to God, and to true religion**.

The dispersion of the confederated lords raised the expectations of the queen-dowager; and amidst excessive exultations, she re-established the popish form of worship in the churches of Edinburgh. The intelligence, however, that it was Elizabeth's intention to support the congregation, tended to damp her spirits, but not to slacken her military operations. She saw the importance of striking a blow before the arrival of succours from England, and accordingly ordered the French troops to march to Stirling, and to take possession of the county of Fife, and castle of St. Andrews. They retaliated the cruelties of the reformers, by wasting their grounds, and exercising violent acts of oppression on the lives and properties of those who had distinguished themselves by their zeal against popery. The lord James Stewart, with only five hundred horse, and one hundred foot, kept in check for twenty days, the

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* Dr. Stuart, p. 159.

French army, which consisted of four thousand men, by harrasing them incessantly with skirmishes; and the English fleet having arrived at this critical moment in the Forth (15th January, 1560), Monsieur D'Oysel, with the French army, hastily retreated to Stirling.

The lords of the congregation sent commissioners to Berwick to meet the duke of Norfolk, who was authorised by Elizabeth to enter into a formal treaty with them, which was accordingly concluded the 27th — February, 1560. The queen of England engaged to furnish an army for their service, and to aid their cause with her fleet. The congregation, on their part, stipulated to support Elizabeth by sea and land, to the utmost of their power, if her territories should be invaded by a French army. The terms of this treaty were highly in favour of the reformers, and their spirits were proportionally elated*. The English army, consisting of twelve hundred horse, and six thousand foot, under the command of lord Gray, entered Scotland; and the duke of Chatelherault, the earls of Argyll, Glencairn, and Monteith, the lord James Stewart, and the lords Ruthven, Boyd, and Ochiltree, joined the English commander at Preston, with a numerous and formidable force†.

Despairing of supplies from France—afflicted with
sickness

* The substance of the most material articles of this treaty may be seen in Dr. Cook's History, vol. ii. p. 253 and 4, or at more length in the third book of John Knox's History.

† Dr. Stuart, p. 167.

sickness—and overwhelmed with inexpressible anguish of mind, the queen-dowager retired from Leith to the castle of Edinburgh, and claimed the protection of the lord Erskine, who had received that fortress in trust from the three estates, and had honourably observed a rigid neutrality; and although in this instance he was guided by the dictates of humanity, yet he still meant to adhere to his duty. The confederated lords held a council at Dalkeith, where they had assembled; and, in correspondence with their usual policy of addressing the queen by letter, previously to the commencement of hostilities, they invited her to an amicable conclusion of the present troubles. But the object of their letter was evidently an apology for their conduct, to answer the double purpose of a vindication and a manifesto. Their professions were hypocritical, and their arguments delusive; but in their conduct they were unequivocal, bold, and determined.

The combined army marched to Leith, and a conflict ensued, in which the French were defeated with the loss of about three hundred men, and Leith was invested. During the siege, however, the French made a sally, and entering the trenches of the combined army unobserved, put six hundred of them to the sword, while they were resting in careless security. At this time the queen-regent received supplies of money and military stores from France; but she was still unable to make any effectual stand against the combined forces. Various artifices, however, were

attempted by the French agents to obtain delay, by amusing the lords with proposals of treaties which they had no authority to conclude. But the affairs of the congregation were too prosperous to admit of concession on their part; and that their resolutions might be irrevocably fixed, they again entered into a *League and Covenant* (27th April, 1560), more solemn and awful than any they had yet subscribed*.

The siege of Leith was vigorously prosecuted; but the French garrison, which consisted of four thousand men, bravely defended the place, and repulsed a general assault of the combined army. A scarcity of provisions began to distress the inhabitants of Leith, and a reinforcement of two thousand men arriving from England, the besiegers had a manifest superiority over their adversaries: but brave men will always do their duty, and they still kept the united army at bay.

Overpowered by distress of mind, and wasted by a lingering distemper, the queen-regent expired in the castle of Edinburgh, the 10th June, 1560. Her conduct is the best illustration of her character, and if she had some faults, she also possessed many virtues. In turbulent times it is difficult for the rulers of nations to act with impartiality; but it is quite impossible to please all parties. Her great defect seems to have been, that she was too much devoted to the French interest, and did not maintain with true dignity, the rights of an independent kingdom; but in her opposition to

* Dr. Stuart, p. 173.

† Ibid, p. 175.

the reformers, she was probably guided by principle, or at least prompted by the prejudices of her early education*.

By the death of the queen-dowager, the garrison of Leith were reduced to a state of despondency bordering on despair. They were closely blockaded by sea and land, and the French nation was in no condition to send them supplies. In this critical situation of affairs, it appeared to Francis and Mary, that a negotiation for peace was the best expedient to terminate the troubles of Scotland. But that the dignity of the crown might not be compromised, by treating with those whom it deemed rebels, they addressed themselves to queen Elizabeth. Commissioners on both sides were accordingly appointed, to whom also were joined representatives from the confederated lords. The congregation enumerated their grievances in a formal petition to Francis and Mary; and by the authority of the respective parties, the acting plenipotentiaries of France and England drew up a deed of relief and concession (6th July, 1560). By the terms of this agreement, Francis and Mary engaged, that foreign troops should not be introduced into Scotland without the consent of the three estates—that no new fortress should be erected, and no old one repaired, without the sanction of parliament—that the laws and liberties of Scotland should be respected—that the natives

* Dr. Cook finely draws the character of this amiable woman in the 2d volume of his History, p. 290, *et. seq.*

natives of Scotland only should be employed in the great offices of state—that a parliament should be held to discuss the affairs of the country, and that its acts should be binding on all parties—that a council should be elected by the estates in concurrence with the queen, for the administration of affairs during her majesty's absence—and, that an act of oblivion should cancel the remembrance of all past transactions*.

As matters of religion were referred to the consideration of the ensuing parliament, which the influence of the confederated lords could model as they pleased, they considered this treaty as the triumph of their cause, and that the great work of the reformation was nearly accomplished.

The peace was immediately proclaimed (7th July, 1560), and the armies of France and England returned home. A thanksgiving was ordered, and the commissioners of boroughs, with several of the nobility and tenants *in capite*, were appointed to choose and depute ministers to preach the gospel in the principal towns in Scotland. John Knox was called to Edinburgh, Christopher Goodman to St. Andrews, Adam Heriot to Aberdeen, and others to Perth, Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline, and Leith. Superintendants of districts were also appointed to watch over the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom; and thus, with scarcely more than

* See a transcript of the treaty in the appendix to Dr. Stuart's History, No. xxi.

than a dozen of men, the preaching of the reformed church commenced in Scotland*.

The meeting of parliament approached; and, excited by curiosity, or attracted by zeal, immense crowds attended. This parliament presented a motley group of barons and prelates; tenants *in capite*†, who personally appeared; commissioners for boroughs; and, in fact, all persons assembled, who had a right from law or usage, to appear at such meetings.

It was objected to the legality of this parliament, that Francis and Mary had not empowered any person to represent them; but formalities were of little importance at such a time, and the objection was overruled by a majority of votes. The first step of its proceedings was the nomination of *the Lords of Articles*; and as the protestant party was superior to the popish, they took care to elect the members of this committee from the leaders of the congregation.

The first thing to which the lords of articles called the attention of parliament, was the supplication of the nobility, gentry, burgesses, and all those professing the new doctrines, or, as they expressed it, *professing the Lord Jesus*. This curious petition required that the Romish church should be condemned and abolished, “seeing that the sacraments of Jesus Christ are most shamefully abused and profaned by
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* Dr. Stuart, p. 186.

† Lesser barons.

“ that Romane *harlot*, and her sworne vassals;” and that a remedy should be applied against the profanation of the holy sacraments by the Roman Catholics. It insisted, that the supremacy and authority of the pope should be abolished, and that the patrimony of the church should be employed in supporting the reformed ministry. It reprobated the doctrine of transubstantiation, *the merit of works*, indulgences, purgatory, pilgrimages, and prayers to departed saints, which they considered as errors fatal to salvation. It therefore demanded, that all those who should teach and maintain them, should be exposed to *correction and punishment**. The spirit of persecution is evident in this supplication, which imperiously maintains a right to prescribe to the consciences of men, and is full of that intolerance which the reformers so strongly reprobated in the church of Rome. But all men are nearly the same in similar situations, and all Christian churches, when supported by the civil authority, have occasionally forgot the mild maxims of their master.

This supplication was received by parliament with every mark of respect; but the nobility and lay members were not so fond of the proposal to allocate the church revenues to the service of the new ministry. Such a thing indeed could not be expected from such men, for the leaders of the congregation had been contending for something more substantial than abstract doctrines

* See this “ supplication of the congregation to the parliament” in Dr. Stuart’s History. Appendix, No. lxxii.

doctrines of faith; and the patrimony of the church was the tempting prize that constituted the *honest* reward of their activity. They had no objection, however, that the new doctrines should receive the sanction of law, provided they were not coupled with any unreasonable obligation to support the reformed preachers. Avoiding all needless discussion on this point, the parliament gave it in charge to the ministers, and other wise and learned men, to draw up, under distinct heads, the substance of those doctrines which ought to be established over the kingdom. A writing was accordingly prepared, entitled "THE CONFESSION OF FAITH PROFESSED AND BELIEVED BY THE PROTESTANTS WITHIN THE REALM OF SCOTLAND." This instrument was first read to the lords of articles, and then in parliament. The prelates of the Romish church were commanded to make their objections to the doctrines it proposed. But they were silent; for opposition would have been unavailing, and would only have exposed them to ridicule or insult, perhaps, to danger or destruction. The articles of confession were again separately read over and considered; but the popish clergy preserved a profound silence, which drew forth a petulant and hypocritical speech from the earl Marischal. With the affectation of great solemnity, the high court of parliament examined and ratified the confession of the reformed faith (anno 1560).

An act was passed against the mass, and the exercise of the Romish worship, within a few days after the establishment of the confession of faith (24th August). And it ordained, that all persons saying

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hearing mass, should for the first offence be exposed to the confiscation of their estates, and be liable to corporal punishment at the discretion of the magistrate; for the second offence, they should be banished out of the kingdom; for the third, punished with death. This bloody enactment betrayed the intolerant and persecuting spirit of the reformers. They had forgot that the persecution of heretics was the chief article of their complaints against the Romish clergy, as well as the ostensible pretext for their rebellion. But these men were not to be restrained by any regard for decency or morality; an act of justice was not to be expected from those whose principles and practice had been all their lives at variance with every virtuous sentiment; and the just execration of posterity has stamped their characters with the indelible mark of infamy.

By another ordination of parliament, the jurisdiction and authority of the pope in Scotland, was declared to be at an end; and all persons maintaining any connection with him or his see were made liable to the loss of honour and offices, and subjected to the pains of proscription and banishment.

The ratification of these acts by Francis and Mary, was the next object of solicitude with the protestants; and accordingly an ambassador was dispatched to France to request their approbation. He failed, however, in the object of his mission; but the reformed were consoled by Elizabeth's condescension; and in return for her kindness, they proposed the union of the two kingdoms by a marriage with Arran, which she politely declined.

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The refusal of Francis and Mary to ratify the proceedings in parliament, was the source of inquietude to the leaders of the reformation, who still apprehended danger from the popish party, whose sentiments were sanctioned by the approbation of the sovereign. But the death of Francis relieved their anxiety, and opened a new scene of political intrigue. They knew from experience how to overawe and intimidate the mind of a woman, and could calculate with certainty the effect of threatenings and terror. Their hopes were raised, and they boldly proceeded to settle a form of church government. The three estates having granted a commission to John Winram, John Spotiswood, John Willocks, John Douglas, John Row, and John Knox, to frame a scheme of ecclesiastical polity, they composed "*The First Book of Discipline*," which treated of the uniformity and method to be observed concerning doctrine; the dispensation of sacraments; the election and provision of ministers; and the whole policy of the new church*. The religious establishment of Geneva was their model; and they differed as widely as possible from the Romish forms and ceremonies. They hoped, and professed, to revive the plainness and sincerity of the primitive ages; but they forgot that they had unhinged all the obligations of morality in the society, by the diffusion of their principles, and the example of their own profligate lives.

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† Dr. Stuart's History of the Reformation, p. 200.

A convocation of the estates sanctioned the presbyterian system of government, but left it naked and unadorned*. The proposal to bestow on the new establishment the patrimony of the ancient church, was treated with contempt. The leaders of the reformation had seized upon the greater part of the rich possessions of the church; and having obtained what they had so strenuously contended for, they were indifferent to, or little concerned about, the doctrines that were taught, or the maintenance of the clergy. Their professions had constantly been at variance with their principles, which now unfolded themselves, to the infinite mortification of those fanatics who had imagined they had been struggling in the cause of religion.

A new meeting of the estates was assembled (May, 1561), to consider of a proposition from Charles IX., which was sufficiently preposterous. He urged parliament, through his ambassador, Monsieur Noailles, to renew the ancient league between France and Scotland—to dissolve the alliance with England—and to re-establish the popish church and clergy. To this ridiculous request a suitable answer was returned, and parliament proceeded to finish the work of the reformation with calmness and deliberation.

The protestants presented a new supplication, in which they departed from their pretensions to the patrimony of the church, and only solicited that a
decent

* Dr. Cook's History, vol. iii. p. 58.

decent provision should be allotted to the true preachers of the gospel. This moderate and reasonable request met with a fate similar to that of their former high demands; and the preachers of the reformed religion were left to pine in misery and want, which perhaps they deserved, as the just punishment of their crimes*. Amidst all the embarrassments of the reformed, they still harboured a deadly resentment to every thing that belonged to the Romish church; and their supplication contained a demand that all the monuments of idolatry should be utterly destroyed. The parliament had no objection to gratify them in any request that did not affect the private fortunes of the leading men; and accordingly, an act was passed, which commanded that every abbey, church, cloister, or memorial of popery, should be finally overthrown and demolished.

It is impossible to remark on the conduct of this parliament, and this act, which it passed, with temper or moderation. A man must be destitute of the common feelings of his species, if he does not view with horror and indignation, the atrocious principles of those who proposed and sanctioned such a measure. The execution of this act was entrusted to the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Glencairn, the lord James Stewart, and the barons who had been most forward in promoting

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* A hundred merks Scots was the annual rate of stipend allowed to the clergy of the reformed church.—*Guthrie*, vol. vi. p. 190.

moting the reformation. “ A dreadful devastation
 “ ensued. The populace, armed with authority,
 “ spread their ravages over the kingdom. It was
 “ deemed an execrable lenity to spare any fabric or
 “ place where idolatry had been exercised. The
 “ churches and religious houses were everywhere
 “ defaced, or pulled to the ground; and their fur-
 “ niture, utensils, and decorations, became the prizes
 “ and the property of the invader. Even the sepul-
 “ chres of the dead were ransacked and violated. The
 “ libraries of the ecclesiastics, and the registers kept
 “ by them of their own transactions, and of civil af-
 “ fairs, were gathered into heaps, and committed to
 “ the flames. Religious antipathy—the sanction of
 “ law—the exhortation of the clergy—the hope of
 “ spoil—and above all, the ardour to put the last
 “ hand to the reformation, concurred to drive the rage
 “ of the people to its wildest fury; and in the midst
 “ of havock and calamity, the new establishment sur-
 “ veyed its importance and its power*.” The re-
 formation was now completed. It had originated from
 the base passions of the nobles;—was conducted by
 perfidy, murder, and crimes;—and finished by a spe-
 cies of Vandalism that wreaked its vengeance on the
 noblest monuments of art and genius.

Although

* Dr. Stuart's History of the Reformation, p. 204.

Although the Author has referred only to Dr. Cook's and Dr. Stuart's Histories of the Reformation, yet he has consulted many of their authorities, and having found them perfectly correct, he did not deem it necessary to multiply references. He cannot, however, omit mentioning, that Dr. Cook's valuable work is by far the best that has ever been published on the subject of the reformation. His great impartiality and candour are conspicuous throughout his pages, and his language is highly elegant and classical.

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CHAPTER XI.

CONTENTS.

[QUEEN MARY'S ARRIVAL IN SCOTLAND—SHE VISITS ABERDEEN AND THE NORTHERN DISTRICTS—BATTLE OF CORRICHRE—DEATH OF HUNTLY—DECAPITATION OF HIS SON—MARY RETURNS TO THE SOUTH—TRANSACTIONS OF HER REIGN—DEATH—JAMES VI.—MURRAY REGENT—HIS ASSASSINATION—BISHOP GORDON, &c.

* * * *

ON the 6th October, 1561, Thomas Menzies was re-elected provost of Aberdeen, and continued in office until 1576. At this time the general state of the country was extremely unquiet. The nobles of the contending factions made every exertion to attach queen Mary to their respective parties. Previously to her departure from France, lord James Stewart had succeeded in gaining her confidence, in opposition to the intrigues of
of

of the famous John Leslie, official of Aberdeen*, who was sent thither by the earl of Huntly and other catholic lords†, for the purpose of persuading her to commit herself to their protection, and to adopt their measures as to the government of the kingdom. It was proposed by Leslie, that she should land at Aberdeen, where she would be received by the nobility of the northern provinces, and 20,000 men, to conduct her to Edinburgh‡, with whose assistance she could repress or defeat the machinations of her own, and of their enemies. But this scheme was frustrated by the address of lord James, whose wiser and better policy made a deep impression on her mind, and she accordingly followed his counsel. When he returned to Scotland, the three estates were sitting, and he produced letters from Mary to them, enjoining, that nothing should be attempted against the establishment of the reformed religion.

The amiable and unfortunate Mary arrived at Leith on the 20th of August, 1561, and was carried to the palace of Holyrood House, amidst the acclamations of a loyal and affectionate people. On the 16th September, she appointed a privy-council, which was composed entirely of the partizans of lord James, who
now

* Leslie was afterwards bishop of Ross.

† Their chiefs were the archbishop of St. Andrews; the bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross; the earls of Huntly, Athol, Crawford, and Sutherland.—*Guthrie's History*, vol. iv. p. 147.

‡ Hollinshed, vol. ii. p. 313.

now assumed the almost uncontroled direction of the affairs of the kingdom:

It was the practice of the Scottish monarchs occasionally to make a progress through the realm, for the purpose of distributing justice, or, as it frequently occurred, from considerations of a political nature. Mary, in compliance with that custom, had visited Stirling, St. Andrews, Dundee, &c., where she had been warmly and affectionately received by the people; and she determined to travel through the northern counties, early in the summer of 1562. Like every other action of her life, this journey is ascribed to various motives, which it is not necessary for our purpose to investigate. The inhabitants of Aberdeen, however, resolved to receive her with every expression of loyalty; and a head-court was called on the 12th January, 1562, in order to assess the community in the requisite expence that her visit might occasion. It was therefore at this meeting unanimously agreed and ordained, that the sum of £111:2:2 two-thirds, should be raised for the decoration of the town, and as a *propine* to her majesty, according to established custom.

On the 26th January this year, a head-court was called by the hand-bell, to witness the sale, by public roup, of the silver and brass work, with other ornaments which belonged to the parish church of St. Nicolas, which were accordingly sold; and the whole proceeds of the sale amounted only to £45 sterling: the silver plate having been purchased at one shilling and fourpence sterling per ounce.

On

On the 13th August, the queen arrived at Aberdeen*, accompanied by her brother, lord James, now earl of Murray†, and a suitable attendance of followers. At that time a serious misunderstanding, or rather, a strong enmity subsisted between Murray and the earl of Huntly, who was deemed the most powerful and accomplished nobleman of the age. The death of Huntly and of his son, which soon after ensued, together with the ruin of the Gordon family, originated from circumstances which are not distinctly explained by the historians of that period. There can, however, be no doubt, that Huntly viewed the rise of Murray, and his influence in the councils of the queen, with great jealousy; and on the other hand, it is evident, that Murray thought Huntly too powerful for a subject, or, perhaps, dreaded his intrigues in favour of the catholic interest, of which he was the chief supporter. But it is certain, that these great men struggled for each other's destruction, and an incident which occurred at this time, precipitated the Gordon family into a series of misfortunes.

Sir John Gordon of Findlater, the fourth‡ son of the earl of Huntly, had a dispute with lord Ogilvy about an estate, which occasioned a rencounter between

* Pitscottie.

† He was created earl of Murray, 10th July, 1562.—*Pitscottie*.

‡ Guthrie calls him the *third* son; but according to Gordonston's manuscript, he was the *fourth* son, and this authority we deem the most authentic, as to every thing relative to the Gordon family.

tween them on the streets of Edinburgh, and Ogilvy was dangerously wounded. The magistrates immediately imprisoned Sir John, and sent an account of the affair to Mary, who was then at Stirling, and preparing to visit the northern parts of the kingdom. Mary approved of the proceedings of the magistrates, and, at the instigation of Murray, ordered him to be removed to a place of greater security than the jail of Edinburgh; but he made his escape, and came northward to seek refuge among his friends. When the queen arrived at Aberdeen, she was visited by the countess of Huntly, who earnestly implored Sir John's pardon; but Mary thought her dignity insulted by his breach of ward, and insisted upon his surrendering himself prisoner in her court of justiciary of Aberdeen, with which he complied, and was committed to the custody of the magistrates. Under the authority of the queen, it was ordered, that Sir John should be carried to the castle of Stirling, of which lord Erskine, the uncle of Murray, was governor. The Gordons considered this order as tantamount to a sentence of death; and Sir John, a second time made his escape, while on the road to Stirling. A sentence of forfeiture was issued against him, his wife, and all his abettors, by the privy-council, on the 10th of September, while Mary was at Tarnway, the seat of the ancient earls of Murray, and attended by the earls of Argyle, Marischal, Morton, &c.

The Gordons now appeared in arms, but, it is to be presumed, with no other intention than to protect themselves against the machinations of their enemies; for
Mary

Mary and her court travelled to Inverness with only a slender guard, and they could at any time have been seized by the Gordons. But they returned to Aberdeen without molestation, although Huntly was at the head of a powerful force, which sufficiently evinces that he stood merely on the defensive. He no doubt suspected that his destruction was intended by his enemy, Murray, who had prevailed on the queen to deprive Huntly of the earldom of Murray, and confer it on himself; and as matters had been thus carried to an extremity, Huntly took refuge among the mountains of Aberdeenshire, with about three hundred horsemen. Murray marched from Aberdeen with the queen's troops, and Huntly waiting his approach on the hill of Corrichre, a battle ensued on the 28th October, in which Huntly, and about 120 Gordons, were killed. Sir John, his brother Adam, and about 100 more, were taken prisoners, and brought to Aberdeen.

It has been generally said, by those who have related the particulars of this affair, that Huntly was smothered in the crowd; but it is more probable, that he was murdered after he was made prisoner, in consequence of a private order from Murray. His body was brought to Aberdeen, and transported by sea to Edinburgh, where, after lying unburied all winter, it was tried by a mock jury, and condemned. His son, Sir John Gordon, was beheaded on the 30th October, at Aberdeen, and was shockingly mangled by the axe of an unskilful executioner. The fate of this young man excited the pity and compassion of all spectators.

spectators. His figure was graceful—his deportment manly—and Mary wept when she saw him led to the scaffold. Adam Gordon was pardoned on account of his youth ; but five gentlemen of the same name were hanged ; and the remainder of the prisoners were fined according to their rank or circumstances. The eldest of the earl's sons, lord George, was now the heir and representative of the Gordon family ; but he was also implicated in his father's misfortunes, although he was not present at Corrichie, and took no active part in the rebellion. Murray's malignancy, however, still pursued the family of Huntly ; and lord George was tried and condemned for high treason ; but was afterwards pardoned, and restored to his estates and honours by the queen, anno 1564, according to Piscottie*.

The peace of the north being established by the ascendancy of Murray's good fortune, the queen quitted Aberdeen on the 4th November, and went to Dunottar ; thence to Boningtown, Arbroath, Dundee, Perth, &c. The remainder of her life was chequered by a diversity of incidents. She enjoyed some moments of happiness in the endearments of love ; but these were greatly overbalanced by the weight of her calamities—and her end was tragical. Almost every thing relative to this unfortunate woman has been variously recorded by the different authors who have either praised or abused her ; and amidst their contradictory reports, it is difficult to ascer-

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* The forfeiture being reversed by the parliament, which assembled on the 14th April, 1567.

tain the truth, or to determine with justness whether she ought to be commended or censured. We shall therefore only notice a few of the most important events of her life.

She was married to lord Darnly on the 29th July, 1565, at Holyrood-house; and on the 19th June the following year, she was delivered of a son who was baptized at Stirling on the 15th December, under the name of Charles James. On the 10th February, 1567, Darnly was murdered. He had gone to Glasgow, where he was seized with a dangerous distemper, from which he partly recovered. But while in a feeble state, the queen removed him to the suburbs of Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 30th January, and remained till the morning of the 10th February, when the house was blown up with gunpowder, and the king's body was found lying naked on the ground at some distance. The earl of Bothwell was generally suspected to be the principal actor in this tragedy, and was accordingly tried for the alledged crime, on the 12th April, but was acquitted by the jury, before whom the accuser, the earl of Lennox, did not adduce any proof against him, either written or verbal*. Notwithstanding Bothwell's acquittal, there was no doubt of his guilt; but others were implicated in the crime, and it was requisite for their own safety, that they should not only protect him from personal injury, but also promote his ambitious views by a marriage with the queen. A bond to that effect was subscribed on the 20th April, by the archbishop of St. Andrews; the

* Guthrie, vol. vii. p. 15.

the bishops of Aberdeen, Galloway, Dumblain, Brechin, Ross, the isles, and Orkney; the earls of Huntly, Argyle, Morton, Cassilis, Sutherland, Errol, Crawford, Caithness, and Rothes; the lords Boyd, Glamis, Ruthven, Sempil, Herris, Ogilvy, and Fleming. These were the despicable supporters of the infamous Bothwell; and in less than two days after he had obtained the bond, he seized Mary at Almond Bridge, and carried her to Dunbar. After being a prisoner there for ten days, he removed her to the castle of Edinburgh; and the complying queen, consenting to her union with this wretch, was married to him on the 15th May, 1567. This unnatural marriage excited universal disgust, and the whole kingdom was in the greatest ferment.

A powerful association of lords and gentlemen resolved to rise in arms and pursue Bothwell to destruction, in punishment of his crimes. They assembled a tumultuary army at Stirling, and marched to Edinburgh. Mary and Bothwell collected about 4000 men, and both armies met near Musselburgh. Bothwell, with the lords Seton, Yester, and Borthwick, led the royal troops; Morton, Hume, Athol, Marre, &c. commanded the confederates. The royal army was dispirited, and also less numerous than that of the associated lords. Mary was constrained to capitulate, and renounce Bothwell, who retired from the field with a few followers, without molestation. The queen was carried a prisoner to Holyrood-house, and thence, for greater security, to Lochleven Castle. Morton and his associates formed themselves into a *secret council*

for the government of the kingdom. The first measure they adopted, was to compel Mary to resign her throne in favour of her infant son, and to appoint Murray regent of the kingdom during the king's minority. These concessions were extorted by threats of death or perpetual imprisonment; and lord Lindsay presented the signed instruments to the council, on the the 25th July, who gladly received them, and entered into a fresh association for carrying them into execution.

The young prince was accordingly crowned at Stirling, on the 29th July, 1567, and the unfortunate Mary was thus deprived of her throne by the illegal act of a desperate and unprincipled faction. Such measures could not be viewed with indifference by her loyal and faithful subjects; and a counter association, called the Queen's Lords, was entered into by the heads of the Hamilton family, the lords Fleming, Boyd, &c. In the meantime, Mary escaped from Lochleven Castle, through the partiality of a young admirer*. The lords in her interest, were assembled at Hamilton, where she was received by the earls of Argyle, Cassilis, Rothes, Eglinton; the lords Somervil, Yester, Levingston, Borthwick, Herris, Ross, Fleming, and many other barons and freeholders, who, with their attendants, formed an army of 6000 men. Murray, who had assumed the regency, was then in Glasgow, a distance of only eight miles, and notwithstanding

* George Douglas, who is represented to have been no more than 18 years of age.

ing that his friends were in terror and dismay, he sullenly rejected every proposal of accommodation. On the hill of Langside, the armies came in contact, and Murray's genius prevailed*.

Mary fled to England to claim the protection of her cousin Elizabeth. But her expectations of friendship were disappointed. She was treated as a prisoner, and finally suffered on the scaffold at Fotheringay, Northamptonshire, on the 8th February, 1587. Such was the fatal end of the most beautiful and accomplished woman of the age.

Murray now ruled the country with absolute sway, and persecuted his enemies with great fury. The earl of Huntly was one of the queen's firmest friends, and, consequently, extremely obnoxious to him. In 1569 he marched northwards, and held justice courts at Aberdeen, Elgin, and Inverness. Huntly had submitted on terms, but his adherents and vassals were severely punished by the exaction of exorbitant sums as the compromise of their rebellion. The northern parts being quieted, Murray returned south, and everywhere overawed or intimidated those who dared to oppose his measures. But the hand of the assassin closed his guilty career; on the 23d January, 1570. While passing through the streets of Linlithgow, on his way to Edinburgh, he was killed by a musket-shot fired from a window by Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh. The character of Murray is sufficiently illustrated by his

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actions.

* Guthrie, vol. vii.

actions. “ His ingratitude to Mary—his barbarous “ unmanly treatment of her—and the infamous acts “ by which he wrought her destruction, can admit of “ no apology* ;” and his whole life unequivocally evinces the depravity of his heart, his cruelty, and boundless ambition.

William Gordon, of the house of Huntly, was the last Romish bishop who filled the see of Aberdeen. He received his education in France; and on his return home, was made rector of *Clatt*, and afterwards bishop of Aberdeen. He was consecrated in 1547, but having taken up his residence for some time in France, he found it necessary to constitute a vicar-general in his bishoprick during his absence; and in 1552, he gave a commission for that purpose to Robert, bishop of Orkney, and James Gordon, chancellor of the see of Moray. A copy of this delegation has been preserved, and may be seen in Keith’s Catalogue, p. 73.

Bishop Gordon was a man of considerable abilities, but lived in a style that was thought to be unbecoming his sacred office; or, in other words, like the greater part of the dignitaries of the church, he took a young lady under his *protection*, which called forth the severe reprehension of the dean and chapter of the diocese. They presented a paper to him, entitled, “ The coun-
“ sall given be the deyne and chapter of Aberdeen, to
“ my lord bischope of Aberdeen, for reformation to
“ be

* Guthrie, vol. vii. p. 270.

“ be maid, and staining of heresies” within the diocese. This curious document is reprinted in the appendix of Dr. Cook’s excellent history (No. 3), and it begins, “ Imprimis, that my lord of Aberdeen
 “ causs the kirkmen within his lordschippe’s diocie,
 “ to reform themselfis in all their sclanderus maner of
 “ lyving, and to remove their *oppen concubines, as weile*
 “ *grete as smale*, under sic pains as is conteint in the
 “ law and acts provinciall ; and the chapter of Aber-
 “ deen sall do siclyk amang them in all scharpest
 “ maner, conform to the law, als weil on thairselves
 “ as their servandes.” This paper plainly requests, that his lordship “ wald be as gude as to schew
 “ gude and edificative example in special, in remov-
 “ ing and discharging himself of company of the
 “ *gentill woman* be quhom his is gretlie sclanderit ;
 “ without the quhilk be done, divers that are pertinax
 “ says, thai can nocht accept counsall and correctioun
 “ of him quhilk will not correct himself.”

Dr. Cook remarks on this document with considerable asperity, and says, “ it admits the open profligacy of the clergy,” and plainly shews that the bishop was “ most dissolute in his morals,” which he contrasts with the refined virtue of the early preachers of the reformed doctrines. There may have been many reasons why the advocates of the “ new tenets” did not entirely adopt the manners of their predecessors, and, being differently situated, the rules of comparison cannot be fairly applied. The Roman Catholic clergy were the depositaries of learning, and all that was known in science. They were affluent, at least

least the higher orders of them, and mingled with the most polished classes of society. The reformed preachers, on the other hand, during the progress of the reformation, and for long after, with few exceptions, were extremely ignorant, and miserably poor. Their pretensions to the wealth of the church were rejected by the barons, who haughtily retorted upon them their unguarded and insincere professions of moderation and abstinence. Their hopes of opulence being thus frustrated by the avarice of the barons, who left them scarcely so much of the spoil as necessary to support their existence, they were denied all means of indulgence. But the introduction of the ceremony of marriage among the reformed clergy, almost entirely removed the inducement to unlawful association, and their gloomy austerity either moderated their passions, or rendered them less sensible of the seducing influence of female beauty.

It is no wonder then that the preachers of the reformed doctrines were less conspicuous for their vices than the clergy of the old school, who were certainly their superiors in every thing that related to learning, taste, and refinement. But it is scarcely fair to attach criminality to a whole body of men, because the conduct of some of their number might have been exceptionable; and it is extremely ridiculous to suppose that a Roman Catholic priest is a worse man than an episcopalian or a presbyterian minister. Notwithstanding the differences which have subsisted among Christian sects, yet there is nothing in the principles of any religious system that inculcates vice and villainy. The
misconduct

misconduct of men originates from something else than their religious opinions; for we shall find good and bad members of society among every denomination of Christians. It would therefore be unjust to ascribe to the Romish doctrines the vices of individuals, or to allow for a moment the gaiety, or perhaps dissipation, of bishop Gordon to detract from the virtues of bishop Elphinston. But in reviewing the lives of those eminent men who filled the see of Aberdeen previous to the era of the reformation, we shall find, almost without exception, that they were shining examples of every thing that is great and valuable. They were occasionally employed in the most important offices in the state, and were illustrious, not only for their talents, but also for their piety and benevolence. When we contrast these men with their successors, after the period of the reformation, we discover a lamentable disparity of intellect; for among the *nine* reformed bishops of the see of Aberdeen, there was not one who could pretend to any thing above mediocrity as to natural talents or literary acquirements,

CHAPTER XII.

CONTENTS.

[PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO ABERDEEN—FEUDS BETWEEN THE GORDONS AND FORBESSES—BATTLE OF THE CRABSTONE—DISPUTE BETWEEN THE BURGESSES OF ABERDEEN AND THE MAGISTRATES, RELATIVE TO ELECTIONS, &c.

* * * *

ON the 8th May, 1563, a head-court was assembled, and it was ordered, that the money arising from the sale of the silver work and ornaments of St. Nicolas' church, should be applied towards repairing the quay-head, the bridge of Don, and to purchase artillery and ammunition. This year, Thomas Menzies of Pitfodders, was provost, and, being annually chosen, was continued in office until 1576, when his eldest son was elected, who continued till Michaelmas, 1588.

On the 14th February, 1567-8, an order was issued by the privy-council for taking off the lead from the cathedral churches of Aberdeen and Elgin, to be sold for

for the support of the regent's army. The earl of Huntly, as sheriff of Aberdeenshire, and Dunbar of Cummock, sheriff of Elgin, with the magistrates of the respective boroughs, and the bishops Gordon and Hepburn, were ordered to assist, and to support Alexander Clark and William Birnie, the council's servants, in the execution of this barbarous act*. Tradition has handed down a story, which says, that William Birnie having shipped a cargo of the lead for Holland, was lost with ship and cargo off the Girdleness; and the pious ascribe this accident to the interference of providence as a just punishment on the perpetrators of this sacrilegious deed.

Within a few months after the death of Murray, the earl of Lennox was appointed to the regency (12th July, 1570)†. The friends of Mary were still in arms, and the country was torn by the contending factions. A party of the regent's force surprised the castle of Dumbarton, and the primate of St. Andrews, who had taken refuge in it, was cruelly put to death (1st April, 1571). As Lennox was a tool to the dark and designing Morton; it is generally supposed that he was the secret cause of the execution of the archbishop; but it is certain, that he obtained the revenues of the see of St. Andrews‡. It is needless, however, to remark on the conduct of the barons of this age, for in every thing they did, their own interest was the directing

* Skinner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 194.

† Guthrie, vol. vii. p. 190.

‡ Skinner's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 202.

directing principle. On the 4th September, Lennox was killed on the street of Stirling, in a scuffle with a party of the queen's friends, commanded by lord Claud Hamilton, the archbishop's nephew, who thus revenged the death of his uncle. The earl of Mar was immediately appointed regent, (5th September, 1571*.)

The Gordon family firmly adhered to the queen's interest; and Adam Gordon, as the lieutenant of his brother, the earl of Huntly, acted with great vigour in the northern parts of the kingdom. The regent-earl, in order to create a diversion, encouraged the Forbesses, who were the rival clan of the Gordons, and numerous in Aberdeenshire, to commence hostilities in that quarter. The Forbesses held a great part of their lands of the earl of Huntly, but they did not behave well at the battle of Corrichie, and ever since that time they had acted in opposition to his interest.

The Forbesses armed and assembled at *Druminnor*, about ten miles distant from Strathbogie. Sir Adam Gordon, who inherited the gallant spirit of his family, attacked them in their entrenchments at Tulliangus, near Castle Forbes. Arthur, commonly called *Black Arthur*, brother to lord Forbes, commanded, and was killed, with about a hundred of his followers. They were, however, still able to keep the field, and having applied to the regent for assistance, he sent them a reinforcement of two hundred disciplined troops, under the command of captains Chisholm and Wedderburn;

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and

* John Knox died this year, on the 27th of November, in the sixty-seventh year of his age.

and the Gordons were also joined by a party under Sir James Kircaldy. The Forbesses having collected their followers, and being encouraged by the reinforcement they had lately received, marched to Aberdeen to dislodge Sir Adam Gordon, who lay there with his forces. Upon their approach, he drew his troops out of the town, and ordered the citizens not to interfere in the quarrel. Sir Adam placed captain Thomas Carr, with a hundred musketeers in ambush, in a hollow which the enemy had to pass, with orders to lie close until the engagement commenced, and then to attack the Forbesses in the rear. He also sent a party of the Sutherland men to flank them, and having marched out with the main body under the immediate command of himself and his brother, he waited their approach at a place called the *Crabstone*. The Forbesses were commanded by John, *Master* of Forbes, and they boldly advanced without perceiving the party in ambush. Their infantry fired briskly upon Sir Adam's horse, and had spent the greater part of their shot, when the Gordons from their concealment burst upon them in the rear, broke their ranks, and put them to rout with much slaughter. In the meantime, the horse on both sides joined battle, and fought with great keenness and obstinacy. Sir Adam was knocked off his horse by a stone projected by the vigorous arm of a Forbes; but his fall served only to increase the fury of his troops, who entirely routed and dispersed their opponents. Fifteen gentlemen, with captain Chisholm, and three hundred Forbesses were killed; the *Master*, and two hundred, were taken prisoners, and were carried to Strath-
bogie,

bogie, but dismissed upon swearing, that they should not again carry arms against the queen.—Thus terminated the *battle of Crabstone**, (anno 1572,) and the consequence was, the complete establishment, for a time, of the queen's authority in the northern parts of Scotland †.

Although the civil war continued to rage with unabated fury in the southern districts of Scotland, yet the regent was able to send an army under the earl of Crawford, for the purpose of checking Sir Adam Gordon in the north, who had become formidable in consequence of his victories over the Forbesses. He had marched into the Mearns, and was besieging the house of Glenbervie, when he heard that Crawford had taken up his head-quarters in Brechin. Sir Adam surprised the enemy on the 5th July, 1572, killed forty-nine of them, and took a hundred and ninety prisoners. This affair, in the cant language of the times, was called the *jest of Brechin*. Sir Adam marched to Montrose, laid the affrighted inhabitants under contribution, and then returned to the siege of Glenbervie, which soon after surrendered. He advanced into Angus, which he brought under Mary's authority; so that from the Tay to the northern extremity of Scotland, none of the queen's enemies durst appear ‡.

The earl of Mar died at Stirling, 28th October,

Y 2

1572,

* This *Crabstone* is still to be seen, and forms part of the wall of a house in the Hardgate of Aberdeen.

† Gordon's History of the family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 368, *et. seq.*

‡ Ibid, vol. i. p. 376.

1572, and Morton succeeded him in the regency. Both parties were tired with the miseries of war, and an accommodation was proposed. Commissioners on both sides accordingly met at Perth, and on the 23d February, 1573, a treaty of peace was concluded, in which it was stipulated, that those who had adhered to the interest of Mary should acknowledge the religion as by law established, and submit to the king, to Morton, and to his successors in the regency. This treaty embraced the spirit of forgiveness, and reversed all acts of forfeiture.

In the year 1575 an alteration was proposed in the form of church government. Episcopacy was unrepealed, and the regent favoured it; but a puritanical spirit generally prevailed in Scotland; and Drury, a minister of Edinburgh, started a question in the Assembly concerning episcopacy and the duties of bishops, in which he was warmly supported by Andrew Melvil, who had lately returned from Geneva, and had imbibed the notions of Calvin and Beza*. After various attempts by the same party to obtain the same object, it was at last settled by a solemn act of the assembly (met at Dundee), July 12th, 1580, that “forasmuch as the office of a bishop, as it is now used within this realm, hath no sure warrant, authority, nor good ground out of the word of God, but is brought in by the folly and corruption of mens’ invention, to the great overthrow of the true Kirk of God: Therefore, the whole assembly, in one voice, findeth

* Guthrie, vol. viii. p. 20.

“ findeth and declareth the same pretended office unlawful in itself; and ordaineth, that all persons who brook, or hereafter shall brook the said office, be charged forthwith to demitt, quit, and leave off the same, and sicklike—to desist and cease from preaching, ministring the sacraments, or any way using the office of pastors, till they receive admission anew from the General Assembly, under pain of excommunication, &c.*”

The *Presbyterian* discipline was thus authorized by an act of the assembly; and, on the 30th May, 1581, the presbytery of Edinburgh was established. It was followed by others, and the king’s consent was obtained in 1586, and also the ratification of parliament in 1592†. Melvil was the chief agent in the establishment of the presbyterian system; and in church affairs, he was an able successor to John Knox. It is said, that he proposed to the magistrates of Glasgow to demolish the fine cathedral of that city, which would have been accordingly destroyed, if the tradesmen in the town, had not threatened to put to death the first man who should cast down a stone of it; and finally, the interference of the king protected that noble edifice‡.

The earl of Huntly and other catholic lords, who were dissatisfied with public measures, were accused of a conspiracy to overthrow the government, and to re-establish the Romish worship; but their object,

Y 3

whatever

* Skinner’s Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 210.

† Ibid. p. 212.

‡ Ibid. p. 213.

whatever it might have been, was defeated. Huntly, Crawford, and Errol, however, assembled forces at Aberdeen, and issued a proclamation, declaring, that the king was held captive by the chancellor, and requiring the lieges to assist them in setting his person at liberty. But the king collected an army, and marched to Aberdeen to suppress the rebellion. It appears that Huntly did not wish to endanger his majesty's person by a battle, and his followers were disbanded*. James entered Aberdeen on the 20th April, 1589, and Huntly retired to Strathbogie. The king advanced as far as Ross-shire, and upon his return to Aberdeen, many of the northern barons gave bonds for their good behaviour. Huntly had surrendered himself, and after an easy confinement at Edinburgh, was tried and condemned, but he was afterwards pardoned, as well as his associates, Crawford, Bothwell, and Errol. James again marched to Aberdeen, with a small army, where he arrived on the 22d February, 1592, in pursuit of the catholic lords, who were implicated in a pretended plot, in league with the king of Spain. He held a justice court, and many gave security for their peaceable conduct. The earls Marischal and Athol were appointed lieutenants of the northern districts, and James returned to Edinburgh about the middle of March†.

During twelve years, Gilbert Menzies had been provost of Aberdeen, but at Michaelmas 1589, Thomas Menzies was chosen; and next year, Alexander Cullen.

From

* History of the family of Gordon, vol. ii. p. 48.

† Ibid. p. 68.

From the frequent recurrence of the same names, as provosts of Aberdeen, it will be perceived, that the offices of the magistracy, and the management of the town's affairs, had been confined to a junto, who re-elected themselves, and that the community at large, for many years, had not had any voice in the elections. Previously to this time, various statutes had been enacted for regulating the election of the magistrates and councils in boroughs; particularly the 30th of James III. which enacted, that "officiars" shall not be continued longer than one year, and that each of the crafts shall have a vote in the election of the magistrates; the 108th of same reign—that the election be without partiality or "mastership;" the 80th of James IV.—"that all officians in burghs be changed yearly, "and that they be persons using merchandise within "the burgh." The enactments of James V. c. 26. and of James VI. c. 8. were to the same effect. The act of James IV. c. 36. ordained, "that the common "guid of all burrows be spent for their common pro- "fite, by the advice of the town-council and deacons "of crafts where they are, and that the rents of bur- "rows be not set, but for three years allenary, un- "der pain of nullity." The act of James V. c. 26. ordered, "that magistrates of burghs bring yearly to "the exchequer, their compt books of their common "guid, under pain of tinsel of their freedom, and that "fifteen days before, they warn all that pleases to "come, and object against their accounts*."

Notwithstanding these various statutes, it is evident, that

* Abridgment of the Acts of Parliament.

that the magistrates of Aberdeen re-elected themselves, year after year, and disposed of the public property as they pleased. That the burgesses had deemed their conduct a grievance, there can be little doubt; but in the year 1589 they pursued measures for obtaining redress, and raised actions before the competent courts, against the then magistrates. The nature of these processes may be learned from the town's records; and it shall be our duty to give a concise narration of the material facts regarding them, as the cause in which the burgesses engaged, was worthy of a more enlightened period, and shows, that the principles of civil liberty were then understood, and that the inhabitants of Aberdeen had the spirit to challenge the improper conduct of their rulers.

It appears by an act of council bearing date the 8th February, 1590, that three several summonses were served upon the magistrates and council, at the instance of *Alexander Exvyn, Robert Lowrenstoun, John Laying, Robert Stewart, Alexander Ronaldson, Lawrence Merser, and David Castell*, burgesses, for themselves and the other members of the community.

1st, To compear before the Lords on the 20th of February, and to bring along with them the borough-register, council-books, and all written documents relative to the revenue, lands, rents, and offices; the erection of the borough, and in fact, every recorded deed concerning it, since the year 1560.

2d, To compear before the Lords on the same day, to hear and see themselves "decernit to be removed off the counsall of the burgh, as not lawfullie chosen thereto,

“ thereto, &c. ; and that the magistrates be zierly
 “ changit according to the actis of parliament and
 “ lawes of the realm ;” and,

3d, To compear before “ the Lords of his majestie’s
 “ exchequer the same day, to heir and see the said
 “ Lords of cheker decreet letters in all the four formes
 “ at the instance of the saids complainers, charging
 “ the provost and bailies now present to sett, roup,
 “ and put to the utter zierlie avail, the common lands,
 “ common rentis, profits, and dewties of the common
 “ guid of the burgh*.”

The magistrates and council ordained that Mr. Thomas Menzies should go to Edinburgh to defend them in these actions, and ordered the treasurer to give L.40 Scots (L.3 : 6 : 8 sterling), to defray his expences, and also to disburse L.30 Scots, to “ gratifie” the lawyers and their servants.

By an act of council 5th May, 1591, it appears, that the magistrates were again summoned before the lords on the 16th of that month, to answer similar charges,

* The charges brought against the magistrates were of a serious nature. They were accused of forming themselves into a society for many years past, with the view to procure “ lordship” within the borough ; of continuing in office without any lawful election or change from year to year, except it were to place the son in the situation of the father, when he happened to die ; of having dilapidated and conveyed away the common property, rents, and casualties belonging to the public, and making “ setts and dispositions thair of to themselves and thair awin freyndis, and be their monopolie hes brought the burgh to sic gryt povertie, that without question, or it be lang, the same sall all utterlie decay, without remeid be provydit.”

charges, brought against them by the same people; and the sum of L.8 : 6 : 8 sterling, is ordered to be advanced to Mr. Menzies, to indemnify him for the expence of his attendance at Edinburgh, and to pay the law agents.

James VI. determined this dispute as far as regarded the election of the magistrates, by a writ issued under the privy seal, of date the 20th July, 1591. The election challenged, was declared to be valid; and this writ is altogether a curious document. His majesty acknowledges the great obligations he is under to the magistrates and council of Aberdeen, by exposing their lives and properties in his service, and in repressing rebellions in the northern parts of the kingdom; and ascribes the growing prosperity of the town to their continuance in office for *the space of forty or fifty years*, "according to the loveable consuetude" of the borough. "In consideration quhairof, and that *our act of parliament* maid anent the changing of the *zierlie counsall has never zit tane effect* within our *said burgh,*" his majesty declares, that the council shall stand after the ancient custom, and if any of them shall die, the remaining members shall elect others in their place, notwithstanding the "act of parliament" maid anent the zierly change and election of magistrates within the burgh; anent the quhilk" he dispenses with that part which relates to the changing of the council, and discharges all actions competent to him or to his successors, regarding the contravention of the act.

The determination of the king did not give general satisfaction;

satisfaction; and it is scarcely to be expected that it should have done so, for he decided the case in opposition to justice, and to the law of the country. The magistrates, however, to remove all cause of quarrel, and to quiet the minds of the people, enacted in council, the 29th December, 1591, that an application should be made to the court of session, concerning the *sett* of the borough.

At Michaelmas this year, the election had been conducted according to the act of parliament, as the record expresses, but it acknowledges, that “with the
“quhilke forme a gryt pairt of the commonalitie can-
“not as zit be content, craving anether forme of the
“electing of the counsall, nor has bene observit with-
“in this burgh of auld and ancient tyme.” It was therefore deemed expedient to make a supplication to the lords of session in name of the old and new council, craving their decision, decret, and declarator, upon the form of election observed this year, and if they should find it to correspond with the statute, that they should decern it to be followed in all time to come. But if otherwise, that they should establish a form to be observed in future, “that not onlie the chiefest heid
“of this present controversie suld be removit thair-
“by, but langsome and irksome processes of law, and
“sumptuous charges and unnecessary expences might
“be evitit.”

On the 21st January, 1561-2, the lords of council gave a decision on the depending actions at the instance of the burgesses, and *assoilzied* the defenders *simpliciter*, as far as regarded the acts of election for any one year preceding

preceding Michaelmas 1591. But as to the election at Michaelmas that year, the magistrates were allowed to prove its legality on the 15th May next, by such witnesses, and such writs or documents, as they should think proper to produce, reserving to the pursuers their objections to the same. The lords also decerned, "That
 " in tyme hereafter, the saids haill officiares, magis-
 " trates, provost, bailies, and counsall of the said
 " burgh, sall be zeirly elected and chosen according
 " to the acts of parliament made anent election of
 " magistrates within burgh in all points, and ordains
 " letters to be direct to the effect foresaid, gif ned bees,
 " in forme as effiers."

Relative to the election at Michaelmas 1591, the lords pronounced a decision on the 20th May, 1592, finding that election valid, and subjecting the pursuers in the payment of "the soume of twentie pounds as
 " fair cost, skaith, and expences, maid and susteint by
 " the saids persons, defenders, in defence of the saids
 " actions, and obtaining of this present decreet-absol-
 " vitor: Togedder with the soume of five pounds con-
 " signit and payit be theme to the saids lords, and their
 " collector, according to the ordinance maid thereanent
 " in forme as effeirs."

Notwithstanding these decisions of the lords of session, the burgesses of Aberdeen were still dissatisfied, and their indignation against the magistrates burst forth in open tumult. An insurrection being apprehended, the provost, bailies, and council, issued a proclamation on the 26th September, 1592, commanding the citizens not to assemble on that day, nor on any
 after-day,

after-day, either with or without arms, under pain of rebellion. The inhabitants, however, disregarded the proclamation, and met in arms at the Grey friars church, and in different parts of the town, on the day of election (27th September); but it does not appear that any acts of outrage were committed, and the magistrates and council shewed every desire to conciliate their favour, by sending several of their number to persuade the people to remain quiet, and to obey the constituted authorities. New actions, however, were raised before the lords, by the burgesses, against the magistrates and council, who prepared to defend themselves by voting L.100 Scots, to defray the expence of three different processes.

But these disputes were finally settled by arbitration, having been referred to "His Majesty, Alexander lord Urquhart, Alexander Commendator of Culros, Mr. James Elphinstone of Invernochie, Mr. John Lindsay of Menmure, four of the senators of the college of justice, Maistres Robert Bruce, David Lindsay, David Cunningham, James Balfour, ministers of Chrystis' evangell, John Arnot, late provost of Edinburgh, John Johnston, burgess thairof, Nicolas Edward, present provost thairof, and Henry Nisbett, burgess of the said burgh of Edinburgh," as arbitrators mutually chosen by the parties. At Edinburgh and "Halieruid-house" a decret-arbitral was pronounced on the 7th December, 1592, by which it appears that the burgesses had so far gained their object, that several of their leading men were appointed to the magistracy and council. This decret also

declared,

declared, "that in all tyme cuming, the acts of parliament anent the election of magistrates, counsall, and officemen within burgh be precisely observit;" and all actions at the instance of the burgesses relative to elections were discharged.

The elections of the magistrates and council were made at Michaelmas 1593 and 1594, in terms of the above decret and act of parliament ordained to be observed; and in each of these two elections six deacons of crafts, being one for each craft, are mentioned as voters. On the 24th September, 1595, the old council, consisting of seventeen burgesses of guild, and two craftsmen, met and elected thirteen burgesses of guild, and two craftsmen, to constitute the new council for the succeeding year, along with four members of the old council. At this election, several of the craftsmen appeared, and claimed that one of each craft should have the power of voting for the provost, bailies, and "remanent officemen of the said burgh, by and attour the saids four craftsmen, on the auld and new counsall," protesting, that, if denied this right, the election should be void. It was answered, "that the four craftsmen, upon the auld and new counsalls, oucht and suld be complit four voitis for the craftis in the said election of the provost; bailies, and uther officemen, and that by their saidis four voitis the free craftis of the said burgh allentlie that has not ane persone of their said craft on the said auld and new counsall oucht only to have voit in the election of the officemen."

To avoid litigation, it was agreed by the magistrates

and

and council on the one part, and the craftsmen on the other, that this question should be referred to the amicable decision of the commissioners for the boroughs. Accordingly, the general convention held at Aberdeen, gave their decret-arbitral on the 5th July, 1596, to the following effect: That in all time coming, there shall be two craftsmen of the old council, and two of the new, with the six deacons of the crafts, entitled to vote at the annual election for the provost, bailies, dean of guild, and treasurer. And if any of these ten persons shall happen to be absent on the day of election, the other members of the crafts being present, are allowed to chuse others to vote in the place of those who are absent. The same privilege of supplying the votes of absent members, is also granted to the provost, bailies, dean of guild, treasurer, and council; so that altogether, the election is completed by thirty votes, or seventeen of the new, and thirteen of the old council, exclusive of the provost's casting vote.

All differences regarding the *sett* of the borough were now at an end; and the form of election prescribed by this decret-arbitral, has been observed with little variation down to this day. The whole body of magistrates and council, therefore, consists of a provost, four bailies, dean of guild, treasurer, and twelve members of council, having a right to manage the town's public affairs, and to vote for a representative in parliament.

and several on the one part, and the extension on the
other that the question should be referred to the
people. The result of the convention was the passage
of a resolution that the general convention held at Ayrault
shall have jurisdiction on the subject, 1820. In
the following year, 1821, all things being
well, the convention of the old school, and then of
the new, with the six members of the craft, united in
the year of the annual session for the purpose, before
that of any, and returned. And if any of these ten
persons shall happen to be absent on the day of elec-
tion, the other members of the craft being present,
and should to them, they to vote in the place of
those who are absent. The same privilege of voting
in the case of absent members is also granted to
the voters, but they shall be obliged to remain and con-
sist in the regulation, and election is composed by
fifteen, or a number of the new, and thirteen of
the old school, members of the general convention.
All differences regarding the use of the ballot
were now at an end, and the form of election was
settled for the future, and the first election observed
was held in the town of this year. The whole
work of the year, and most of the year consists of
a report, they further have of public business, and
greater numbers of committees, having a right to manage
the town's public affairs, and to vote for a representa-
tive in the general assembly.

CHAPTER XIII.

CONTENTS.

[PROVOSTS OF ABERDEEN—NATIONAL AND CHURCH AFFAIRS—DEATH OF KING JAMES VI. AND SUCCESSION OF CHARLES I.—BISHOPS OF ABERDEEN.]

* * * *

FOR the year 1591, Alexander Rutherford was provost: Thomas Menzies, yost. for next year; and John Cheyne, for 1593. This year, the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen, was founded and endowed by George, earl Marischal of Scotland, by charter dated 2d April; and the reader is referred to the Appendix, No. II. for a particular account of that seminary, which was drawn up for Sir John Sinclair's Statistical work by one of the gentlemen of the faculty.

The following gentlemen filled the office of first magistrate of Aberdeen, for the years respectively prefixed to their names, viz.

1594 John Collison.	1600 Alex. Rutherford.
1595 Thos. Menzies.	1601 Alex. Cullen.
1596 Alex. Rutherford*.	1602 Thos. Menzies.
1597 Alex. Chalmers.	1603 Alex. Rutherford.
1598 Alex. Rutherford.	1604 Da. Menzies, sen.
1599 Alex. Cullen.	1605 Alex. Rutherford.

— On the 24th March, 1603, queen Elizabeth died in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign; and on the same day, James VI. of Scotland was proclaimed king, at the palace of Whitehall, and at

* During this and the following year, no fewer than twenty-three persons lost their lives for the crime of *witchcraft*; of whom one died in prison, another hanged herself, and twenty-one suffered at the stake. An account of the expence of their execution is recorded; and as a specimen of the price and quantity of the materials used for burning witches, the following is presented, viz.

Christen Mitchell, Bessie Thom, and Isabel Barrow.

9th March, 1596. Item, For a boll and a half of coals to burn the said witches, 30 shillings. Item, For thirty-five loads of peats, L.4 10s. Item, For six barrels of tar, L.10 1s. Item, For two iron barrels, eight shillings. Item, For a stake, dressing and setting up, 13s. 8d. Item, For eight fathoms of rope, eight shillings. Item, For the carrying of the coals, peats and barrels, eight shillings. Item, To John Justice (the hangman), for his fee, 20 shillings.

These poor people were accused of being the D——l's agents; and it is astonishing that the *reformed* clergy could have believed that his *sable majesty*, to whom they ascribed so much *cunning*, should have employed only ignorant, old, and decrepit women, as his instruments in carrying on his war against mankind.

at the cross in Cheapside, amidst the acclamations of the people. In the following year, the union of the two kingdoms was proposed; but various causes combined to defeat that measure, which terminated in the suppression of hostilities, and the acknowledgment, by both countries, of submission to one monarch*.

The Stewart family were remarkable for their religious prejudices; and James detested the presbyterian form of church government. He was extremely desirous to establish episcopacy in Scotland, and thus introduce ecclesiastical conformity throughout the kingdom†. He prohibited a meeting of the assembly which was called at Aberdeen on the last Tuesday of July 1604. But delegates from several of the presbyteries convened, in defiance of the royal authority, and they continued their meeting until the last day of September. “Mr. John Forbes of Alford, and Mr. John Welch at Ayr, were the principal *ringleaders*‡,” and both, with some others of the most obstinate of the ministers, were punished for their contempt of the king’s authority.

The parliament which assembled at Perth in July, 1606, passed two acts, extending the royal prerogative, and restoring the temporalities of the bishops. The presbyterian clergy opposed these measures with the greatest keenness, and the church of Scotland was altogether in a most distracted state. To restore tranquillity, the king called an ecclesiastical convention, which

* Laing’s History of Scotland, vol. i. p. 15.

† Ibid.

‡ Skinner’s Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. p. 243.

which met at Hampton Court, on the 20th of September. The subjects of the conference were—the illegality of the meeting held at Aberdeen, and the expediency of a peaceful convention of the clergy. The bishops were sufficiently obsequious to his majesty's wishes, for their own interest was concerned; but the ministers were not so complying; and "the controversy terminated, as might have been expected, in "recrimination and reproach*."

The presbyterian delegates were unjustly and severely punished. They had been invited to a free conference, where persuasion alone was the means proposed to reclaim them; but James resorted to coercion, and betrayed his intolerant and tyrannic principles by the imprisonment or the exile of the ministers†.

A convention was held the 10th December, 1606, at Linlithgow, which was composed of members selected by the bishops. This assembly appointed the bishops to be moderators of the presbyteries where they resided, and perpetual moderators of provincial synods. The moderators and clerks of presbyteries were declared official members of the assemblies, and rendered permanent, with their salaries dependent on the bishops. It is said, that the most turbulent and clamorous of the clergy were bribed to acquiescence in these measures, by the distribution of 40,000 merks‡. If this circumstance be true, it demonstrates the venality of
of

* Laing's History, vol. i. p. 35.

† Ibid. p. 37.

‡ Ibid. p. 38.

of the churchmen, and proves that the episcopalians were not more pure than the other denominations of clergy.

The presbyteries were intimidated, and the greater part complied with the regulations. But in the synods, the ministers declared their independence, and rejected these ordinances of the assembly as unwarranted or illegal. The bishops, however, had obtained an important advantage, which conveyed great authority; and they suspended the provincial synods as seditious meetings. Episcopacy now gradually acquired the ascendancy over the more simple, and perhaps, more rational, form of presbyterian worship, which neither diverts the attention by ceremony, nor impresses the imagination by show, but leaves the mind to the full influence of religious abstraction.

Two courts of *High Commission* were established at St. Andrews and Glasgow (anno 1610), with authority to regulate all ecclesiastical matters, and with a jurisdiction that extended to the cognizance of the conversation, conduct, and opinions, of every individual of the kingdom*. To give efficacy to the episcopal system, three prelates were consecrated in London, with power to confer the apostolical character on their titular brethren at home, which they accordingly did; and the episcopal church was thus settled in Scotland, “after fifty years of confusion; and a multiplicity of windings and turnings†.”

In the year 1617, the king visited Scotland, and called

* Laing, vol. i. p. 38.

† Skinner, vol. ii. p. 253.

called a parliament, which met at Edinburgh on the 13th June. Although the hierarchy was nearly perfect, yet the presbyterian form of worship was retained in the church, and James was most anxious to abolish it, by assimilating the ceremonies in Scotland to those in England. But the rites in religion are often deemed of more importance than the doctrines; and an opposition to his measures was manifested in parliament. He wished to pass an act, declaring, "that in ecclesiastical affairs whatever should be determined by the king, with the advice of the prelates, and a *competent number* of the clergy, should receive the operation and force of law." A protestation was presented to parliament by the clergy against this measure, and the article was withdrawn; but Simpson and Ewart, who had signed this protest, and Calderwood, who had written it, were convicted of sedition by the high commission of St. Andrews, and punished, the former by imprisonment, and the latter by exile. Such conduct in the king and the high commission, presents a deplorable picture of regal and ecclesiastical tyranny*.

Various ceremonies were proposed by James to be observed in the Scottish church, and they were reduced to five articles, which were adopted by the assembly held at Perth, on the 25th of August, 1618. Many of the clergy, however, and the people at large, detested these innovations as dangerous to true religion, and as too much resembling the Romish worship. But, in-
significant

* Laing, vol. i. p. 72.

significant as they were, they assumed a magnitude in the eyes of the king and the nation, that led to important consequences.—The articles of Perth were confirmed by the parliament which met at Edinburgh on the 4th August, 1621, although resisted by a numerous party. A scene of persecution now commenced, and episcopacy triumphed; but after years of civil war, and the endurance of all those calamities with which a nation can be afflicted, presbyterianism was again established.

The king died on the 27th March, 1625, at the age of sixty-nine, in the fifty-seventh year of his reign, and the twenty-second after his accession to the crown of England. He was succeeded by his son, Charles I. who was not more prudent than his father, and finally lost his crown and his life, through his interference with the religious opinions of the people, and his encroachments on their civil liberties.

William Gordon was the last of the Romish bishops who filled the see of Aberdeen; and he was succeeded by David Cunningham, son to the laird of Cunningham-head, and sub-dean of Glasgow, who was the first reformed bishop. He was preferred to this see by James VI. through the intercession of the earl of Morton, to whom he was chaplain during the time of his regency. It is said by Spottiswood, that he was a worthy man, but that the times being so bad, he had not an opportunity of doing any good. A short time before his death, he was sent by king James on an embassy to several of the princes of Germany, in which he acquitted himself

self to the satisfaction of his employer. He died at Aberdeen (anno 1603), and was succeeded by Peter Blackburn, rector of St. Nicholas' church. He was born in Glasgow, where he taught philosophy in the college for several years previously to his appointment as minister of Aberdeen. He endeavoured to conciliate the good opinion of the contending factions in the church; but while he studied to please the opponents of episcopacy, he became obnoxious to both parties, and thus lost his influence and his authority. He died at Aberdeen, anno 1615, and was succeeded by Alexander Forbes, parson of Fettercairn, of the house of Ardmurdo. He was bishop of Caithness, and translated thence to Aberdeen; but he did not enjoy his office much above a year, and died anno 1618*.

Patrick Forbes of Corse, a descendant of the family of Forbes in Aberdeenshire, succeeded bishop Alexander Forbes. He was well educated in human learning, and inclined to virtue. He was far advanced in life before he entered into holy orders; and a curious circumstance is related, as the cause that induced him to assume the sacred character. It is said by Keith, "For a good space he refused to enter into holy orders; but at last when he was forty-eight years old, viz. anno 1612, he was prevailed upon: a very singular accident having intervened, which made him then yield, viz. the earnest obtestation of a religious minister, who, in a fit of melancholy, had stabbed himself; but survived to lament his error.†." This is not the only instance where the reveries of a mad-

man

* Keith's Catalogue, p. 78.

† Ibid.

man have been deemed the effusions of inspiration, and produced consequences of more importance than Mr. Forbes's introduction to the church.

He was pastor of the village of Keith in Strath-isa, in the diocese of Moray, where he remained until 1618, when he was elected bishop of Aberdeen. He made it a practice to visit the different churches within his bounds on the Lord's day, without any retinue, that he might surprise the ministers in the performance of the service. He wrote a commentary on the book of *Revelations*. He died the 28th of March, 1635, at the age of seventy-one, and was interred in the south aisle of the cathedral.

man have been desired the effluvia of imagination, and profound consciousness of your importance than Mr. Fox's invitation to the church.

He was pastor of the village of Keth in South Devon in the diocese of Moray, where he remained until 1618, when he was elected bishop of Aberdeen. He made it a practice to visit the different churches within his bounds on the Lord's day, without any retinue, that he might surprise the ministers in the performance of the service. He wrote a commentary on the book of Psalms, published the 22^d of March 1633, at the age of seventy-one, and was interred in the south aisle of the cathedral.

He died at Aberdeen the 24th of February 1653, and was buried in the cathedral.

CHAPTER IV

OF THE BISHOP'S CONDUCT IN HIS OFFICE OF APOSTOLICAL DEPUTY, AND HIS MANAGEMENT OF THE CHURCHES UNDER HIS JURISDICTION.

THE BISHOP'S first care was to visit the churches under his jurisdiction, and to see that the service was performed with decency and order. He was very strict in his manner of preaching, and required that the ministers should be diligent in their study, and that they should be conversant with the scriptures, and that they should be able to give an account of their ministry.

He was also very diligent in his visits to the churches, and he was very strict in his manner of preaching, and he was very strict in his manner of preaching, and he was very strict in his manner of preaching.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONTENTS.

[PROVOSTS OF ABERDEEN—CHURCH AFFAIRS—NATIONAL COVENANT—THE “THREE APOSTLES OF THE COVENANT” AT ABERDEEN—CIVIL WAR—ABERDEEN OCCUPIED BY THE MARQUIS OF MONTROSE, &c. &c.—BRIDGE OF DEE FORCED BY MONTROSE—PEACE OF BERWICK.]

* * * *

THE following gentlemen were elected provosts of Aberdeen, for the years prefixed to their names, viz.

1606, Alexander Cullen; 1607, Alexander Rutherford; 1608, Alexander Cullen; 1609—1614, Alexander Rutherford; 1615—1620, Thomas Menzies of Cults; 1621, David Rutherford; 1622, George Nicolson; 1623—1633, Paul Menzies of Kinmundy; 1634, Patrick Leslie; 1635, Robert Johnston; 1636, Alexander Jaffray; 1637, Robert Johnston; 1638*,
2 A 2 Alexander

* On the 9th of September this year, king Charles I. granted a charter of confirmation to the city of Aberdeen, of which the reader will find a copy in the Appendix, No. III.

Alexander Jaffray ; 1639, 1640, Patrick Leslie ; 1641, Alexander Jaffray ; 1642-3, Patrick Leslie ; 1644, Robert Farquhar ; 1645-6, Thomas Gray ; 1647, Patrick Leslie ; 1648, Thomas Gray ; 1649, Alexander Jaffray ; 1650, Robert Farquhar.

One of the first acts of king Charles's reign, was the revocation of impropriated tithes and benefices ; but the convention of estates refused to sanction the measure. It could scarcely be expected, indeed, that those of the nobility and gentry, who had so long enjoyed the spoils of the church, would relinquish their plunder without a struggle. But a commission of surrender passed the Great Seal on the 26th June, 1627*, which excited general discontent. The necessities of the crown were urgent, and the stipends of the clergy were to be augmented. Charles considered the hierarchy as a divine institution, intimately blended with the monarchy and the rights of kings. To restore it, therefore, to its ancient splendour, was the object of his solicitude ; and the clergy, in return, supported his schemes with all their influence. This impolitic measure, however, disgusted many of the most potent barons, " who leagued with the presbyterians in opposition to the crown."

Charles re-visited his native country, and was crowned on the 18th June, 1633. A parliament assembled ten days after ; and the king, by deception, threatenings, and terror, obtained its sanction to the commission of surrendries, and also, its authority to two acts
relative

* Skinner's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 287.

relative to the church. The one, regulating the *habits* of churchmen; for it was deemed a matter of importance to introduce the English *surplice*; and the other, confirming the privileges of episcopacy. These measures did not pass, however, without a strenuous opposition from a numerous and powerful party in parliament; and his majesty's conduct on this occasion, contributed to his future ruin*.

Through the partiality of Charles, the prelates obtained the first offices in the state; and it will be easily believed, that their ambition, and desire for power, did not cease, nor were even diminished by their elevation. They wished to subject the country to ecclesiastical dominion, and to introduce a spiritual tyranny paramount to the civil authority. The Romish clergy were accused of meddling with state affairs, and charged with an intolerant spirit; the presbyterians attempted to assume power, and were equally intolerant; and now we find that the episcopalians were not better than either: in fact, all national churches (excepting our own of the present day), have constantly claimed a monopoly of opinion, or, in other words, they have wished to depress dissenters.

To establish episcopacy on a sure foundation, a book of canons was prepared, which the king confirmed

2 A 3

under

* Mr. Laing (vol. i. p. 103), mentions a curious circumstance relative to this business. He says, "Though rejected by fifteen peers, and forty-five commoners, the articles were falsely reported by the lord-register, as affirmed by parliament;" and that his majesty interposed to prevent a scrutiny. If this be true, his majesty must be considered as a despicable character..

under the great seal, the 23d May, 1635, "enjoining
 " all archbishops, bishops, and others exercising ec-
 " clesiastical jurisdiction in Scotland, to see them
 " punctually observed."—" These canons were print-
 " ed at Aberdeen in 1636, and as soon as published,
 " became the subject of much clamour and criticism,
 " which indeed was no more than might be expect-
 " ed*." Next year, the *Liturgy* was introduced,
 which excited the greatest alarm, lest popery should
 be revived, to which episcopacy was supposed to be
 analogous.

7— A tumult took place in Edinburgh, on Sunday, the
 23d July, 1636, which interrupted the service. An
 old woman committed the first act of hostility, by
 throwing the stool she sat upon at the dean's head;
 and the whole city was in a state of insurrection. The
 canons and the liturgy were generally rejected through-
 out the kingdom. The prelates were deemed the au-
 thors of them; against whom the tide of popular opi-
 nion run high. They were accused of introducing
 idolatry, and of being the cause of the discontent which
 prevailed. A supplication against the service-book
 was presented to the council, subscribed by a strong
 party of earls, barons, ministers, and burgesses. A
 proclamation was issued against the supplicants, who,
 in return, protested against its authority; at the same
 time, disclaiming the jurisdiction of the prelates, their
 illegal rites, and canons†. The protestation was fol-
 lowed by the establishment of an authority in opposi-
 tion

* Skinner's Eccl. Hist. vol. ii. p. 296.

† Laing, vol. i. p. 130.

to the government, entitled, "*The Four Tables*," consisting of the nobility, barons, ministers, and burghes; and their first act was the renewal of a *National Covenant*, by which they strengthened and cemented their union.

On the 1st March, 1638, this celebrated deed was subscribed and sworn, with uplifted hands, in Greyfriars church, by thousands of both sexes. Emissaries were dispatched over the whole country, to make converts and to obtain signatures to the new covenant. The southern and western counties readily embraced it; but in the northern districts it was not so favourably received; particularly in Aberdeen, where the influence of the marquis of Huntly, the clergy, and the learned doctors of the universities, withheld the people from subscribing*.

Commissioners were dispatched to Aberdeen by the *Tables*, to exhort the inhabitants, and to procure their subscription to the covenant. The worthy missionaries selected for this purpose, were, Mr. Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars in Fife, and Mr. David Dickson of Irvine, who were desired to call to their assistance the noted Mr. Andrew Cant, minister of Pitsligo in Buchan. The renowned marquis of Montrose, who at this time was a covenanter, with the lord Coupar, the Master of Forbes, Burnett of Leys, and Grahame of Morphie, followed (20th July, 1638), to enforce the arguments of the divines. They were coolly received in the town by the magistrates and ministers,

* Baillie's Letters, p. 72.

ministers, who refused them the use of the churches. They were determined, however, not to be disappointed in their object, and accordingly preached three times on Sunday to immense crowds, from the window of a wooden gallery in lord Marischal's Close*, when four to five hundred subscribed. They preached again on Monday, and then "went out to the sheriffdom, " where, with much labour, they persuaded many †." They returned to Aberdeen on the Saturday following (the 29th July), having prevailed on more than half the ministers of the diocese; and many laymen, to subscribe. Dr. William Guild and Mr. Robert Reid signed the covenant conditionally, on the 30th, and afterwards the mission returned to the south country ‡.

The most strenuous opponents of the "*three Apostles of the Covenant*" were the professors of the two colleges, who have always been men of abilities; and a *paper* war commenced between them, which, to be sure, did less injury to the citizens of Aberdeen, than the leaden bullets of the marquis of Montrose at a subsequent period. The learned doctors, however, although they had the advantage in point of argument, were afterwards severely punished for their temerity on this occasion, and were "persecuted with such unrelenting fury, that, to save their lives, they were forced to leave their country, and go into voluntary exile§."

On

* Gordon's MSS. B. II. p. 75.

† Baillie's Letters, vol. i. p. 73.

‡ Spalding's History of the Troubles, vol. i. p. 70.

§ Skinner, vol. ii. p. 319.

On the 21st November this year, a General Assembly sat down at Glasgow, composed of a motley group of earls, barons, presbyters, and burghesses; and Henderson was chosen moderator. A great deal of altercation took place between the assembly and the king's commissioner, who at last dissolved it; but the members refused obedience to his authority, and continued their sitting. They were highly gratified by the accession of the earl of Argyle, who deserted the court, and joined them*. They proceeded to the main object of their meeting, and abjured episcopacy as anti-christian. They degraded fourteen bishops, eight of whom were excommunicated, four deposed, and two were suspended. The crimes alledged against them were of a heinous nature. They were accused of superstitious innovations—the abuse of power—simony—irregularity in their lives—and an utter disregard of decency†. It is not probable that these allegations were true; but they afforded a pretence for the suppression of prelacy; and the assembly, on the 20th of December, arose in triumph.

A civil war was now inevitable, and both parties prepared for the contest. The king summoned the nobility of England to attend him at York, and his intention was to invade Scotland in all quarters. The covenanters were no less active. They called a general meeting of their party, to be held at Edinburgh on the 20th February, 1639, which accordingly assembled; and it was resolved to raise an army, and to appoint

* Laing, vol. i. p. 147.

† Ibid. p. 149.

appoint general Leslie to the command. The castles of Edinburgh and Dumbarton, and the palace of Dalkeith were seized, together with a large store of ammunition and arms*.

The city of Aberdeen still adhered to the king's interest, and were encouraged to reject the measures of the covenanters, by the marquis of Huntly, the magistrates, the clergy, and the doctors of the universities. The marquis of Montrose and general Leslie collected an army from the southern counties to impose the covenant on the northern districts, and to seize Huntly; and the citizens of Aberdeen prepared for a siege. They were drilled to the use of arms by colonel Johnston; and on the 1st March they began to fortify the town, by casting a ditch from the Gallowgate port along the north side down to the Castle-hill; and on the south side, opposite to the loch, they raised a wooden breastwork for the purpose of sheltering their musqueteers. Eleven pieces of ordnance were planted on the streets†. A seasonable supply of arms and ammunition was received on the 17th of March; a yacht and transport having arrived from England at the port of Aberdeen, with two thousand musquets, and a thousand pikes, with harness and arms for horse and foot, lead, powder, and matches, which were delivered to the marquis of Huntly.

At this time, the marquis received a commission from the king, appointing him lieutenant of the north-

* Laing, vol. i. p. 154.

† Spalding, vol. i. p. 113.

ern division of Scotland extending from the river Dee to the extremity of Caithness, which was proclaimed at the cross of Aberdeen on the 16th of March. In consequence of this commission, the marquis immediately proceeded to operate, and summoned all the loyalists from the age of sixteen to sixty, to meet him in arms, with fifteen days provisions, on the 25th of March. On the 22d, the inhabitants of the Old Town and Spittal; mustered their strength under the inspection of the bishop, to the number of a hundred and sixty men; but they were, "for the most part, feeble, weak, and unarmed*." On the same day, King's College was abandoned by the masters, members, and students, and its gates were shut.

Notwithstanding these preparations, the citizens of Aberdeen were intimidated at the approach of the covenanters; and the country at large was more inclined to support, than to oppose them. The marquis of Huntly and the magistrates of Aberdeen conceiving, therefore, that resistance would be in vain, sent commissioners to the convention of the covenanters held at Montrose, proposing terms of accommodation. But evasive answers were returned, which "bred great fear to the burgh of Aberdeen†;" and the marquis hastily retired to Inverury, where he had ordered his forces to assemble; but he either thought his army too weak to oppose the enemy, or could not rely on the fidelity of his troops, for he immediately ordered them to disperse‡.

Montrose

* Spalding, vol. i. p. 116.

† Ibid. p. 118.

‡ Ibid.

Montrose and Leslie now marched to Aberdeen with about nine thousand foot and horse, accompanied by earl Marischal, the earl of Kinghorn, the lords Erskine, Carnegie, and Elcho. They entered the town on the 30th, about ten o'clock morning, by the Upperkirkgate port, and came down the Broadgate, passing through Castle-street, by the Justice Port, to the Links, where they encamped. They were joined on the same day by lord Frazer, the master of Forbes, and other barons, with about two thousand men from the northern counties. The earl of Kinghorn was appointed governor of the town, which he garrisoned with fifteen hundred men; and the citizens were set to work to fill up the ditches. Montrose put his army in motion about four o'clock, afternoon, and marched to Kintore, where he halted for two days. He then advanced to Inverury, where he pitched his camp; and to prevent his farther progress, Huntly sent Gordon of Straloch to propose a meeting for the purpose of an accommodation, which accordingly took place; and Huntly, with the twelve gentlemen who accompanied him to the place of meeting, went with Montrose to his head-quarters at Inverury.

- In the meantime, the earl of Kinghorn proceeded to regenerate the town, and to enforce the covenant. A committee was appointed to sit within the Greyfriars church, to receive subscriptions to the covenant; and the principal and regents of King's College, with the doctors and ministers were summoned to appear before the committee under certification; and also all those who had not yet subscribed, whether churchmen or laymen. The provost,

provost, bailies, and council, with many others, complied ; but the principal of the college, the professors, and the greater part of the clergy, had previously fled.

On the 6th April, Montrose broke up his camp at Inverury, and marched to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the same day ; and encamped again in the Links. Next day (Sunday), the churches of the Old and New Town were filled with soldiers, and the preachers of the covenanters published the assembly's sentence of excommunication against the prelates. On Monday (the 8th), Montrose mustered his army, and dismissed all those who from weakness of body were unable to do duty. On the 9th, the earl of Seaforth, the master of Lovat, the provost of Elgin, and others, to the number of three hundred, came to Aberdeen to offer their services, and remained until the 13th, when they returned home.

On Wednesday the 10th, a solemn fast was held, and after sermon the covenant was read, to which the people, both men and women, swore, with uplifted hands. " But the Lord knows," says Spalding*, " how thir town's people were brought under perjury for plain fear, and not from a willing mind, by tyranny and oppression of thir covenanters, who compelled them to swear and subscribe, suppose they knew it was against their hearts."

On Thursday, the 11th, the commissioners appointed by the General Assembly, visited King's College ; and the members, excepting those who were absent,

were ordained to make public profession of repentance in the church of St. Machar.

The Argyle Highlanders, amounting to five hundred, joined Montrose, having quartered for several days on the lands of Drum and Pitfoddles, "where they had very good fare for little payment." They conducted themselves, however, with so much propriety in Aberdeen, that the town gave them a present of five hundred merks*.

Montrose having now accomplished his object, and without bloodshed, subjected the northern parts of the kingdom to the authority of the *Tables*, prepared to return to the south country. But as the reluctance of the people of Aberdeen to subscribe the covenant, had been the ostensible pretence of his visit, he demanded a contribution of a hundred thousand merks. The provost, however, having assured him, that the town could not possibly pay such a sum, he compromised it for ten thousand†, upon condition that the inhabitants should contribute, in future, to the common cause, in men and money, which they accordingly promised to do. General Leslie marched from Aberdeen on the 12th, with the foot army, and field pieces. Montrose, and the other nobles, with the horse, remained until next day, for the purpose of seizing the marquis of Huntly, whom they conveyed to

* Spalding, vol. i. p. 134.

† This was the first levy in money that was made for the maintenance of the army of the covenanters; and the *Tables* fined the town in forty thousand merks additional, on account of this business.

to Edinburgh, where they arrived on the 19th of April. Huntly refusing to subscribe the covenant, was ward- ed in the castle of Edinburgh, from which he was li- berated at the pacification of Berwick.

On the 16th April, a provincial synod was held in Aberdeen, which filled up the vacancies in the college, and appointed new ministers in the places of those who had absconded.

The friends of Huntly were greatly irritated by his seizure and imprisonment, and perhaps, were not fully converted to the principles of the covenanters. The lord Aboyne, and laird of Banff, with their kinsmen of the name of Gordon, manifested their hostile inten- tions by collecting their vassals to the number of two thousand horse and foot, with whom they stood in a defensive posture. The earls Marischal and Seaforth; the lord Frazer and master of Forbes, supported the interest of the covenanters; and they assembled on the 25th at Aberdeen, where many barons, gentlemen, and others, from Buchan, Marr, &c. joined them; in all about three thousand. Earl Marischal assumed the government of Aberdeen, quartered his troops, placed guards, and took possession of the keys of the tolbooth, kirks, and ports. Both armies, however, soon after- wards broke up, without coming in contact, or shed- ding any blood on the occasion.

A committee of the covenanters had appointed a meeting to be held at Turriff on the 20th May; and the heads of the party, consisting of the lord Frazer,

* Spalding, vol. i. p. 148.

master of Forbes, &c. assembled with twelve hundred of their followers, on the 13th; but the Gordons surprised and dispersed them, having killed several, and taken some prisoners. The victorious party now marched to Aberdeen, of which they took possession, and retaliated upon the covenanters all the hardships the loyalists had formerly experienced from Montrose. Spalding justly remarks, "No doubt this" "was very grievous to Aberdeen, to be so used by" "each party that were masters of the field, whereas" "all the other burrows of Scotland lived both first and" "last at great rest and quietness*."

At this time the houses and lands of those gentlemen who had signed the covenant, along Dee-side, and throughout Aberdeenshire, were plundered, wasted, and destroyed. At this troublesome period, armies were easily collected, and hastily disbanded. The Gordons remained only five days in Aberdeen, and dismissed their troops on the 21st May, with permission to the Highlanders to plunder the covenanters wherever they pleased. On the same day that the Gordons left Aberdeen, earl Marischal entered the town with about eight hundred horse and foot, and the anti-covenanters were now in their turn, harassed and oppressed. On the 24th, two thousand men joined the earl; and next day, Montrose, Kinghorn, and others, again entered Aberdeen with about four thousand horse and foot, and thirteen field pieces. As formerly, they marched in order of battle through Broadgate and Castlegate to the

* Spalding, vol. i. p. 152.

the Links, where they remained all night. The insurrection of the Gordons had occasioned the march of Montrose's army to the north; and the people of Aberdeen were implicated in their transactions, which drew forth the resentment of the covenanters of the southern parts of the kingdom.

The soldiery carried their depredations to great excess in the country around Aberdeen, plundering both friends and enemies, and violently seizing every thing within their reach that was either of value or of use*. The town was fined ten thousand merks; and deprived of their twelve pieces of artillery, but, with the exception of arms, nothing was taken from individuals.

Montrose marched northwards with his army on the 30th May, with the intention of wasting the lands of the anti-covenanters; but when he had sat down before the castle of Gight, he received intelligence that the lords Aboyne, Glencairn, and Tullibardine; Colonel Gunn, and other loyalists, had arrived in Aberdeen Roads, with a considerable force. He therefore quickly returned to Aberdeen, where he arrived on the 3d June. After remaining three days he retreated to the county of Angus. The leaders of the

2 B 3.

loyalists.

* Spalding mentions (vol. i. p. 160), that they were particularly severe on the canine species, and accounts for it in this way. When Montrose's army was last in Aberdeen, the officers and men wore blue ribbons round their necks; and when they retired from the town, some of the women in derision, adorned their dogs in the same manner. This was a joke the covenanters could not bear, and they now resented it by killing every dog in Aberdeen.

loyalists now landed from their transports. They caused a proclamation from the king to be read at the cross, and again returned to their ships. They expected three thousand men from Hamilton, who commanded the English fleet which was then in the Forth ; but they were completely disappointed, and Glencairn and Tullibardine returned home in disgust. Lewis Gordon (the third son of the marquis), however, came to Aberdeen with about a thousand horse and foot, and four brass field pieces. The houses of the covenanters were occupied by the soldiers, and in their turn, they now suffered all the hardships of retaliation.

Lord Aboyne, in virtue of his commission as the king's lieutenant, summoned all true subjects to repair to his standard, and his force soon increased to two thousand. From Aberdeen he raised two hundred men, and from the Old Town, forty ; and altogether, his army mustered about four thousand, with which he marched from Aberdeen to Muchals, on the 14th of June, with the intention of penetrating through Mearns and Angus, and punishing the covenanters of these counties. But he was opposed at Stonehaven, by Montrose, and the earl Marischal, who had collected about two thousand men. Aboyne drew up his army on Megrayhill, within half a mile of the enemy ; but a few cannon shots having fallen among the Highlanders, who were unaccustomed to artillery, they fled ; and the panic spreading from the one end of their line to the other, the whole took to flight. Aboyne returned to Aberdeen with part of his horsemen, and endeavoured to collect the fugitives of his army.

Montrose

Montrose and earl Marischal advanced to the bridge of Dee on the 18th, but they found it fortified, and guarded by a hundred musqueteers from Aberdeen, who defended it until next day, when Montrose's horsemen made a feint to cross the river, a little above the bridge. Aboyne imprudently drew off his horsemen to oppose the passage of those of the enemy; and the defence of the bridge was left to captain Johnstoun, with only fifty musqueteers, who, being overpowered, precipitately fled to Aberdeen. Aboyne also took to flight with his horse, without firing a shot, and thus Montrose became master of the bridge, and of his four pieces of brass cannon, with scarcely the loss of a man.

The hardships of war are generally severe, but at this period, they were heightened by the rancorous spirit of party; and the loyalists of Aberdeen dreaded a terrible chastisement. They fled from the town, "with their wives and children in their arms, and carried on their backs, weeping and mourning most pitifully, straying here and there, not knowing where to go*."

The pacification of Berwick took place on the 18th of June, of which the leaders of the covenanting army had hourly expected to receive intelligence, even before the attack on the bridge of Dee; but they did not wish to be deprived of the fruits of their expedition, and accordingly, fined the inhabitants in six thousand merks, as the price of their forbearance from plundering the town. On the 21st, the whole army marched southwards;

* Spalding, vol. i. p. 176.

southwards; and, in consequence of the peace, the country, for a time, was relieved from the miseries of war*.

CHAPTER

* Gordon says (MS. b. 5. sect. 56.), That Montrose had received express orders from the committee of estates to burn the town of Aberdeen, which was only saved by the interference of earl Marischal.

CHAPTER XV.

CONTENTS.

[RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES—SUBSCRIPTION OF THE COVENANT—VARIOUS TRANSACTIONS AT ABERDEEN—CESSATION OF ARMS AT RIPPON—CHARLES VISITS SCOTLAND—SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT—COMMENCEMENT OF A NEW WAR—BATTLES OF MONTROSE—SACK OF ABERDEEN—PROGRESS OF MONTROSE—HIS DEFEAT AT PHILIPHAUGH—MARQUIS OF HUNTLY—GENERAL MIDDLETON—COLONEL DAVID BARCLAY OF URY—CHARLES'S ARRIVAL AT THE SCOTISH CAMP AT NEWARK—PESTILENCE AT ABERDEEN.]

* * * *

THE pacification at Berwick was no more than a hollow truce which neither party intended to observe; for the king was fully as unprincipled as his enemies, and it was necessity alone that extorted the concessions which the Scotch commissioners then obtained*.

The General Assembly sat down at Edinburgh on the 12th August, 1639, and "all that had been done at Glasgow was now confirmed: episcopacy utterly
" extirpated;

* See Laing's History, vol. i. p. 159—165.

“ extirpated ; the service-book, canons, and articles of
 “ Perth abolished ; and their own covenant ratified
 “ and ordained to be sworn to and subscribed by all
 “ the subjects in the kingdom*.” On the 30th, the
 assembly was dissolved ; and, next day, the parlia-
 ment convened, and ratified all its acts ; but having
 proceeded to settle a variety of other matters, a
 sudden prorogation interrupted the estates in their
 career of reformation.

When there was so little cordiality subsisting be-
 tween the king and the covenanters, it could not be
 difficult to find a pretext for the renewal of hostilities.
 But Charles found sufficient ground for a quarrel, by
 the detection of a letter from seven of the chief nobi-
 lity, addressed to the king of France, soliciting assist-
 ance against him ; and lord Loudon, the writer of it,
 was sent to the tower. A convention of estates again
 appointed Leslie commander in chief, on the 16th
 of April, 1640 ; and before the middle of July, a nu-
 merous army was ready to take the field†. On the
 21st August, the covenanters entered England, and
 seized Newcastle upon Tyne. To preserve the ap-
 pearance of moderation, they sent a supplication to
 the king at York. His army was mutinous, and he
 consented to their terms. A cessation of arms for two
 months, was settled at Rippon, on the 16th October,
 and the demands of the Scots were referred to the
 consideration of the parliament of England, which met
 on

* Skinner, vol. ii. p. 346.

† Twenty-three thousand foot, three thousand horse, and a
 train of artillery.

on the 3d of November. The claims of the covenanters were fully sustained, and they farther received from parliament three hundred thousand pounds, "as a friendly assistance and relief thought fit to be made toward the losses and necessities of our brethren in Scotland."

In the absence of the army, and during the progress of the treaty, the covenanters were active at home, and zealously enforced obedience to the acts of their committee, particularly the subscription of the covenant, to which the people were compelled to swear, by threats or punishment. The earl Marischal was extremely assiduous in this business; and he came to Aberdeen on the 2d of March, 1640, accompanied by lord Frazer, to "see the covenant and bond subscribed by the township." The provost, bailies, and council, with the exception of three or four, were themselves covenanters, and they heartily joined with the earl in promoting the "goodlie work" of subscribing and swearing. But many refused, whose names were carefully recorded, that they might be objects of future oppression. A bond of allegiance had been formerly subscribed, at the *command* of lord Aboyne, which was still in the custody of the town-clerk. It was an evidence against the covenanters, which they wished to destroy; and the earl gratified them, by tearing it in pieces as soon as he had received it from the hands of the provost.

It is lamentable to observe, how often the people were forced by the barbarous leaders of the different parties, to subscribe, and to swear to bonds, perfectly contradictory.

contradictory. The frequency of such opposite engagements, constantly made more awful by the exaction of a solemn oath, must have lessened the effect, or destroyed the consequences of an obligation which the practice of all nations has consecrated to truth. Whatever might have been the morality of the chiefs of the contending factions, yet they ought to have respected the consciences of other men, and not unhinged their honest principles by the prostitution of every thing that was deemed sacred.

The earl Marischal returned to Aberdeen on the 2d of May, with about a hundred and sixty horse, and established a committee for the government of the town and county. The subscription of the covenant by those who had not formerly subscribed, was the principal business of the committee; and the exaction of six thousand merks from the borough, seems to have been the earl's particular object. A muster of those capable of bearing arms in Aberdeen was made at this time, and in all they amounted to two hundred and sixty men; but many of the anti-covenanters were absent. General Munro arrived at Aberdeen on the 28th of May, with a small army, consisting of about eight hundred foot and forty horse, which were in good order, "having blue bonnets on their heads, "with feathers waving in the wind." He made a requisition on the town for various supplies, such as bread, beer, shoes, cloth, &c. to be provided by the 2d June, for the use of the army in England under general Leslie. He enrolled a hundred and fifty of the citizens of Aberdeen, in his own ranks, and being joined by other levies

vies to the amount of eight hundred more, he sent out small parties to pillage the country, especially the houses and lands of the loyalists, and to seize their persons, a number of whom were fined by the estates in heavy sums. Monro made a plundering expedition through the lands of the Gordons, and pitched his camp at Strathbogie, which he broke up on the 10th of August, having remained there for more than a month*. He "left that country almost manless, monyless, horseless, and armless, so pitifully was the same born down and subdued," although "the people sware and subscribed the covenant most obediently†." After wasting the country as far as Morayshire, Monro returned to Aberdeen on the 6th September. On the 9th, he issued an order to furnish his soldiers with clothing, shirts, and shoes, which was obeyed; and also to advance ten thousand merks to be repaid from the tenths to be collected within the sheriffdom of Aberdeen‡. On the 12th of September, he marched southwards, with his whole army.

The master of Forbes was left in the command of the district with his own regiment; and he frequently sent out parties to plunder those who were backward in the payment of the tenths. This species of exac-

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* On the 3d August, Mr. Andrew Cant was translated from Newbottle to Aberdeen, by the voice of the General Assembly which met at Aberdeen on the 28th July.

† Spalding, vol. i. p. 247.

‡ A tenth of rents, and the twentieth penny of interest, were imposed as an assessment for the defence of the country by the Scottish parliament,

tion comprehended every thing that could be carried off, and the country was dreadfully oppressed by these armed marauders. Heavy requisitions of shoes, clothes, and shirts, were imposed on the town and neighbourhood, which were shipped and sent to Newcastle, for the use of Leslie's army. On the 22d of October, lord Sinclair's regiment arrived at Aberdeen, and were quartered for some time in the town; but their *military chest* being exhausted, they were obliged to provide for themselves in the best manner they could, which they did, by roving over the country, and everywhere plundering the defenceless.

The cessation of arms at Rippon (16th Oct. 1640), put a period to these oppressive transactions, but not until the country was almost entirely drained by the various assessments in money, provisions, and clothing, required for the maintenance of the armies, exclusive of the general depredation that took place on the properties of those who were inimical to the measures of the covenanters.

Charles again visited Scotland, and the parliament sat down on the 19th of August, 1641. He was anxious to conciliate the Scots, as he apprehended a rupture with his English subjects, and therefore conceded every thing they could desire. Montrose had become disgusted with the covenanters, who had not sufficiently appreciated his services, and he entered into a counter-association, to which he had procured the subscription of nineteen peers*. The discovery of this plot exasperated

* Laing, vol. i. p. 198.

exasperated the estates; and Montrose, with his friends, was imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle, where the king found them on his arrival in Scotland, but he had the pleasure of seeing them liberated before his departure.

The business of parliament being finished to the entire satisfaction of the estates, it rose on the 17th of November; and next morning, his majesty commenced his journey to London.

The arbitrary measures of the king, and his particular prejudices in regard to religious matters, had excited general discontent among the puritanical party in England, who were emboldened from the success of the Scottish covenanters, to pursue schemes which tended to diminish the prerogative of the crown. The king thought the dearest interests of the monarchy affected by their conduct and claims. The parliament, on the other hand, apprehended the overthrow of the civil liberties of the country, in which their own safety was implicated; and pretences were soon found by both parties for an appeal to arms. They encountered at Shrewsbury on the 23d of October, 1642, when the parliamentary forces under Essex were defeated by those under the king. The war was attended by various success, and alternate triumphs crowned the respective armies. Gibbon justly remarks (b. v. vol. i.), that “the civil wars of modern Europe have been distinguished, not only by the fierce animosity, but likewise, by the obstinate perseverance of the contending factions. They have generally been justified by some principle, or, at least, coloured by some

“ pretext of religion, freedom, or loyalty. The lead-
 “ ers were nobles of independent property, and here-
 “ ditary influence. The troops fought like men in-
 “ terested in the decision of the quarrel; and as mi-
 “ litary spirit and party zeal were strongly diffused
 “ throughout the whole community, a vanquished
 “ chief was immediately supplied with new adherents,
 “ eager to shed their blood in the same cause.”—
 These observations fully apply to the war of this pe-
 riod in both kingdoms.

The mediation of the Scots was rejected by Charles; and from a sympathy of feeling and a similarity of situation, the convention of estates determined to support the common cause by an union with the parliament of England. A *Solemn League and Covenant* was therefore entered into (17th August, 1643), by the contracting parties, for their mutual defence and protection, the preservation of their religion, rights, and liberties, which was ordained in both kingdoms to be universally subscribed and sworn to by the people.

The immediate result of this league was a treaty with the convention for twenty-one thousand horse and foot to be retained in the pay, and for the service of England*. Old Leslie, now earl of Leven, was appointed to command the army, which marched to Newcastle in the depth of winter, with the view of surprising that fortified place; but before they arrived, it was secured from assault, and the Scots advanced to the siege of York. Prince Rupert came to

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* Laing, vol. i. p. 234.

its relief, and a battle ensued on Marston-moor, in which the allies were victorious, having totally routed the royal army. The Scots returned to the siege of Newcastle, and it was taken by a desperate assault. But while they were contending so gallantly in the north of England, the flames of war burst forth in the bosom of their own country, and blazed with destructive rage*.

As soon as the treaty with the parliament of England was ratified, an order was issued by the estates, commanding all men from sixteen to sixty years of age, to provide themselves in arms (18th August, 1643); and sums of money, with quotas of men, were allotted to each county as a conscription for the public service. The sheriffdom of Aberdeen was valued at a hundred thousand merks, of which the town had to pay eighteen thousand four hundred, as its proportion of this assessment.

Although the majority of the nation approved of the measures of the convention, yet there were many attached to the royal cause, some of whom were powerful, particularly the marquis of Huntly, and Gordon of Haddo, who were both proscribed, and orders were issued to apprehend them. Provost Jaffray, with the sheriffs, and forty horsemen, went out to seize Haddo in his own house, but he was not to be found; and some of his friends having fired a few shots among this party, each man took to his heels, and ran home as fast as he could.

* Laing, vol. i. p. 248.

To defray the expence of the war, and to repay the money borrowed by the estates, an excise tax was enacted, which embraced every commodity within the kingdom. This tax was to continue during the war, or, at farthest, for one year. The whole country was divided into regular commands; and a complete system of military organization was established.

The quota of men for the borough of Aberdeen, consisting of a hundred and thirty, marched from the town on the 16th July, 1644. They were raised and furnished at the expence of the community. Each man received a suit of clothes, and two shirts, with a musquet and sword, and powder and ball; or sword and pike, according to order. The pay of each soldier was six shillings Scots per day, and every twelve were allowed a baggage horse, worth L.50 Scots, with utensils for cooking their victuals. Their enlisting money was estimated at ten dollars each, and altogether, this small body of men cost the town of Aberdeen above ten thousand pounds Scots*. If we make allowance for the difference in the value of money between that period and the present, it will appear, that the expence of equipping an army then, was equal to what L.77 sterling a man, would be at the present day. The expence of horsemen was still greater, being L.180 each, of which the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, furnished 240, amounting to L.43,200 Scots.

The marquis of Huntly and Gordon of Haddo being outlawed, an insurrection of their clan was apprehended, which

* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 150.

which considerably alarmed the inhabitants of Aberdeen; and their remaining militia, about a hundred and twenty, were daily drilled in the Links. Watches were placed day and night. The ports were closed at ten o'clock evening, and opened at six in the morning. The town, however, was not sufficiently guarded; for on the 19th of March, Haddo, with a few of his friends, about sixty horsemen, dashed into the town a little past seven o'clock morning, seized provost Lesly, Robert Farquhar, and Alexander Jaffray, late bailies, with John Jaffray, dean of guild, and after remaining about two hours, he carried them off to Strathbogie. This was deemed by both parties a gallant action, as it was performed in the face of the whole citizens, including their hundred and twenty soldiers*.

The marquis of Huntly who had constantly adhered to the royal cause, began to demonstrate a hostile intention, by collecting and arraying his vassals. He came to Aberdeen on the 26th March, with about five hundred horse and foot. He held various meetings with his friends in the lower council-house, and it was resolved that he should raise a flying army to scour the northern districts, and to be a rallying point to the loyalists in these quarters. He disarmed the inhabitants of Aberdeen, and seized four pieces of ordnance from a ship in the harbour. That his reasons might be known for thus appearing in a warlike attitude, he issued a well written proclamation, explanatory of his motives, of which the following is a copy.

“ 16th

* Perhaps the hundred and twenty soldiers had been drilling in the Links *all the while!*

“ 16th March, 1644.

“ I, George, marquis of Huntly. Whereas the
“ committee of estates hath (without his majesty’s
“ approbation), directed the sheriffs of Aberdeen and
“ Banff for seizing upon my person, houses, rents;
“ and goods, contrary not only to the established or-
“ der of law, which requireth all men to be legally
“ accused before they be condemned, and to be crimi-
“ nally condemned ere any such commission be di-
“ rected against them; but also reflecting upon his
“ majesty’s subjects their lawful privileges of this
“ kingdom, no less than the late published act for the
“ collecting of an unusual excise, and for enforcing a
“ general loan of monies throughout the country, and
“ finding some stop in the execution of this commis-
“ sion by those who were entrusted therewith, have
“ now prepared some forces from the south, whereby
“ to press their designs against me, for no other cause
“ but that I refuse to concur with them in the levy of
“ men and money, for assisting the present invasion
“ of England, contrary to my conscience, incompat-
“ ible with my humble loyalty to our gracious sove-
“ reign, and so destructive to the late pacification, so-
“ lennly ratified by his majesty, and parliaments of
“ both kingdoms, as no honest Christian (being of this
“ my opinion), can willingly condescend to be con-
“ tained in it. Therefore, I, the said George, marquis
“ of Huntly, do hereby declare and protest, that (if
“ in that just defence of myself and friends from these
“ unlawful violences, or in the repairing of them ac-
“ cording to our weak abilities), any acts of hostility
“ shall

“ shall be committed by us against our invaders, and
 “ their confederates and abettors, they may not be
 “ imputed unto us, otherwise than as payments of the
 “ debts we owe to nature, loyalty, and honour, and to
 “ which no lower interest could enforce us; which
 “ being, as I hope, a sufficient evidence to all the
 “ world of my fair intentions for rendering the sincere
 “ and humble duties I owe to religion, his majesty’s
 “ honour and safety, and to the laws and liberties of
 “ the kingdom, I humbly entreat and expect appro-
 “ bation from all good men in this so equitable and so
 “ necessitate a case; withal imploring (upon my
 “ bended knees) such heavenly assistance from God
 “ Almighty, and such earthly protection from the
 “ king’s majesty, against all enemies of peace and lo-
 “ yalty, as in their mercy and justice may seem fit*.”

The marquis had received the assurance of assistance from the earls of Airly, Athol, Seaforth, &c., and also expected the arrival of Montrose, Crawford, Kinnoul, Nithsdale, the viscount Aboyne, and the lord Ogilvy, with forces to employ the troops of the estates in the south and west of Scotland. A general plundering for money, arms, horses, provisions, and every thing requisite for war, took place throughout the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, which was also extended to the northern parts of Mearns-shire.

The estates were not indifferent to these preparations; and the committees of Angus and Mearns were ordered to levy forces for the purpose of suppressing the insurrection of the Gordons. The *Kirk*, also, were

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* See Spalding, vol. ii. p. 164.

not backward in their efforts to contribute to the common cause; for they excommunicated the marquis and his friends on the 14th April, in St. Giles in Edinburgh.

It is apparent that the royal cause was unpopular in the country, for notwithstanding Huntly's activity, he could only bring into the field such men as were under his immediate influence; and his party were not able to collect a force sufficient to meet that which was coming against them. Despair seized the chiefs of the Gordons, and they dispersed, without a struggle in the king's favour, on the 30th of April. The marquis retired to Auchindown on the 7th May, from which he liberated provost Lesly and the magistrates of Aberdeen; and he now only sought his own safety in concealment.

The army of the covenanters entered Aberdeen on the 2d of May, under the lords Burleigh and Elcho, the earls Marischal and Kinghorn, with the lord Carnegie, consisting of two thousand foot, and four hundred horse, with standards on which was inscribed, "*For the Covenant, Religion, the Crown, and the Kingdom.*" The marquis of Argyle, commander in chief, joined them with a considerable force, and altogether, they now formed an army of six thousand men.

On the 4th May, the covenanters broke up their camp, and marched northwards to regenerate the country. They assembled their friends at Turriff on the 16th of May, from the shires of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray, whom they mustered to the number of two thousand horse and foot. The marquis of Huntly escaped

caped his pursuers, and took refuge in Caithness, where he remained until the 4th of October, 1645. The loyalists, and all those who had supported Huntly, were dreadfully oppressed by the covenanters, who everywhere pillaged, burned, and destroyed their property. A loan of £1000 sterling was exacted from the town of Aberdeen, of which each citizen contributed his proportion, according to his circumstances.

As no enemy appeared in the field, it was not thought necessary to keep the covenanting army longer embodied, and they returned to Aberdeen by detachments, where they were gradually disbanded. The marquis of Argyle departed from Aberdeen on the 30th of May, but promised to return to attend the great committee to be held on the 24th July. He was then, however, otherwise employed; and lord Burleigh sat as president of the committee, which was composed of earls Marischal and Findlater, the lords Elcho, Fraser, Carnegie, and many other barons and gentlemen. The principal business of this committee was, extorting money for the public service by way of a *forced loan*, and imposing heavy fines on the anti-covenanters, but especially on those who had joined or aided the marquis of Huntly.

The marquis of Montrose, who had become the most inveterate enemy of the covenanters, appeared in Athole, with fifteen hundred Irish troops, and so celebrated was his name, that his army soon increased to three thousand. It would exceed our limits to follow this knight-errant minutely through all his wanderings; but as the town of Aberdeen so severely felt the weight
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of his sword, it may be proper to relate concisely the most important operations of his sanguinary campaigns.

The estates were sufficiently alarmed at the progress of the Irish, who had ravaged the northern extremity of Argyleshire, and traversed the extensive range of Lochaber and Badenoch. But they still more dreaded the appearance of Montrose, whose popularity and gallantry were well known. Six thousand horse and foot were stationed at Perth under lord Elcho, which had been hastily drawn from the adjacent counties*. Montrose attacked them on Tippermuir, routed and dispersed them on the 1st of September. He became master of their baggage and artillery; and the immediate consequence of this victory was, the surrender of Perth, where he obtained clothing, arms, and ammunition. He was now joined by the earl of Airly, the lords Duplin and Spynie, with their adherents. But as the earl of Argyle was following him with a superior force, he marched northwards, with the view of raising the Gordons, on whom he relied for a considerable addition of strength.

The lord Gordon, who had attached himself to the covenanters, either from interest or inclination, was appointed by the committee lieutenant-general of the district, comprehending Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray shires. He collected three thousand men at Kil-drummy; but the lords Forbes, Frazer, and Crichton, refusing to serve under him, his followers deserted, and he retired in disgust. Lord Burleigh, president of the committee,

* Laing, vol. i. p. 252.

committee, took the command of the town, and prepared to oppose the progress of Montrose. A proclamation was issued on the 6th of September, ordering the men of the sheriffdoms of Aberdeen, Kincardine, and Banff, to rendezvous at Aberdeen on the 9th and 10th, and those of Morayshire on the 12th and 13th; but few assembled, excepting from the county of Aberdeen. Lord Burleigh, however, collected about three thousand horse and foot, including the men of Aberdeen, who were commanded by major Arthur Forbes, having under him as captains, Patrick Leslie, younger, Alexander Lumsden, Alexander Burnett, and Thomas Melvine.

Montrose crossed the Dee at the mills of Drum, on Wednesday, the 11th of September, and pitched his camp at Crathes. Lord Burleigh marched out his army on the same day to the two-mile cross, but he returned to the town on Thursday evening, and Montrose took up that position. On Friday, the 13th, Montrose sent a commissioner with a letter to the provost, accompanied by a drummer, to beat the parley, requesting that he would deliver up the town to him as the king's lieutenant, assuring the provost at the same time, that no injury should be done to the people; but, in the event of refusal, he desired that all the old men, women, and children, might be removed. The provost assembled the council in the house of Alexander Findlater, at the Bow bridge, where lord Burleigh, and other military officers, attended. They returned an answer importing that they would defend themselves to the uttermost; but by design or accident,

dent, the drummer was killed, which greatly enraged Montrose. He advanced from the two-mile cross, and Burleigh marched out about 11 o'clock forenoon, to meet him. Both armies drew up on that flat piece of ground where the Bridewell is situated, and the action now commenced by a discharge of artillery. Montrose's army behaved most gallantly; but we can scarcely believe, that his forty-four horsemen, traversing from wing to wing, should defeat lord Burleigh's five hundred cavalry. It is certain, however, that the Irish and Highlanders made a fierce attack on the covenanters, who ingloriously fled. Those on horseback escaped, but the foot soldiers were pursued into the town, which was sacked, and many of the citizens were butchered in the streets. Spalding gives a distressing account of the cruelties committed by the Irish. They murdered every man they could find, stript off the clothes of the dead, and left their naked bodies unburied. They continued the pillage for three days, with all the wanton barbarity of the most ferocious savages. "The wife durst not cry nor weep at the husband's slaughter before her eyes, nor the daughter for her father, which if they did, and were heard, they were also presently slain*."

Montrose marched from Aberdeen on the 16th, to Kintore; thence to Inverury and the Garioch. Argyle's army arrived at Aberdeen on the 18th, having been joined at Brechin by lord Gordon, earl Marischal, the lords Fraser and Crichton. Lord Burleigh, with

* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 237.

with the chief covenanters of the town, who had so shamefully fled from the field of battle, now joined Argyle, whose force amounted to about six thousand horse and foot. They lived at free quarters; but the town could furnish little to support them*, and the country, as usual, was plundered of every thing that was of value.

Montrose generally disappointed his enemies by the rapidity of his movements; and when he heard that Argyle was following him to Strathbogie, he passed to Speyside: but the covenanters in Moray, lining the opposite banks, prevented his crossing the river, and he pitched his camp in the wood of Abernethie. Argyle made no great exertion to overtake Montrose, but quietly mustered his army at the bog of Gight, which was only twenty miles distance from Abernethie. Montrose marched through Strathspey, Badenoch, and Athole, and by a sudden counter-movement, again burst upon Angus. He seized the house of Dun, where the people of the town of Montrose had deposited their valuables, and got possession of the four pieces of brass cannon, formerly belonging to the marquis of Huntly, and which he had taken from him at the bridge of Dee, when fighting for the covenant.

Argyle with his horse went to Forres to attend the committee, and thence to Inverness, which he ordered to be garrisoned by two regiments of foot. He re-

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turned

* Spalding says, "The first night they drank out all the *stale* ale in Old Aberdeen, and lived upon *wort* thereafter."—Vol. ii. p. 245.

turned to Badenoch, where he met his foot army, and then continued the pursuit of Montrose through Athole, Angus, and Mearns. Those whom Montrose had spared as being loyalists, were now pillaged as enemies to the covenanters; thus the whole country was alternately wasted and destroyed by the contending parties.

The committee at Aberdeen dreaded another calamitous visit from Montrose, and ordered all the horsemen in the district to rendezvous at the bridge of Dee on the 14th of October; but so great was the terror of his arms, that few attended. Major-general Ramsay posted the horse under his immediate command at the bridge of Dee, where he was joined by three troops under lord Gordon, and one troop under Keith, brother to the earl Marischal; and, on the 15th, they were farther reinforced by eight troops under the command of colonel Hamilton. The town's people were charged by tuck of drum to form foot companies, and join the rendezvous; but they had not forgot their last trial of prowess with the marquis's soldiers, and not a man would rise.

Montrose crossed the Dee at the mills of Drum, on the 17th, and marched again to Strathbogie, pillaging and burning wherever he went, so that the country presented nothing but the smoking ruins of gentlemen's houses, and peasant's cottages. Argyle again entered Aberdeen on the 18th, with two thousand foot and seven troops of horse; to which were added, the fourteen troops under major-general Ramsay. He remained until the 25th, when he marched to Kintore, and next day to Inverury, where he staid all night, and
" heard

“heard devotion.” The covenanters were so extremely fond of preaching, that they would rather have lost a battle than a sermon. Montrose, in the meantime, took up an advantageous position in the wood of Fyvie; but his army, by desertion, and the absence of the Irish, was reduced to eighteen hundred men. Argyle marched from Inverury (28th October), to Fyvie, in the expectation of capturing Montrose and his little army; but they so bravely defended themselves for three days, and killed so many of Argyle’s men, that he removed his camp to Crichtie, and permitted them to escape. Argyle followed the day after, and again overtook Montrose in Strathbogie; where some hot skirmishing ensued; but he now eluded all pursuit, by retiring to the mountains.

Argyle having abandoned the pursuit of Montrose for the present, directed his attention to other objects. He called a committee at Turriff on the 18th November, which made a requisition of new levies from the counties of Aberdeen and Banff. On the 19th, he returned to the town of Aberdeen to attend the provincial assembly of the *Kirk*; for religion and war were then the grand objects which engrossed the attention of every description of men; and on the 21st, he set off for Edinburgh, to give an account of his military exploits, with which the estates were not much satisfied. His army, with the exception of a thousand which had returned home, was quartered in Aberdeen, Ellon, and Deer; in Banff, and in Morayshire. The allowance to each foot soldier was, two pecks of meal,

and twelve shillings weekly, with house-room, coal, and candle. To each trooper, sixteen shillings per week, and a peck of oats per day, with fodder for his horse.

When Argyle departed, the earl Marischal, the lords Fraser and Crichton, with other barons, and the provost of Aberdeen, continued the sittings of the committee until January, 1645; and it was ordered by the estates, that Aberdeen should be fortified. The sufferers, in the cause of the covenant, were authorised by the committee to indemnify themselves for their losses, from the lands, rents, and fishings of the papists, and they accordingly took possession of every thing belonging to these unfortunate men, which a broad interpretation of this act could possibly comprehend.

The active genius of Montrose still pursued objects of conquest or destruction. He penetrated into Argyleshire, and being again joined by the Irish and the M'Donalds of the Isles, waged a destructive war†. This ferocious chief, whom historians of a certain class have unjustly praised, was no more than a merciless barbarian, who embittered the calamities of his country by every species of cruelty. The rectitude of his political principles may admit a diversity of opinion; his gallantry is unquestionable, and his exploits are brilliant: but the perpetration of such undistinguished massacre and wanton conflagration as he at that time committed in Breadalbin, Argyle, and Lorn, must for ever stamp
him

† Laing, Spalding, &c.

him as a detestable and atrocious scourge, who despised the glory of war, for the gratification of private revenge. For nearly three months, he wasted these unhappy districts with fire and sword, in the true spirit of Vandalism, and then marched towards Inverness.

Argyle advanced to Inverlochy, with about three thousand men, where he was surprised and attacked by Montrose, on the 2d of February, 1645. The battle commenced with the rising of the sun; and the conduct of the chieftains indicated their different characters. Montrose everywhere animated his men by his presence; while the cowardly Argyle retired from the field, and in a galley sought safety, or avoided danger, on the smooth surface of the lake. Fifteen hundred of the Campbells were destroyed, and the Highlands in every direction were open to the conquerors.

When the estates heard of this disaster, they ordered major-general Baillie to levy a new army to oppose Montrose, who retraced his steps to Inverness, with incredible diligence. But the town was fortified and garrisoned by two veteran regiments; and his irregular troops could neither besiege nor assault it. When he descended into Moray, he ordered every man from sixteen to sixty, to join his standard; and those who refused, or were hostile to his cause, suffered the indiscriminate devastation of their houses and lands. The lord Gordon, who had been disgusted with the estates, and the chief of the Grants, now joined him at Elgin, with their adherents. Elgin, Cullen, and Banff, were abandoned to the soldiers; and the house of the earl of Findlater was only saved from the flames by a heavy

heavy ransom. It is painful to pursue the bloody footsteps of this conqueror, who forgot the dignity of his species, and trampled on every law of humanity. He proceeded to Turriff; and the city of Aberdeen trembled. The council sent four commissioners to deprecate his wrath, "who, with great humility, pitifully declared to his honour, the manifold miseries daily befalling the town of Aberdeen, coming from one side and from another, and no burgh within Scotland so heavily distressed as that town from time to time, since the beginning of thir troubles, as was well known unto himself; and now fearing that he and his army were coming to Aberdeen, declared the haill people, man and woman, through plain fear of the Irishes, was fleeing away, if his honour did not give them assurance of safety and protection*."

Pity or remorse seemed to have seized his soul, and he forbade them to be afraid; for his foot, which included the Irish, should not be permitted to approach nearer to the town than eight miles. On the 9th of March, major Nathaniel Gordon came to Aberdeen from Montrose's army, with a few troops of horse; and the keys of the kirks, ports, and the tolbooth, were delivered to him as the emblems of submission. He took eighteen hundred musquets, pikes, &c. at Torrie, which had been left under the guard of the late captain Keith's troop, of whom several were killed, and some taken prisoners. Major Gordon placed sentinels in the town, and
sent

* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 278.

sent patrols as far as Cowie to prevent a surprise from the south. Montrose advanced to Inverury and Kintore, where he issued an order, commanding all the men in the shire to meet him at Inverury on the 15th of March, in their best arms, and mounted on their best horses, under pain of fire and sword.

Major Gordon, who had joined the camp on the 12th, returned again to Aberdeen, with about eighty gentlemen on horseback. They rested in fancied security, and indulged in merriment, neglecting the ordinary precautions of war; and were surprised on the night of the 15th, by major Hurry, and a detachment of horse and foot from Baillie's army. Several of the loyalists were killed, and their horses were carried off by Hurry's party, which hastily retreated next morning.

Although Montrose did not give up the town to be pillaged, yet, by his orders, major M'Donald exacted a contribution in cloth, gold and silver lace, &c. to the amount of L.10,000, which the community became bound to pay to the merchants, from whom it had been taken, by a general tax on the people. Montrose moved his camp from Kintore to Durris, where he was joined by M'Donald, and his regiment of Irish. He burned the houses, and laid waste the lands. From Durris he proceeded to Stonehaven on the 19th of March. He lodged in the house of James Clark, the provost; and lord Gordon, with the army, was quartered in Cowie, and in the surrounding country. Montrose wrote a letter to earl Marischal, who had taken refuge in Duntottar Castle with sixteen covenanting ministers, requesting

questing him to support the royal cause ; but the earl, counselled by Andrew Cant, it is said, refused to comply, answering, that he never would lift his arm against his country. The cruel policy of those times had introduced the maxim, that ' he who is not for us, must be ' against us ;' and Montrose acted on this principle with no common zeal. He proceeded to the work of destruction with his usual vigour. The villages of Stonehaven and Cowie were committed to the flames (21st March), with the exception of James Clark's house, where Montrose himself had been lodged. Spalding feelingly describes this distressing scene. " The people," he says, " came out, men, women, " and children at their feet, and children in their " arms, crying, howling, and weeping, praying the " earl for God's cause, to save them from this fire how " soon it was kindled ; but thir poor people gat no " answer, nor knew they where to go with their chil- " dren. Lamentable to see ! * " The boats of the fishers were also burned, and the lands of Dunnottar received a terrible visitation. The house of Fetteresso was set on fire, and its " pleasant park ;" of which, some trees burned, others being green would not burn : " but the hart, the hind, the deer, and " the roe, skirled at the sight of fire, but they were " all tane and slain. The horses, mares, oxen, and " kine, were all likewise killed, and the haill baronies " of Dunnottar and Fetteresso utterly spoilzied, plun- " dered and undone."

Montrose continued his march southwards. He remained

* Vol. ii. p. 235.

mained four days at Fettercairn, where his horse skirmished with those of major-general Hurry; and, on the 25th, he advanced to Brechin, which he pillaged, and partly burned. He proceeded through Angus, illuminating his course by the flames he raised. Baillie's army, six thousand strong, now hung upon his flanks and rear, and made daily attacks; but the covenanters were cautious from misfortune: and, like the retreating lion, Montrose presented a determined front that kept his enemies at bay.

Montrose made an attack on the town of Dundee, but was surprised by Baillie, and obliged to abandon the assault. He conducted his retreat to the mountains of Glenesk, in the face of a vastly superior force, and with admirable skill. His army was now greatly reduced by the defection of lord Lewis Gordon and his followers, who were called home by his father, the marquis of Huntly. The estates ordered Hurry to march to Aberdeen with two regiments of foot, and one of horse, in pursuit of lord Lewis Gordon; and general Baillie retired to Perth with the remainder of the army, to watch the progress of Montrose, who advanced to the neighbourhood of that town.

After remaining some time in Aberdeen, Hurry went in search of lord Gordon, who prudently avoided him until he could form a junction with Montrose, who returned across the mountains to support him, and they met in Cromar. The loyalists had only fifteen hundred foot, and two hundred and fifty horse, but they were brave, and inured to war. Montrose now went in quest of Hurry, who crossed the Spey, and hastened his

his march to Inverness, where he arrived with difficulty*. The levies from Moray, Sutherland, and Caithness, had been ordered by the estates to assemble at Inverness; and Hurry being reinforced by them and the garrison, mustered four thousand men.

Baillie was rapidly advancing in the rear of Montrose, who could neither retreat, nor proceed with safety. He therefore resolved to try the fate of a battle once more, and made preparations to give Hurry a warm reception. Montrose's little army was drawn up at the village of Aldern, with all the science of Epaminondas, and its incredible exertions on the day of battle (9th May), secured the victory. Three thousand of the enemy were killed in the field†; but the glory of the conquerors was stained by their cruelty and devastation‡.

The battle of Alford was the next brilliant action that adorned the military career of this valiant chieftain. The earl of Lindsay had drawn off the veteran troops of Baillie's army, who was constrained to fight through the importunities of the nobles in his camp, in opposition to his own better judgment. Nearly the whole of Baillie's infantry was cut to pieces; but Montrose sustained an irreparable loss in the death of the brave lord Gordon, who was killed by a musquet-shot while pursuing the enemy's horse.

The talents of Argyle, who was better qualified for a statesman than a military commander, supported the drooping spirits of the estates, and he infused his own
energy

* Monteith's History of the Troubles of Scotland, p. 205.

† Ibid. p. 207.

‡ Laing, vol. i. p. 296.

energy into their councils. The parliament removed to Stirling (8th July, 1645), and thence to Perth, to avoid the ravages of the plague; and while the country was ready to sink under the accumulated pressure of war and pestilence, an order was issued, commanding all the nobility and gentry to take up arms under pain of treason; and flight or emigration was severely prohibited. Montrose was no less active, and his recent victories attracted numerous reinforcements. He was joined at Fordoun in Mearns-shire, by lord Aboyn; and, in Angus, by the heads of several clans, with their adherents; and altogether, his army was five thousand strong. He suddenly emerged from the Grampian mountains, and threatened Perth, when the parliament was sitting, and where their forces were entrenched. They refused to give him battle, and he continued his march to the south-west of Scotland, everywhere marking his progress by bloodshed and devastation. He crossed the Forth above Stirling, and pitched his camp at Kilsyth, where he fought one of his most celebrated battles (15th of August). Of six thousand covenanters who were engaged on that day, nearly five thousand were slain: and this signal defeat at once palsied the exertions of the estates, and opened the whole country to the conqueror.

The fortune of war is fluctuating, and the power of Montrose was transient. His maxims in the council, and his practice in the field, were alike detestable; and as he possessed not the affections of the people, his authority was limited to the confines of his camp*.

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* Laing, vol. i. p. 301.

The country did not rise to recruit his diminished army, when deserted by the Gordons and M'Donalds. But success had inspired him with confidence, and he boldly marched to the borders, to meet expected reinforcements from England.

When the Scottish army in England received information of the fatal battle of Kilsyth, David Leslie, with four thousand cavalry, returned rapidly to Berwick; and while reviewing his troops on Glads-moor in Lothian, it was reported to him that Montrose was lying carelessly in Ettrick forest. He suddenly reversed his march, and, under cover of night, approached Selkirk unperceived, where he surprised the royalists in the adjacent woods of Philiphaugh, on the 13th of September. In this emergency, all that could be done by brave men was achieved; but superior numbers, ably directed by an experienced officer, overcame their best efforts, and one thousand royalists were killed on the spot. The Irish were massacred as a banditti unworthy of any quarter, and Montrose's army was thus entirely dispersed.

Montrose himself had escaped to Peebles, where he collected two hundred of his horse, with which he fled across the Forth and the Tay, and took shelter in the wilds of Athol. He expected to be supported by Huntly, who had issued from his concealment, about this time, and for that purpose, traversed the Grampians. Aboyn joined him in Mar, with about five hundred horse and foot; but Huntly resented former injuries, and never cordially co-operated with Montrose, who
again

again returned into Athol, and occasionally threatened the adjoining districts.

The affairs of the royalists were now nearly desperate. Montrose, by his defeat at Philiphaugh, had lost the reputation of being invincible; and Huntly refused to march beyond the limits of his government. But Montrose, who was ever indefatigable, penetrated in the depth of winter with a small force to Strathbogie, to obtain an interview with Huntly, and, if possible, to stimulate his efforts in the royal cause. Their private differences were laid aside from a sense of common danger, and a plan of operations was arranged.

The estates were equally active, and new levies were raised to garrison the principal towns, and to form an army in the field. Montrose's horse were stationed in the county of the Mearns, under Lindsay, earl of Crawford, and they retired in confusion on the advance of the forces of the parliament under colonel Henry Barclay, who arrived in Aberdeen in January, 1546*.

Crawford passed through Kintore into Buchan, burned Fraserburgh, and then marched to Banff. His quarters there, were beaten up by colonel David Barclay of Ury, who had the command of the Sutherland men, and many of the Irish were killed.

Montrose had undertaken the siege of Inverness, and Huntly was employed in reducing several castles in Morayshire. But in April, major-general Middleton was sent to Aberdeen to take the command of the

* MS. Gordon's Genealogy of the House of Sutherland.

parliament's army. In May, he advanced northwards, having left the defence of Aberdeen to lieutenant-colonel Montgomery, with one regiment of horse, and another of foot; and by rapid marches, he arrived on the 9th at Inverness. Montrosé had previously crossed the river Ness; but colonel Barclay, passing at a ford above the town, gallantly charged him with a regiment of horse, and being ably supported by Middleton, entirely defeated his army. Montrose lost his baggage, with two pieces of cannon, and a number of his men were killed*.

Whilst Middleton and Barclay were at Inverness, the marquis of Huntly and lord Aboyn assembled their vassals at Inverury, with the intention of attacking Aberdeen. Montgomery anticipated them by an assault on their quarters at Kintore (13th May), which proved fruitless, and he was so hotly pursued that he regained the town with difficulty. The marquis, by a rapid march, arrived at Aberdeen on the 14th, by twelve o'clock, noon, with his whole army, which he drew up on a heath about half a mile northwards of the loch. He instantly assaulted the town at different points. The garrison bravely repulsed two separate attacks; but a part of the town, taking fire, and a third and more furious assault being made with fresh troops under lord Aboyn, Montgomery was obliged to give way. His horse swam the river, and escaped to Torry; but the foot, under colonel Henry Barclay, retired within the tolbooth, and
the

* MS. Gordon's Genealogy of the House of Sutherland.

the earl Marischal's and Pitfoddles' lodgings, where they surrendered as prisoners of war.

General Middleton, when in Moray, received intelligence of Huntly's success, and by rapid marches endeavoured to intercept him in his retreat to Marr, but he secured himself in the mountains of that country, and Middleton returned to Aberdeen*.

Previously to this time, the king had arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark (5th May), having effected his escape from Oxford in disguise (27th April). He sent orders to Montrose and Huntly to cease contending. The former obeyed, and was permitted by the estates to retire from the kingdom; but the latter still stood in the attitude of defiance. Middleton having requested more forces to enable him to subdue Huntly, general Lesly was sent to Aberdeen with a detachment of horse and foot, to aid him in the reduction of that refractory chieftain, Middleton and Col. David Barclay accordingly advanced to the banks of the Spey, and successively took possession of all the strong places belonging to Huntly, who, unable to meet them in the field, sought shelter in the recesses of the mountains. This unfortunate man was afterwards seized in Strathaven, by a party of the covenanters, and carried to Edinburgh, where he was beheaded. The Macdonalds of the west highlands were next attacked and subdued; and Scotland, for a short time, enjoyed tranquillity and repose.

War and pestilence are the great scourges of mankind.

* Gordon's MS.

kind. The plague which had existed in the southern districts of Scotland for two years, broke out in Aberdeen about the 1st of June, 1647, and continued its ravages till about the end of October. The election of the magistrates this year, was held in Gilcomston, on account of the pestilence, which cut off in Aberdeen sixteen hundred of the inhabitants, and in the fishing villages of Footdee and Torry, a hundred and forty. In the winter following, the universities removed to Fraserburgh and Peterhead, where they sat during that session*.

CHAPTER

* Gordon's History of the Gordons, vol. ii. p. 524.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONTENTS.

[THE SCOTS DELIVER THEIR KING TO THE COMMONS OF ENGLAND—OLIVER CROMWELL—EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.—CHARLES II. ARRIVES IN SCOTLAND—DEFEATED AT WORCESTER—CROMWELL CONQUERS SCOTLAND—HIS GOVERNMENT—DEATH—AND RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—RE-ESTABLISHES EPISCOPACY—HIS GOVERNMENT—SEVERITIES—EPISCOPAL TYRANNY—PROSCRIPTIONS—MURDERS AND MASSACRES—DEATH OF CHARLES, AND REIGN OF HIS SUCCESSOR, JAMES II.—ARBITRARY MEASURES—EXCESSIVE CRUELITIES—ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE—REVOLUTION—ABOLITION OF EPISCOPACY—THE ELECTIONS OF THE MAGISTRATES OF ABERDEEN—BISHOPS—LIST OF PROVOSTS.]

* * * *

CHARLES was a prisoner in the Scottish camp, but the English claimed him, which occasioned a dispute between the two nations. The Scots, however, knew too well the value of the prize, to part with him easily; and after a good deal of altercation, they sold him for four hundred thousand pounds sterling, of which they received the half. It would be in vain to attempt to disguise this shameful transaction by any plea of necessity, or even to offer any apology for the base conduct.

duct of that parliament which ordained on the 16th January, 1647, "that, according to the agreement of " their commissioners, the army should retire, and the " king be left to the English, without any conditions " for him, or this nation's interest in him."

The Scottish army accordingly left Newcastle with their treasure, on the 11th February, and crossed the Tweed at Kelso, where six regiments of horse were disbanded, after having taken the covenanting oath.

The king was conducted to Holdenby, where he was detained as a prisoner; and the different factions in both kingdoms were puzzled what measures to pursue in regard to him. It was the misfortune of this unhappy man, that he too firmly adhered to his religious prejudices, and at the same time was destitute of sincerity*. He alternately intrigued with every party, with the view of finally triumphing over the whole, and re-establishing his own despotic system, as to church and state. A new sect had arisen during the eventful changes of religious opinion, which, to the disgrace of protestants, had followed in rapid succession since the abolition of the Romish doctrines; and the *Independents* had become numerous and powerful.

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* Charles seems to have adopted the principles of Machiavel, with whom it was a maxim, that "a prudent prince cannot, nor ought not, to keep his word, except when he can do it without injury to himself, or when the circumstances under which he contracted the engagement, still exist."—The Stuart race were all unfortunately too familiar with this despicable sort of *morality*, and, unquestionably, the duplicity of Charles cost him his life.

They were a set of fanatics who claimed a higher degree of saintship than the presbyterian labourers in the holy vineyard, or, in other words, their fervour was more warm, enthusiastic, and hypocritical. They “ rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would “ admit of no spiritual courts, no government among “ pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to “ any system of doctrines or opinions*.”

Oliver Cromwell was a leader among this party, and the army had become converts. The parliament of England was composed chiefly of presbyterians. The army scorned their authority, and seized the person of the king (3d June 1647), whom cornet Joyce conducted to the rendezvous at Triplo-heath, near Cambridge†. Cromwell took the command of the army, marched to St. Albans, thence to London, new modelled the parliament, and brought the king to Hampton Court. His majesty escaped from his guards (11th November), and put himself in the hands of Hammond, governor of the isle of Wight, who detained him in Carisbrooke Castle. After various unsuccessful proposals for an accommodation between the king and the parliament, it was voted (15th January, 1648), through the influence or threats of Cromwell, that all intercourse between him and them should cease‡. He was no longer considered as king, and Cromwell, who was now all powerful, had doomed his destruction,

* Hume's History of England, vol. iv. p. 366.

† Ibid. p. 411.

‡ Ibid. p. 427.

tion, it is said, at a meeting of the general officers of his army at Windsor, a few days after his escape from Hampton Court*.

The estates of Scotland were not indifferent spectators of these transactions, and having betrayed their king, they dreaded his reconciliation with the parliament, lest he should recover his authority, and punish their perfidy†. To avert such an event, they sent commissioners to Charles to propose a treaty, and to offer their assistance towards his restoration to power. His affairs were desperate, and it is probable he would not at such a time be very scrupulous as to the *terms* of the treaty; but the commissioners requested so much, that his majesty was ashamed to comply with their demands‡. It was, however, finally settled in the isle of Wight, on the 26th December, 1647; and they engaged that an army should march into England to co-operate with his friends in that kingdom.

The parliament of Scotland accordingly ordered forces to be raised, of which they gave the command to the duke of Hamilton, who crossed the frontiers about the

* Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, vol. v. p. 92.

† *Ibid.* p. 100.

‡ 'They demanded, "that such a number of *Scots*-men should be always in the court of the bed-chamber, and *all other places* about the persons of the king, and prince, and duke of York; " That Berwick and Carlisle should be put into the hands of the "*Scots*;" ' and some other concessions with regard to the northern counties, which trenched so far upon the honour and interest of the *English*, that his majesty utterly refused to consent to it.'—*Clarendon's History*, vol. v. p. 101.

the middle of July, 1648. The violent covenanters and the clergy detesting the king as the enemy of the *Solemn League and Covenant*, threw every obstruction in the way of the levies, and prevented the necessary supplies of men and money from being forwarded to the army. Two supreme judicatures existed in the country: the one threatened the people with damnation and eternal torments, if they obeyed the mandates of parliament; and the other, with imprisonment, banishment, and military execution, if they refused*. "The people," says Clarendon, "were corrupted and governed by the infectious breath of their senseless clergy†;" and their conduct on this occasion was certainly the cause of the disgrace of the national arms.

Hamilton was defeated at Preston in Lancashire, with immense slaughter, by Cromwell and Lambert, on the 18th of August, and himself taken prisoner. The Scottish nation might still have made an effort, and maintained the independence of the country; but the church party was in arms, with Argyle, Lothian, Cassilis, and Eglinton, as their leaders. Each parish was conducted by its minister; and the *Insurrectionists* made a tumultuary march to Edinburgh, from which they expelled the committee of estates‡. The *Whig-amores'* inroad, as this expedition was termed, gave the origin of the word *Whig*, which derives its high birth from the outrageous conduct of the Scots covenanters.

Cromwell

* Hume, vol. iv. p. 130.

† History of the Rebellion, vol. iv. p. 109.

‡ Laing, vol. i. p. 365.

Cromwell hastened his march to Edinburgh, where, in conjunction with Argyle, he suppressed the moderate presbyterians; and the ecclesiastical authority, now paramount to the civil power, exercised unrelenting vengeance on all who had any concern in what the violent party termed *Hamilton's engagement**.

Cromwell was soon called to London, in consequence of the treaty of Newport, which terminating unfavourably, the king was again seized by the army, and conveyed to Hurst Castle. The parliament was unable to protect either itself or the king, for the army possessed the power, and it assumed the right to determine the deliberations of that body. Colonel Pride, with two regiments, *purged* the house; that is to say, he expelled the whole members, excepting fifty or sixty violent independents†. The fate of the king was soon determined. He was removed to Windsor on the 23d December. His trial commenced before a *High Court of Justice* on the 20th, and was finished on the 27th of January, 1649. He was condemned, as previously resolved, and executed on the 30th of January, in the forty-ninth year of his age, after a troublesome reign of thirty-three years, ten months, and three days.

From that time, to the present day, two opinions have existed in the nation, as to this awful event. One party have deemed Charles a martyr, and have considered his execution as *murder*.—That he suffered from an usurped power is indisputable, and perhaps his death was unnecessary. On the other side it has been said, that

* Hume, vol. iv. p. 436.

† Ibid. p. 439.

that his conduct drew down upon him the just vengeance of an injured people, and that the peace of the country could not be secured while he lived. His engagement with the Scots to renew the civil war, at the same time that he was treating for peace with the English parliament, affords too strong proof of his want of sincerity, and demonstrates sufficiently that he was not guided in his public conduct by those strict principles of integrity which ought to regulate the transactions of kings, as well as those of their subjects. But the morality of nations is often as questionable as that of kings; and when the contention of parties is carried to an extremity, law is set aside, and the passions of men become the only rule of their conduct. In such cases, the weak may expect to suffer the aggressions of the strong, as there is no court of equity to appeal to, and force is the sole arbiter of differences, which are generally terminated, not by logical deduction, but by the soldier in the field, and the executioner on the scaffold.

The majority of the Scottish nation beheld the execution of their native prince with abhorrence. They ascribed his death to the surrender of his person, and wished to expiate the crime by the restoration of his son. They still, however, adhered to the covenant; and, under conditions, Charles II. was proclaimed sovereign of the three kingdoms. But he acted disingenuously, and countenanced Montrose in a hostile invasion of that country which proposed to place him on the throne of his ancestors. Montrose was defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded. The duplicity

of Charles was made apparent; but the Scots, more faithful to their engagements than he was, still agreed to receive him*. He arrived at the mouth of the Spey on the 23d of June, 1650, but was not permitted to land, until he had subscribed and sworn to the covenant. The clergy ruled the state, and regulated the conduct of the king. He endeavoured to conform to their prayers and fasts, and even condescended to hear their invectives against his father and mother. Their fanatical austerity occasionally extorted from him a smile of contempt. He wished to deceive, but was too inexperienced to impose upon those who were themselves perfect masters of hypocrisy, and they placed no confidence in his professions†.

The committee of estates ordered a general levy throughout the kingdom; and a strong army was assembled at Edinburgh under the command of Lesly. Cromwell crossed the Tweed on the 22d of July, and marched to the capital without opposition. He was unable either to force the trenches of the Scots, or to provoke them to a general battle, and the scarcity of provisions compelled him to retreat to Dunbar, whither he was pursued and harrassed. His situation being desperate, he was prepared to embark his foot, and break through to Berwick with his horse. But the imprudence of the Scots deprived them of a victory that might have been bloodless. The experienced Lesly knew the advantages of his situation; but the caution

* Laing, vol. i. p. 407.

† Ibid: p. 409.

of the general was overbalanced by the folly and madness of the clergy. They pretended revelations from heaven that promised certain victory to their army of saints; and the frenzy of the preachers overpowered the better judgment of the commander, who was forced to abandon a strong position, and to offer battle to the enemy on the plain*. The illusions of these wretched men, ruined their cause; and on the 3d of September, the Scottish army sustained a total defeat: three thousand were put to the sword, and nine thousand made prisoners, with their colours, artillery, and baggage. The clergy found that Cromwell was as good a saint as any of them, and that beside the blessing of God, he derived some advantage from the skilful use of powder and lead.

Lesly retreated with the remains of his force to Stirling. A sense of common danger for a time united all parties, and they performed the useless ceremony of crowning the king at Scone. But Cromwell was in possession of the capital, and pushed his success with great vigour. He subdued, during winter, the whole country from the Forth to the Clyde. A new army was embodied by the royalists at Stirling, and Overton crossed into Fife to intercept its supplies. A detachment of the Scots was sent to oppose him, but they were defeated with the loss of two thousand killed, and twelve hundred prisoners. Cromwell followed Overton with the remainder of his army, and advanced to Perth, of which he took possession. Charles,

* Laing, vol. i. p. 415.

no longer safe in Scotland, determined to penetrate into England, and on the 6th August, 1651, he entered Carlisle with sixteen thousand men. Cromwell pursued the king, and overtook him at Worcester, where his army was entirely destroyed, and Charles escaped to France, after suffering innumerable hardships*.

General Monk, with seven thousand men, was left in Scotland to subdue the country, and this paltry force was adequate to the object. The places of strength surrendered almost without resistance. Dundee was taken by storm. St. Andrew's, Montrose, and Aberdeen, opened their gates to the conqueror. The republic boasted, that it had accomplished what neither the Romans, nor its own Edwards and Henrys, could atchieve; and Scotland was incorporated into one commonwealth with England. Eight commissioners were appointed by the commons at Westminster, to govern the country. General Monk, as one of these, sent five colonels to regenerate the King's College of Aberdeen. They were rough reformers, and with little ceremony displaced the obnoxious professors†. Monk threatened the General Assembly, and proscribed the covenant and religious oaths; he likewise prohibited civil judges from executing the anathemas of the church, and in fact, he rescued the country from the thralldom of clerical tyranny‡.

On the 20th of April, 1653, Cromwell dismissed that parliament with disgrace, which had been the accomplice

* Laing, vol. i. p. 416, *et. seq.*

† See Appendix, No. I. p. 25.

‡ Skinner, vol. ii. p. 429.

complice of his crimes ; and in July, lieutenant-colonel Cotterel discharged the General Assembly at Edinburgh. It may be said, that he *drummed* them out of the town ; for he conveyed the members through the West Port by a guard of soldiers, and after a severe reprimand, he ordered, that not three of them should meet together*.

Cromwell was proclaimed lord Protector, in December, 1653 ; and in April next, he passed “ an act of “ grace and pardon ” to the people of Scotland. But there were many excepted, and heavy fines were imposed on others, to the amount of £162,200 sterling. During the Cromwellian usurpation, the country, though ruled by a rod of iron, enjoyed peace, and the people were relieved from the despotism of the church, which was more oppressive and intolerant than the civil tyranny of preceding ages.

The government of the kingdom was committed to a council of state, consisting of nine members. Its powers were extensive, and comprehended the administration of civil affairs—the revenue—the exchequer—the customs—the excise—the nomination of inferior judges, sheriffs, commissaries, justices of the peace—and its sanction was also requisite to entitle the clergy to the fruits of their benefices. But this council, in the exercise of its powers, was subordinate, and responsible to Cromwell and his council of England †.

A force of only nine thousand men, divided into

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twenty-

* Skinner, vol. ii. p. 431.

† Laing, vol. i. p. 440.

twenty-eight garrisons, was deemed sufficient to secure the subjection of Scotland. The pay of the military was, to a trooper, 2s. 6d., and to a common soldier, 1s. per day. The expenditure of the government exceeded the revenue: the former, for the civil and military establishment, amounted to £286,458; and the latter produced no more than £143,642; so that the balance was defrayed by remittances from England*. If we are to estimate the *value* of Cromwell's conquest by the money it cost England, he certainly had a bad bargain: and if the Scots could not defeat him by their valour, yet they drained his finances by their poverty, which was not only a consolation to the vanquished, but a real benefit to their country.

Agriculture was languid; for the tenure of the farmer was short or precarious, and he did little to ameliorate the sterility of the soil. The growth of wheat was confined to the southern counties, and the produce of an acre scarcely amounted to sixteen bushels, or four bolls. Barley was the general crop; and artificial grasses, now so profitable to the agriculturist, were altogether unknown.

Manufactures were in their infancy, and the fabrics made of wool or flax were of a coarse texture; yet the latter were so considerable, as to become the staple commodity of the country. The commerce of exchange with foreign nations, was principally conducted by Scotsmen resident abroad, who annually repaired to an extensive fair at St. Andrew's, with the produce

* Laing, vol. i. p. 445.

duce of the continent. Corn, wool, lead, salt, fish, yarn and linen, and coarse woollen, formed the exports of the country; and its imports were, the finer sorts of manufactures, with the luxuries of life. French wines were so abundant, that Cromwell, on taking possession of Leith, seized three thousand tons. At Campvere, the Scottish merchants enjoyed peculiar privileges; and it was the place of their chief resort. A ship from Aberdeen, destined to Holland, and loaded with Aberdeen goods, was captured by an Irish frigate, anno 1644, and the cargo was valued at 200,000 merks*.

As to religion during this period, every man was allowed to cant and pray as he pleased, and the clergy were restrained from engendering dangerous intrigues. The vigorous arm of Cromwell was suspended over them like the sword of Dionysius, and their restless spirits were curbed or subdued by the terror of his vengeance. The society of quakers arose in this age of enthusiastic fervour. Their sighing and groaning, and incoherent ejaculations, were merely emblematical of the sufferings of mankind; but their calm forbearance, their love of peace, and inoffensive manners, constituted the severest satire on the turbulence of churchmen. If the meek virtues of this sect, which disclaims every sentiment of ambition, are contrasted with the intolerant, persecuting, and aspiring temper of the national clergy, whether episcopalian or presbyterian, it will be found,

* Spalding, vol. ii. p. 226.

found, that the one bore a resemblance to the primitive Christians, while the others were like the fabled demons of discord.

Cromwell died on the 3d of September, 1658, and was succeeded in the protectorship by his son Richard, who possessed none of his father's abilities. No hereditary sovereign did more for the prosperity of England than Cromwell. He caused his laws to be respected at home; and abroad, he raised the military and naval glory of the nation. But within the short space of one year after his death, the fabric he had reared, was dissolved, and the country was subjected to military controul. That revolutionary spirit, however, which had embroiled the country in a civil war of twenty years, had subsided into a sincere desire for the return of peace, and of good government. The restoration of Charles II. was projected and executed by general Monk, whose dark politics had given him the ascendancy both in the parliament and in the army. Charles accordingly was invited to fill the throne of his forefathers; and on the 25th of May, 1660, he arrived at Dover, where he was cordially received and embraced by Monk. On the 29th May, being his birth-day, he made his public entry into London, amidst the acclamations of the people.

The general joy diffused among all ranks by the restoration of the lawful sovereign, gave a happy presage of future tranquillity. But the weakness of the monarch, and his easy compliance with the pernicious advice of his counsellors, soon excited discontent in the
nation,

nation, and the Scottish government gradually degenerated into a cruel despotism*.

Charles, adopting the absurd maxims of his father, thought that monarchy and prelacy were inseparably connected in their nature and constitution; and by a pliancy of temper, or a facility in tergiversation, he found it not difficult to forget his subscription of the covenant. But his abjuration of the protestant faith when he repaired to the treaty of the Pyrenees†, sufficiently evinces his flexibility in religious matters, and demonstrates that, like Machiavel, he considered *expediency* to be the only rule for the conduct of kings. In correspondence with his principles, therefore, he easily yielded to the suggestions of the bigotted Clarendon, the artful Lauderdale, and the treacherous Sharp; and pursued measures for the re-establishment of episcopacy in Scotland, to which there could have been no objection, if it had been agreeable to the people. But as the presbyterian system was already established by law, and Charles had sworn to maintain it, there could be no necessity for a change, especially as it was well known, that “episcopacy was recommended by none “ but those who solicited preferment ‡.”

From

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 2.

† It is not positively clear, so as not to admit of controversy, that Charles abjured the protestant religion at this time; but it is more than insinuated by Clarendon (vol. vi. p. 687-9), and considering his majesty's indifference in such matters, it is not improbable, that he may have reconciled himself to the Romish church, in order to obtain the aid of the catholic princes of Europe.

‡ Laing, vol. ii. p. 18.

From the experience of our own times, we are fully assured that presbyterianism admits of as much submission to the ruling powers, as any other system whatever. But it was poor, and afforded no scope for the ambition of designing churchmen. The virtue of Sharp, if ever he possessed any, was corrupted by the promise of the rich archbishoprick of St. Andrew's; and although he was the accredited agent of the covenanters, he deserted their cause, and became their bitterest enemy.—The synod of Aberdeen early distinguished itself by a humble address to his majesty's high commission, and the high court of parliament, in favour of episcopacy, dated at King's College the 18th April, 1661, in which they strongly reprobate their own former conduct, and among a long catalogue of self-accusations, they confess their "sinful silence in not preaching absolutely against the usurpers." During the Cromwellian government, the "sinful silence" of the clergy, indeed, may be fairly ascribed to their dread of punishment, and not to any willing dereliction of those principles by which they had so often and so cruelly embroiled the country. But the *rescissory* act * had abolished all the laws which had been passed since the year 1633, and the covenant, with all the safeguards of presbytery, were thus virtually repealed.

The council of Scotland issued a proclamation intimating "his majesty's pleasure to restore the government of the church by archbishops and bishops, as
" it

* Passed the 28th of March, 1661.

“ it stood settled in the year 1637 ;” and in the next session of parliament, which sat down on the 8th of May, 1662, the restoration of episcopacy was confirmed. Four bishops were consecrated in London, in the same manner as had been adopted in 1610, and “ episcopacy was again made the legal church-
 “ establishment in Scotland, after a tumultuous inter-
 “ ruption of twenty-four years*.”

The *Solemn League and Covenant* had been burned in London by the hands of the hangman ; and the parliament of Scotland passed an act requiring all persons in office to sign a declaration, repudiating the covenants as unlawful oaths. “ No wonder,” says Mr. Skinner†, “ that both nations should join together in
 “ testifying their abhorrence of that hypocritical bond
 “ of iniquity ;” but to a disinterested spectator, it seems strange, that those clergy who had voluntarily subscribed and sworn to the covenants, should with so much facility, have retracted their engagements, and belied their oaths. That there were many hypocrites in both kingdoms, there can be little doubt ; but the episcopalians possessed no claim to superior integrity, and their great idol, Dr. Sharp, was one of the most unprincipled men of the age in which he lived.

With the establishment of episcopacy, persecution commenced. Three hundred and fifty clergymen, principally in the western counties, were ejected from their livings, and with their numerous families, thrown destitute

* Skinner, vol. ii. p. 457.

† Ibid. p. 459.

destitute upon the world*. The vacant benefices, however, were soon supplied by the most worthless of the clerical order, from different parts of the kingdom†. But the dissolute lives of the new incumbents disgusted the people, who, indignant at the unnecessary change, followed their former pastors, and listened to their spiritual admonitions in the open fields. Conventicles were held, and the severities of the government were augmented in proportion to the increase of the *separatists*. Parliament passed an act (1663), against disobedience of ecclesiastical authority, or defection from the church. The clergy were punishable as seditious, if they dared to preach; landholders forfeited a fourth part of their rents; tenants and citizens a fourth part of their property, and the freedom of their corporations; and all were subjected, besides, to whatever corporal punishment the privy council might inflict, if they either separated, or were even absent from their parish church. Thus the wretched ministers of Charles II. exercised a tyranny over the consciences of men more intolerable than the despotism of the Romish church, and, at that period, doubly severe, as the sufferers had enjoyed some portion of liberty during the government of the protector.

Of all the intolerant churchmen who at this time disgraced the religion they professed, archbishop Sharp was the most violent. He procured the establishment of a court of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, consisting of

* Hume, vol. v. p. 64.

† Laing, vol. ii. p. 27.

nine prelates, and thirty-five commissioners; but a quorum was constituted by a bishop, with four assistants. An ambulatory court emanated from this execrable tribunal, and all the horrors of the inquisition were introduced. Its proceedings comprised neither accusation, evidence, nor defence: but artful interrogatories entrapped the victims, and imprisonment, penalties, or corporal punishments, were vindictively inflicted*. The government, no less inexorable than the church, abandoned the western counties to military execution. The clergy were the accusers; and the soldiers, the judges and executioners; and neither the poor nor the rich, if deemed refractory, were exempted from the vengeance of *Church and State*—a two-headed monster, which for years devoured the country by a cruel and desolating persecution†.

The sufferings of the presbyterians, whose only crime was their refusal to embrace the ceremonies of episcopacy, were past endurance; and they rose in arms to vindicate their inalienable rights. But they were defeated on the Pentland-hills, the 28th November, 1666, and those concerned in the insurrection were pursued with unrelenting fury. The prelates indulged their savage revenge by torture and executions. Burnet, archbishop of Glasgow, proposed an indiscriminate massacre of those who refused to abjure the covenant; but Sharp, more refined in his cruelty, adopted slower means of tormenting. Boots of iron, within which the legs were compressed with wedges,

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were

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 34.

† Ibid. p. 35.

Rushion
Green

were the common instruments of torture*. The clergy, who ought to have preached forgiveness and humanity, encouraged and promoted these deeds of barbarism. But how painful soever it may be to think, that the ministers of peace should have thus become the scourge of the people, yet it is consolatory to the pious Christian to know, that such measures are repugnant to the spirit of the gospel, and that they proceeded from a few only of the most abandoned of mankind. The ministers of Charles were the worst characters in the nation, and they were influenced by the prelates, who “were mostly apostates from the presbyterian church; indifferent to religion; ambitious and intent on the acquisition of power, which they deemed insecure and precarious, unless severities were daily multiplied for their preservation†.”

The common feelings of mankind occasionally form a barrier to extreme wickedness; and to appease the people, it was found necessary to relax the reins of government. A milder administration succeeded the fierce system of Sharp, who was ordered to retire to his diocese, and his associates were removed from power. The union of the two sects was attempted, and high church made some concessions to their presbyterian opponents; but the bigotry of the latter, or their antipathy to episcopal government, prevented a reconciliation of parties, which were only separated by unimportant distinctions.

Conventicles in the open fields continued to be still
the

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 41.

† Ibid. p. 45.

the favourite resort of the people; and as they were held in defiance of the law, and deemed dangerous to the state, severe enactments were passed against the preachers and their hearers. Confiscation and death were reserved for the former: double fines, and the penalties of sedition for the latter*. But laws which are written in blood, can only provoke more determined opposition; and the people repaired to the conventicles with arms for their defence†. The duke of Lauderdale (1672), was prime minister in Scotland. His violence and rapacity were unbounded; and persecution was a fruitful source of emolument to himself and his favourites. The penalties and compositions extorted for attending conventicles, were enormous. Nineteen hundred pounds sterling were exacted by the justice-general in one week. Two gentlemen compounded for fifteen hundred pounds: the one a school-boy; and the other, for his wife's attendance at a conventicle-meeting. Thirty thousand pounds were imposed on ten gentlemen in Renfrewshire. The penalties in particular districts were *farmed out*; and the estates of those who fled, were plundered and wasted. The trade of the kingdom was no less oppressed by heavy duties and monopolies, which Lauderdale converted to his own use, or alienated in grants to his supporters‡. The courts of justice were corrupt; and bribery, favour, and partial judgments, prevailed beyond all former precedent, even in the worst times of our most despotic monarchs.

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* Hume, Chap. LXVI.

† Laing, vol. ii. p. 56.

‡ Ibid. p. 60.

It is painful to trace the history of Scotland during this gloomy period, and needless to enumerate the various acts of oppression by which the country was harassed. But it would be improper to omit a species of persecution, under the title of *Letters of intercommuning*, which was resorted to, as the means of embracing the most extensive ramifications of presbyterianism. By this writ, delinquents were interdicted from the common intercourse of social life; and all, who by any means relieved their wants, or even conversed, or held any communication with them, were deemed equally criminal. But the cruel policy of this measure defeated the object of its contrivers, as it diffused the guilt of the refractory through a thousand channels, which were opened up by the ties of consanguinity, and all the finer feelings of the human heart.

Conventicles were held in morasses, in woods, or on mountains; and the danger that attended them, increased the enthusiasm of the members, who often repelled force by force. Their contests with the military, during six years, were frequent and bloody; but it was a meritorious struggle, sanctioned by every law in nature. It was the assertion of the imprescriptible rights of men against the despotism of an unprincipled, vindictive, and tyrannic government, which even courted resistance, that it might inflict the pains of rebellion*.

Archbishop Sharp was murdered on Magus-moor, on the 3d of May, 1679, by nine intercommuned fugitives.

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 80.

fugitives. The resentment of government blindly implicated the whole body of presbyterians in this transaction; and armed field conventicles were declared to be treason. An insurrection took place at Rutherglen, which was only suppressed by an army of ten thousand men at Bothwell bridge, under the command of Monmouth, the natural son of the king. Four hundred were killed in the field, and twelve hundred prisoners were confined in the church-yard of the Greyfriars, Edinburgh, where, exposed to the inclemency of the season, they were detained five months. Fines, exactions, and forfeitures, constituted a provision for the army, and a remuneration to the servants of the crown, which quickened their diligence in the execution of the abominable acts of the government. The presence of the duke of York did not mitigate, but rather increased the sufferings of the people. His severe administration exceeded that of Lauderdale; and legal murders were greatly multiplied. The innocent were ensnared by insidious questions, that were calculated to circumvent the most cautious, and from the privy council, the unhappy victims of suspicion were sent to the court of justiciary, and thence to the place of execution*. It is said, that the duke assisted personally in the infliction of torture†; but it is certain, that his disposition was cruel, haughty, inflexible, and that his natural severity was heightened by the most gross bigotry. His administration was stained with blood, and

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 102.

† Woodrow, vol. ii. p. 164.

blackened by every species of cruelty which the ingenuity of his minions could suggest. Parliament, however, was still sufficiently obsequious, and an act was passed (anno 1681), in favour of the duke's succession to the throne, declaring, "that no difference of religion, or act of parliament, can alter or divert the right of succession, and lineal descent of the crown to the nearest and lawful heir*." The divine right of kings is now an exploded doctrine, and this famous act, in a few years, was found to be but a feeble barrier to the expulsion of the very man whose pretensions to the throne it was calculated to secure.

A test act was also passed this session as a touchstone of men's religious and political opinions†. It was framed in language so contradictory, that neither party could reconcile it to their creed, and an explanation was issued by the privy council. Although the object of this oath was to maintain (*inter alia*), the protestant religion; yet the king and his brother were exempted from its influence. The duke of York was known to be a papist, but he took care to relieve himself from the trammels of the test by an exception‡. He was too disingenuous to permit that indulgence to others

* Charles II. p. 3. c. 2.

† Charles II. p. 3. c. 6.

‡ As the duke was a Roman Catholic, this *protestant* test must have been contrary to his own principles. His pushing it therefore at the point of the bayonet, must have proceeded from political considerations, quite unconnected with religious opinions, and it is probable, that his object was solely to render the monarchy absolute.—*Vide Fox's History*, p. 124.

others which he claimed to himself; and eighty clergymen resigned their livings rather than subscribe it. The presbyterians, for the most part, declined the oath; and several of the most eminent men in the nation subscribed it under explanations*.

The test oath was a court engine to entrap those whom it wished to destroy; and the earl of Argyle was ensnared, tried, and unjustly condemned; but he escaped from prison, and as usual in such cases, his estate, honours, and life, were forfeited in absence, and a large reward offered for his head. The flagitious attainder of Argyle excited the utmost indignation among all parties, and many of the nobility and barons fled from their country to avoid proscription. Innocent men were accused of crimes, and condemned by an iniquitous court. To converse with a suspected person was treason, and a "proclamation was issued " against all who had ever harboured, or communed " with rebels," which included whole districts. The test oath was the only indemnity; and to avoid destruction, the people received it against their conscience†. But trials and executions were still continued, as a pretence for extortions, and to gratify the most rancorous revenge.

In the western and southern counties, an inquisition was made by the clergy and officers of justice, and a secret roll was prepared for the circuits of the court of justiciary, which comprehended an immense number. " At the conclusion of the first circuit, a proscriptive " list

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 112.

† Ibid. p. 123.

“ list of two thousand outlaws, or fugitives from jus-
 “ tice, was proclaimed to the nation; and to the
 “ mockery of all regular government, subordinate, or
 “ rather, intermediate circuits were held, by officers
 “ invested with justiciary powers, who summoned ju-
 “ rics, administered tortures or daths at discretion, and
 “ practised every species of extortion or outrage to be
 “ expected when the military are entrusted with the
 “ execution of the laws*.” The fines exacted by the
 servants of government were a source of public reve-
 nue, and within eleven counties, they amounted to a
 hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling, exclu-
 sive of compositions: for it was common with gentle-
 men of rank to redeem their lives and estates by the
 payment of heavy bribes. But the sanguinary tem-
 per of government still pursued the presbyterians
 with unabated fury; and goaded beyond endurance,
 they secretly issued a declaration, avowing their de-
 termination to retaliate the enormities committed on
 their sect. In return, a massacre was ordained by the
 council, which voted, that “ whosoever owned, or re-
 “ fused to disown the declaration on oath, should be
 “ put to death, in presence of two witnesses, though
 “ unarmed when taken.” The execution of this
 bloody enactment was committed to the military, who
 had orders to put those who owned the declaration to
 the sword, and to execute those who refused to disown
 it, on the spot, before witnesses: also, to secure their
 families, above the age of twelve, for transportation,
 and to burn the houses of those who were absent†.

Women

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 130.

† Ibid. p. 135.

Women were not exempted ; but their punishment was drowning. So obstinate were the *Recusants* that many, rather than abjure the declaration, submitted to be arraigned, convicted, and led to the gibbet, on the same day*. Military execution now raged with terrible destruction ; and the unhappy victims of court cruelty, were shot on the high roads, or at their occupations in the fields. Those who fled, were pursued and massacred ; and the most wanton murders were indiscriminately perpetrated. The sanguinary Graham of Claverhouse (Viscount Dundee), refined upon the cruelty of his infamous associates ; and “ on one occasion, when six unarmed fugitives were intercepted, four were instantly shot in his presence ; the remaining two were afterwards executed by his order ; and on another, a husband whose flight he had arrested, was produced to his family to be put to death in the arms of his wife † !”

Such enormities would be incredible, if they were not established by the records of the council, and otherwise well authenticated. They have been, however, carefully concealed by episcopal writers, that their sect may not be reproached with the atrocities committed under this and the succeeding reign‡. But that

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 136.

† Ibid. p. 137.

‡ Mr. Skinner, who professes to write a history of the Scottish church, takes no notice of the enormities committed under the episcopal dominion, during the reigns of Charles and James. But he takes care to record minutely the excesses of the presbyterians after the Revolution, although he cannot produce a single instance

that the episcopal church was more intolerant, persecuting, and sanguinary in this country than the Roman Catholic*, or even the covenanting, is established beyond all controversy.

Charles II. died at Whitehall, on the 6th of February, 1685, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign. He had lived too long for the liberties of his country, and was regretted by none but those who dreaded the still more intolerant and arbitrary principles of his successor. Charles knew the crimes of his ministers, or heard the cries of the people, and his refusal to alleviate the sufferings of his subjects, was a participation of the guilt of his servants. Without religion, morality, or virtue of any kind, he possessed a cruel, unforgiving temper; "and the orders for a massacre were certainly executed with his approbation, if not subscribed with his hand†."

The stance where an individual of the episcopal sect lost his life. Such gross partiality must sink the character of the historian into that of the partizan.

* The reformed clergy have constantly exaggerated the persecutions of the Romish church, in order to palliate those of their own; but in Scotland, the persecutions under the episcopal church, have exceeded in extent and enormity those of the papal, more than five hundred fold; and at this period, it was one reformed sect pursuing another to destruction, without the pretence of any substantial difference in doctrine, but merely for a discrepancy of opinion about points quite immaterial. The cry of "No Popery" is supported by a list of massacres and murders in France and Ireland, and persecutions in England and Scotland; but protestants forget their own massacres, murders, and persecutions.

† Laing, vol. ii. p. 142.

The duke of York was proclaimed at London on the same day that his brother died; and the country had nothing auspicious to expect from the reign of a man who had conducted himself so unworthily when a subject. He declined the coronation oath for Scotland, as incompatible with the religion he wished to establish; but the oath of allegiance was rigidly exacted from the people, and military violence continued to increase*. Numbers were daily shot: whole parties were tried by the soldiers, and executed in the highways. Women were burned on the cheek, or drowned: a girl of eighteen, and a woman upwards of sixty years of age, were fastened to stakes beneath the sea mark, that they might expire by a protracted death†.

A parliament was assembled on the 28th April, 1685, which was completely obsequious to the crown. It voted away the rights of the people, and promised entire obedience to the mandates of the tyrant. “No courtier, even the most prostitute (says Hume), could go farther than the parliament itself, towards a resignation of their liberties‡;” and the Scottish nation was reduced by this infamous assembly to a state of the most abject servility.

Against such a government, insurrection was meritorious; but the ill concerted descent of the earl of Argyle only terminated in his execution, on the 30th of June, 1685. The gaols were crowded with his followers. Numbers were driven to the castle of Duntottar,

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 145.

† Fox's History, p. 130 and 131.

‡ Chap. LXX.

Dunnottar
nottar, and confined in a dungeon, which still retains the name of the *Whig's Vault*, where they daily expired, from the corrupted air, and the *want of the common necessaries of life**. The duke of Monmouth, the eldest of the late king's natural children, was no less unfortunate in his invasion of England. But there is a point beyond which it is impossible to endure suffering; and degraded as the parliament of Scotland then was, the apprehension of additional calamities, by the introduction of a popish ministry, induced an opposition to the proposed repeal of the test and penal laws against Roman Catholics.

The encroachments of the crown on the civil liberties of the subject, and finally, their total extinction by the arbitrary acts of Charles and James, could not awaken one sentiment of honest independence in the Scottish parliament; but the attempt to introduce popery, aroused all their latent feelings. It was in vain that the king, in the exercise of his *divine right*, dispensed

* In this vault there may still be seen indented places around the walls, where the hands of the prisoners were wedged.—An inscription on a stone in the church-yard of Dunnottar, of which the following is a copy, seems to apply to some of these unhappy sufferers.

“ Here lyes John Stot, James Atchison, James Russell, and
 “ one whose name wee have not gotten, and two women whose
 “ names also wee know not, and two who perished comeing
 “ doune the rock, one whose name was James Watson, the
 “ other not known, who all died prisoners in Dunnottar Castle,
 “ anno 1685, for their adherence to the word of God, and Scot-
 “ land's covenanted work of Reformation.”—*Revelations*, xith
 chapter, 12th verse.

dispensed with the penal laws against catholics*. The episcopal party were alarmed, lest they should be supplanted by the popish. The presbyterians detested both. But James, that he might disunite the protestants, and veil his plans for the alteration of the national religion, repealed, by his own absolute authority, the laws against non-conformity. The presbyterians enjoyed the benefits of the indulgence, although they despised the motives by which it was dictated. The English people, however, were prepared to break the fetters which had enslaved them, and they directed their eyes to the Prince of Orange.

A conspiracy, the best concerted and the best conducted that perhaps ever existed, invited the prince to assume the government of the three kingdoms, and he landed at Torbay on the 5th of November, 1688. A rapid and universal defection from the king deprived him of the means of resistance. Pusillanimous and irresolute, his mind was enfeebled by the constant apprehension of personal danger. He ordered his army to be disbanded; threw the Great Seal into the Thames; "and with a single attendant, embarked in " a small vessel at midnight for France†."

The revolution in Scotland was no less complete, and included both church and state. Six thousand presbyterians appeared in arms; but as no enemy opposed

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posed

* The king's object for the repeal of the penal laws, was to open the way for papists to fill the offices of the state, when he could the more easily introduce the Romish religion.

† Laing, vol. ii. p. 177.

posed them in the field, they separated into small parties to extirpate prelacy. On Christmas day the episcopal clergy were dragged from their altars; paraded through their parishes in mock procession, and dismissed on a solemn assurance never to return*. These excesses continued for several weeks; but it does not appear that any blood was shed, and when we consider, that the episcopal church was cemented by tortures, murders, massacres, and the death of thousands, it must be allowed that the presbyterians triumphed in humanity as well as in justice.

During the short reign of James, his despotism was constantly active, and his arbitrary measures embraced the most minute objects. The regular distribution of justice, even in civil cases†, was biassed or perverted, and he claimed the right of nominating the magistrates of boroughs, in direct violation of the many salutary statutes of his progenitors. The secretary Melfort addressed a letter on this subject to the provost, bailies, and council of Aberdeen, dated at London, 15th of September, 1685, of which the following is a copy.

“ Much Honoured,

“ The king having in himself the
“ power of naming the magistrates of all his burghs
royal

* Laing, vol. ii. p. 180.

† The author has seen a holograph (autograph) letter from James to a private gentleman, informing him that he had written to the lord advocate of Scotland to procure a favourable decision in a process then depending before the court of session, relative to a civil debt claimed by him from an individual.

“ royal, so oft as may be for the good of his service,
 “ does recommend to you the present magistrates, and
 “ others of the burgh of Aberdeen, concerned in the
 “ election of magistrates for the ensuing year, to elect
 “ and nominate bailie George Leslie to be provost of
 “ the said burgh for the year coming. This is his
 “ majesty’s pleasure, being by his royal command in-
 “ timate to you.—Much Honoured, your humble ser-
 “ vant,
 MELFORT.”

Leslie was accordingly elected on the 23d of Sep-
 tember. Soon after, the magistrates received an act
 of the privy-council, ordering his majesty’s birth-day
 (14th October), to be kept as a solemn fast, and to be
 celebrated with every demonstration of joy. The
 king’s commands were obeyed, and the clergy fer-
 vently prayed for his prosperity. A *feu de joye* was
 fired; and the magistrates and people drank wine of
 the “ best quality” in commemoration of his happy
 accession to the throne of his ancestors.

On the day of election next year (22d September,
 1686), his majesty’s interference interrupted the pro-
 ceedings of the court. Provost Leslie produced a let-
 ter to the members then assembled, dated at Windsor
 on the 12th current, expressly prohibiting and dis-
 charging any election from taking place for this year,
 and authorising the present magistrates and council to
 continue in the exercise of their respective offices, un-
 til his majesty’s farther pleasure should be known. In
 October following, the earl Marischal attended a meet-
 ing of the magistrates and council, and produced an

act of the privy council, appointing the provost, magistrates, office-bearers, and council for the ensuing year. At next election (28th September, 1687), the provost produced an order from the privy council, forbidding any election until his majesty should signify his pleasure, which was obeyed. On the 14th of December, however, provost Leslie presented an act dated the 10th of November, at Whitehall, containing a court list of magistrates and counsellors for Aberdeen.

On the 26th September, 1688, another order from the privy council was produced, prohibiting a new election, and authorising the present magistrates and council to remain in office until his majesty's further pleasure should be known. But on 12th of November, the provost produced a letter from the chancellor, empowering them to elect the magistrates and council, and to nominate only such persons as were distinguished for their loyalty, and attachment to his majesty's government. In consequence of this order, Alexander Gordon was elected provost of Aberdeen.

This was the last mandate issued by the king to the city of Aberdeen; for by this time the Prince of Orange had landed in England and James VII. abdicated that throne which he had so much disgraced. On the 8th of January, 1689, the magistrates and council assembled, and by a majority, voted an address to the Prince and Princess of Orange, and Dr. George Gordon, one of the town's ministers, was appointed their commissioner to present it in London.

The last bishop we noticed, was Patrick Forbes of Corse, and he was succeeded by Adam Ballenden, son of Sir John Ballenden, who was justice-clerk. He was promoted to the see of Aberdeen anno 1635, having been previously bishop of Dumblane. He was excommunicated by the assembly of Glasgow, 1638, and retired into England, where he died.

After the restoration of episcopacy (July 9th, 1661), David Mitchell was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen, anno 1662. He was a native of the county of Kincardine, and a minister of the city of Edinburgh. He went to England after his deposition in 1638, and was made a prebendary of Westminster. He was created doctor of divinity at Oxford, and it is said, that he had been a great sufferer for the cause of his majesty and the church. He enjoyed his bishoprick scarcely a year, and was buried in the cathedral church of St. Machar.

Alexander Burnett succeeded Mitchell, but he sat little more than a year, having been translated to the see of Glasgow, 1664. He afterwards became primate of St. Andrews on the murder of Sharp, where he remained until his death in the year 1684, and was buried in St. Salvator's College, near the tomb of bishop Kennedy.

Patrick Scougal succeeded Burnet, and was consecrated bishop of Aberdeen on Easter day, anno 1664. He was the son of Sir John Scougal, and died on the 16th of February, 1684, in the seventy-third year of his age. George Haliburton was his successor, and the last bishop who filled the see of Aberdeen. He

was minister at Cupar in Angus, and was first promoted to the see of Brechin, thence translated to Aberdeen, anno 1682, where he sat until the Revolution in 1688. He enjoyed unmolested repose after the downfall of his sect, at his house in Denhead, in the parish of Cupar in Angus, and died on the 29th of September, 1715, at the age of seventy-seven.

The following gentlemen were provosts of Aberdeen from the year 1650, down to the Revolution, viz.

1651, Alexander Jaffray : 52-3-4, George Morison : 55, Thomas Gray : 56, George Cullen : 57-8-9, John Jaffray : 60-1, Gilbert Gray : 62, William Gray : 63, Gilbert Gray : 64-5, Robert Petrie : 66, Gilbert Gray : 67-8-9 and 70, Robert Petrie : 71-2-3, Robert Forbes : 74, Robert Petrie : 75, Robert Forbes : 76—85, George Skene of Fintray : 86-7, George Leslie : 1688, Alexander Gordon.

NOTE

NOTE

Of the Prices of Grain, &c. at Different Times.

[As we have occasionally mentioned the prices of commodities in Scotland, at different periods, we subjoin the following extract for the farther information of the reader.]

- 1435 WHEAT, seven shillings Scots the boll; malt, four shillings Scots; meal, three shillings, eight pennies.
- 1453 The ale ordered to be sold at eight pennies the gallon.
- 1475 The boll of wheat, seven shillings.
- 1478 Ale at the highest, twelve pennies the gallon; wheat-bread, of twelve ounces weight, one penny.
- 1507 The best mutton bulk, two shillings eight pennies Scots.
- 1508 The salmon barrel, fifty-five shillings Scots.
- 1517 A boll of wheat, twelve shillings Scots.
- 1522 Best mutton bulk, three shillings Scots; best ale, eight pennies the gallon.

- 1523 Lambs, twenty pennies each.
- 1526 Ale, sixteen pennies the gallon.
- 1527 The tun of wine, twenty pounds Scots.
- 1528 The oat loaf at sixteen ounces, one penny, as long as the meal holds at sixteen shillings Scots the boll.
- 1531 Sheep's tallow, six shillings Scots the stone; nolt's ditto, five shillings the stone.
- 1532 July 10th, bear was twenty-two shillings Scots the boll.
- 1545 Wine, white and red, fourteen pennies the pint.
- 1547 The best mutton bulk, half a merk; sheep's tallow, ten shillings Scots the stone; nolt's tallow, eight shillings the stone; wine, at sixteen pounds the tun, to be sold at eight pennies the pint; twenty pounds the ton, to be sold at ten pennies the pint; twenty-four pounds the ton, at twelve pennies the pint.
- 1550 Ale at the highest, two pennies the gallon; the best mutton bulk, seven shillings.
- 1588 Pitscottly mentions there was so bad a crop in Scotland, that the meal ran up to eighteen pounds the boll.
- 1634 The victual was at sixteen merks the boll.
- 1637 There was no bear meal nor bear straw sold at Elgin on the 6th of July.

In the end of the 16th century, provisions had risen much in their prices, above what they had been in the beginning

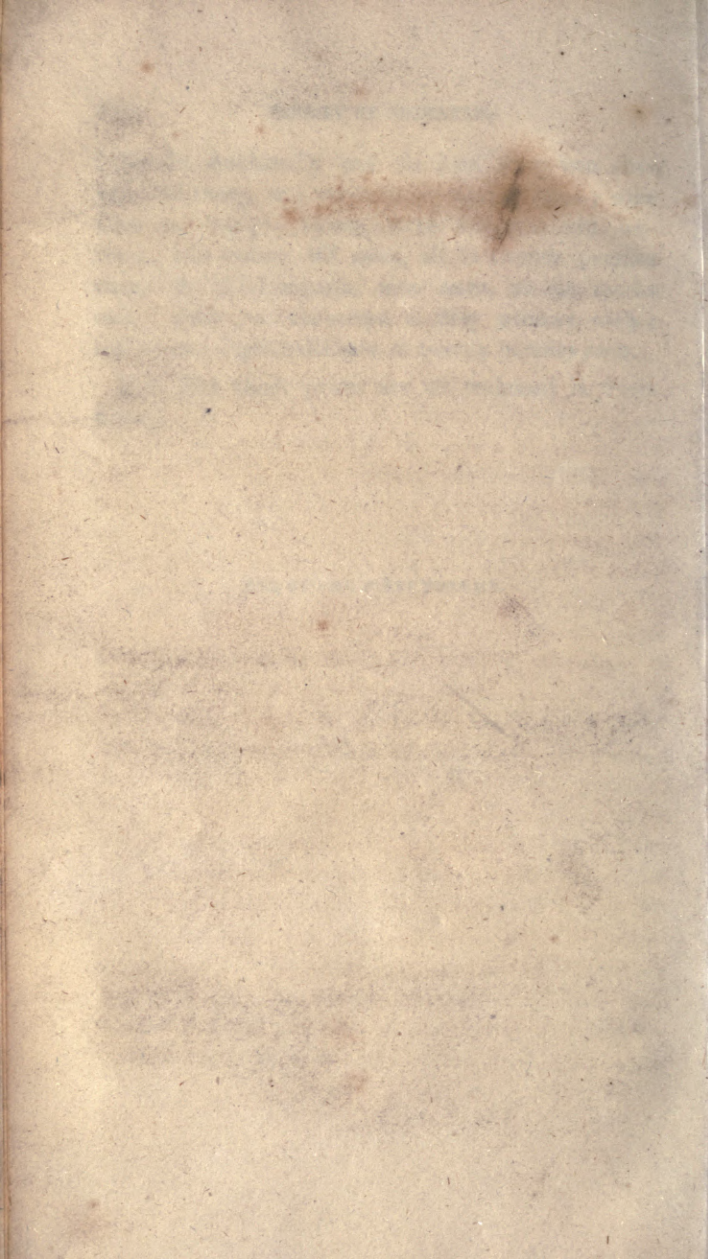
beginning of it, and in the 14th and 15th, as appears from the following authentic instruction, being the confirmed testament of Mrs. Kathrine Grant, spouse to Walter Baird of Ordinknives. She was daughter to Grant of Badinalach, brother to the laird of Grant; first married to Alexander Leslie of Thronmevis, to whom she bore three sons, and four daughters; and next to Ordinknives, to whom she had only one daughter, Lillias Baird, married in 1578 to Gilbert Baird of Auchmedin, to whom she had three sons and daughters. Kathrine Grant was an active mettled woman, and had an uncommon humour of holding at the same time several farms in different places, at a good distance. Her testament is dated at Banff, March 15th, 1591, and in it the following articles are confirmed upon and valued at Banff:

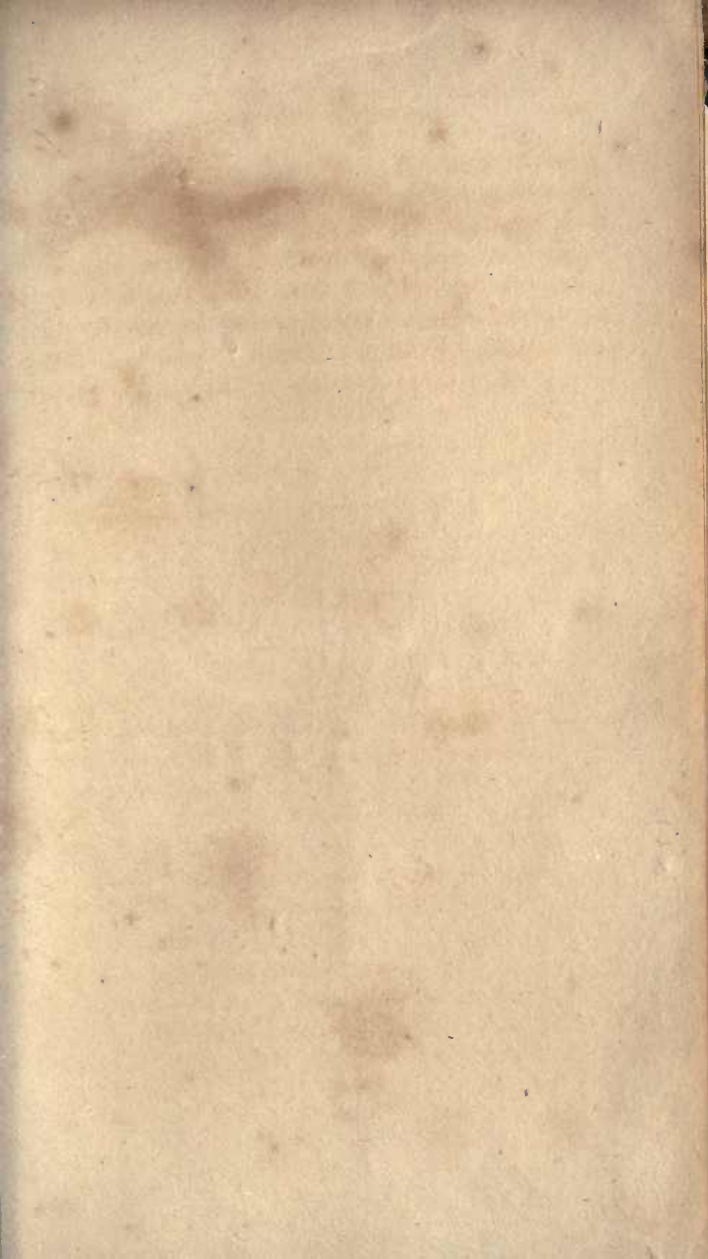
Eight plough oxen, valued at ten merks each, and eight work-horses at twenty merks each.—In Bankhead, twenty-four milk-cows at five pounds each; seven two-years old steers at forty pennies each; five four-year old steers at five pounds each; four score ewes with lambs, at twenty pennies the ewes and lambs; fifty-four bolls oats, at twenty pennies the boll.—In Dallachy sown, thirty bolls estimate to the 3d, valued at twenty pennies a boll: sown, two bolls wheat, estimate to the 6th, and valued at three pounds the boll.—In the corn-yard, thirty-six bolls bear, at four pennies the boll; twenty-six bolls oats, at twenty pennies each boll; three bolls wheat, at three pounds each boll; three bolls wheat, at seven pounds each boll.—

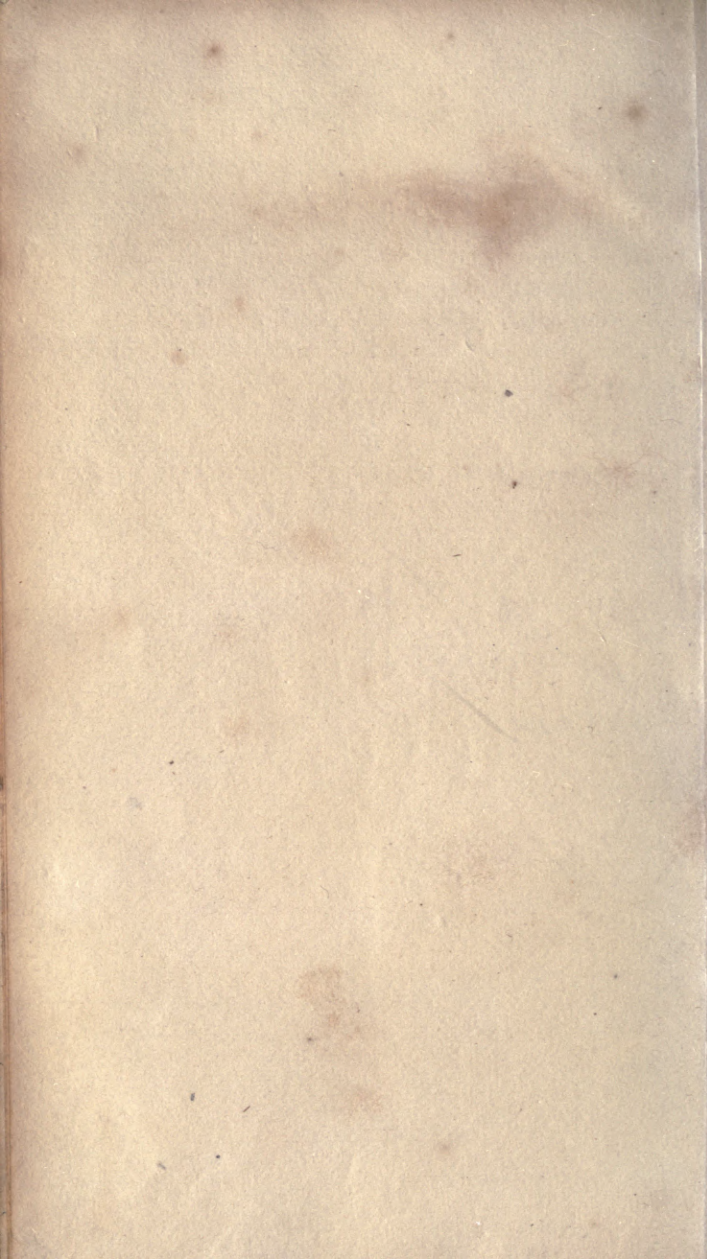
boll.—In Auchanchy and the Ley, forty-two one-year old sheep, at a merk each; twenty rams; nine ewes and lambs; twenty-three one-year old wethers; and twenty old ewes, all at twenty pennies each.—At Auchungorth, nine oxen, at ten merks each; three-year old steers, at fifty pennies each; and twenty-eight bolls oats, at twenty pennies each.

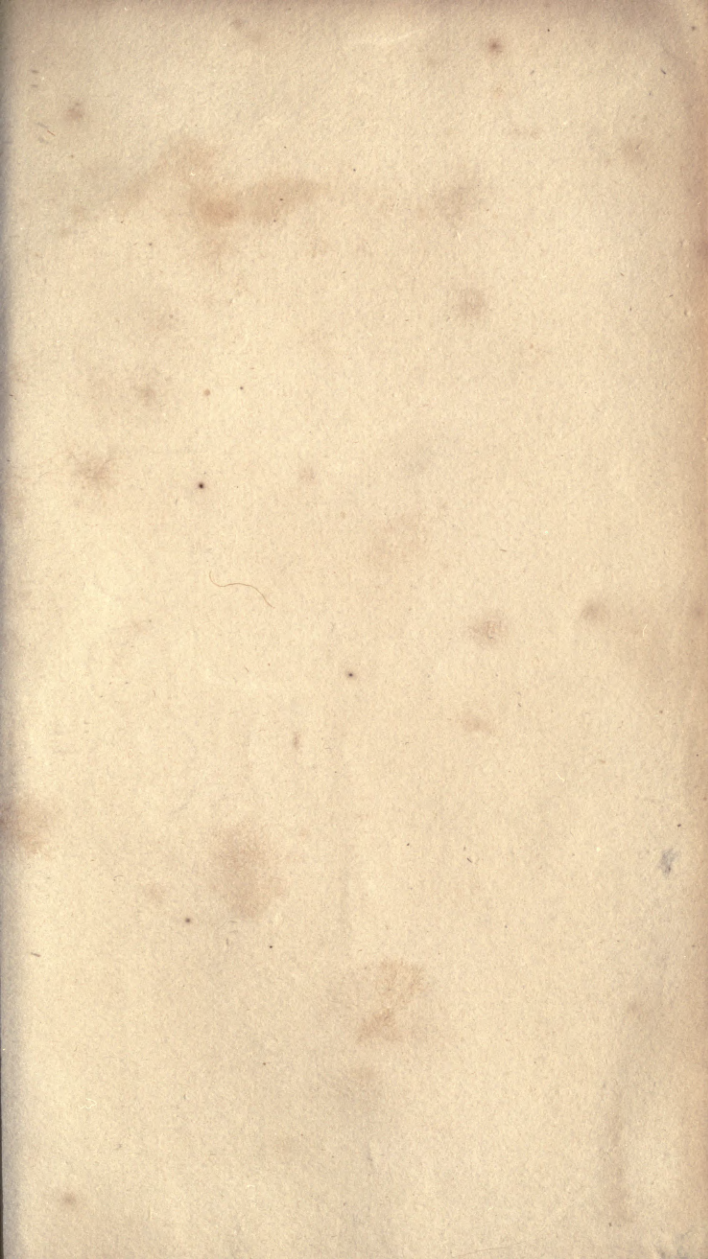
N.B. The above prices are all reckoned in Scots money.

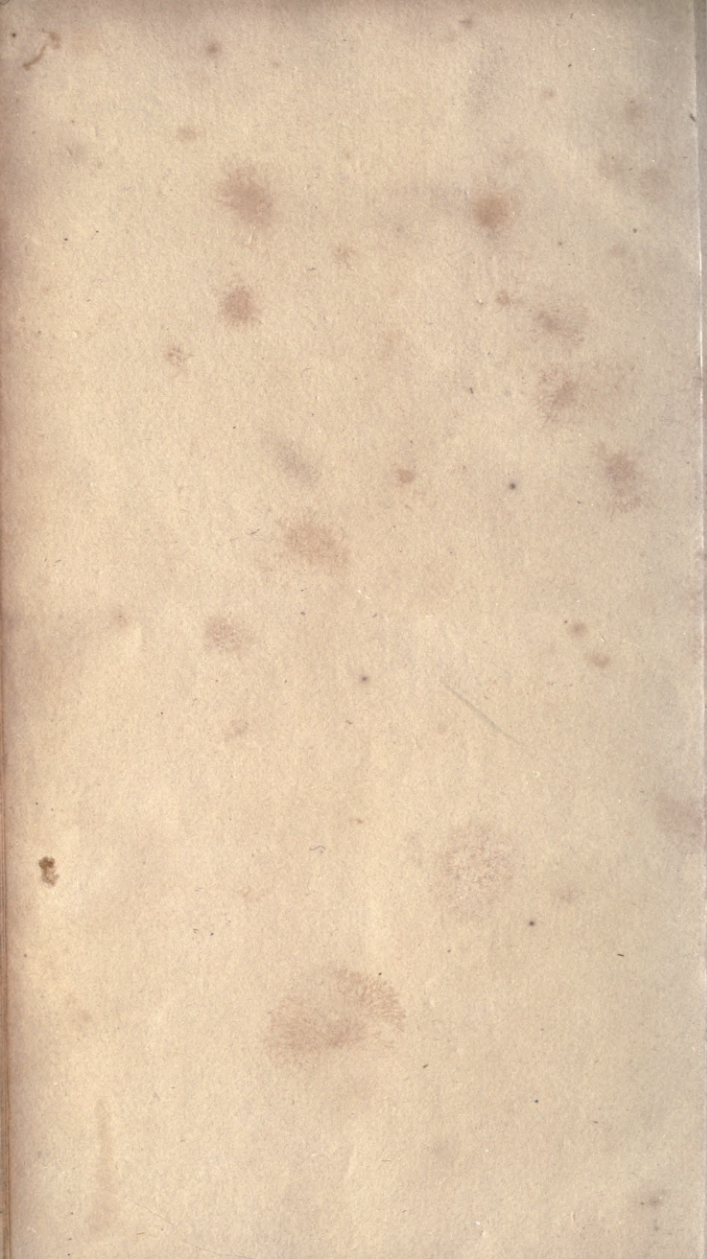
END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



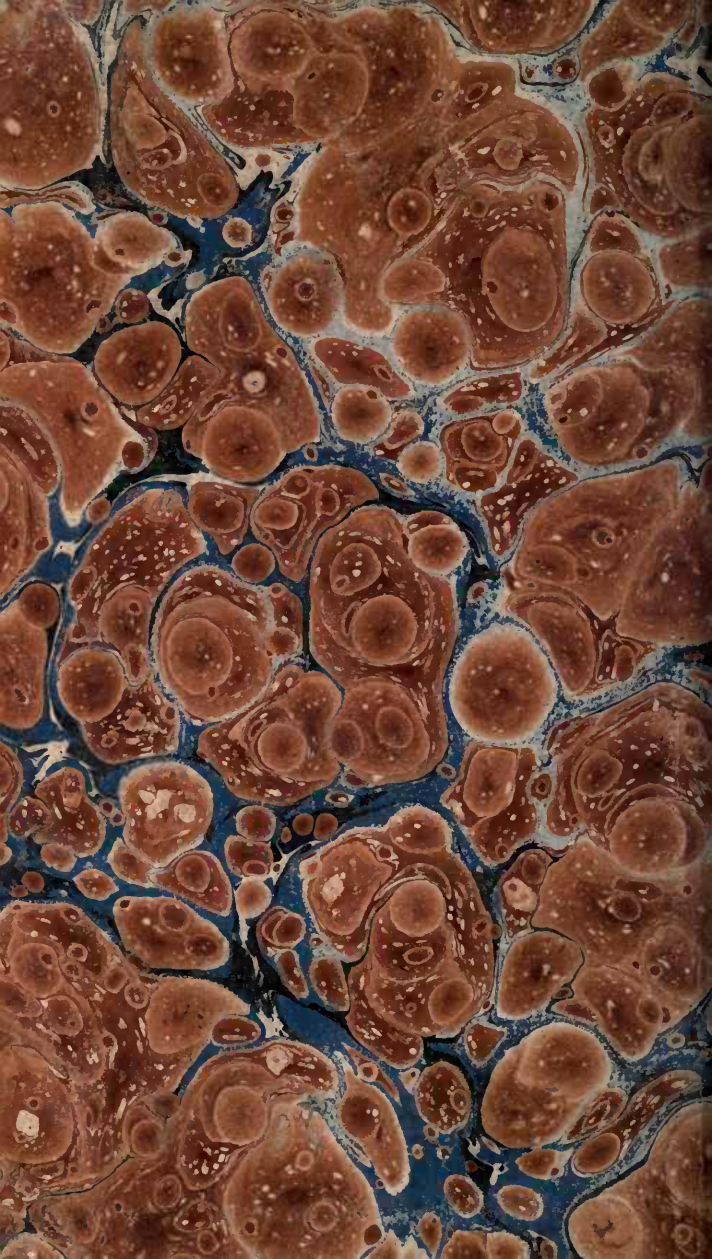












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