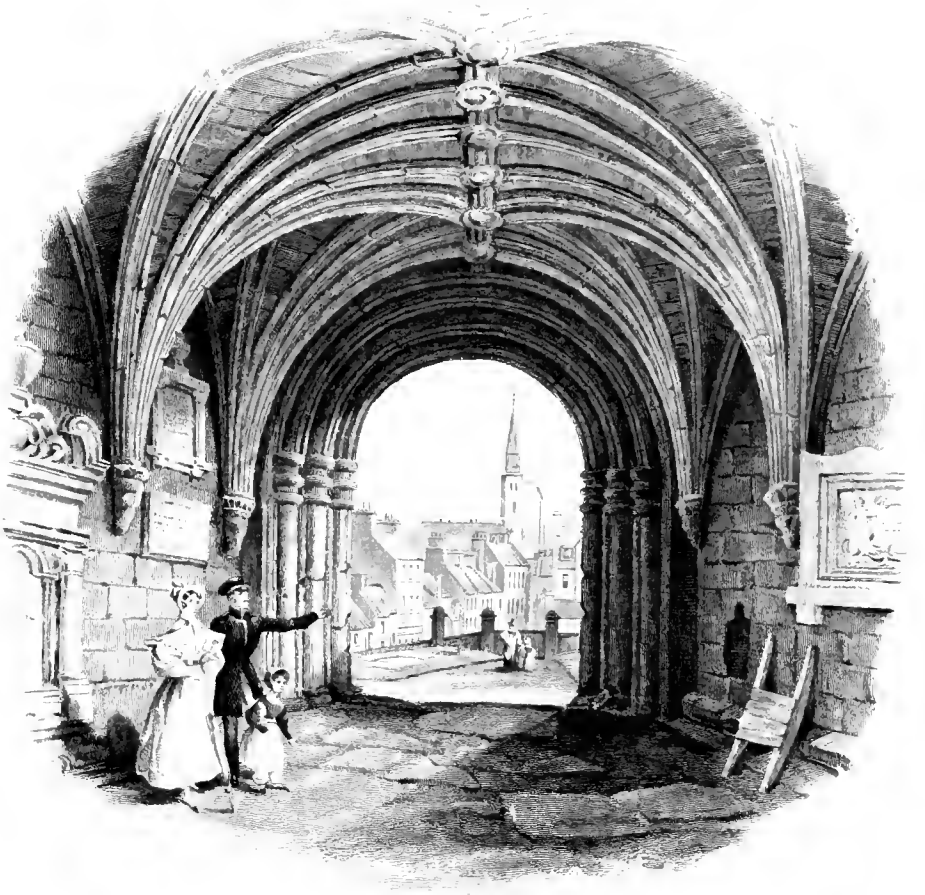
WITH A HISTORY OF THE COUNTY,

AND TOPOGRAPHICAL & LOCAL DESCRIPTIONS,

BY

JOHN M'LEICHTON.



Geo. Macaulay Lennie.

HISTORY

OF

THE COUNTY OF FIFE,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY

JOHN M. LEIGHTON, ESQ.,

AUTHOR OF ILLUSTRATIONS OF VIEWS IN GLASGOW, VIEWS ON THE CLYDE, LAKES OF SCOTLAND, SCENES IN SCOTLAND, &c.

With Numerous Engravings in the Line Manner on Steel,

BY

JOSEPH SWAN;

FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS TAKEN EXPRESSLY FOR THE WORK,

BY

JAMES STEWART, ESQ.

VOL. I.

GLASGOW:—JOSEPH SWAN.

MDCCCXL.

GLASGOW:
GEORGE BROOKMAN AND CO., PRINTERS, MITCHELL-STREET.

LIST OF VIEWS,

SHOWING THE ORDER IN WHICH THEY ARE TO BE BOUND UP.

VOL. I.

VOL. II.

VOL. III.

ERRATA.

Vol. II. page 6, line 3 from bottom, *for* "He was," *read* "His father was."
— — line 2 from bottom, *for* "daughter," *read* "niece."
— page 10, in the last line of the note, *for* "world," *read* "nowt."
— page 16, line 10 from top, *for* "north," *read* "south."
— page 40, line 25 from top, *for* "Robert," *read* "Andrew."
— page 53, bottom line, *for* "annually," *read* "weekly."
— page 65, top line, *for* "all," *read* "some."
— page 79, line 13. In giving the amount of the stipend of Balmerino parish, the whole tiends of the parish were given instead of the stipend. The following is the correct amount:—Wheat 7 bolls; meal 124 bolls, 2 firlots; barley 124 bolls, 2 firlots; and money £8 6s. 8d. sterling.
— page 105, line 12 from top, *for* "daughter," *read* "grandaughter."
— page 210, line 6 from bottom, *for* "Olynthius," read "Onesiphorus."
Vol. III. page 77, line 15 from bottom, *for* "an old building," *read* "a building of recent erection."
— page 91, line 2 from bottom, *for* "Methven Kellie," *read* "Methven Erskine."
— — bottom line, *for* "Mr Kellie," *read* "Mr Erskine."

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH

OF

THE HISTORY OF FIFE.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH

OF

THE HISTORY OF FIFE.

SECTION I.

A. D. 80 TO A. D. 446.

Aboriginal Inhabitants of Fife.—Horestii.—Their manners and customs.—Druidism.—Arrival of the Romans.—Campaigns of Agricola.—Battle at Ardoch Moor.—Lollius Urbicus.—Departure of the Romans from the country of the Horestii.—Picts.—Scots.—Departure of the Romans from northern Caledonia.

THE whole of Europe was originally inhabited by various tribes of a Celtic people, having one common origin, a similar language, similar religious rites, manners, and customs. This position is established by the curious fact, that notwithstanding the variety of nations which now possess that portion of the globe, and the diversity of their languages, the names of the great proportion of the mountains, rivers, headlands, and even of many towns, throughout its entire extent, are derived from the language of that ancient people. They have disappeared themselves from all the countries they formerly inhabited, with the exception of the Highlands of Scotland, a part of Ireland, Wales, and part of Cornwall, in the British dominions, and some small remains in corners of France and Spain; but sufficient evidence is still left of their existence, and of the extent of their possessions. The aboriginal inhabitants of Fife were therefore Celts, and there, as in other parts of Europe, the names of the more remarkable natural features of the country, as well as of most of the towns demonstrate the fact. At what period this people first emigrated to North Britain from the south, it is needless now to inquire, as it is impossible to ascertain; but at the period when the Romans invaded the northern portion of Great Britain, (the year 80) we find that district of country inhabited by twenty-one tribes of aboriginal Celts or Britons, which were populous and powerful in proportion to the greater or less fertility of the territory which they possessed. These tribes, like all the tribes of this people, were entirely independent of each other, and only became united when a common danger called forth a common

and united exertion for the general defence. At the early period we have alluded to, the peninsula between the Forth and the Tay was inhabited by the *Horestii*, one of these tribes who peopled ancient Caledonia. The district inhabited by this tribe included the modern shires of Fife, Clackmannan, and Kinross, the eastern part of Strathearn, and the country lying westward of the Tay as far as the river Brand. From the natural strength of their country, it has been presumed their British name was derived.

The whole of North Britain is represented as at this time consisting of mountains and valleys, either covered with woods or interspersed with bogs and morasses; and there is very little doubt that the country of the *Horestii* must have partaken in a great measure of this general character. The hills of that portion of it which now constitutes Fife, did not, as in various other places, rise into mountains, nor were its valleys so deep and rugged; but there is sufficient evidence to show, that it was much covered with wood, and more than enough supplied with waters, bogs, and morasses. The Caledonian tribes, at the arrival of Agricola, no doubt bore considerable resemblance to their brethren of South Britain when visited by Julius Cæsar in a previous age; and from his account they would appear to have been little improved beyond the state of rude savages, deriving their subsistence from the milk of their flocks which roamed amid the glades of the numerous forests, or from the produce of their exertions in the chase. Dio, the historian, where he speaks of this people, distinctly states that they do not labour the ground, but live upon what they take from their enemies, what they get by hunting, and upon the fruits of trees; and Herodian, even so late as the third century, agrees with him in his description of the state of the British tribes. They are described, however, as very remarkable for bearing cold, fatigue, and famine. Their infantry, armed with slight shields, short spears, and daggers, was famous for speed in attack, and firmness in the field. Sometimes, however, they fought in cars or chariots drawn by horses, small but swift and spirited. In either manner of attack they were only to be repulsed by the superior arms and discipline of their enemies.

Such is the description given of the state of the Celtic tribes of North Britain, at the time they were invaded in their fastnesses by the Romans; but their hill forts, still seen over the country—their extraordinary stone monuments, the result of incredible labour, —and the powerful opposition they gave to the progress of the Roman arms, would lead us to view them in a light of greater civilization than that in which they are seen through the prejudices of classic authors.

Little has been said by these authors as to the civil polity of the Britons, though Dio seems to insinuate that their government was democratic. It is probable, however, that they had scarcely any political union; and that they were like other early nations under the sway of the old men or fathers of the tribe. Nor is it improbable that they were more under the influence of religion than of direct law; that in those early times the priesthood held the chief sway among them. Druidism, it is known, was the religion of the Celtic nations throughout Europe; and there is sufficient evidence to

demonstrate that it was the religion of the Caledonian tribes, and consequently of the Horestii. The tenets of this system of religion are said by Diogenes Laertius to have been; to worship God—to abstain from evil—to exert courage—and, for the enforcing of these virtues, to believe in the immortality of the soul. That the Druids inculcated an ardent love of country, is apparent from the strong resistance made to the Roman arms, by the Gauls, by the Britons, and above all by the Caledonians. From the accounts of subsequent writers, however, it would appear that Druidism, like many other systems, had latterly miserably degenerated from its original purity. The Druids had great veneration for the oak, believing there was supernatural virtue in its wood, its leaves, its fruit, but above all in the misletoe. Indeed the origin of their name has been traced by Owen to the word *Dar*, an oak. The British word *Dar-gwyz;* and the *Celtic Derwyz*, both having their root in the word *Dar*, and importing one who has knowledge, are the originals through many changes of the modern word Druid.

The Druids erected no covered temple for their public worship. The sun being the great medium, though not the object of their worship, it would have been absurd in their eyes to shut out his light, or conceal his appearance from the votaries. Neither did they erect images of the Deity; and in their refusal to communicate with the Greeks or Romans in the multiplicity of their gods, or in their general idolatry, we may find part of the cause of that enmity with which the system was viewed by the Roman conquerors of the Celtic nations, and of the reason for its final suppression. Oak forests were the original places of Druid worship. Under the shadow of the branches of the sacred tree the *stone of sacrifice* was erected. Circles of stone were erected round the hallowed spot, within which sacrifices were performed on the altar. Within these precincts the people assembled for the purposes of devotion—of deliberation in matters of importance—and for public instruction. Many of these stone circles remain in various parts of North Britain; and it would be idle to suppose that they were not also to be found among the Horestii. Indeed it can hardly be doubted that the three standing stones of Lundin are the remains of some Druidical place of worship. These stones stand upright in the middle of a plain in the parish of Largo. They are rude blocks, without inscription, or any vestige of a character upon them. There are fragments of a fourth stone, equal in size to the others. The tradition of the country that they mark the graves of the Danes who fell in battle cannot be correct, as memorial stones are usually found single. There appears to have been two kinds of Druid altars; large flat stones either lying or standing upright; and the Cromlechs, consisting of a large flat stone, supported upon others placed on their edges. Examples of both are still numerous. Within the sacred circle cairns were also sometimes raised, on the top of which a large flat stone was placed, where the Druid fires were kindled and sacrifices performed. The rocking-stone, or as it is sometimes called the Logan-stone, appears also to have been a Druid monument, and is an object of curious investigation with the inquirer into their antiquities. Monepenny, in his description of Scotland, says that one of these

rocking stones stood at one time near Balvaird; but that it had been destroyed by the soldiers of Cromwell when they were in Scotland.

The mode of sepulture adopted by these aborigines, is also worthy of observation. During the existence of paganism they were in the practice of burning their dead; but after their conversion to Christianity, they appear to have relinquished this mode, and to have adopted that of inhumation. Evidence of both of these methods still remains in different parts of Scotland, though the progress of agricultural improvement has recently rendered the appearance of this much less frequent than it formerly was. The Barrows, Cairns, Cistvaens, and Urns, which have been so often the subject of antiquarian examination and research, are the sepulchral remains of these early Celtic tribes. These remains have been found in Fife as in other parts of North Britain; though in all probability its early advance in agriculture removed many of them, previous to the time when they became objects of attention. In the parish of Cupar, a barrow was opened some years ago, in which were found several heads of battle-axes, formed of a very hard white-coloured stone, neatly shaped, carved and polished. In the parish of Kettle, on a hill called the Knock of Cleish, a cistvaen was also found containing human bones and trinkets, with the brass head of a spear. Near Elie there was a sepulchral tumulus which when opened was found to contain several human bones of a large size. Besides these cairns and barrows erected over the graves of their dead, the Horestii, no doubt, also erected stones of memorial, as was the practice of the other tribes of Celts. One of these stands near Dysart, which tradition affirms to be the memorial of a battle.

It does not appear that the Horestii had any towns within the bounds of what now constitutes Fife. Their chief towns were Alauna, and Lindum on the river Allan, and Victoria, on the river Earn, and here the Romans afterwards had stations, on the great military way which led north-east towards Ptoroton or Burghead, on the Murray Firth. Hill forts, however, were numerous, all over the county, and the remains of several of these are still to be traced, which will hereafter be described in the topographical portion of this work. A few, however, may here be mentioned. On Dunearn hill there was a British fort of great strength, which soon yielded to the art of the Romans. Upon Car-neil hill, near Carnock, the Horestii had another fort, which had in all probability been in possession of the Romans; as in 1774, upon opening some tumuli on the hill, several urns were found containing Roman coins. About a mile and a half north from Carnock there was a fort on a hill called Craig-luscar, and three miles north-north-west there was one on Saline hill, and another at no great distance below. The situation of several others can also still be traced on the heights, in the northern part of the parish of Strathmigh, as well as on the hills near Newburgh.

The weapons used by this people have occasionally been found in the graves of the warriors. These are axes or hatchets, and arrow or spear heads. They are generally of flint; but others of brass have also been found. That the flint hatchets, and arrow heads, usually called *celts*, were British, cannot for a moment be doubted; and

that those formed of brass were also used by that people, is proved by their being found in the barrows and cairns in which their warriors were interred. The skilled in fairy lore will recollect, that to the arrow heads of flint, the superstitions of the more recent people of Scotland have given the appellation of *elf-shots*, from the supposition that they were shot by the elves or fairies at cattle. The greater portion of the diseases of cattle were attributed to the *elf-shot;* and the remedy was, that the diseased animal should be touched with the *elf-shot*, and made to drink of water in which it had been dipped. Besides these arms, which were common to all classes, the chiefs wore helmets, and fought in chariots. For crossing lakes, arms of the sea, and rivers, the Caledonian Britons possessed canoes and currachs. The canoe appears to have been hollowed by fire from a single tree, as has been done in much more recent times by the North American Indians; and they were put in motion by a single paddle. Many canoes of this description, have been found at different times, in various parts of Scotland: in Locher moss, in Carlinwark loch, Loch Doon in Ayrshire, and Lochwinnoch in Renfrewshire; but the largest that has been found was found in 1726 near the mouth of the Carron, where it flows into the Forth. It was thirty-six feet long, four feet broad in the middle, four feet four inches deep, and four inches thick in the wood. It was finely polished, being perfectly smooth both within and without; the wood was of extraordinary hardness, and had not one knot in the whole block. The currachs are described by Cæsar as having keels and masts of the lightest wood, and the bodies made of wicker work, covered over with hides or leather. Lucan says that in these little ships the British navigated the ocean.

Such as we have now described, in so far as can be gathered from the slight notices of classic authors, and the examination of their remaining antiquities, were the Celtic tribes who inhabited North Britain at the time of the invasion of the Romans under Agricola; and such consequently were the Horestii, the aborigines of the county of Fife. The notice of this early people, or of their manners and customs, which we have been able to give, is but meagre, and unsatisfactory; but a simple detail of facts is surely of greater interest to the lovers of truth than the most pleasant web of fiction which fancy could weave from them.

In the year 78 of the Christian era Agricola took the command of the Roman provinces in Britain. The year 79 he appears chiefly to have spent in subduing, and endeavouring to civilize portions of the south. In the year 80 he left Mancunium, the Manchester of the present time, with the intention of penetrating into the north by the western coast. It is not our intention here, to follow the course of his arms, or to give any detail of his campaigns among the various tribes who possessed the country between the Solway, and the firths of Clyde and Forth, as such a narrative would in the present work be out of place. Suffice it to say, that having overrun the whole of this country, and brought these various tribes under at least temporary subjection, he began to turn his attention to the countries lying to the north of the Forth. He ordered his fleet to survey the northern shores of the Forth, and to sound the harbours; and setting

out with his army, he by the aid of his fleet crossed the firth, at its most contracted part now known as Queensferry. He thus in the year 83 entered the country of the Horestii.

The Caledonian Britons from the higher regions, aware of the object of the Roman general, began offensive operations by attacking the strengths which Agricola had left behind him; and in doing so, created considerable terror in their enemies. Agricola being informed that it was the intention of the Caledonians to attack him on all sides in a country with which he was unacquainted, divided his army into three divisions. It seems probable that with one of these divisions he marched to Carnock, near which are still to be traced the remains of two Roman military stations. From thence he pushed forward the ninth legion, which had been weakened by previous engagements, to Loch Ore, about two miles from Loch Leven. Here the Romans pitched their camp, having two ranges of hills in front, the Cleish range on their left, and Binnarty hill on their right. The remains of this military station are still to be traced. Its form is nearly square. Portions of it have been levelled and defaced; but on the north and west sides, there still exist three rows of ditches, and a like number of ramparts composed of earth and stone. The circumference of this work is about 2020 feet. During the night, a vigorous attack on the encampment was made by the Horestii; and they had penetrated within the entrenchments, ere Agricola was made aware of their having marched. He instantly however advanced with the lightest of his troops for the purpose of attacking the assailants in the rear. At the gates of the camp, a furious engagement took place; but the Horestii, notwithstanding their bravery, were ultimately repulsed, and obliged to retreat. The Britons were not however discouraged by their defeat. They attributed the success of their enemies not to superior bravery, but to the better discipline of the Romans, and the greater skill of their commander. Resolved to defend the last defiles of their country, they sent their wives and children into places of safety; armed their youth; and in a solemn assembly of the various tribes, ratified a confederacy with solemn sacrifices and other religious rites.

The Romans, proud of their victory, conceived that no force could withstand their valour, and were impatient to penetrate into the remote and unknown recesses of Caledonia. Agricola, taking advantage of the enthusiasm of his troops, immediately proceeded to subdue the Horestii, who, so far as appears from the pages of Tacitus, do not appear to have made much farther resistance. The probability is, that having joined the confederation, this warlike tribe reserved their strength, for the purpose of aiding the general cause, and acting in concert for the defence of the whole, rather than expending it in resisting Agricola in their own particular territory. In his operations in Fife, and in securing his various stations in that country, Agricola spent the remaining portion of the year 83; and the commencement of the succeeding year was occupied in obtaining information of the movements of his enemies, and the nature of the country he was about to invade. During this period, he was supplied with provisions from his fleet upon the Forth; and by means of it had regular communication with his garrisons on the opposite shore.

In the summer of the year 84, Agricola left the country of the Horestii, on his proposed expedition to the north, sending his fleet round the coast for the purpose of alarming his enemies. He appears in his march to have followed the course of the Devon, and turning from Glen-devon to the right, through the opening in the Ochil hills, to have passed through Glen-eagles. Proceeding between Blackford and Auchterarder, he advanced towards the Grampians, which he had seen at a distance as he defiled through the Ochils. Marching onward to the moor of Ardoch, he came upon the Caledonian army within the territory of the Damnii. The Caledonians, who were thus encamped at the foot of the Grampians, amounted to 30,000 men, under the command of Galgacus, a general who certainly is entitled to all the praise Tacitus has bestowed upon him. Here an obstinate battle ensued, in which the greatest bravery was displayed on both sides. Night alone put an end to the engagement, but the victory fell to the side of discipline and skill, as it almost invariably does. The Caledonians, forced to retreat, retired into the distant recesses of their nearly impervious country. Agricola, unable to make any important use of the victory he had obtained, led his army back to the borders of the country of the Horestii. Taking hostages from them, for their future tranquillity, he conducted his troops into winter quarters on the south of the Forth. The Roman navy he ordered to sail round the island, ostensibly on a voyage of discovery, but no doubt also with the view of intimidation. Having sailed as far as Richborough, the fleet returned to the Forth to winter. Thus ended the campaigns of Agricola in Britain. The Emperor Domitian, envious of the fame his general had acquired, recalled him to Rome, in the year 85, under the pretence of promotion, which, however, was declined by the soldier, and not very earnestly pressed by the monarch.

From the departure of Agricola, no notice is taken by the Roman historians of the affairs of Britain for about thirty years. The probability therefore is, that the Caledonians having felt the effects of the Roman arms, dreaded and submitted for a time to their power. Those situated south of the Forth and Clyde, had become a Roman province; and those on the north had remained quiet amid the fastnesses of their country. At length, however, the recall of troops and commanders by the Emperor Adrian excited their hopes; and the misgovernment of proprætors provoked them to renewed resistance. The Romans still possessed stations beyond the Forth and Clyde; but these were in all likelihood intended more to preserve the peace of the southern provinces than for any other purpose. On the assumption of the purple by the Emperor Antoninus Pius, in the year 138, he appointed Lollius Urbicus to the command in Britain; and granted the privilege of Roman citizenship over the whole Roman empire. The whole of the Caledonians therefore between the Forth and the Murray Firth, and among the rest the tribe of the Horestii, might have claimed this important right; but this people were too proud and independent, and must have felt the Roman yoke too keenly to render it probable that any of them ever took advantage of the right thus conferred upon them. The investigation of monumental stones which have

been dug from its ruins now render it certain, that the Roman wall between the Forth and the Clyde was erected by Lollius Urbicus, for the purpose of defending the southern provinces of Caledonia, which had began to acquire the arts of civilized life, from the incursions of their more warlike, and still unsubdued brethren of the north. Roads were constructed throughout the whole of this conquered territory; and from the wall in various directions northward as far as the Murray Firth. Stations were erected or strengthened on the line of these roads; and several of these stations can still be traced in the country once inhabited by the Horestii. Every exertion was made by Lollius Urbicus to keep this brave people under subjection; as well as the whole of those inhabiting that portion of northern Caledonia which had been formed into the province of Vespasiana.

In the year 161, on the death of the Emperor Antoninus, the able Roman general who had so long governed Britain ceased to be proprætor. Tranquillity seems for some time after this to have prevailed in Britain; but at length the necessities of the Emperor Aurelian, who was preparing for a war with the Germans, and was obliged to recall many of his veterans, caused in the year 170 the evacuation of the whole of Caledonia beyond the wall; a province of their empire which had been in reality but partially subdued, and had not been of much utility. The country of the Horestii was thus freed from the Roman arms, about seventy-eight years after the first invasion of Agricola.

The whole of the northern tribes now resumed their independence; but such is the effect of subjection, that it appears they remained for a long time tranquil, and gave little disturbance to their more civilized neighbours south of the wall. During the misgovernment of Commodus, however, in 183, some of the northern tribes are said to have passed that strong boundary, and to have pillaged the country beyond; and again at the close of this century the Caledonians invaded the Roman territory. Notwithstanding a truce which they had entered into, the Caledonians in 207 again commenced hostilities with the Romans and the Romanized Britons, on learning which, the Emperor Severus came in person to Britain. After ample preparations for the campaign, and repairing the wall between the Tyne and the Solway, he in 209 penetrated into the recesses of the Caledonian territories; caused them to sue for peace, and obliged many of them to surrender their arms. In this expedition he is said to have lost 50,000 men. Scarcely, however, had peace been concluded, and the Romans retired south of the wall, than the Caledonians again renewed their hostilities. The command of the army had been devolved by the emperor upon his son Caracalla; but that prince was more anxious to gain the army and establish his designs on the purple, than to oppose the incursions of the Caledonians. Severus died at York in 211; and Caracalla immediately concluded a peace with the Caledonians, by which he relinquished all those territories which had been so recently surrendered to his father. After this the Caledonian tribes appear to have remained quiet for nearly a century; and during this period the Britons within the wall had no doubt been advancing in arts and civilization under the Roman culture and government, while the Horestii and other more northern tribes advanced more slowly, if they did not remain much in their original state.

It would appear, however, that they could not remain at rest, and accordingly in 306 we find that the Emperor Constance was obliged to visit Britain for the purpose of repelling an invasion of the Caledonians, and *other Picts*. This is the expression of the panegyrist Eumenius; and it is the first time we hear of the people denominated Picts being mentioned in any ancient author. This invasion was soon repelled by the Romans under the command of Constance; nor do we again hear of the Caledonians afterwards disturbing the provincial Britons for a period of forty years. In 343 a feeble inroad was very speedily repelled; after which there seems to have been rest on the one side and security on the other for seventeen years. Subsequently, while the Romans were engaged in war with the Persians on the one hand and the Germans on the other, we again hear of the peace being broken, and the provincial Britons being harassed by the incursions of the *Scots* and Picts; and here we have, in classic authors, a new people, or at least a new name appearing on the field of Caledonian contention. Lupicinus was sent with forces to repel these incursions; but his attention seems to have been too much occupied with affairs proceeding at home, to be able to effect the object for which he had been sent.

At the accession of the Emperor Valentinian in 364, there was a new invasion of Romanized Britain by the Picts, who were in that age divided into the Deucaledones and the Vecturiones; of the Attacoti from the shores of Dumbarton and Cowal; and of the Scots, then an erratic tribe from Ireland. The country of the people formerly styled the Horestii, formed part of the territory of those now called the Vecturiones. This attack seems to have been more general and destructive to the Britons within the walls, than any which had been previously made. After the appointment and recall of several officers, Theodosius received the command of the Roman troops; and after two campaigns in 368 and 369, he succeeded in restoring tranquillity. The decline of the Roman empire, however, brought with it every sort of disorder in the distant province of Britain. Renewed aggressions were made by the Picts and Scots; and the Emperor Honorius, unable longer to defend so distant a province, directed the British cities to rule and defend themselves. Civilization, however, had brought with it effeminacy and inaptitude for war; and, in 422, the Romanized Britons feeling their weakness and inability to repel the attacks of their warlike invaders, although the wall was still garrisoned by Roman soldiers, applied for additional assistance for their protection. A Roman legion is said to have been sent, who chastised the assailants; and for the last time repaired the wall which had so long overawed the Caledonian and Pictish tribes. In 446 the British provincials again implored assistance from Rome; but that now degenerated empire was unable to render any. They were told to rely altogether on their own exertions; and finally the Roman troops were entirely withdrawn. In these proceedings, in connexion with the Roman invasion, and possession of Caledonia, of which we have given a short summary, the early inhabitants of Fife bore their part, first under the name of the Horestii, and afterwards under that of the Vecturiones, a tribe of the people called Picts.

SECTION II.

FROM A. D. 446 TO A. D. 843.

Picts.—Opinions as to their origin.—Extent of their kingdom.—Scots arrive from Ireland.—Saxon invasion of Pictavia.—Defeat of the Saxons.—Picts defeat Strathclyde Britons.—Danish invasions in Fife.—Kenneth son of Alpin succeeds to the Pictish throne.—Scots and Picts united.—Introduction of Christianity.—Culdees and their establishments in Fife.

THE history of the Picts extends from 446, the period at which the Romans left Britain, till 843, when their government was overthrown by the Scots. The lineage of this people has been the subject of much dispute among those who have written on the early history of Scotland, and long and very angry dissertations have been the result of the discussion. With one class of writers they are held to be a Celtic people,—in fact the descendants of the Caledonians, who at the first appearance of the Romans, opposed their army under Agricola, at the foot of the Grampian mountains. Another class affirm them to have been a Gothic people, who had invaded Caledonia, and if they had not superseded, had overcome and reduced to slavery those tribes who had so successfully, and for so long a period, resisted Roman valour and discipline. Whatever opinion we may have formed on the subject, it is not our intention here to renew the dispute; it is rather our object to narrate such of their proceedings as relate to our proper subject, and to give such notices of them as in that view may be considered necessary. It certainly does seem to be unquestionable that they were a Celtic people, the descendants of a portion of the Caledonian tribes; and that therefore their manners, habits, and customs were the same with those of the tribes from which they were descended, except in so far as they may have been civilized and improved by their intercourse with the Romans, and with the Romanized Britons south of the Forth and Clyde.

The kingdom of the Picts seems to have extended throughout the whole of the eastern coast, and the central portion of Scotland, north of the Roman wall; and in the north to have reached from sea to sea. The county of Fife, the land of the ancient Horestii, and the lower portion of Perthshire and Angus, formed the most important portion of their territory; and here it was more extensively peopled than in the more central or northern parts. That the Picts, though still a rude people, were farther advanced in civilization than the former tribes who possessed the country, is apparent from the fact of their having become united under one king; and it is impossible to doubt that while the Romans held the lands of the Horestii and places adjacent, agriculture would be to a certain extent introduced. Still their savage manners, and their custom of painting their naked bodies, shows that the advance made in civilization was but small indeed. Their capital appears originally to have been at Forteviot in Strathearn; and afterwards at Abernethy on the borders of the county of Fife.

At the departure of the Romans, the Picts were under the government of Drust, the son of Erp; and from him, until the final overthrow of the monarchy, we have a succession of forty kings, the greater part of whose reigns were short and turbulent. Indeed the whole history of this people is a series of intestine broils and commotions, or of battles with their neighbours the Britons, and other nations with whom they successively came into contact. In 503 a colony of people from Ireland settled in Kintyre, and founded the kingdom of the Dalriadinian Scots; a people who soon began to extend their conquests in Argyle, and ultimately gave their name to the whole kingdom of Scotland. Ida and his Saxons, in 547, founded the Saxon kingdom of Northumbria; and at an early period a Saxon colony settled in that part of Scotland, now denominated the Lothians. With one or other of these nations the Picts were constantly at war. After a succession of twelve Pictish kings, Bridei, the son of Mailcon, succeeded to the throne, and continued to govern for a period of thirty years. The fame of this monarch reached even to the east; but his principal glory was his conversion to Christianity, in 565, by Columba, the founder of the monastery at Icolmkill. From this time the Picts must be considered as being nominally a Christian people, though their conversion appears to have little changed their principles or altered their customs.

After the death of Bridei in 586, a long period of petty warfare again succeeded. In 621 there was a domestic conflict at Lindores under Coneoch, the son of Luthrin; and in 663 there was an unimportant battle at Ludho-feirn. The battle of Dun-Nechtan, however, which was fought with the Saxons in 685, was of a very different description. Egfrid, the Saxon king, attacked the Picts without provocation, and against the advice of his people. Crossing the Forth from Lothian, he carried fire and sword into the country of the Picts. In his course he burned Tula-Aman and Dun-Ola; and crossing the Tay he pressed onward into Angus, while the men of Fife, and other Picts, were collecting around him. Under their king, Bridei, the son of Bili, the Picts met the Saxons at Dun-Nechtan, the Dunnichen of modern times. Here the Saxon army was signally defeated. Egfrid their king was slain, and few of his unfortunate followers returned to relate the disaster. The result of this battle was as favourable to Pictish independence, as it was fatal to the Saxons. In 699, however, the Saxons under Berht, the Northumbrian king, again attacked the Picts, when they were again defeated by Bridei, the son of Dereli, who had just assumed the Pictish sceptre. In 710, however, the Saxons defeated the Picts at Mananfield on the river Tyne, in Northumberland, killing Bridei their king.

A civil war, attended with great violence and bloodshed, began among the Picts in 724; at this time Nechtan, who had reigned from 710, was dethroned by Drust, who reigned conjointly with Elpin until 730, when they both fell, after a continued struggle, under the power of Ungus. This warrior, who has been styled the Great, carried warfare into the rugged country of the Scots in 736, who, in return, under Muredach their king, soon after attacked the Pictish territories, but were defeated by Talorgan, the brother of Ungus. In 740 they were again defeated by Ungus; as were the

Northumbrian Saxons during the same year. In 750 he overcame the Strathclyde Britons in a well fought battle, in which his brother, Talorgan, was slain. Ungus, who appears to have been the ablest and most powerful of the Pictish kings, died in 761. After his death, the Picts, as usual, were disturbed by intestine broils and disputes; but they were also during this period attacked by a new enemy. The Vikingr, or pirate kings of the North, made repeated attacks upon them, and appear ultimately to have got possession of the greater part of the county of Caithness, as well as the northern isles. Uen the king of the Picts fell in defending his country from one of these invasions in 839, and with him his only brother Bran, and many of the Pictish chiefs. Distracted by domestic broils, and enfeebled by wasteful invasion, the Picts were little able to resist the arms, or to defeat the policy of Kenneth, the son of Alpin, the king of the Dalriadinian Scots, when in 843 he acquired the government of their distracted country. With his accession, therefore, the dynasty of the Pictish kings came to an end; and the kingdoms of Scotland and Pictavia became united under one monarch. It was long afterwards, however, before the country of the Picts lost its name, and became merged as it did in that of Scotland.

The Scots, also a Celtic people, leaving Ireland, had settled in Kintyre and Islay in 503, under Loarn, Fergus, and Angus, the three sons of Erc. Loarn received the district of Loarn, to which he gave his name; Angus is said to have colonized the island of Islay; while Kintyre became the portion of Fergus. Angus soon died, leaving a son, Muredach, who exercised his authority within the narrow limits of Islay; and also shortly after died, leaving his uncle Fergus sole monarch of the Dalriadinian Scots. Eochaannuine, the twenty-fifth king of this race, succeeded Selvach II. in 796. He is the fabulous Achaius of the Scottish historians, who is feigned to have entered into a league with Charlemagne; and to have instituted the ancient order of the thistle. Whilst these statements of Fordun and Buchanan must be looked upon as pure fiction, Eocha formed one alliance, which was of more importance to his country and his descendants than any French alliance could have been. He married Urgusia, the daughter of Urguis, and sister to Constantin and Ungus, successively kings of the Picts. The consequence of this alliance was that his grandson Kenneth, the son of Alpin, was enabled to claim, and succeeded to the Pictish throne in 843, conjoining the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts.

The Romans had so early as the year 43 proscribed the religion of the Druids in Gaul; and as they extended their conquests in South Britain, there also it was proscribed. In the northern parts of Caledonia, however, and in the country of the Horestii, it appears to have maintained its influence, until the light of Christianity was thrown upon it. There is every reason to believe that the influence of Christianity had been felt in those portions of North Britain which were inaccessible to the Roman power as early as the third century; and the Romanized Britons were converted at the beginning of the fifth century, by Ninian, whose name has been handed down by the number of churches which have been dedicated to him. The Picts were instructed in the truths of Christi-

anity by Columba, towards the close of the sixth century. Ternan is said to have been the first bishop among the Picts, and to have resided at Abernethy, the Pictish capital. Columba, having instituted a monastery of Culdees in the island of Iona, which he had received for that purpose from the Pictish king, set the example of forming such monastic societies throughout different parts of North Britain. These monasteries, however, must not be confounded with those of the Catholic church, which were formed at an after period; as the bishops of these early Christians cannot be with those which succeeded them, after the power of the Roman Church came to be acknowledged in Scotland. The doctrine of the Culdees, as far as we may judge from that of Columba, was comparatively pure. He was himself much given to the study of the Scriptures; he taught his disciples to conform their doctrines to the testimonies of that unpolluted fountain; and declared that only to be divine counsel which he found there. His followers, it is said by Bede, received these things only which are contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles, diligently observing the works of piety and charity. Hence, for several generations, they were not tainted with the errors and heresy of the church of Rome; and their mode of life was very different from that of the generality of those called monks in later ages, for, according to the same authority, they lived by the labour of their own hands.

The seats of Culdee worship became numerous throughout North Britain, and were useful not only in spreading the gospel, but in tending to civilize the rude people who inhabited it. At Abernethy, the British capital, there is said to have been one of their societies established so early as the year 600. About the year 700 the island in Loch Leven was bestowed on St Serf and the Culdees residing there and serving God. Setting aside the fable of St Regulus having landed at St Andrews, about the year 365, as a monkish legend, there is absolute certainty that the Culdees had a settlement there in the ninth century; and such was the fame they had attained in the tenth century, that Constantin III. took up his residence among them, and died 943, a member, or according to Winton, abbot of their monastery. At Dunfermline there was an early Culdee establishment formed, as there was also at Kirkaldy; and, according to Winton, Bridei, the son of Derili, founded one at Culross, about the year 700. Saint Serf, we are informed by Winton, resided here for many years before he went to Loch Leven; and by the same authority we are informed that he afterwards went there, where he died and was buried. Here St Mungo, the supposed founder of the See of Glasgow, was for some time a disciple, previous to his removing to the West. There was another society of Culdees at Portmoak, near Loch Leven. Such were the establishments in Fife and the country adjoining, for the promulgation of Christianity, in those early times; and it can hardly be doubted that their influence, joined to the insulated situation of the district, which kept it apart from much of the turbulence and warfare of the times, must have brought it to a higher pitch of civilization, subsequent to the period of the union of the Scots and Picts, than any other portion of their united kingdom.

SECTION III.

FROM A. D. 843 TO A. D. 1097.

Danish invasions.—Constantin killed at Crail.—Battle of Luncarty.—Traditions in Fife of Danish invasions.—Fabled invasion during the reign of Duncan.—Macbeth and Banquo.—Macduff maormor of Fife.—Kills Macbeth.—Malcolm Canmore ascends the throne.—Fife still inhabited by a Celtic people.—Evidence of this.—State of the country at Malcolm's death.

THE union of the Scots and Picts, brought the whole of Pictavia, and of course Fife, under the government of the Scottish kings. Kenneth, who succeeded to the Pictish throne, after defending his new territory against Ragnar Lodbrog, a Danish pirate who entered the Tay in search of plunder,—founding a church at Dunkeld, to which he removed the reliques of St Columba from Iona,—and removing the fatal stone, on which the sovereigns of Great Britain are still crowned, to Scone, died in 859 at Forteviot, which had been the capital of the Pictish kingdom. Constantin, his son, had to contend repeatedly with the piratical Danes, who appear during his reign to have ravaged the whole coasts of North Britain. In these invasions, Fife often suffered severely; and the men of this district for several centuries bore a great share in repelling them. In 881, they entered the Forth, and made a descent upon the shores of Fife. There they were bravely encountered by Constantin, who was, however, unfortunately killed near Crail. In a small cave, near a rampart called the *Dane's dyke*, he is said to have been sacrificed by these ruthless pirates to the manes of the Danish leaders, who had been slain. During this invasion, several of the Scotch ecclesiastics were forced to take refuge in the Isle of May, where, however, they were discovered and put to death by their pagan enemies.

Under the reign of Kenneth III., the territory of the Strathclyde Britons, who had maintained themselves as an independent nation after the departure of the Romans, was added to the Scottish kingdom; and Malcolm II. subsequently added to his kingdom the Lothians, which had before received Saxon colonization; so that under him Scotland attained the same dimensions which we find it assume in later times. During the reign of Kenneth, after partial attacks, the Danes entered the Tay with a numerous fleet, their object appearing to be the plunder of Forteviot or Dunkeld. Kenneth, with such chiefs as he could hastily collect together, met them at Luncarty, near Perth, where a furious conflict ensued. The right wing of the Scottish army was commanded by Malcolm, the *Tanist*, and prince of Cumberland; the left by Duncan, the maormor of Athol; while the centre was led by Kenneth himself. The contest was long and doubtful. The two wings of the Scottish army at first gave way before the Danes; but rallying behind the centre, they renewed the fight, and the Danes in their turn were compelled to yield. The result of this well fought field freed for a time the shores of

the Tay and Forth from the formidable foes who had so long infested them. Their incursions were renewed, however, during subsequent reigns. Indeed tradition even yet recollects with horror, the various conflicts which the inhabitants of Fife had from time to time to maintain with the Danish rovers; and the statistical accounts inform us that the skeletons, which have been on various occasions found upon the shore from the river Leven to the eastern extremity of Largo bay, are regarded by the people as the remains of the heroes who fell in these conflicts.

During the reign of Duncan, who had ascended the Scottish throne in 1033, Sueno, king of Norway, is said to have invaded Fife, and a sharp fight attended with considerable slaughter took place, in which the Norwegians obtained the victory. Some auxiliaries under his brother Knute are said to have arrived at Kinghorn, where they were vanquished by Bancho thane of Lochaber, many of their leaders slain, and the rest compelled to fly to their ships. These statements, however, are the invention of Boethius, and were unknown to Fordun who preceded him. The short reign of Duncan is known to have been but little disturbed with foreign invasion, and Banquo the thane of Lochaber, is a character unknown in real history. He is indebted to Boethius for his existence, and to Shakspeare for the celebrity which he has attained. Duncan was assassinated at Bothgowanan, near Elgin, by Macbeth, the maormor of Ross. The wonderful fictions of Shakspeare have thrown an interest and a celebrity around this usurper, which time cannot now diminish; and which the real facts of his history, however clearly they had been narrated, could never have produced. Seizing the blood-stained sceptre of the unhappy Duncan, he appears to have been desirous to supply any defect in his title to the throne by a vigorous and useful administration. During his reign, the chieftains who might have disturbed it, were either overawed by his power, or held in subjection by his valour; the commons were attached by abundance of provisions, and the strict and equal distribution of justice; and the clergy rendered favourable by grants of land and other gifts. The crime by which he had acquired his power, however, haunted him amidst all his prosperity, and a constant sense of insecurity at length produced rigour, and even tyranny. The injuries which he had inflicted on Macduff, the maormor of Fife, created in him a powerful enemy; and prompted Malcolm, the son of Duncan, to attempt the redressing of the wrongs of all. With the assistance of his relation, Siward, earl of Northumberland, a powerful baron, Malcolm entered Scotland with a numerous army in 1054, and penetrated, in all probability, to Dunsinane. In this expedition he was eagerly joined by Macduff, and the men of Fife.

At Dunsinane they were met by Macbeth, and a furious conflict ensued. In spite of all his bravery the usurper was overcome, and forced to retire to the north, where he had still numerous friends. The earl of Northumberland, whose son had been killed in the battle at Dunsinane, returned home in 1055, and died the same year at York. Malcolm, however, continued the contest with Macbeth, who was at length killed in 1056 by Macduff, who thus revenged his own wrongs, and rendered an important ser-

vice to the son of Duncan. This is said to have occurred at Lumphanan, where about a mile from the church, a cairn about forty yards in circumference is still pointed out, and called Macbeth's cairn. There are several smaller cairns in its neighbourhood. Lulach, the son of the lady Gruoch, the wife of Macbeth, by her first husband, Gilcomgain, the maormor of Moray, ascended the vacant throne of his step-father; but he occupied it only a few months, being slain in a battle which ensued with Malcolm, at Essie in Strathbogie, on the 3d April, 1057.

After an arduous struggle for two years, Malcolm at length ascended the throne of his father Duncan; and was for some years occupied in rewarding those who had supported him in his struggle, and in gaining over those who had opposed him. We are told of his bounty to Macduff, who rendered him such signal service; but of its extent we have no direct evidence. It appears certain, however, that in very early times, the maormors or earls of Fife were entitled, 1st, to place the king of Scotland on the inaugural stone; 2d, to lead the van of the king's army into battle; and, 3d, to enjoy the privilege of a sanctuary to the clan Macduff. During the reign of Edward the Confessor, Malcolm seems to have cultivated peace with England, while he had yet but a slight hold of the affections of his people; and in 1059 he is said even to have paid Edward a visit. In 1066 Tostig the brother of Harold, found safety with Malcolm, after flying from Stanford bridge; and in 1068 Edgar Ætheling with his sister Margaret, sought the same shelter from the cruelty of William the Norman. Shortly after her arrival Malcolm married this lady; and thus formed a connexion with the royal blood of the Saxon kings of England. Engaged subsequently in repeated quarrels with England, then governed by William Rufus, Malcolm in 1093 raised an army, entered Northumberland, and attacked the castle of Alnwick. Here he was surprised by the earl of Moubray, and he and his oldest son Edward were killed. Queen Margaret was so affected with the news, that she did not long survive. Donal-bane, the brother of Malcolm, succeeded to the crown; but he did not long enjoy his dignity. For Duncan the natural son of Malcolm invaded Scotland with a numerous band of adventurers, English and Normans, with whose assistance he overturned the government of Donal and assumed the sceptre. Unsupported however by power or popularity, he was assassinated by Maolpeder the maormor of the Mearns. Donal-bane again assumed the government which he held for two unhappy years, when Edgar Ætheling, commiserating the family of Malcolm, assembled an army and marched into Scotland. He soon overcame the aged Donal, who appears to have been taken captive in the year 1097. Imprisoned, and deprived of his eyesight, he soon after died; and with him ended the race of the Scoto-Irish or Celtic kings of Scotland.

It seems abundantly certain, that up to this period the united Scottish and Pictish kingdom was Celtic, and inhabited by a Celtic people. Malcolm spoke the Gaelic language; and his name Ceann-mhor is Gaelic. That up to this period, and indeed long after, the inhabitants of Fife were Celts, is proved not only by the great predominance of Celtic names of places which still exist, and which, in the sixteenth century, were still

more numerous; but we find that the names of the people were also Celtic. This is distinctly proved by charters of the period. David I. granted to the monks of May, the half of the lands of Ballegallin in Fife "sicut *Gillecolm, Mac-Chimhethin, Macbeth, Mactorfin*, et *Malmure*, Thein de Cellin, eis predictam terram pertinuerent."

The principal persons whom David convened, to decide a controversy about the lands of Kirkness, near Loch Leven, were *Constantin* the earl of Fife, and great judge in Scotland; *Macbeth*, thane of Falkland; *Dufgal*, the son of *Mac-Che;* and *Maldoineth*, the son of *Macheduch*. Even so late as 1231 some lands in Fife, as appears from the chartulary of Dunfermline, were perambulated by the following jurors: *Gillecrist de Laen, Gilleconstantin, Gillethomas, Bridi Camb, Gilleserf, Mac-Rolf, Gillemartin Gillecolm, Mac-Melg, John Trodi, Rescoloc, Gillandres, Seth MacLoed, Gillepatrick*, and *Mac-Manethin*. That these were persons belonging to the country is certain; as it is that they were Celts; and that thus even in the thirteenth century Gaelic was still the ordinary language of a portion of the people of Fife. In addition to this it appears that the clergy throughout the kingdom were totally unacquainted with the English language; for Turgot in his Vitæ Sanctorum says, that when the whole clergy of Scotland assembled, under Malcolm and Margaret, they could not understand the English language of the Scottish queen; but the king, who from having been in England, understood both languages, interpreted between them.

At the period of Scottish history at which we have now arrived, civilization could as yet have been but little advanced. The people may have ceased painting their bodies, as we know had been the practice at the union of the Scots and Picts; but little beyond the rudest attempts at clothing themselves had been adopted by the mass of the Celtic people. Towns were almost unknown among them; and except Forteviot and Abernethy, there was probably none existing throughout the whole of Celtic Scotland, and even these could have been but of small extent. It was the Saxon people who colonized the Lothians, who first exhibited the advantages civilization was to derive from men uniting their efforts in towns and burghs; and it was after the Saxons and Normans had began to colonize other portions of North Britain, that burghs began to appear in those districts which had originally been Celtic. Malcolm III. who had resided long in England, and had married a Saxon princess, gave great encouragement to the settlement of Saxons in his dominions. His queen unquestionably brought several of her relations and domestics with her; the cruel policy of William the Conqueror, drove many Saxons to seek refuge in Scotland; and Malcolm during his incursions into Northumberland and Durham, carried away so many young men and women captive, that we are informed by an English historian, "that for many years they were to be found in every Scottish village, nay in every Scottish hovel." It must not be supposed, however, that this attempt at Saxon colonization had any great influence among the Celtic people of Scotland; for it appears that, at Malcolm's death, great numbers of these strangers were driven from the country. It was during the subsequent reigns of Malcolm's sons, and their immediate successors, that the Saxons and Normans began effectually to

press back the Celtic people; and to introduce new manners and customs, and new laws.

There is every reason to believe that during the reign of Malcolm, the east coast of Scotland had begun to enjoy the advantage of some trading intercourse with foreign nations, as he is said to have imported rich dresses for himself and his nobles; and it is even said, that during the reign of Macbeth the kingdom had from this cause acquired some degree of wealth. Agriculture, however, was yet but in a rude state; and notwithstanding that the forests of Scotland had been so extensively destroyed by the Romans, they still covered extensive tracts in every district. In Fife the principal forests were those of Cardenie, Uweth, and Black Ironside. From these the proprietors received a considerable source of revenue in the noble timber which they contained, and the deer, and other animals of the chase with which they abounded. In many instances, however, large portions of the forests had been cleared, and brought under cultivation; but the savage animals which infested many parts of the country, the wolf, the bear, the wild boar, and the bison, must have often proved destructive enemies to the husbandman.

SECTION IV.

FROM A. D. 1097 TO A. D. 1285.

Origin of Shires.—Macduff maormor, not earl, of Fife.—Privileges granted him by Malcolm.—Macduff's cross.—Inscription upon it.—Successors of Macduff.—Dufagan.—Constantin.—Monks of Loch Leven oppressed by Sir Robert de Burgoner.—Dispute referred to the earl of Fife and other judges.—David I. and Bishop of St Andrews send armies to support them in their decision.—Gillimichel Macduff.—Ian mhor nan uaimh, the progenitor of the family of Wemyss.—Duncan earl of Fife.—Hela, his countess, the first of whom any evidence of bearing the title.—He places Malcolm IV. in the inaugural stone at his coronation.—Duncan II., earl of Fife, Justiciarius Scotiæ.—Malcolm, his son, receives the lands of Uthredus de Burgoner.—Founds monasteries at Cupar, North Berwick, and Culross.—David de Wemyss first sheriff of Fife.—Earl Malcolm II. one of the regents during the minority of Alexander III.—Death of Alexander III. at Kinghorn.—Inundation of the east part of Fife.—Colbanus succeeds Malcolm as earl of Fife, and dies, leaving a son, Duncan.

THE origin of the division of Scotland into counties or shires, is not very distinctly marked; and indeed it appears to have taken place at different periods in the various districts of the country. The title of earl, which was long associated with the jurisdiction of a county, is of Saxon origin; and could not therefore have been introduced, until after the Saxon colonization had been pretty extensive. During Celtic times the different divisions of the country appear to have been governed by chiefs, under the title of maormor; and accordingly we have the maormors of Ross, of Strathearn, of Moray, and of Fife. In subsequent times these titles gave place to the Saxon title of earl; and in imitation of the Saxon divisions, the shire was gradually introduced. Macduff, who lent his powerful assistance to Malcolm Canmore is alleged to have been the first earl of Fife; but it would be absurd to suppose that he, a Celtic chief, was ever designated by this Saxon title. He was maormor of the district; and must have been a nobleman of great power and influence. It is said in Sibbald that he was created earl of Fife by king Malcolm, in a parliament held at Forfar. There is, however, no evidence that Malcolm ever introduced this title; and the parliament alleged to be held at Forfar is entirely a fiction. He has been also styled the thane of Fife; but Chalmers has very clearly shown that this title designated a Saxon office, and one too of a subordinate nature. The thane of Fife however has been immortalized in the pages of Shakspeare; and the researches of the antiquary will have but a feeble effect in removing from men's imaginations the splendid fables of the poet. Under whatever title he may have done so, it is certain however that Macduff ruled Fife during the reign of Malcolm Canmore and his immediate successors.

We have already mentioned the three privileges he received from that monarch as a reward for the assistance he had rendered against Macbeth: that he and his successors should be entitled to place the king on the inaugural stone, at his coronation; to lead the royal army into battle; and to enjoy the privilege of a sanctuary to the clan Macduff. Of this last right Buchanan says, "that if any of his family were guilty of the

unpremeditated slaughter of a nobleman, he should pay twenty-four marks of silver as a fine; if of a plebeian, twelve marks, which law was observed till the days of our fathers, as long as any of that family were in being." A cross which stood near the town of Newburgh in Fife, but of which nothing but the pedestal now remains, long formed the evidence of this privilege. It is said to have borne an inscription, in what has been well styled macaronic rhymes, being apparently a mixture of Latin, Saxon, Danish, and old French words, with some that seem to have been invented for the occasion. Skene, *de verb. signif. voce clan Macduff*, says, he "saw in the stane of this cross sundry barbarous words, and verses written, which he willingly pretermitted." Sir James Balfour informs us that it was broken to pieces, by some people at the time of the reformation; and that at that time the inscription "was so outworn, that he who copied the samen had much ado to make words of some dispersed and outworn bare characters." Sibbald says that there was no inscription to be seen in his day on the pedestal of the cross, and that the upper portion of it had been removed. The reading of this inscription, which seems to have been approved of by Sir James Balfour, was the following:—

"Maldraradum dragos, mairia, laghslita, largos,
Spalando spados, sive nig fig knighthite gnaros,
Lothea leudiscos laricingen lairia liscos
Et colovurtos sic fit tibi bursia burtus
Exitus, et bladadrum sive lim sive lam sive labrum.
Propter Magridin et hoc oblatum
Accipe smeleridem super limthide lamthida labrum."

Of this apparently unmeaning jargon, the following translation has been given:—"Ye earl of Fife, receive for your services, as my lieutenant by right of this regality, large measures of victual or corn, for transgressions of the laws, as well from these as want or put away their weapons of warfare, as of such as stays away from, or refuses to come to the host, or those that raises frays or disturbances therein: or from such as keep, haunt and frequent unlawful convocations, together with all amerciaments due to me, for the slaughter of a free leige, or for robbery and theft, or for adultery and fornication within your bounds, with the unlaws of fugitives, and the penalties due by such cowards as deserts the host, or runs away from their colours; thus shall your gains be the greater; and yet further, to witness my kindness, I remit to those of your own kindred, all issues of wounds, be it of limb, lith or life, in sua far as for this offering (to wit of nine kyne and a queyoch) they shall be indemnified for limb, lith or life." Sir Robert Sibbald, however, gives another version of this inscription. He says, "Before I leave the account of Macduff, I think it fit to give the account Sir James Dalrymple gives of one Douglas in Newburgh, near to Cross Macduff. Sir James, in his second edition of Camden's Description of Scotland, pages 134, 135, says, that this Douglas had by him a version, which seems to be much more probable and agreeable to the matter; which reads thus:—

"Ara, urget lex quos, lare egentes atria lis, quos,
Hoc qui laboras, hæc fit tibi pactio portus,
Mille reum drachmas mulctam de largior agris
Spes tantum pacis cum nex fit a nepote natis
Propter Macgidrum, et hoc oblatum accipe semel
Hæredum, super lymphato lapide labem."

"Which inscription is thus paraphrased in English rhyme:—

"All such as are within the ninth degree
Of kindred to that ancient thane Macduff,
And yet for slaughter are compelled to flie
And leave their houses, and their household stuff;
Here they shall find for their refuge a place;
To save them from the cruel blood avenger;
A privilege peculiar to that race,
Which never was allowed to any stranger.
But they must enter heir, on this condition,
(Which they observe must with a faith unfeignzied)
To pay a thousand groats for their remission,
Or else their lands and goods shall be distrenzied.
For Saint Mackgidder's sake, and this oblation,
And by their only washing at this stone,
Purg'd is the blood, shed by that generation:
This privilege pertains to them alone!"

It would be very idle to make remarks on these two alleged copies of the inscription on Macduff's cross, which are both sufficiently absurd; and it might probably have been as well had we like Skene "pretermitted their insertion." It may be remarked as rather odd, that although gratuitously inserted in the English versions, the name of Macduff appears in neither of the originals. Of the existence of the right of girth or sanctuary, however, notwithstanding the apocryphal appearance of the alleged inscriptions, there can be no doubt; and it appears to have been repeatedly taken advantage of. Skene says, "he saw an auld evident bearand, that Spens of Wormestoun beand of Makduffis kinne, injoyed the benefite and immunity of this lawe, for the slauchter of ane called Kinninmonth." A laird of Arbuthnot is also said to have enjoyed this protection in the reign of James I., rendered necessary by his having been a party to the murder of the sheriff of Mearns, Melville of Glenbervie. It appears that, to enjoy the privilege, it was necessary that the accused should prove his relation to Macduff; and that he had only been guilty of "*suddand chawdmelle*," or killing from sudden provocation. If he failed in his proof, it is said he was instantly executed; and some tumuli near the cross, are traditionally reported to be the graves of those unfortunate individuals, who had claimed the privilege of the girth, without being able to establish their right to it.

The period of Macduff's death is unknown; but he was succeeded it is said by his son Dufagan, who flourished in the reign of Alexander I., although many doubt his

existence. He is styled by Sibbald, the second earl; and Douglas alleges him to have been witness to several charters of Alexander. Sir James Dalrymple, in his Hist. Collections, page 373, shows him to have been an assenter to a charter of that king, confirming the rights of the Trinity church of Scone; but although named, he is not styled *comes* or earl of Fife in the charter. Constantin succeeded, and has been styled by the genealogists third earl. Sir James Dalrymple cites a charter by Edelradus, the third son of Malcolm III., to which this earl Constantin appears as a witness. If this charter is genuine, of which there are the greatest doubts, he is the first who adopted the title. It has, however, either been copied by an ignorant and careless transcriber, or it is a forgery. The latter supposition seems to be the truth.

During his time a curious occurrence took place, which is very illustrative of the state of the country at this period. Sir Robert Burgoner had violently oppressed the monks of Loch Leven, who complained to the king. David summoned a meeting of the whole county of Fife and Forthrif, to do justice between them. Constantin, who was great judge of Scotland, collected the strength of the county, and the bishop of St Andrews sent his army, commanded by Budadh and Slogudah, to support the civil power. The dispute was referred to three judges; Constantin, the earl; Dufgal, a judge, venerable for his age, and respected for his knowledge; and Meldoineth, a judge of equal respectability. After hearing witnesses, the judges decided the case, and pronounced sentence against the knight, without the intervention of a jury. This Saxon innovation, it would therefore appear, had not yet been introduced into the Celtic portion of Scotland. Constantin is said to have died in 1129, about five years after the accession of David I. to the throne.

To Constantine succeeded his eldest son, Gillimichel Macduff, of whom Sibbald says, that he has found him witnessing many charters of David. He died in 1139. His son is conjectured to have been one of the five hostages delivered by David to Stephen, king of England, that the terms of the truce concluded after the battle of the Standard, would be preserved by the Scots. He is said by Sibbald to have been the father of Hengo, from whom the earls of Wemyss are descended. The first of the family of Wemyss was named *Ian mhor nan Uaimh*, or large John of the Cave; Weems (or Wemyss (being the Saxon pronunciation of the Gaelic word *Uamh*, a cave. If this tradition is founded in truth, we have additional evidence that the Gaelic language was still that of the people of Fife.

The next lord of this district is Duncan, who is said to have witnessed charters of David I. and Malcolm IV. He appears to have married Hela, who is witness to a charter by Ada, the wife of earl Henry, and mother of Malcolm IV., and William the Lion, giving to the monastery a toft in Haddington. This charter was granted during the life of earl Henry, who died in 1152, so that it must have been granted between that period and 1139, when the earl was married. This Hela is designed in the charter, comitissa de Fife; and is the first, of whom there is any authentic evidence, of their having adopted the title of earl or countess. Her husband, therefore, it may safely be presumed, used the title of earl; but there is no probability that he had been

formerly created such, or that Fife had been erected into an earldom by the king. It is more probable that the Gaelic title of Maormor had been translated in charters into the Latin *Comes*, and that the title of earl was thus gradually assumed by the Celtic chiefs, during the reigns of Alexander I. and David I. Indeed there is sufficient evidence of their having been both earls and barons under David, in the part of his dominions south of the Forth. Duncan would appear to have been in favour with David I. and his son earl Henry, as his countess seems to have been much with the lady Ada, whose charter she witnessed; and, in 1152, when earl Henry died, Malcolm, his eldest son, who was in his eleventh year, was sent by his grandfather, in a solemn progress, under the guardianship of the earl of Fife. In every district of Scotland he was proclaimed, and received as heir to the crown, according to the practice of an age in which the laws were but too seldom attended to. David I. died in 1153, and earl Duncan in the following year; after he had performed for the youthful Malcolm the ceremony of placing him on the inaugural stone, at his coronation; a dignity he was not long to enjoy, as he died at the early age of twenty-four, after exhibiting talents which, had he survived, were likely to have been beneficial to the people of Scotland.

Duncan was succeeded by his son Duncan II., who is often named in charters of Malcolm IV. and William. He was, in 1175, associated with Richard Cumyn, who was advanced in life, as *Justiciarius Scotiæ*, and married Ada, the niece of the king; with her he received the lands of Strathmiglo, Falkland, Kettle, and Rathillet in Fife, and of Strathbran in Perthshire. He died about 1203, so that he held the office of Justiciary for 28 years. Malcolm, his son, married Matilda, daughter to the earl of Strathearn, and received with her the lands of Glendovan, Carnbo, Adie, and Fossaway. From a charter of king William, it appears that Uthredus de Burgoner, had in the king's presence, acknowledged Malcolm, earl of Fife, to be his nearest heir; and resigned his lands of Burgoner in his favour. Upon this narrative, the king grants a charter of these lands to the earl and his heirs. It is during the reign of king William that we first hear of a sheriff of Fife. Sheriffs appear south of the Forth in the reigns of Alexander I. and David I.; but it would appear that sheriffdoms had now begun to extend north of that river, and David de Wemyss is the first sheriff of Fife of whom we have any account. Earl Malcolm founded a monastery of Dominican, or Black friars at Cupar; and, in 1216, a convent of Cistertian nuns at North Berwick. In 1217, he also established a monastery of Cistertian monks at Culross, where there had previously been an establishment of Culdees; and after his death, which occurred in 1229, he was buried in the church of St Servanus at that place. He left no issue, but was succeeded by a second Malcolm, who married a daughter of Llewellyn, king of Wales. At this time Ingelramus de Balfour was appointed sheriff of the county; and in 1239 the same office was conferred on David de Wemyss. Earl Malcolm was one of those noblemen, who, on the occasion of the truce entered into between Alexander II. and Henry III. of England, in 1244, swore on the soul of the king that the treaty should be kept inviolate. After the death of Alexander in 1249, and the accession of his son

Alexander III., a boy of only nine years of age, about which time Radulph de Lascelles was sheriff, of Fife, Henry began that systematic attempt on the kingdom of Scotland, which afterwards led to so much misery and bloodshed, and was so nearly becoming successful, from the ambition and talent of Edward I. The policy of Henry during the minority of the king was to sow dissensions among the nobility, and unfortunately he was too successful in doing so. He formed among them a party favourable to the English interests; and among these we find Malcolm, earl of Fife, besides many noblemen and churchmen of power and influence. In 1255 a regency was appointed under the influence of Henry, who were intrusted with the custody of the king, and the government of the country, till he should attain majority. The earl of Fife was named one of this regency. The energetic character exhibited by Alexander, however, after he obtained the government into his own hands, for a time completely defeated the ambitious projects of the English king; but his unfortunate death, in 1285, again exposed the kingdom to all the miseries arising from a minority, and the intrigues of Edward I. He was riding late, during the winter season, near Kinghorn, and although he had been earnestly advised, owing to the darkness of the night, and the precipitous nature of the road, not to pass Inverkeithing till morning, he galloped forward, when his horse stumbled over a rock above the sea, fell with its rider, and killed him on the spot. Malcolm, earl of Fife, however, who had acted with so little patriotism during the minority of the king, did not live either to see the good which Scotland was beginning to reap from the government of Alexander, or the severe loss she sustained from his early and sudden death. This nobleman died in 1266, shortly after the king had attained his majority.

"In the seventeenth year of Alexander III.," says Hector Boethius, "there happened, a most extraordinary inundation of the sea, especially on the Firths of the Forth and Tay, which involved in a common destruction many towns and villages, and the inhabitants and their herds." He is supported in his account of this deluge by Fordun, who mentions that it occurred on the evening of the feast of the 11,000 virgins. "A great wind," he says, "arose from the north, and overwhelmed many houses and villages between the Tay and the Tweed. There never was such a deluge since the times of Noah, as appears from its traces at this day." None of our historians point out the extent of this devastation, or the names and situations of the towns that were destroyed, by which we might estimate the loss of land sustained. But tradition points out many places now always covered with water, and at a distance from the shore, which were then parts of the inhabited lands. It is certain that the sea has made extensive encroachments on the coast of Fife; but whether these were made on the occasion of this inundation, or gradually, or whether it has been by the effect of both, cannot now be ascertained. The latter is the probable solution. This is confirmed by the following passage in Martine's Reliquiæ Divi Andreæ: "As to the Culdees at St Andrews, there goes a tradition, in this place, that the Culdees of old, at least Regulus and his companions, had a cell dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, about a bow-flight east of the shore of St

Andrews, a little without the end of the pier (now within the sea), upon a rock, called at this day our Lady's Craig; the rock is well known, and seen every day at low water: and that upon the sea's encroaching, they built another house at, or near the place, where the house of the Kirkheugh now stands, called Santa Maria de Rupe, with St Rule's chapel. To examine the tradition, it must be granted, that the first part of it may be possible; for in my time, there lived people in St Andrews, who remembered to have seen men play at bowls, on the east and north sides of the castle of St Andrews, which now the sea covers on every side; so it may be that the sea of old came not so much up to our east coast as it now doth. And I have heard it credibly reported, that of old the heritors of Kinkell claimed, and pretended to a privilege of watering all the bestial on their ground at the Swilcanth burn, which runs at the west end of St Andrews; and for that effect, that they might bring all their goods to that burn upon the north side of the castle of St Andrews." Tradition therefore strongly confirms the statements of history, that there had been an early inundation on the coast of Fife; and that its effects had been increased, by subsequent encroachments of the sea. It is also said that the extensive and elevated sands of Barrie, on the opposite side of the Firth of Tay, were formed by this inundation, and that a town was buried under them.

Colbanus succeeded to the earldom of Fife, and died in 1270, leaving a son Duncan, only eight years of age. The ward was disponed by Alexander III. to his son, prince Alexander. This young prince, unfortunately for his country, died the year previous to the lamented occurrence which caused his father's death.

SECTION V.

A. D. 1286 TO A. D. 1371.

Earl of Fife appointed regent of Scotland.—Assassinated at Petpollock.—Duncan his son under guardianship of bishop of St Andrews.—John de St John performs the ceremony of inauguration at the coronation of Baliol.—Macduff grand uncle of the earl of Fife, seizes the earldom.—Is dispossessed by the bishop of St Andrews, and imprisoned.—Appeals to Edward.—Baliol, summoned before Edward, refuses to appear, but is compelled to do so.—Sir William Wallace.—His success against the English in Fife and other places.—Macduff and many of his followers killed at the battle of Falkirk.—Fife delivered over to military execution; and St Andrews burned.—Edward spends the winter at Dunfermline; and burns the monastery.—Parliament held at St Andrews.—Sir William Wallace and Sir Simon Fraser declared outlaws.—Fraser receives terms from Edward, but these refused to Wallace.—Siege of Stirling Castle, which surrenders to Edward.—Parliament held in London.—Bruce crowned by the bishop of St Andrews at Scone.—Countess of Buchan claims the right of her brother, the earl of Fife, and places Bruce on the throne.—Her severe punishment by Edward.—Bishop of St Andrews taken prisoner and sent to England.—Earl of Fife marries the niece of Edward.—Bishop of St Andrews now liberated, assembles his vassals, and sends them under Sir James Douglas to the assistance of Bruce.—Edward II. invades Fife.—The Fifemen under the sheriff defeated, but rallied by the bishop of Dunkeld; beat the English back to their ships.—A son, afterwards David II., born to the king at Dunfermline.—The earl of Pembroke invades Fife.—Death of Bruce, and his burial at Dunfermline.—Death of Randolph, earl of Moray.—Edward Baliol lands at Kinghorn, and forces his way to Dunfermline.—Receives an accession of troops, and advances into Perthshire.—The Scots defeated by him at Dupplin.—Earl of Fife taken prisoner, joins the English, installs Baliol on the throne, and is made governor of Perth.—Perth taken by the Scots, and the earl of Fife and his daughter made prisoners.—Baliol defeated flies to England.—Earl of Fife killed at the battle of Halidon hill.—Castles of St Andrews and Cupar held for Baliol by William Bulloch an English ecclesiastic.—Loch Leven castle besieged by Sir John de Strivelin, and defended by Allan de Vipont, assisted by James Lambyn a citizen of St Andrews.—A parliament held at Dairsie in Fife.—Edward III. enters the Forth with a fleet.—A parliament held at Dunfermline.—Sir Andrew Moray makes himself master of the castles of St Andrews and Falkland.—Castle of Cupar ineffectually besieged.—A famine rages throughout Scotland.—David II. returns to France.—Battle of Durham, earl of Fife taken prisoner.—Death of David II.—Death of earl of Fife.—Isabella his daughter succeeds.—Her marriages.—She resigns the earldom in favour of Robert Stuart, second son of Robert II.

After the death of Alexander III. who left his kingdom to his grand-daughter, the infant daughter of Eric king of Norway, a Regency was appointed in 1286, to govern the kingdom, and of these Duncan earl of Fife, the son of Colbanus, now come of age, was named one. He did not long however fill his important office, for he was assassinated on the 25th of September, 1288, at a place called Petpollock, by Sir Patrick Abernethy and Sir Walter Percy, who had been instigated to the deed by Sir William Abernethy. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell took vengeance on the assassins. He seized Percy and William Abernethy. Percy was executed; and William Abernethy condemned to imprisonment for life. Patrick Abernethy escaped to France, where he died. This Duncan left a son also named Duncan who must have been a mere infant; as he remained for many years under the guardianship of the Bishop of St Andrews. During the period of his minority we have two persons successively filling the office of Sheriff of the County. Hugo de Lochor in 1289, and Constantin de Lochor in 1292.

At the coronation of Baliol who, on the death of Margaret of Norway, obtained the kingdom, through his own subserviency and the cunning of Edward I., the earl of Fife was still a minor, in consequence of which he could not perform the usual

ceremony of placing the new king on the regal stone at Scone. He was thus saved the degradation of installing a king who had betrayed his country, and who, for the sake of attaining the crown, had compromised the independence of an ancient kingdom. In this age, however, the ceremony was not to be dispensed with; and accordingly Edward I. having the young earl in his custody, granted, in his pretended character of Lord Paramount, a commission to John de St John to perform the ceremony at the coronation. Macduff the grand uncle of earl Duncan, taking advantage of his minority, and of the unsettled state of the country after the death of the young queen Margaret, in defiance of the bishop of St Andrews, seized the earldom. He was dispossessed however by the bishop, when he carried his complaint to Edward. By that monarch's command, the regents of Scotland, restored to him the estates belonging to his nephew. At the first Parliament held by Baliol after his coronation, Macduff was summoned to answer for his conduct in taking forcible possession of lands, which were in ward of the king. He was found guilty and suffered a short imprisonment. On his release he again appealed to Edward, who summoned Baliol to answer in person before him, to the complaints of Macduff. Baliol disregarded the summons, and Edward not only again ordered him to appear, but procured the English parliament to pass some resolutions regarding the attendance of the king of Scots.

Baliol now found that in accepting the crown from Edward, under the degrading circumstances, which he did, he had indeed placed over himself a most imperious master. Unable however to resist, he dissembled his chagrin, and attended at a parliament held by Edward after Michaelmas, in the year 1293, at which Macduff was also present. He was haughtily asked what excuse he had to give for his conduct. Notwithstanding his humiliating situation, he had the spirit to reply, "I am the king of Scotland. To the complaint of Macduff, or to aught else respecting my kingdom, I dare not make an answer without the advice of my people." "What means this refusal?" cried the proud Edward. "Are you not my liegeman—have you not done homage to me—is it not my summons that has brought you here?" Baliol however remained firm in his refusal. On this the English parliament proceeded to pronounce judgment. They found the king of Scotland guilty of manifest and open contempt, and disobedience to his liege lord; and they advised the king of England not only to do full justice to Macduff, and to award damages against Baliol, but to seize three of his principal castles and retain possession of them, until he made satisfaction for the injury he had offered to his lord superior. Edward however at the request of Baliol delayed proceeding farther till the day after the feast of the Trinity in 1294. A prolongation of the term for answering Macduff's complaint was afterwards granted by the king of England; but in 1296 he summoned Baliol to appear before him at Newcastle. Advancing at the same time with an army, he besieged Berwick, which he took and sacked; seventeen thousand persons having been put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex. Baliol roused by the injuries he had received, renounced his homage to Edward; and determined openly to oppose him. This appears to have been what the English king most desired.

for he had long resolved on the subjugation of Scotland, and he waited but an excuse to make an attack; nor did he cease till the unhappy kingdom seemed to be entirely overcome, and her wretched monarch and his son were prisoners in the Tower of London. The high spirit of the Scottish people was for a time completely broken; and Edward traversed the kingdom without meeting with a single check. During the reign of Baliol, Johannes de Valloniis was sheriff of the County of Fife.

The greater barons, and the nobles of Scotland seem at this period to have entirely deserted the cause of their country; but its independence was not to be altogether destroyed. There were still brave hearts, and men who sternly maintained their love of liberty, among the lesser barons, knights, and esquires, and also among the commons of Scotland. In the breasts of those whom Edward termed broken men and rebels, the holy flame of patriotism continued to burn pure and bright. Out of the middle class, or lesser barons, arose at this time William Wallace, the son of Sir Malcolm Wallace of Ellerslie, a knight whose family was ancient, but neither wealthy nor noble, who was destined shortly to avenge his own and his country's wrongs; and who in his short career developed a character truly heroic. His first successes against the English, brought crowds of fugitives and broken men around his standard; and he was shortly enabled to take the field openly against the common foe. Some of the greater barons, at length joined him, and among these were The Steward of Scotland and his brother, Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, Alexander de Lindsay, and Sir Richard de Lundin, with a spirited prelate, Wishart bishop of Glasgow. Under the command of Wallace the Scottish army met with repeated successes; and he was now joined by Bruce the young earl of Carrick, afterwards the heroic king of Scots, but whose conduct had hitherto been vacillating and unsteady. The pride of these great barons brought dissensions into the Scottish camp; and in 1297, when they were met by an English force near Irvine, they with the solitary exception of Andrew Moray of Bothwell, made their peace with Edward, craved forgiveness for the robberies and slaughters they had committed, and left the army of their country. Wallace was still able however to muster a large body of his own loved and veteran friends; and with them he and Moray retired indignantly to the north. Here success attended his arms; he expelled the English from almost every stronghold north of the Forth; and laid siege to Dundee. Learning that the English army had approached Stirling he left the north, and advanced to guard the important passage of the Forth. The complete victory which there crowned his arms might have led to the entire freedom of Scotland, but for the dissensions again brought into the Scottish army by the pride and envy of the greater barons. By their conduct, the exertions of the patriotic knight of Ellerslie, were destined ever to be thwarted; and his victories rendered comparatively useless to his country. In 1298 Edward having returned from Flanders, summoned the Scottish barons to attend a parliament at York; an order which they had the spirit to refuse to obey. The consequence was the invasion of Scotland, both by sea and land, and the immediate landing of a body of English on the northern coast of Fife. These however were attacked by Wallace on

the 12th of June, and completely defeated in the forest of Black Ironside, or Earnside, near Lindores. In this battle Sir Duncan Balfour, Sheriff of Fife, who with the men of the county had joined Wallace, was killed. This Sir Duncan Balfour, would appear to have succeeded Johannes de Valloniis who held the office under the reign of Baliol.

We are not distinctly informed how the dispute between Baliol and Macduff the uncle of the young earl of Fife, had been settled by Edward; but the presumption is that he had been put in possession of the disputed lands, and had assumed the power of the earl in the county: for we find him with the men of Fife, joining the standard of Wallace, previous to the battle of Falkirk. The dissensions which occurred in the Scottish camp previous to that fatal battle; and the consequent retiring of many of the Scottish nobility from the army, are sufficiently known, and do not require repetition. Macduff however, notwithstanding his obligations to Edward, and his having so far acknowledged his supremacy, as to carry his case before him from the courts of Baliol, was one of the few patriots, who with their adherents remained with Wallace, and fought in this disastrous action. Macduff and the brave Sir John Graham, the "fidus Achates" of Wallace, both fell; and there is little reason to doubt, that many of the gentlemen and commons of Fife, must have been killed with their leader Macduff on this occasion. Sir Robert Sibbald says, that it was an earl of Fife, whom he calls Duncan, that was killed at Falkirk; but this has been shown by lord Hailes, to be a mistake. Duncan earl of Fife, was at this time still a minor, and in the hands of Edward I. Immediately after this battle, Edward sent a division of his army across the Forth, into the shires of Clackmannan and Fife, which ravaged the country and burned the villages in the course of its destructive march. Fife in consequence of the resistance made at Falkirk by Macduff and his vassals, was particularly obnoxious, and was delivered over to military execution. In the words of Hardyne, all was "clene brent." The city of St Andrews was deserted by its inhabitants, and delivered over to the flames.

By the defeat at Falkirk Sir William Wallace was deprived of his power, and his interest was greatly lessened. William Lamberton bishop of St Andrews, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, and John Comin the younger, were now by general consent of the nation, appointed guardians of the kingdom, in the name and place of Baliol. Knowing that the Scottish people though oppressed were not overcome, they attempted to imitate the energy of Wallace, and besieged Stirling Castle, which shortly after capitulated; and Edward, finding that his barons were unwilling to undertake a winter campaign in Scotland, even though it was to follow up the victory they had gained, entered into a truce with the governors, which was only to be kept like others previously made, so long as it was convenient to do so.

In 1303, Edward having freed himself from those foreign wars which for several years had divided his attention, again turned his whole energies against Scotland. He marched a powerful army into the north, which the Scots were utterly unable to oppose. On his return he arrived at Dunfermline on the 11th of December, where he was joined

by his queen, and remained, making visits to different places in the country, during the remainder of the winter. "In that place," says Matthew of Westminster, an English historian, "there was an abbey of the Benedictine order, a building so spacious that three sovereigns, with all their retinue might have been lodged conveniently within its precincts." Here he was engaged in receiving the submission of those Scottish barons, and great men, who had not made their peace during his late progress through the kingdom. Notwithstanding that Edward had been here so royally lodged, he with savage ferocity caused his soldiers utterly to destroy the splendid buildings of the monastery. In its magnificent hall the Scottish nobles had often held their parliaments; and this would appear to have been sufficient crime in the eyes of the oppressor to authorize its destruction. The church of the monastery, with a few cells for the monks were preserved; the rest of the buildings were razed to the ground.

A feeble show of resistance had till now been kept up by Comyn the governor; but he at length was also compelled to submit. At Strathore in Fife, obviously some place on the Ore water, he met with the earls of Pembroke and Ulster, and Sir Henry Percy when a solemn negotiation was entered into. The governor and his followers, after stipulating for the preservation of their lives, liberties, and lands, delivered themselves up to Edward, and agreed to the infliction of any pecuniary fine which he might think proper to put upon them. To every one, except Wallace, terms more or less rigorous were granted; but for this inflexible patriot there was none made. "As for William Wallace," says the deed of agreement, "it is covenanted, that if he thinks proper to surrender himself, it must be unconditionally to the will and mercy of our lord the king." The terms of such a surrender as this it is obvious would have been to be ordered for instant execution. The whole of the places of strength in the kingdom were to remain in Edward's hands; and the government was to be modeled and administered at his pleasure. He appointed an English parliament to meet soon after at St Andrews, and summoned to it all the Scottish barons who had submitted to him.

All gave obedience to his summons except Sir William Wallace, and Sir Simon Fraser; and these two good men, with the garrison of Stirling Castle, which still held out against Edward, were declared outlaws, not only by the votes of the English barons who attended the parliament at St Andrews, but of the broken and dispersed Scots who had submitted to the degradation of being present. Fraser at length yielded to what appeared to be the common fate; and consented to accept the hard terms of banishment and fine offered him by Edward. Wallace now stood alone; one for whom there was no mercy. He at this time left the fastnesses in which he had been concealed, and came to the forest of Dunfermline. Through the mediation of his friends, he proposed, under certain conditions, also to surrender himself. The terms he proposed, however, bore too much of the character of that mind which had never yet bowed to Edward; and, accordingly when they were reported to that monarch, he broke out into ungovernable fury, cursed Wallace by the fiend as a traitor, poured out his denunciations on all who supported him, and set a price of 300 merks upon his head. Wallace, learning

this, again took to the wilds and mountains, and subsisted himself and his few followers on plunder. The following account of this is given by Langtoft in his Chronicle, vol. II. p. 324.

Turn we now other weyes, unto our owen geste,
And speke of the Waleys that lies on the foreste;
In the forest he lendes of Dounfermlyn,
He praied all his frendes and other of his kyn,
After that yole, thei wilde beseke Edward,
That he might yelde till him, in a forward
That were honourable to kepe wod or beste,
And with his scrite full stable, and seled at the least,
To him and all his to haf in heritage;
And none otherwise, also terme tyme and stage
Bot als a propre thing that were conquest till him.
Whan thei brouht that tething Edward was fulle grim,
And bilauht him the fende, als his traytoure in Lond,
And ever-ilkon his frende that him susteyn'd or fond.
Three hundreth marke the hette unto his warisoun,
That with him so mette or bring his hede to toun.
Now flies William Waleis, of pres nouht he spedis,
In mores and mareis with robberie him fedis.

At the Parliament held at St Andrews, among other transactions, it was agreed that Edward should instantly proceed to the siege of Stirling castle, now the only strength which was held out against him in Scotland. This was immediately undertaken, and prosecuted with the most determined spirit; while the brave little garrison held out, for a time, with the most praiseworthy resolution, against all Edward's force. Thirteen war engines were brought to bear upon the walls by the besiegers; and the roof of the cathedral of St Andrews was stripped of its lead, for the purpose of making balls of large size, to be thrown from them. After resisting for three months all the efforts of the English king, the unfortunate garrison, worn out with fatigue and famine, made offer to capitulate on security of life and limb. This however Edward rejected with scorn, and would listen to nothing but an unconditional surrender. Reduced to the utmost misery, the garrison was obliged to submit; and a melancholy example of feudal submission now took place. Sir William Olifant, the governor, with twenty-five knights and gentlemen, his companions in the defence of the castle, appeared before Edward, who received them in royal state, surrounded by his barons and warriors. The unhappy Scots were stript to their shirts and drawers; their heads and feet were bare; their hair, matted and dishevelled, hung down on their shoulders; and thus with clasped hands and bended knee, they implored the clemency of the conqueror. Edward upon this exempted them from being chained; but Olifant was sent to the tower, and the other knights were imprisoned in different castles throughout England. The king had now secured his conquest. He left Sir John de Segrave, as governor of Scotland, and accompanied by the chief nobility of the country, he set out for the south. At Lincoln he kept his Christmas with solemnity and rejoicing. The judicial murder of Sir William

Wallace, by Edward, which took place in 1305, cut off the only man who had never bowed to his power; and at the same time, to all appearance, extinguished every chance of freedom for Scotland.

A parliament was now held in London, in which the Scottish nation was represented by ten commissioners, among whom were the bishop of St Andrews and the abbot of Cupar; and these persons, with twenty English commissioners, created an entirely new machine of government for Scotland. The new regulations were introduced in October, 1305, about two months after the death of Wallace; but in a few months longer they were entirely overthrown, and Scotland was again an independent kingdom. During these transactions Constantin de Lochor was sheriff of Fife; he probably succeeded Sir Duncan Balfour, who was killed in 1298; but whether this was the case or not, he was nominated sheriff at the arrangement made for governing the country by the commissioners.

At this sad period of Scottish history, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, the grandson of the competitor with Baliol, was destined to gain a crown for himself, and to preserve the independence of his country. We have already had occasion to notice how vacillating and unsteady his conduct had hitherto been; nor is it certain that at the time he murdered Comyn at Dumfries, he had formed any design upon the crown, or in favour of his country. That transaction however left him no alternative, but either to become a fugitive and outlaw, or to raise his banner openly against Edward. He made choice of this latter plan, and from Lochmaben castle despatched letters to his friends and adherents. Previous to these occurrences, he had entered into a secret league with William de Lamberton, bishop of St Andrews, by which they had engaged faithfully to consult together, and to give mutual assistance to each other, by themselves and their people, at all times, and against all persons, to the utmost of their power; and without fraud or guile to warn each other against all impending dangers, and to use their utmost endeavour to prevent the same. It was extremely fortunate for Bruce, that he had thus secured the friendship of a churchman of Lamberton's influence and rank. It gained him the favour of the clergy, and enabled him to brave the dreadful consequences of that sentence of excommunication, which the pope thundered against him and his adherents.

The number of those who joined the standard of Bruce was but few, showing how desperate the attempt he was about to make was considered. The bishop of St Andrews, however, and Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, were among the first to give the example. Bruce proceeded immediately to Scone, where upon the twenty-seventh of March, 1306, he was solemnly crowned by Lamberton. On the second day after the coronation, and before Bruce and his adherents had left Scone, they were surprised by the sudden arrival of Isabella, countess of Buchan, the sister of the earl of Fife, who immediately claimed the privilege of placing the king on the inaugural chair. This right had, as has been stated, belonged to the earls of Fife from the time of Malcolm Ceanmore, but the young earl, though now of age, was of the English party, and at the court of Edward. His sister therefore, a romantic and high-spirited woman, leav-

ing her husband, joined Bruce, and claimed the privilege of her family. This ancient solemnity was of too much consequence in the eyes of the people for Bruce to refuse the lady's request; and accordingly he was a second time installed in the sacred chair, by the hands of the countess, who afterwards suffered severely for her patriotism.

The commencement of the reign of the great Bruce, was singularly unfortunate, and the greater part of those who joined his standard felt the resentment of the English king. After his defeat at Methven, and his making his escape to the island of Rachrin, numbers of his adherents fell into the hands of Edward, and among others the countess of Buchan. With a refinement in cruelty, hardly to have been expected in a character so chivalric as Edward's, he caused a cage to be constructed in one of the turrets of the castle of Berwick. It was latticed, cross-barred with wood, and secured with iron; and in it the unfortunate lady was confined. No person was allowed to speak with her except the female who supplied her with food; and it was carefully stipulated that the persons who might be employed for this purpose, should be of English extraction. Confined in this rigorous manner, yet subjected to the gaze of every one, and to all the changes and inclemencies of the weather, the countess remained for four years shut up in her turreted cage, on the top of the walls of Berwick. She was then relieved in part from her misery, by being subjected to a more moderate imprisonment, in the monastery of mount Carmel in that town. The bishop of St Andrews and the abbot of Scone were also taken prisoners. They were found clad in armour, and were carried in chains to England, where the bishop was imprisoned in the castle of Winchester. Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, had in the mean time shut himself up in the castle of Cupar in Fife, which he held out for a time against Edward. It was however speedily taken, and the bishop sent fettered and clad in mail to the castle of Nottingham. He was afterwards confined in the castle of Porchester. Nothing saved these mail-clad churchmen from the gallows, during the heat of Edward's rage, but the sacred character of their office. They had actively supported Bruce by their great influence, their money, and their armed vassals; and Edward not satisfied with imprisoning them wrote the Pope, requesting that in consequence of their treason against him, their sees should be declared vacant, and William Comyn brother of the Earl of Buchan, appointed to St Andrews, and Geoffry De Moubray to that of Glasgow. His Holiness, however, does not appear to have paid any attention to this request of Edward. Duncan, the earl of Fife, who had since the death of his father remained at the English court, had now come of age; and during this memorable year, in which his sister maintained the ancient privilege of her race, and was on that account suffering under the rigorous confinement of her cage at Berwick, was married to Mary de Monthermer, niece to Edward. He is styled by Sibbald, the twelfth earl; but it is obvious that this is a mistake, and that he should even according to his computation have only been the eleventh. The Duncan whom Sibbald styles the eleventh, it has been demonstrated by lord Hales, never could have existed.

The first successes of Bruce, after his return from Rachrin, soon increased the num-

ber of his adherents; and the death of Edward I. in 1307, joined to the weakness of his successor, Edward II., were circumstances extremely favourable to his views for the independence of Scotland. A series of futile attempts on the part of England to preserve the conquest she so often thought completed, and of exertions on the part of the Scots and their heroic king to get quit of their oppressors, were carried on till 1314, when the battle of Bannockburn put an end for ever to any hope, on the part of the English, of accomplishing the conquest of their sister country. A general panic seized the English after this battle; and for years, says Walsingham the English historian, "a hundred English would not hesitate to fly from two or three Scottish soldiers, so grievously had their wonted courage deserted them. In these brilliant scenes the men of Fife bore an important share, under the command of the brave Sir James Douglas, the son of William the good lord Douglas. Lamberton, the bishop of St Andrews, although treated with such rigour by Edward when first taken, was not long of regaining his freedom. He disclaimed any connexion with the insurrection of Bruce, renewed his oath of fealty to Edward, and was allowed to return to Scotland. As soon however as he heard of the return of Bruce, he assembled numbers of his vassals and dependents, and putting them under the command of Sir James Douglas sent them to his aid. The allowance made to Lamberton when a prisoner in England is curious as showing the value of money at this time. He received daily for himself sixpence, threepence for his serving man, three halfpence for his foot-boy, and three halfpence for his chaplain.

After his defeat at Bannockburn, Edward II. continued to harass Scotland with attempted invasions both by sea and land. In 1317, while Bruce was engaged in aiding his brother in his ill-fated expedition to Ireland, Edward fitted out a fleet, and sailing into the Firth of Forth, landed his troops at Dinnybirstle in Fife. The fighting men of the county would appear at this time to have still been with Douglas, who was then ravaging the English borders; for a general panic was created by this invasion, and the sheriff of the county had great difficulty in gathering together a force of five hundred cavalry. With these he made an attempt to repel the invasion, but, intimidated by the superior numbers of the enemy, the sheriff's soldiers disgracefully took to flight. A spirited churchman however, Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, who had like others of his time, as much of the soldier as the ecclesiastic about him, received notice of this desertion. Putting himself at the head of sixty of his servants, and with nothing ecclesiastical in his dress except a linen frock, or rochet cast over his armour, he threw himself on horseback, and rode off to meet the fugitives. "Whither are you flying?" said he, addressing their leaders, when he came among them; "ye are recreant knights, and ought to have your gilt spurs hacked off." He seized a spear from the nearest soldier, and calling out, "turn for shame, let all who love Scotland follow me," he furiously charged the English. Encouraged by his brave example, the Fifemen instantly rallied, and the attack was renewed. The English who had not yet completed their landing, speedily gave way, and were driven back to their ships with the loss of five hundred men, besides many who were drowned by the swamping of one of the vessels. On his return from Ireland,

Bruce highly commended the spirit which Sinclair had shown, and declared that he should be his own bishop. Under the appellation of the king's bishop, this brave churchman was long afterwards affectionately remembered by his countrymen. Lord Hailes, on the authority of Barbour, says, that the earl of Fife commanded the Scots along with the sheriff on this occasion. Bower only mentions the sheriff as being present, and as the earl of Fife was married to a niece of Edward I., and cousin of Edward II., it is improbable that he served against his relative. Indeed the earl seems still to have had a regard for the interest of the English party. It is possible, however, that he may have been the leader of the Scots; and that to his want of talents for war, is to be attributed the disgraceful panic which at first seized the Scots. Good fortune continued to attend the exertions of Bruce throughout the whole of his reign; and in every attempt made by the king of England upon Scotland, his rash weakness, and the bravery and sound judgment of the Scottish king were equally conspicuous.

During this period of prosperity, an event occurred in Fife, which at the time created the greatest joy throughout the country. A son was born to the king at Dunfermline on the 5th of March, 1323, who after a long minority succeeded his father as David II. The poets of the time foretold of this prince, that, like his illustrious father, he would prove a man strong in arms, "who would hold his warlike revels amid the gardens of England;" a compliment, which, however it might flatter the royal parents at the time, was unfortunately not destined to be prophetic. During the period of the invasion of England in 1327, under Randolph earl of Moray and Sir James Douglas, the earl of Pembroke landed in Fife, and stormed and took the castle of Leuchars. At his departure he utterly demolished it. In 1329, the great Bruce now broken down, not so much from age, as from the effects of the labours and fatigues he had encountered during the early part of his varied career, died at Cardross; and was buried with great state and solemnity under the pavement of the choir in the Abbey church of Dunfermline. A rich and splendid marble monument which had been made at Paris was erected over the grave. We shall have occasion in the account to be given of Dunfermline, to describe this more particularly, and also to narrate how in our own days, while clearing away the foundations of the now ruined church, the workmen laid open a tomb, which proved to be that of the immortal Bruce; so that, after a period of nearly 500 years, the people of Scotland were permitted with delight and awe to look upon the very bones of the great Deliverer of their country.

At his death Robert left the regency of the kingdom, and the care of his infant son to Randolph earl of Moray, one of the wisest and bravest of his barons; and had he lived, the probability is that Scotland would have been saved much of the misery she was destined to undergo. But this great man died suddenly about three years after the death of the king, and not without strong suspicions of his having been poisoned. At the time this occurred Randolph had, with his wonted activity and resolution, put himself at the head of an army, for the purpose of resisting those hostile designs which he perceived had been set on foot by a party of the Scottish nobility, instigated

chiefly by Edward III. of England, for the purpose of subverting the dynasty of Bruce, and placing Edward Baliol, the son of John Baliol, on the throne. It was obvious that Edward III. had now begun to entertain the same designs of conquest towards Scotland, which his grandfather had been so nearly successful in effecting; and he took the same plan of attempting to place on the throne, a person who, owing the kingdom to his exertions, should be a mere puppet in his hands, and act according to his views.

The death of Randolph was most unfortunate for Scotland, leaving her during a long minority a prey to the machinations of Edward, and to the miseries produced by dissensions among a powerful, factious, and turbulent nobility. Donald, earl of Mar, nephew of the late king was chosen to succeed Randolph in the office of regent, a nobleman every way unfitted for a situation so arduous. On the very day on which the reins of government fell into his feeble hands, he received notice that Edward Baliol had appeared with his fleet in the Firth of Forth. Baliol soon after landed with his army at Kinghorn, a place particularly unfavourable for disembarking cavalry; and where a small force, led by any of the old commanders of Bruce, would have destroyed the enterprise at its very commencement. The regent, however, although at the head of a far superior force to that of Baliol, lingered at a distance, and the opportunity was lost. Alexander Seaton with a handful of troops threw himself upon the English with the view of preventing their landing, but he and his brave followers were instantly overpowered and cut to pieces. The English quickly advanced to Dunfermline, where Baliol obtained a very seasonable supply of provisions, and five hundred excellent spears, which had been stored there by the command of Randolph, the late regent.

When Baliol first landed he had with him only four hundred men; but such was the effect of his partial success, and the tardy nature of Mar's proceeding that when he arrived at Dunfermline he had collected a force of about two thousand foot soldiers. He now sent his fleet round the coast with orders to anchor in the Tay, while he marched on to Perth, and encamped near Forteviot, having his front defended by the river Earn. The earl of Mar drew up his army, consisting of thirty thousand men, upon Dupplin moor, on the opposite bank of the river. This army was excellently equipped, and commanded by the principal nobility of Scotland. At Auchterarder, about eight miles west of Forteviot, lay the earl of March, at the head of an army of almost equal amount, with which he threatened to attack the English flank. The situation of Baliol and his little army was apparently sufficiently perilous; but he had friends in the Scottish camps. Many of the nobility whose relatives had been disinherited by Bruce, were decided enemies to the succession in his line; and were only kept quiet during his lifetime, by the dread of his powerful resentment. These nobles secretly favoured the faction of Baliol, and the disinherited lords who were joined with him; and it is most probable, that he in the invasion which he had attempted with so trifling a force, depended more on their treacherous assistance, than on his own army. It is even asserted that the regent himself had entered into a secret correspondence with him. There is nothing in the previous history of this weak nobleman, which would

lead us to doubt this, but every thing to confirm it. His own unfortunate fate however causes us to doubt the fact, and makes us think that weakness and presumption on his part led to the disaster which followed.

Although the regent knew that the enemy was so near, he kept no watch in his camp; and he allowed his soldiers to indulge in drunkenness and debauchery. During the night, the English were treacherously led, by Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, a Scottish baron, who was in the army of March, to a ford by which they were enabled in silence and safety to pass the river. They then broke in upon the outposts of the Scottish camp, and commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of their enemies, whom they found either drunken or heavy with sleep. A few of the Scottish barons, who were roused by the uproar, hastily collecting about three hundred men, with desperate courage, attempted to check the onset, and above all, to gain time. Among these were Randolph the young earl of Moray, the earl of Menteith, Robert Bruce a natural son of the late king, and Alexander Fraser. The main body of Scots had thus time to arm, and as the morning dawned, the small number of the English who had surprised them became apparent. The day might yet have been not only retrieved, but the force of Baliol entirely destroyed. No favourable opportunity however could be of any use to the regent, whose military incapacity was destined to ruin and utterly destroy the army unfortunately under his command. Rushing furiously down at the head of his army, without preserving order or discipline, the immense mass of soldiers were huddled together and driven into confusion. Spearmen, bowmen, cavalry, infantry, mixed together in a crowd, bore headlong down upon the English, and in an instant overwhelmed the little band of Scots, who under Randolph had hitherto checked the attack. The confusion became inextricable. Crowds of Scottish soldiers were suffocated and trodden under foot by their companions; while the English preserving their discipline committed merciless slaughter among a foe who were incapable of resisting. The rout became complete, and the carnage was continued from early dawn till about nine o'clock in the morning, by which time the whole army of the Scots was slain, dispersed, or taken prisoners. Many were found to have perished without a wound, having been either ridden down by their own cavalry, suffocated by the pressure and weight of their armour, or trod under foot by the fury with which the rear ranks had pressed upon the front. It is impossible to estimate the number of the Scots killed in this dreadful piece of slaughter, for battle it should hardly be called; but among the slain were the flower of the Scottish nobility. The miserable regent was himself killed. In addition to the barons, knights, and men-at-arms, it is probable that not less than thirteen thousand commons were slain. Duncan, earl of Fife, whom we have seen hitherto favouring the English, now appears for a time at least, to have joined his countrymen; for he fought in this battle, and was taken prisoner, after a determined resistance, in which three hundred and sixty brave men-at-arms, who fought under his standard, were killed. It is agreeable to observe that the individual who had originally been the cause of this disgraceful discomfiture of his countrymen, Murray of Tullibardine, was very soon

overtaken by the punishment he deserved. He was shortly afterwards made prisoner at Perth, tried, condemned, and executed for his treason.

Baliol now pressed on to Perth, of which town he took possession; and by the accession of the earl of March to his party, who we mentioned lay with a large army near Auchterarder, he was soon secure from all opposition. He therefore repaired immediately to Scone, and in the presence of many of the gentry from Fife, Gowrie, and Strathearn, was crowned king of Scotland. Duncan, earl of Fife, who had again joined the party of the English, exercised his privilege of placing Baliol in the royal chair: while Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, whom Robert Bruce had styled his own bishop, placed the crown upon his head. The crown of Scotland thus passed from the dynasty of Bruce for a time, and Baliol recovered possession of a kingdom which his father had endeavoured signally to disgrace. Nor was he long of going through the same ceremony to Edward III., which Edward I. had forced his father to perform. Perth having been fortified, was placed by Baliol under the custody of the earl of Fife; after which he set off for the south, with disgraceful readiness to surrender to Edward the liberties and independence of Scotland. All was not lost however. The friends of the line of Bruce were still numerous in the country; and among them were some of her oldest and most experienced warriors. The feelings of the commons were entirely on the side of the son of their late king. Shortly after Perth had been given in custody to the earl of Fife, it was stormed and taken by Sir Simon Fraser, and Sir Robert Keith. They destroyed the recently erected fortifications, and took the earl and his daughter prisoners. Upon this gleam of success Sir Andrew Murray was chosen regent, and young David Bruce was sent for safety by his friends, with his young queen, to France. Baliol, confident in the protection of Edward, was at this time lying carelessly encamped at Annan, and here was attacked in the twilight of a December evening, by the earl of Moray, second son of the great Randolph, with some other barons of the Bruccan party. Taken by surprise, his vassals and retainers were put to the sword without mercy, and he almost naked threw himself upon a horse and with difficulty escaped into England. In seven weeks from his landing in Fife, by the aid of mercenary and foreign soldiers, and the secret treachery of some of the Scottish barons, he was crowned king; but within three months he was again a fugitive, seeking the protection of Edward, to whom he had so recently before surrendered the liberty of his country.

Edward, now determined to carry on the war with vigour against Scotland; and his success at the battle of Halidon hill in 1333, speedily caused the submission of almost the whole kingdom to his creature Baliol, who traversed it with an army without meeting with opposition. At the battle of Halidon hill the earl of Fife had again changed sides, and with his vassals fought in defence of his country. The carnage among the Scots at this battle was immense; and the probability is that the earl of Fife was killed here. Sibbald says he was killed in 1332, but this is obviously a mistake, as he was taken prisoner at Dupplin moor, and again at Perth in that year. In a curious MS. preserved

in the British museum, containing a list of the nobles and leaders of the Scots, at this battle, a copy of which has been printed by Tytler, he is mentioned as forming one of the leaders of the division of the army commanded by the regent Douglas, which contained twenty barons, thirty knights bachelors, eleven hundred men-at-arms, and eighteen thousand, four hundred foot soldiers. He was succeeded by his son Duncan, who was the last earl of Fife, in the male line of their great ancestor Macduff.

Notwithstanding the state to which the country was reduced after the defeat at Halidon hill, several fortresses were still held out for David Bruce, and among these the castle of Loch Leven in Kinross, which was governed by Allan de Vipont: nor were there wanting many brave men among the barons who still supported the king. The return in 1334 of the regent Murray who had been captive in England, gave confidence to the Scottish party, and this was increased by the young steward of Scotland, afterwards Robert II., who had early shown great talents for war, gaining possession of some places of strength on the west coast. Baliol the vassal king spent the Christmas of this year at Renfrew, where he affected royal state, distributed lands and castles to his retainers, and committed the chief management of his affairs to William Bulloch, a warlike ecclesiastic, whom he created chamberlain of Scotland, and governor of the important fortresses of St Andrews, and Cupar in Fife. Sir John de Strivelin, assisted by several barons of Fife and Kinross, who had joined the party of Baliol, particularly Michael and David de Wemyss, and Michael de Arnot, with a large force commenced the siege of Loch Leven castle. It was however bravely defended by the governor, Allan de Vipont, assisted by James Lambyn, a citizen of St Andrews; while its strong and insulated situation rendered the siege a matter of no little difficulty to the assailants. They erected a fort in the churchyard of Kinross, upon a neck of land nearest to the castle, and thence made frequent attacks in boats, in all of which they were bravely repulsed by the garrison. At length, Strivelin the English commander, having gone on a religious pilgrimage to the shrine of St Margaret, at Dunfermline, Vipont taking advantage of his absence, made an attack on the fort, which he carried, and putting a great part of the besieging force to the sword, he obliged the rest to retreat and raised the siege. He then at his leisure returned to the castle, his boats laden with arbalists, bows, and other instruments of war, quantities of provisions which had been provided for the long continuance of the siege, much other booty, and a number of prisoners. A tale is told by Buchanan of the besiegers having erected a dam at the issue of the Leven, with the intention of raising the waters of the loch and drowning the garrison. This story is however unworthy of credit; and, from the lowness of the land forming the shores of the lake, is a physical impossibility.

The Scottish regents, the earl of Moray, and Douglas the knight of Liddisdale, encouraged by the successes they had gained, in 1335 called a parliament to meet at Dairsie in Fife. This strong castle, which was the residence of the baillies of the regality of St Andrews, and which had been built or greatly strengthened by Lamberton, bishop of that see, was destined by the regents, not only from its security but from its

retired situation, for the seat of this parliament, from the deliberations and resolutions of which great expectations were formed. It was attended by many powerful Scottish barons, but the overweening pride and ambition of the earl of Athol embroiled its deliberations, and kindled animosities among the leaders. Whatever were his motives, he had unfortunately gained over to his views, the young steward of Scotland, and he treated the regents Moray and Douglas with such haughtiness, that the meeting at length broke up in the greatest confusion. The interference of the French king, however, produced at length a short truce, although Edward, determined on conquest, continued his warlike preparations, refusing all terms short of absolute submission on the part of the Scots.

At midsummer Edward entered Scotland by Carlisle with a large army, Baliol proceeding from Berwick along the east coast, and the English fleet entering the Firth of Forth. The campaign however, notwithstanding the magnitude of the preparations, was of little importance. Joining Baliol at Glasgow, Edward proceeded to Perth without meeting opposition. The Scots had driven their cattle, and carried their goods to the mountains; and the English wasted a country deserted of its inhabitants. The Scots under the regents, adopted the plan of harassing their march, and cutting off their foraging parties. In the skirmishes, which this mode of warfare gave rise to, they were generally successful. The loss of the regent Moray however, who was taken prisoner, was of serious consequence to the Scots. At this time, says Winton, such was the state of the kingdom, that none but children in their games durst call David Bruce their king. The earl of Athol having made his pacification with Edward, was appointed by that king regent under Baliol, and Edward having repaired the fortifications of Perth, and rebuilt the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, which the Scots had destroyed, returned to England. The few brave men who still maintained their independence, made choice of Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwell, the companion of Wallace, as their leader, and by him the earl of Athol was attacked and slain. A parliament was then held at Dunfermline, at which Sir Andrew was unanimously chosen regent.

On learning these events, Edward again invaded Scotland, wasting the country wherever he went; and for the purpose of more effectually keeping down the spirit of resistance, he maintained a powerful fleet in the Firth of Forth, as well as on the east and west coasts. He repaired and garrisoned several of the more important fortresses, and leaving an army at Perth again returned to England. Sir Andrew Murray, the regent, upon Edward's departure, appeared from his fastnesses, and several of the castles in possession of the English were wrested from them; among these were the castle of St Andrews and the tower of Falkland. Assisted by the earls of Fife and March, the regent made himself master of both the town and castle of St Andrews, after a siege of three weeks. He is said in this siege to have employed very powerful battering machines, from some of which stones weighing 200 pounds were thrown at the walls. Following the plan of the great Bruce, Moray entirely razed and destroyed these castles. At the same time he besieged the castle of Cupar, which was defended by

Bulloch the priest, whom Baliol had appointed its governor. Finding it impossible to make any impression upon this strong fortress, the Scots were obliged to give up the attempt and raise the siege. At this time a dreadful famine, occasioned by the continued ravages of war, and the cessation of all agricultural labour desolated Scotland, and added to the miseries of the people. Edward, occupied with his schemes of conquest in France, now became wearied of his fruitless endeavours on Scotland; and the Scots, as his efforts languished, increased their exertions, and were soon able to keep the open country. In 1338, however, Scotland lost one of her best and truest supporters. The regent, Sir Andrew Murray who was aged, and worn out with the fatigues of the constant warfare in which he had been engaged, died, and was buried in the abbey of Dunfermline, where Bruce and Randolph had been already interred.

The command of the Scottish army now fell upon the steward; and shortly afterwards he obtained, by the treachery of its defender, possession of the castle of Cupar, which the late regent had in vain attempted by force. Bulloch the governor betrayed his master, and joined the Scottish army at Perth. The famine still continued to rage throughout the land; and many of the Scots left the country, seeking refuge in Flanders, while others of the poorer people were driven into the woods, where feeding on raw nuts and acorns, they were seized with diseases which carried them off in great numbers. On the banks of the Tay, the country was reduced to a state little better than that of a desert, in which there was neither house for man, nor shelter for cattle, and the wild deer, coming down from the mountains, ranged about even to the neighbourhood of Perth. By the exertion of the steward, however, the English were driven from the country, with the exception of some of the places of strength; and taking advantage of a short peace, he used every endeavour for the re-establishment of order and the distribution of justice. Industry began to revive, and by 1341, Bower says, the kingdom began to breathe anew. The husbandman was again seen at the plough, and the priest at the altar.

David, who had been for nine years an exile in France, now returned to Scotland; but he did not long remain to attempt the regulation of his harassed kingdom. At the battle of Durham, where his obstinacy led to his being defeated, he was taken prisoner, and with him many of his nobles. Among these was the earl of Fife, who with his vassals had fought at this battle. Edward endeavoured to strike a panic into the few Scottish barons who still showed a determination to defend their country, by trying the earls of Fife and of Menteith, who had also fallen into his hands, for treason. They were both found guilty, on the ground of their having risen in arms against their liege lord Edward III. The earl of Menteith was executed, and his dismembered body sent to different parts of the kingdom; the earl of Fife was pardoned, and his life spared in consequence of his relationship to Edward I.

During the captivity of David in England, a dreadful plague again ravaged Scotland, which appears to have been most rapid and most destructive. It had previously for many

years been scourging other nations of Europe, and in 1351 it reached Scotland, on which it fell with most deadly force.

After the return of David to his kingdom, Edward of England, apparently now of opinion that the Scottish nation was not to be conquered, adopted a different line of policy from what he had previously done. Having freed himself from his connexion with Baliol, he intrigued with David, who was without heirs, to have the throne of Scotland settled on prince Lionel his son. The imbecile character of David, and his enmity to the steward, who was the heir acknowledged by the nation, led him to enter into this disgraceful plot, for the destruction of the independence of his country. The remaining portion of his reign was spent in these intrigues with England, and in endeavouring in vain to persuade the Scottish nobles to adopt the English prince. The bishop of St Andrews with other prelates and nobles, were, during this time, repeatedly sent on embassies to England. It is very probable that many of these envoys were ignorant of the plot going on; and that while they conceived they were benefiting their country by arranging renewed treaties of peace, and of commerce, others were secretly engaged in advancing the views of Edward. In the mean time, however, that monarch, anxious now to conciliate the Scots, gave great encouragement to Scottish merchants trading in England; and induced the youths of the nation to visit the universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

In 1371, David died in the castle of Edinburgh; and the steward ascended the throne under the title of Robert II. Betwixt 1353, and 1356, Duncan earl of Fife died. He had been liberated from his imprisonment in England, previous to 1350, in which year, in fulfilment of a vow which he had previously made, he mortified the church of Auchtermuchty, to the monastery of Lindores. He was succeeded in his lands and honours by his daughter Isabella, who married first William Ramsay, who appears as earl of Fife in 1356, having no doubt been created so on his marriage with the countess: second, Walter Stuart, second son of Robert II. by his first wife, Elizabeth More, daughter of More of Rowallan; and, third, she married Thomas Bisset, to whom David II. gives a charter in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, 1362, granting to him and his heirs male by Isabella, his countess, the earldom of Fife, with all its pertinents.

The countess had no children by any of these three husbands, and appears in consequence to have been prevailed upon to resign the earldom of Fife, to Robert Stuart, brother to her second husband, who was earl of Menteith in right of his wife, afterwards duke of Albany, and regent of the kingdom during the absence of James I. Sibbald says he had a copy of the agreement or indenture by which this arrangement was effected, and he gives its substance. By this agreement the countess Isabella acknowledged the earl of Menteith to be her heir apparent, as well by the entail made by her deceased father Duncan earl of Fife, in favour of Allan earl of Menteith, as by the entail made by the lady Isabel herself and her late husband Walter Stuart, by which on his the earl of Menteith assisting her in the recovery of the earldom, which by force and fear she had resigned, she when the earldom was recovered, and had

come into her possession, agreed to resign into the hands of the king, that infeftment thereof might be given to the earl, who should instantly receive seisin, with the leading and dominion of the vassals, their wards, reliefs, marriages and escheats, and all else belonging to the earl of Fife. The courts of the earldom were to be held by Robert Stuart, with the exites and contingents of the men dwelling in the lands; and he should receive from the countess her own rents, and the rents from all the other tenants. The countess was to receive, during all the days of her life, the free tenement of the lands of the earldom, except the third part allotted to Mary, countess of Fife, her mother. Among other things it was also agreed by this indenture that the earl of Menteith should have the castle of Falkland with the forest in his own keeping, and that he should have right to place a constable therein, as he pleased; the countess however was to be entitled to live within the tower when agreeable to her; and the village of Falkland was to be set in tack to the earl for a fixed rent, from the day on which the indenture was entered into, so that when he came to the place he might have lodging and accommodation there for him, and his horses, without wronging or injuring the other lands of the countess. For the strict fulfilment of this agreement both parties bound themselves by oath. The indenture is dated on the 31st day of March, 1371.

During the early part of the reign of David II. we find John de Balfour sheriff of Fife; and about 1360 David de Wemyss held that office. Up to this period, and indeed for fifty years afterwards, the sheriff held his courts in the open air, upon what was formerly called the Cam hill, now the Moot hill at Cupar. Besides the sheriffs, there is evidence of there having been other judges in the county, during the period of which we have given the history. In 1292, Thomas Kayr was judex de Fife; and in 1343, Robert de Erskine is baillie to Duncan earl of Fife. In the reign of Alexander III., Alexander son of Colville is coroner of the county.

SECTION VI.

Retrospective view of the changes which had taken place in the inhabitants of Fife.—Saxon and Anglo-Norman Colonization.—Flemings settle in Fife.—Religion of the period.—Suppression of the Culdees, and establishment of monasteries.—Commerce and Trade.—Erection of Royal Burghs.—State of Villanage.—Shipping.—Prices of provisions and other articles.—Manners and Customs.—Introduction of Chivalry.—Military and Civil dress.—Amusements.—Dwellings of different ranks.—Learning and Literature.

HAVING given the general history of the country up to the period of the accession of the house of Stuart to the throne, and the termination of the race of Macduff as earls of Fife, we shall now take a retrospective view of the changes which had taken place during this period, in the inhabitants, and in their manners and customs. We have already seen that during a considerable time after the death of Malcolm Ceanmore, the inhabitants of Fife continued almost entirely a Celtic people. During his reign, and under the protection of his excellent queen, many Saxons had settled in the county, as well as in other parts of Scotland; but it was during the reigns of his immediate successors, that the great change took place in the people, and that the Saxon and Norman colonization of the country was effected. Chalmers, in his Caledonia, has investigated this subject with the greatest care, and has bestowed upon it so much labour and research that little or nothing can now be added to what he has done. We present the reader therefore with little more than an abridgment of his chapter on Saxon colonization. Among the earliest of the Saxon colonists in Fife, was probably Merleswane, who fled from the fury of William the conqueror, to the asylum which Malcolm Ceanmore afforded to him and various others. He obtained lands in Fife. He had a son, Colban, who had a son, Marle-Swane, who lived under Malcolm IV., and William the Lion. He was succeeded by his son Waldeve, who inherited the manors of Ardross, of Fethkil, and of Kennauchy in Fife. In the reign of Alexander II., he was succeeded by his son Marle-Swane, who died about the year 1250, leaving an only child, Scolastica, who inherited the lands of her ancestors. Another of those who fled from the Norman conqueror was Siward, who obtained lands in Scotland. Some of his descendants appear to have settled in Fife, as Helen Siward, who lived under David II., resigned the barony of Kellie in that county. During the reign of Alexander I. but few foreigners settled in Scotland, yet he married an English princess, introduced an English bishop into St Andrews, and planted a monastery of canons regular at that place. The reign of David I. seems to have been the favourable era for English colonization. Two brothers, of the name Lindsay, obtained lands in Lanarkshire and East Lothian. David de Lindsay, one of their descendants, settled in Fife, and held lands under Ermengarde, the queen of William the Lion. He granted twenty shillings sterling, yearly, from his mill of Kerchow.

The De Quincis, who came from Northamptonshire, settled under William the Lion,

and received lands in East Lothian. Robert de Quinci married Arabella, the daughter of Nes the son of William, by whom he obtained the manor of Leuchars, and other lands in Fife, with the estate of Duglyn, among the Ochil hills. Seyer de Quinci, the son of this Robert, seems to have had his principal residence at Leuchars, and there to have held his baronial court. In a dispute with Duncan, the son of Kamelin, about the lands of Duglyn, he caused Duncan to acknowledge a release of his claims in his court at that place. His son Roger granted a right of peats from his moss of Swansmire to the monastery of Balmarinoch; and to the monks of Lindores 200 carts of heather yearly, from his muir of Kindeloch, with peats from his moss of Monegie.

The Melvilles in Fife derive their descent from one Maule, or Male, an Anglo-Norman baron, who came to Scotland under David I., and obtained lands in Lothian, which from him were denominated Male-ville. He granted the church of Melville to the monks of Dunfermline. That the family had early taken up their residence in Fife is proved by the fact that king William granted some lands near Crail, as they had been perambulated by Galfrid de Maleville; and a Malcolm de Maleville lived with Malcolm, earl of Fife, at the death of king William. Philip de Lundin obtained from Malcolm IV. the manor of Lundie in Fife; and became ancestor of the families of Lundie. Malcolm de Lundin was contemporary with Philip, and obtained lands in Marr, in Forfar, and in Fife. He was appointed hostiarius, or doorward, by William the Lion, and made many donations to different monasteries. He was the ancestor of the families of Durward. In the thirteenth century, the family of Hay had spread from Perthshire into Fife. From the peerage writers we would suppose this family to be of Celtic origin. The first of the family is William de Hay who settled in Lothian, and died in 1170; he was unquestionably of Norman origin. Orm, the son of Hugh, flourished under Malcolm IV., and possessed lands in Forfarshire, and those of Balbirnie in Fife. He was the progenitor of the Abernethys. He exchanged his lands of Balbirnie, with Duncan earl of Fife, for the lands in Glenduachy in Fife, and Balmadethy in Forfar. The ancestor of the Colvilles settled in Ayrshire during the twelfth century; and afterwards the family obtained the barony of Easter Wemyss in exchange for that of Ochiltree. One branch of the Frasers is said to have been vassals of the earl of Dunbar, and another of the earls of March. They held lands in east Lothian in the reign of David I.; and their descendants soon raised themselves from the rank of vassals to that of superiors of lands. They had also obtained lands in Fife, for we find that Simon Fraser, swore fealty to Edward I., in the monastery of Lindores, in 1291; and that in 1296, Andrew Fraser of Fife swore fealty to the same monarch. The great family of the Comyns, who, at one time, held such high pre-eminence in Scotland, also possessed lands in Fife. William Comyn, earl of Buchan, with consent of his countess, confirmed the grant of the church of Kilrenny, in Fife, to the monks of Dryburgh, which had been made by the countess Ada, the mother of Malcolm IV. and William the Lion; and to the monks of St Andrews he confirmed the grant of his vassal Marle-Swane, the son of Colban, of the lands of Kenmuck, in the parish of Kennauchy in Fife.

From this it appears that he held the superiority of different lands in this county.

The Moubrays appeared first under William the Lion, and obtained lands in different shires. Philip de Moubray held lands near Inverkeithen, till they were forfeited by Robert I. The family of Vetereponte settled under David I. They possessed the lands of Aberdour in Fife, under the name of Vipont, and Wapont, at an early period; and we have already seen the defence of Loch Leven castle, made by one of this name, for David II. By marriage, in 1126, the lands of Aberdour came to William Mortimer, the first of the family of that name who settled in Scotland. He was afterwards confirmed in the lands by William the Lion; and others of the name appear, about this period, in the county. Ingleram de Gourlay obtained lands in Fife, from the same king, and became progenitor of the Gourlays of Kingray; while Henry Rewel, about the same time, received the lands of Cultrath, in Fife, with Balmerinoch, and Balendard, and his nephew Richard, the lands of Easter Ardit. Henry was succeeded by Richard, whose brother Adam succeeding, afterwards sold, in 1225, the lands of Cultrath, Ardit, and Balmerinoch, with its church, to Ermengarde, the queen dowager, for a thousand merks. Under David I., a branch of the great English family of Bosville, settled in Scotland; and they appear also to have emigrated to Fife. An English family of the name of Lascelles, settled in Fife under William the Lion; and Radulph de Lascelles was sheriff of the county, as we have seen, in 1250. The family of Grant, who were also Norman, seem to have been connected with Fife, as well as with the northern counties, for Robert le Grant of Fife, swore fealty to Edward I. in August, 1296. Richardo Monipennie received a grant of the lands of Pitmilly from the prior of St Andrews, in 1211. He was ancestor of the Monipennies of Pitmilly. The family of Anstruther is also ancient in Fife. William de Candella, an English baron, received a grant of the lands of Anstruther, in Fife, from David I., and was the progenitor of this family. His grandson, William, first renounced the name of Candella, and assumed that of his lands. Malcolm IV. granted the manor of Lundie, in Fife, to Philip de Lundie, from whom the family of Lundie is descended. In the reign of David II., the Dondemores of that elk, were proprietors in this county; and previous to 1285, Sir Walter Barclay held the lands of Keppo. He was descended from the Berkleys of Gloucestershire. We also find the family of Baliol connected with Fife; as Ingleram de Baliol was sheriff in the reign of Alexander II. Of the Norman family of Valoniis, who came to Scotland under William the Lion, a branch would appear to have settled in Fife; for John de Valoniis was sheriff of the county during the reign of John Baliol. The Kers or Cars, settled in Scotland in the thirteenth century; and, in 1292, shortly after the family had obtained lands in the Lothians, Thomas Kayr is judge of Fife. Besides these, the names of Erskine, Lumsden, Durham, Cunningham, Scot, and many others appear at an early period, as proprietors of lands in Fife; and the great families of Stewart, Douglas, and Graham, all of Norman descent, speedily sent branches into the county, as they spread themselves over other districts of the country.

In addition to these Norman barons and gentlemen, numbers of Flemings settled in Scotland and in various parts of Fife. Many of them were traders, fishers, and artisans, who settled in the towns on the east coast; but several barons and knights came to Scotland with their followers and obtained grants of lands. Maynard, a Fleming, in the reign of David I., was the first provost of St Andrews; and others of that nation settled there, during the reigns of David and of William the Lion. About the same period many settled as traders in Perth and in Dundee. Among the chiefs who emigrated to this country, we find Robert Burgoun obtaining lands in Fife from David I. Bartholomew, a Fleming, settled with his followers in the district of the Garioch: and, from the name of the lands they possessed, his descendants adopted the name of *de Leslie.* David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the Lion, lord of the Garioch, confirmed to Malcolm de Leslie, the son of Bartholomew, the whole lands of Leslie which his father had held. The posterity of Bartholomew afterwards obtained lands in Fife; and from him descended Leslie earl of Rothes, Leslie earl of Leven and Melville, Leslie lord Lindores, Leslie lord Newark, and other families of the name. Thus, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the progress of the Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Flemish colonization of Fife, as well as Scotland generally, is very distinctly seen. The leaders and nobles who acquired lands in the country, would as a matter of course settle their followers of their own race under them. With these, their own peculiar manners and customs, and their language, would be introduced. The Celtic inhabitants, the descendants of the aboriginal Horestii, would soon intermingle and amalgamate with the intruders, or be driven from the country, their language would cease to be spoken; and accordingly it is only now preserved in the names of the towns, or the great natural features of the country.

Having traced the change which took place on the inhabitants of Fife, we shall now proceed to notice the change which took place on their civil and religious polity, and on their manners and customs. This shall be discussed under the following heads. I. Religion, II. Commerce and Trade, and III. Manners and Customs.

I. The form in which Christianity appeared at an early period in Fife, as well as in other portions of the Pictish and Scottish territory, has been already mentioned; and an account has been given of the settlements of the Culdees in the county and surrounding country. Besides those monasteries of Culdees, bishops had been early appointed in different parts of the country; and Kellach had performed the duties of the episcopal office at St Andrews, under the Celtic kings, Donal IV. and Constantin III. He was succeeded by Fothad, who was followed by a succession of bishops in that see till the period of David I., when the great change on ecclesiastical polity in Scotland began to take place. There seems reason also to believe that the economy of parishes in which churches were planted was early introduced, though they in all probability formed districts uncommonly large. They arose from the acts of private individuals, however, rather than from public authority; yet there is certain evidence that they existed during

the reign of Malcolm Canmore. That this was the case in Fife, is established by an early charter of David I. to the monastery of Dunfermline, quoted by Chalmers. Nor is there any doubt that during this period ecclesiastical dues and tithes were paid to the clergy. In the charters of David I., and Alexander I. they are mentioned as a thing familiarly known. Nay, could we believe an extract given by Crawford in his Officers of State, p. 431, tithes were known as early as the time of Fothad, who succeeded Kellach the first bishop of St Andrews.

The primitive system of the Scottish church continued to exist with little change or variety till the reign of David I. That prince, however, who had long resided in England, became what he considered the great reformer of that church, which had never yet, even in theory, acknowledged the Pope as its head, nor adopted the rules and canons of the catholic church. David either suppressed or superseded the Culdee establishments in Scotland; but the times at which this was in many cases effected cannot be very distinctly pointed out. Alexander I., his elder brother, had founded a priory at the ancient seat of the Culdees in St Andrews; and here, during the reign of David, canons regular were introduced by Robert, the bishop of the see, in 1140. The Culdees of Loch Leven had resided on their settlement in St Serf's isle, and had aided in spreading the light of truth among the inhabitants of the surrounding country from a very early period, till in an evil hour the reforming hand of David fell upon them. He gifted the monastery with the island, and all the endowments which successive kings had granted it, to the priory of St Andrews; and with this intimation, that if the Culdees lived peaceably they would be protected, but if they resisted the royal grant, they should be expelled from the holy isle. Whether they had the temerity to resist or not, it would be difficult now to say, but they were soon after expelled; and in all probability this arose from the cunning of the canons of St Andrews, aided by the powerful influence of the bishop.

The Culdees of Portmoak, on the eastern margin of Loch Leven, shared the fate of the followers of St Serf; their establishment likewise falling a prey to the prior and canons of St Andrews. At his accession to the throne, David introduced thirteen English monks from Canterbury into the Culdee monastery at Dunfermline. They were of the Benedictine order, and as their number was afterwards increased to twenty-six, there is little reason to doubt that they had very speedily either caused the Culdees to conform to their rules, and become members of the order of St Benedict, or had expelled them from their retreat. In order, probably, to reconcile the Culdees to the change, David raised the establishment from what it had formerly been, a priory, to the dignity of an abbey; and it would appear that, in suppressing the Culdees of Kirkaldy, their establishment had been conferred on the abbey of Dunfermline, as, at a subsequent period, we find the church of Kirkaldy a cell of that abbey. A similar fate came upon all the other Culdee establishments throughout the country; and as they were from time to time superseded or suppressed, catholic monks speedily supplied their place.

Other monasteries were subsequently erected in Fife and elsewhere, for the accommodation of different orders of monks, founded by the piety or superstition of various individuals. David earl of Huntingdon, son of David I., on his return from the holy land in 1178, founded a monastery at Lindores, which he dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Andrew. A monastery of Dominican or black friars was established at Cupar by Malcolm earl of Fife; and one of the Cistertian order at Culross, in 1217. Emengarde, the widow of William the Lion, founded one of the same order at Balmerinoch, where she afterwards died and was buried. William Malvoisine, bishop of St Andrews, who died in 1233, founded for the same order the monastery of Scotland's Well. At Inverkeithing there were establishments for both black and grey friars, as at Pittenweem there was a priory of monks of the order of St Augustine. These latter were a colony from, and dependent on the priory of, St Andrews. In addition to the priory of St Andrews, both the grey and the black friars had convents in that city, and it is said that the Carmelites had also an establishment there.

Many churches and chapels were also founded in various parts of Fife, some of which were served by the monks of the different monasteries; others were formed into collegiate churches, and supplied by a provost and prebends; and the remainder served by priests appointed for the purpose. The emoluments bestowed on these parish priests may be estimated from the fact, that in 1268 a pension of ten marks sterling yearly was granted to the vicar of Kilrenny in this county; and that the canons of the Church of Scotland fix the minimum at that sum, although it rather appears to have been about the medium.

Such were the means which the prevailing opinions and superstition of the times provided, after the suppression of the various Culdee establishments which had previously existed, for the instruction of the people in the Christian religion. The change which took place during the reign of David in the nature of the office of bishop, might also be here described, as connected with the ecclesiastical polity of the times, but this will be more appropriately discussed in a subsequent part of the work, when we come to give an account of St Andrews.

II. There is strong reason to believe that even during the Celtic period of her history, Scotland had enjoyed some small commercial intercourse with neighbouring nations. During the reigns of Malcolm Canmore, Edgar, and Alexander I., this commerce certainly increased; but of its increase under the prosperous and able reign of David I. there is more certain evidence. Of this early commerce, Fife and other portions of the east coast, enjoyed the principal share. Fordun says it was the praise of David that he enriched the ports of his kingdom with foreign merchandise, and to the wealth of his own land added the riches and the luxuries of foreign nations; that he changed its coarse stuffs for precious vestments, and covered its ancient nakedness with purple and fine linen.

The Saxon colonization, and particularly the settlement of Flemish merchants in the country, was the great cause of this early prosperity. The latter brought with them a

knowledge of trade and manufactures, and habits of application and industry, which were till then unknown to the Celtic inhabitants. The emigration and settlement of this industrious people during the eleventh and twelfth centuries can be very distinctly traced; and so numerous were they at length, that they received a right from the kings of Scotland to be governed by the laws of their own country. Numbers of them settled in St Andrews, and in other towns in Fife; and it is not a little curious to observe, as we have already mentioned, that the first provost of St Andrews was a Fleming.

It was during this period that towns first began in Scotland to rise into importance, and to attract the attention of the Scottish kings. Peculiar privileges were given to many of them from time to time with the view of adding to their prosperity. The earliest royal burghs in Fife appear to have been St Andrews, Dunfermline, and Crail, which received charters from David I. Inverkeithing received its charter from William the Lion, but it had previously existed as a town, as it is mentioned in charters under the reign of Alexander I. During the reign of William it is said to have flourished, and to have been the resort of considerable shipping. Kinghorn first appears under the reign of Alexander III.; Kirkaldy and Queensferry under Robert Bruce; and Cupar under David II. Charters were granted to the other royal burghs of the county at various later periods; but they also, no doubt, existed previously as towns, the property of private barons, monasteries, or the more dignified clergy.

The exclusive privileges of trade and commerce granted to the royal burghs were no doubt given for the purpose of encouragement, but it is certain that the effect was ultimately injurious; and that the systems of monopoly which these charters created, although they might lead to individual benefits, protracted, if they did not in a great measure prevent, the general advancement of the country. In many places they led to serious disputes between rival burghs, and from such disputes Fife was not free. The more ancient burghs claimed privileges over those of more recent erection; while the latter conceived that the privileges conferred on them, put an end, in so far as they were concerned, to those which had been granted to their seniors. Thus the inhabitants of Cupar, which did not receive its charter till the reign of David II., endeavoured to prevent the burgesses of St Andrews from buying and selling within the limits of their charter. A long litigation ensued, ultimately decided by the parliament which met at Perth in 1369, in favour of the bishop and his citizens, against the guild brethren of Cupar; and the burgesses of St Andrews were in consequence entitled to buy and sell wool, skins, hides, and other articles of traffic, within the royal burgh of Cupar. With all the disadvantages, however, arising from the exclusive nature of their constitution, wealth began early to be accumulated in the Scottish burghs. Some idea of the extent of this may be formed from the fact, that when William the Lion agreed to pay to John of England fifteen thousand marks for his ransom, one thousand marks of this was contributed by the burghs, a sum equal to more than sixty thousand pounds of our present money.

The trade with Scotland had become, so early as the reign of Alexander III., an

object of importance with the wealthy merchants of states then much farther advanced in civilization; for during his reign a number of Lombard merchants arrived in the country, proposing to establish trading settlements in the towns upon the coast. One of the stations fixed on by them was the height above Queensferry. The narrow policy of Alexander, however, seems to have defeated their object, and rendered their scheme abortive. The great increase of traffic which was taking place seems to have alarmed this monarch, and led him to publish an edict prohibiting the exportation of any merchandise from his kingdom. The effect produced by this edict shows distinctly the demand which existed in foreign markets for Scottish exports. "A year had not expired," says Fordun, "when the vessels of different nations laden with merchandise came into our ports, anxious to exchange their commodities for the productions of our country." On perceiving this, Alexander so far altered his narrow policy as to allow the burgesses, but them alone, to engage in traffic with the foreigners.

The exports of Scotland at this time were wool, skins, hides, and woolfells; fish salted and cured in great quantities; horses, sheep, and cattle; and at times pearls, falcons, and greyhounds. The Scottish pearls were then much sought after, and those in the possession of Alexander I. were celebrated in foreign countries for their great size and beauty. After the introduction of the oriental pearl, however, the Scottish fell into disrepute; and by a statute of the Parisian goldsmiths, in the year 1355, it was enacted that no worker in gold and silver should set any Scottish pearl with oriental ones, except in large ornaments and jewels for churches. The Scottish greyhounds also appear to have been famous abroad. In 1396 the duke de Berri, as is shown by their passports preserved in Rhymer's Fœdera, sent his valet and three attendants into Scotland for the purpose of purchasing a number of these dogs; and under the reign of David II., Godfrey de Roos, an English baron, procured from Edward III. a safe conduct for his shield-bearer and two attendants who were travelling from Scotland with dogs and falcons.

The imports of Scotland were chiefly fine linen and silks; broad cloth, and a rich article manufactured in Ireland from wool, called sayes; rich carpets and tapestry; wine, oil of olives, and at times corn and barley; spices and confections of all kinds; drugs and electuaries; arms, armour, and cutlery. In 1333 Scottish merchants were in the habit of importing from Suffolk vases of gold and silver, and silver in bars and money. Gold and silver were no doubt obtained in different parts of Scotland; and that Fife had then produced gold is evident from a charter of David I. to the monks of Dunfermline, in which he grants them the tenth of all the gold which should accrue to him in that county or Forthrif. The Scottish mines, however, do not appear to have been very productive; and the importation of gold and silver was rendered necessary to supply the demands of the nobles and the clergy. In these early times the merchants of St Omers, and the great Florentine houses of Pullici and Lambini had correspondents in Scotland; while on the other hand, the Scottish merchants sent factors and supercargoes into foreign countries to manage their business. Alexander III. was

regularly supplied with wine and corn by a merchant of Gascony, and at the period of his death was owing that person a large sum of money.

The clergy of these times engaged largely in this commerce; and partook to no small extent in its profits. The monks of the isle of May had their ships, which were specially exempted by David I. from all customs. The bishop of St Andrews had also his ships; and indeed almost all the clergy enlarged their revenues by commerce. They were also the bankers of the period, and accommodated persons requiring it with loans of money. A considerable portion of the lands which they came in time to possess, was originally acquired for money which had been advanced to the proprietors in their necessities. They also engaged extensively in the fisheries, as appears from the numerous grants of fishings to be met with in the cartularies of the different monasteries.

A domestic manufacture of a coarse woollen fabric existed during this period, which was regulated by an assize of David I. Flax and leather were also manufactured. Artisans are early to be found in the towns and villages. In the latter we find smiths, tanners, and shoemakers; and in the former dyers, goldsmiths, and armourers. In the reign of David I. salt works seem to have been an object of great attention; and in the reign of Alexander II. windmills were universally introduced.

It is worthy of remark, as showing the different races of people which still existed in Scotland, that the names of those artisans which have been preserved are invariably Saxon or Flemish; while the names of the people who inhabited the rural districts are almost as invariably Celtic. The situation of the people in the country seems to have been very different from that of those who dwelt in towns. While the latter were freemen protected by charters, and granted many privileges, the tillers of the land seem to have been bondmen and villeyns, rather than freemen and farmers. Free tenants unquestionably existed, but want of capital must have rendered them entirely dependent on the proprietor of the soil for whom they laboured the land, receiving a portion of the produce as a reward for their labour. But the bondmen were numerous; and several curious evidences of this fact remain. In 1340 an assize was held before David Wemyss, sheriff of Fife, in the churchyard of Kartyl, to determine whether Alan the son of Constantin and his two sons were the property of the earl of Fife, or of the abbot of Dunfermline. They had transferred themselves from the lands of the abbot to another habitation, and when required to return, refused on the ground that they were the bondmen of the earl. It was decided by the jury that they were the property of the abbot. William the Lion, in 1178, made a donation to the monks of Dunfermline of *Gillandrean M'Suthen* and his children to be theirs for ever. David I. gave to the same monks three *servi*, *Ragewin*, *Gillepatrick* et *Ulchil* for ever. This unfortunate class of people were regularly transferred with the lands, but we see from the instances given that they were also sold or gifted away where no transfer of lands took place.

During the long period which intervened, from the commencement of the war of independence and the reign of David II., when Edward III. began for his own ends to give encouragement to the merchants of Scotland, the infant commerce of the country

had many vicissitudes. At times it seemed to be almost entirely annihilated; but the enterprising spirit of the people speedily revived it on every fitting opportunity. Whatever insidious views Edward might have on the independence of Scotland, the change produced on the commerce of the country by the change made in his policy towards it, was soon apparent, and wealth began again to flow into Scotland.

Agriculture was at this time an object of universal pursuit. The kings of Scotland possessed royal manors in almost every county, which were cultivated by their own free tenants and bondsmen, and to which they annually repaired, for the purpose of collecting their rents, and consuming a portion of the produce. The same practice was adopted, though of course in a lesser degree, by the great barons, and others who had lands in different parts of the country. The clergy, however, as they were in commerce, were the great improvers of agriculture; and from them those leases first proceeded which had the most beneficial effect in clearing the country of wood, and bringing the land under tillage. Their tenants, from the pacific nature of the landlords, were allowed to devote their time more exclusively to agricultural improvement, than those of either king or baron, and their lands accordingly exhibited a much superior state of cultivation. The system of agriculture adopted was no doubt sufficiently rude and simple; but oats, wheat, barley, pease, and beans, were all raised in tolerable abundance. That wheat was thus early cultivated in Fife, is proved by a charter of David I. to the monastery of Dunfermline, granting to it the tenth of the *wheat* and oats from his manors of Kinghorn, Kellie, and Crail. Malt kilns and brew houses were to be found in every village; and the kings of Scotland seem to have had breweries at various places. David granted to the same monastery the tenth of his breweries in Fife. Cows, sheep, and large herds of swine, which fed on the beach mast, strolled the fields, the mountain grazings, and the forests.

The breeding of horses was also carried to a considerable extent. In the forests, large herds of brood mares, surrounded by their grown up progeny, and with their young foals at their feet, ran wild, and produced a hardy stock of little horses, upon which the light armed Scottish cavalry were mounted. Some idea may be formed of the extent of the stud possessed by the higher barons, and rich ecclesiastical houses, by an inventory preserved in the cartulary of Newbottle. It states that the monks of Melrose possessed in old times 325 forest mares and horses, 54 domestic mares, 104 domestic horses, 207 stags or young horses, 39 three year old colts, and 172 year old colts. The forests of Fife, too, teemed with herds of these wild horses; and we find David I. making grants to the monks of Dunfermline of the tenth of that portion of his breeding mares in Fife and Forthrif. These horses, both the wild and those which were domesticated, were a small but hardy breed, excellently adapted for many purposes, both in war and peace; but they were too light for carrying the knight, clad from top to toe in complete armour. While, therefore, the horses of the country were exported, and proved an article of profitable traffic, the Scottish barons imported a larger breed from abroad, to be employed as the great war horse. In ploughing and

harrowing, leading hay, carting peats, and taking in corn during harvest, the wain drawn by oxen appears to have been chiefly used, while the conveyance of the agricultural produce to any great distance was performed by horses.

The greatest attention was bestowed on the rearing of sheep and cattle. Sheep appear at first only to have existed on the lowland districts, but latterly they abounded both on the northern and southern districts, and constituted a principal branch of the wealth of the country. In the cultivated places, ten cows were kept for every plough on the farm; but they were much more numerous in the wilder parts of the country. Goats were also numerous among the mountains. The dairy was, during these times, a very important object of attention, and great quantities of cheese seem to have been made on the royal manors. This appears from the royal grants to the different monasteries; and there is every reason to suppose that the same attention was paid to this object on the lands of the barons, as well as of the ecclesiastical community. David I. granted to the monks of Scone the tenth of his *can* of cheese from his manors of Gourie, Scone, *Cupar*, and Forgrund, and among the ancient dues which were payable to the church of Aucterderan in Fife, there were "*triginta caseos quorum quilibet facit chudreme.*" Poultry were also bred; and the monks appear to have had their full share of this article of food, in consequence of the grants both of the kings and nobles. The monks of Scone, for instance, received, under Malcolm IV., ten hens from every plough land which belonged to them at the feast of All Saints; and the monks of Kelso received at Christmas a hen, for which they paid one half-penny, from every house on every one of their hamlets. These hamlets often contained sixty or seventy houses.

The value of lands in these early times is an object of curious, but rather obscure inquiry. Land had not then to any extent become the object of sale, although instances are to be found in the chartularies of the different monasteries. In the reign of Alexander II. the monks of Melrose purchased from Richard Burnard, a meadow at Faringdun, containing eight acres, for thirty-five marks, equal to three hundred and fifty pounds of our present money. In 1225, queen Ermengarde, when she was about to found the monastery of Balmerinoch, purchased from Adam de Stawel, the lands of Balmerinoch, Ardin, and Cultrath, for a thousand marks legal sterling, equal to £10,000 of our present money. In the first mentioned of these sales, the price appears to have been at the rate of about forty-three pounds, eighteen shillings, of our present money per acre; but in the purchase by queen Ermengarde in Fife, we have no criterion to judge of the value per acre, as the extent of the lands are not mentioned. The price of land, however, seems to have varied much, for we find that Stephen de Melginsh sold to the monks of Scone, a tenement in the village of Balursin, with a toft and two acres of land, for two marks, equal to about twenty pounds of the present money. The rents paid for lands and pastures were equally various, and the rate per acre of the lands still more difficult to ascertain. From the whole of the evidence, however, contained in the different chartularies which have been preserved, it is evident that

money was scarce, although the state of Scotland was in a progress of gradual improvement. Gardens and orchards were also cultivated as early as the reign of David I. This monarch had seen the horticulture of England, and did not neglect it. The barons and nobles followed his example, and the clergy, who were never behind in improvements, made their gardens and orchards objects of great attention. We have distinct evidence of this in the cartularies, and of their existence in various parts of Fife. Henry de Anstruther granted a messuage with a garden in Anstruther, to the monastery of Dryburgh.

The prices of provisions and other articles of general consumpt, and the remuneration for labour is also worthy of being noticed. In 1263, a chalder of oatmeal, fourteen bolls being computed for the chalder, was exactly one pound; and in the same year the chalder of wheat cost nine pounds, three shillings. In 1264, twenty chalders of barley sold for ten pounds; but in 1288, the price had fallen so low that forty chalders sold for six pounds, thirteen shillings, and four pence. In that year wheat sold at thirteen shillings and four pence, or a mark the chalder. In 1290, barley sold for ten shillings the chalder, and a chalder of rye for four shillings; while, in 1329, the price of the best barley fluctuated from twenty to twenty-four shillings the chalder. In 1326, oatmeal sold for twenty pence the boll; and another quantity, probably of better quality, is sold in the same year at two shillings the boll. In 1360, wheat was at the rate of two shillings and three pence halfpenny per boll; five years afterwards it could not be had under three shillings and nine pence three farthings for the same quantity. About the same time, twenty-nine barrels of beer cost eleven pounds, nine shillings; and fifty-five barrels of herring, twenty-nine pounds, nineteen shillings. So far back as 1263, the price of a cow was four shillings and five pence, and that of a sheep, ten pence. Next year, forty cows were sold for five shillings a head; and thirty-eight swine at eighteen pence each; in 1288, twelve swine sold for one shilling a head. In 1368, two oxen sold for thirteen shillings and four pence; seven score hens for eleven shillings and eight pence, or one penny each; and a *tonegall* of cheese, measuring six stones, for three shillings. The price of the ordinary fuel, which was peats and wood, was moderate. In 1288, two hundred and five horse loads of fire-wood for the royal palace at Stirling, cost only thirty-six shillings and sixpence. Eight waggon loads of peats, including the carriage and some small expenses, cost thirteen pounds, seventeen shillings, and five pence. Salt varied greatly in price. In 1288, twelve chalders of salt were sold for six shillings the chalder; but in 1360, ten chalders cost thirteen pounds, six shillings, and eight pence. In 1263, a hundred and seventy-eight hogsheads of wine were purchased for the king's table, at four hundred and thirty-nine pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight pence; the year following, sixty-seven hogsheads, one pipe, were purchased for three hundred and seventy-three pounds, sixteen shillings, and eight pence; and in 1329, forty-two hogsheads cost a hundred and sixty-eight pounds.

These facts are ascertained by the Rolls of the king's chamberlain, a portion of which have been printed, though not yet published; and from the same curious record some

evidences of the price of labour may be obtained. In the reign of Alexander III., the keeper of the king's warren at Crail, receives for his meat and his wages during one year, sixteen shillings and eight pence; and as this was considered high, he got the option of taking for the next year either a mark, that is, thirteen and four pence, or a chalder of oatmeal. The gardener of the king at Forfar had five marks for his wages; and the gardener at Menmouth only one mark. In 1326, Robert the mason was employed by Robert I. to make additions to the castle of Tarbert on the isthmus of Kintyre. This was executed by contract for the sum of two hundred and eighty-two pounds, fifteen shillings. As there is nothing to show the quantity of work executed, the price in this instance conveys little information. Two labourers, however, were employed in bringing lime to the work for twenty-nine weeks and three days, for which they received three shillings a week each. Wages were often lower, however, than this; five barrowmen received for three weeks' work only three shillings and four pence each; and seven labourers were engaged for the repairs on Tarbert castle for thirty-two weeks at one shilling and two pence each per week. Artisans and craftsmen received higher wages. John the carpenter is engaged for thirty-two weeks at three pence a day and his meat, which was each month a boll of meal and a *codra* of cheese. Nigel the smith received twelve pounds, and Nicholas the mason six pounds, thirteen shillings, and eight pence, for their yearly wages. John, the apothecary of Robert Bruce, received for his salary eighteen pounds, and for his robe twenty-six shillings and eight pence. In 1364, Thomas Hall, the physician of David II., received only ten marks for his salary.

The prices of clothes varied exceedingly, according to their materials. A robe for the keeper of the gate of the king's chapel cost only twenty shillings; one for Patrick de Monte-alto coast four pounds; one for the clerk of the rolls twenty-six shillings on one occasion, and thirty shillings on another; whilst John Bysit, a poor monk of Haddington, and one of king Robert's pensioners, was allowed in 1329 twenty shillings annually for his clothing; and in 1364, a poor scholar, who is denominated a relation of the king, received from David II. four pounds annually to provide himself in food and clothing. In 1263, Alexander III. granted fifty shillings to nine prebendaries to provide themselves with vestments. In 1364, Adam de Torre, burgess of Edinburgh, furnished for the king's table thirteen silver dishes, and six silver salt-cellars, for which he was paid seventeen pounds, twelve shillings sterling.

As a conclusion to this account of the early state of commerce, trade, and agriculture, it may be interesting to give the value of the county according to the old extent, which existed, if not before, at any rate under Alexander III., who died in 1285. In this curious document Fife is valued at the sum of three thousand four hundred and sixty-five pounds, thirteen shillings and four pence. At this time Scotland had acquired a high degree of prosperity. The long wars, however, in which she was involved, seem not only to have retarded her progressive improvement, but actually to have caused it to retrograde. A new valuation, called the new extent, was made in 1366, under

David II., in which it is valued at only two thousand five hundred and fifty-five pounds. Such was the effect of the wars resulting from the unprincipled attempts of the Edwards on the independence of Scotland. In more exposed counties, the injury appears to have been still greater than this.

III. The manners and customs of the Celtic and Pictish people who inhabited Fife have already been shortly described; and there is every probability that these continued to prevail till the period of the Saxon and Norman colonization under the sons of Malcolm III. The partial settlement of Saxons under that prince, and the neighbourhood of the Lothians, which was early peopled by this race, would no doubt tend in some degree to ameliorate the manners, and to civilize the habits of the Picts in Fife; so that there is little reason to doubt that under the reign of Malcolm III., who generally resided at Dunfermline, this county was much in advance of other parts of Celtic Scotland.

It was, however, during the reigns of Edgar, Alexander I., David I., and Malcolm IV. that the great change, as has been already described, took place. Chivalry, with all its high-wrought notions and romantic pursuits, was introduced into England, and very soon after began to be adopted in Scotland by the foreign settlers of Saxon and Norman origin. Before the reign of Malcolm IV. it had become almost a maxim that a prince could not be crowned till he had been dubbed a knight; and that prince, in order to obtain this honour, passed over into France, and fought under the banners of Henry II. The barons followed the example of the sovereigns by seeking this dignity through many a bloody field. During the reign of William the Lion its influence seems to have been completely established. "Now," said that monarch, when surprised with his barons at Alnwick, "now it will be seen who are good knights." The thirst for the glory to be obtained in the crusades, is also to be seen very early actuating the nobles of Scotland, as well as of other countries. David earl of Huntingdon, the brother of William the Lion, assumed the cross immediately after his marriage, and with other knights and nobles in his train, departed for the holy war in company with Richard I. of England. Tournaments were an established amusement in the reign of Alexander II. The marriage of Alexander III. exhibited all the pomp and circumstance of the most brilliant period of chivalry; but it is under Robert I. and David II. that we find the influence of this system fully established throughout the country. Armorial bearings, a custom unknown to the Celtic people, was introduced into Scotland with chivalry. William the Lion is said to have been the first of the kings who introduced armorial bearings, although other kings had previously adopted other devices; and the nobles followed the example of their sovereigns in adopting armorial bearings.

During the reign of David I. the Celtic part of the population were far inferior in their warlike appointments to those of Gothic origin. They carried long spears, so blunt as to do but little execution. They carried also darts and javelins, and a hooked weapon of steel with which they laid hold of their enemies. Their defensive armour were shields formed of strong cow-hide; a rough mantle or outer coat of leather,

tanned with the hair on, which was thrown over their shoulders, and their under vestment was so short as to leave them bare below the knee. They allowed the hair of their heads and beards to grow to such a length as almost to cover their faces. The Celtic noblemen seem to have been as ignorant of the strong defensive armour of the Norman barons as were their followers, and to have despised its use. Previous to the battle of the Standard, the Celtic earl of Strathearn reproached David I. for trusting too much to the coat-armour of his Norman followers. "Whence arises this mighty confidence in these Normans?" said he, "I wear no armour, yet they who do, will not advance beyond me this day." The hairy mantle of leather used in war, was exchanged on occasions of show and ceremony, for a scarlet robe, which was worn over the shoulders in the same manner.

The races of Gothic extraction were as superior in their arms and accoutrements, as they were far more civilized in their manners. They carried the long straight sword, double edged, and fitted both to cut and thrust, afterwards so conspicuous a weapon in Scottish warfare. The shield was curved, formed of wood covered with leather, and armed in the centre with a sharp pointed piece of iron. They carried also a long spear with a sharp steel point, sometimes armed with a barb, and a battle-axe. The cross bow and the long bow were weapons of Norman invention; but although used in Scotland, the Scottish soldiers never attained that perfection in their use, which rendered them so destructive in the hands of the English. The head of the common soldier was protected by a conical cap in early times, made of strong leather with the hair outwards. In persons of rank, the head-piece was formed of brass or steel, ornamented with gold, and often set with precious stones. Their sword-belts, scabbards, and shields were often richly ornamented. The shirt of mail may have been known in its first rude state to the Saxons, but it was the Normans who introduced the various kinds of armour in which the knights and men-at-arms were clad. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the knights were clothed in the mailed coat, which consisted of rings or pieces of iron sewed or fixed in leather; but this afterwards gave place to plate armour, which came into use in the reign of Robert Bruce and his son David II. The account of the battle of Largs, fought in 1263, contained in the northern sagas, has been partly translated by the late learned Mr John Dillon in his observations on the Norwegian expedition. From this source we have a clear idea of the Scottish knights and men-at-arms of the period. In the Scottish army there were 1500 on horseback, the horses having breastplates, and some of the Spanish steeds clad in complete steel. A Scottish knight, Peter de Corie, killed on this occasion, is described as being armed in the most magnificent manner, having a helmet plated with pieces of gold, and adorned with precious stones.

The civil dress of these times was rich and graceful. A robe of purple velvet, or scarlet cloth, richly lined and hooded with ermine, with a border of gold embroidery, and flowers of gold scattered over it; an under tunic of silk, or other precious stuff, made sometimes close to the figure, and at other times hanging in loose folds almost to

the heels; hose and breeches in one piece; and laced sandals, formed the state dress of the kings, princes, and nobles. Their ordinary dress was of similar form, but less costly materials. The head was covered with a cloth bonnet. The monks at this time went with the head bare, but as most of those planted in Scotland were foreigners, they complained of the cold of the climate. Pope Nicholas, who died in 1280, granted a bull to the monks of Lindores, empowering them to wear silk bonnets in processions and public worship, as they frequently took cold, "in terra frigida."

The dress of the ladies was particularly elegant, but very varied. The upper portion consisted of a jacket of rich cloth or velvet, with sleeves reaching to the wrist, and terminating in a border of gold embroidery, which was made to fit close to the bosom and the waist, so as to show the outline of the female figure. It was fastened down the middle with a row of buttons of silver, gold, or precious stones, on each side of which was a border of ermine or miniver. Below this jacket appeared in ample folds, an under robe of a different colour; and under all, a slip or petticoat of silk or linen. The tucker was high, leaving only the neck and throat bare. The head-dress consisted of the wimple or a turban, or sometimes a small circlet of gold, or a wreath of artificial flowers, under which the hair flowed gracefully down the back, or was plaited or braided in various ways. Over the whole, in days of ceremony, a long cloak of velvet was worn, clasped across the throat, and lined with fur or gold lace. The waist was clasped by a golden girdle set with precious stones.

The chief amusements of the kings and nobles were hunting and hawking, and on great occasions, feasts and tournaments. Hunting, however, appears to have been the most frequent pleasure they enjoyed. The kings were all great hunters, and in almost every shire had a forest with a castle, where they prosecuted their favourite sport. Each forest was under the charge of a forester. The cartularies of all the monasteries show the extent to which this pastime was carried. David I., among other grants of the same kind, gave to the monastery of Dunfermline the tenth of all the venison which should be killed by his huntsmen and hounds, between Lambermore and the river Tay. Robert Bruce, after the defeat of the English at Bannockburn settled his right to the throne, seems to have been one of these mighty hunters; and from the rolls of his chamberlain, it appears that his dogs, hawks, horses, and huntsmen, were the subjects of considerable care and expense. Hawking was also a favourite sport; and the office of falconer to the king became hereditary in the family of Falconer of Halkerton, descended from Ranulph, who was falconer to William the Lion. In their love of these rural sports, the nobles and the clergy were not behind the sovereign; nor were they in the care and attention which they bestowed on the preservation of the game, or culture of their dogs, and their birds of prey.

Their domestic amusements were not numerous, but appear to have been sufficient to fill up the time, when they were not engaged in war or the sports of the field. The feasts and banquets were all on a great scale, and if we may judge from the quantity and variety of the viands and the wines which were consumed in the royal and baronial

castles, they were not soon concluded. In indulging in the luxuries of the table, the clergy do not appear to have been behind; and it is amusing to see the irritation created in a worthy prelate of Saint Andrews, by a neglect to supply his table on the part of those who were bound to do so. William Malvoisin, who died in 1237, as recorded by Fordun, deprived the abbey of Dunfermline of the presentation of two churches, because the monks of that abbey had neglected to supply him with wine enough for his collation after supper. The old historian adds, that the monks had procured a sufficient quantity of wine, but that the bishop's servants, as fond of it as their master, had improperly consumed it all themselves. The licensed wit of the fools or jesters, who were kept not only by the kings, but by all the nobles, and the lays of harpers and minstrels, amused them at the protracted feasts. The game of chess too was exceedingly popular even so early as the reign of Alexander III.; and the reading of romances of interminable length assisted them in passing the day. The training of the young to arms, and to the sports of the field, filled up a portion of the vacant time.

In the ruins of ancient castles which are to be found in different parts of the country, we have examples of the dwellings in which the kings, nobles, and dignified clergy of Scotland lived; but we will have occasion to speak of these more particularly hereafter, when we come to describe those which still remain within this county. The houses of the common people at this period, were huts of slight erection of turf or wood, often laid waste by war, and merely built for temporary accommodation. The towns contained chiefly wooden houses, which was the cause of their being so often burnt down. Stone houses, however, had been begun to be erected; for Roger de Quincy, constable of Scotland, granted to the monks of Scone his stone house at Perth, in the street leading to the north Inch. The people, although but rudely lodged, were generally well fed; and certainly enjoyed a much greater proportion of animal food than they at present do. Cattle, swine, and poultry were raised by them in abundance, and were chiefly consumed at home. Their bread was of wheat and oats. The war of independence no doubt, as we have seen, created repeatedly dreadful famines, which could not be relieved, as such calamities generally are in modern times; but, upon the whole, the people in these early days had generally a sufficient supply of animal food, of bread, and of beer or ale for their drink. The quantities of malt which was ground at the mills, and the existence of brew-houses in every village, show the great quantities of ale which was made and consumed.

The learning and knowledge of the period was entirely confined to the clergy. The nobles were so utterly ignorant that, to the period of the death of David II., and the accession of the Stuarts to the throne, it would be impossible to produce an instance of a single baron who could sign his name. The studies which were then held to form learning, were esteemed unworthy of their warlike and chivalrous character. For the common people no means of instruction whatever was provided. Yet there is evidence that schools existed in all the principal towns, under the superintendence of the clergy, in which youthful candidates for ecclesiastical preferment were instructed in grammar

and logic. Perth and Stirling had schools of this kind so early as 1173, of which the monks of Dunfermline had the direction. It is also probable that the monasteries formed schools, in which the young nobility received instructions to enable them to fill the higher offices in the church. There can be no question that, attached to the monastery of Saint Andrews, there stood a lyceum, where the youth were instructed in the Quodlibets of Scotus; and that as early as 1233, the schools of that town were under the charge of a rector.

In this age of darkness, there is one native of Fife who stands prominently forth for his knowledge in the literature and learning of the period, such as it was. This is Sir Michael Scott of Balwearie. After studying with unusual success at home, he went to Oxford, where he continued his studies for a time. He then visited France, Italy, and Spain, in the unwearied pursuit of such knowledge as the great universities in these countries afforded. Mathematics, astronomy, and the sister art of astrology, became his favourite pursuits. In Spain he acquired an intimate knowledge of the Arabic language, which, in the general ignorance of the Greek which then prevailed, was the only source from whence a knowledge of the Aristotelian philosophy could be obtained. He then removed into Germany, and lived for some time at the court of Frederick II., a prince the most eminent of his time, both for his own learning, and for the encouragement of learned men. At the request of the emperor he commenced his design of restoring the works of Aristotle to the learned of Europe, through the medium of translations from the Arabic; and it is extremely probable that before he ceased his labours, he had translated and commented upon the greater part of the works of the Stagyrite. The utility of this labour is certainly more than questionable; but as a mathematician and astronomer, Sir Michael is entitled to less questionable praise. His commentary on the "Sphere of Sacra bosco," was thought worthy of being presented to the learned world of Italy at so late a period as 1495. Besides, his translation of Aristotle, and his commentary on the sphere, he translated Avicennus' work on animals from the Arabic; and wrote a treatise on the Secrets of Nature, on the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in which he treats largely of a science, which was afterwards written on so ingeniously by Lavater, physiognomy. He also wrote a work on alchemy, entitled the Nature of the Sun and Moon; and a book entitled Mensa Philosophica. He is styled by Sir George Mackenzie, one of the greatest philosophers, mathematicians, physicians, and linguists of the times in which he lived; but Roger Bacon is not unsparing of his censure of Scott, and in no very measured phrase accuses him of being a plagiarist and an impostor. His study of astrology and alchemy, in that dark age, gave him, among his rude countrymen, the character of a prophet and magician; and it may be conjectured that it is to this circumstance rather than to the fame of the useless learning, which he had with so much labour acquired, that his name has been so long preserved among his countrymen. "Dempster informs us," says Sir Walter Scott, in a note to his Lay of the Last Minstrel, "that he remembers to have heard in his youth, that the magic books of Michael Scott were still in existence, but could not

be opened without danger, on account of the fiends who were thereby invoked. Lesly characterizes Michael Scott as '*Singulari philosophiæ, astronomiæ, ac medicinæ laude præstans; dicebatur penitissimos magæ recessus indagásse.*' A personage thus spoken of by biographers and historians, loses little of his mystical fame in vulgar tradition. Accordingly, the memory of Sir Michael Scott survives in many a legend; and in the south of Scotland, any work of great labour and antiquity is ascribed either to the agency of Auld Michael, of Sir William Wallace, or of the devil."

The civil and the canon laws were also objects of study with the clergy; and the records of the university of Paris, show that Scottish students had there distinguished themselves, and had risen to some of the highest situations in that eminent university. These scholars afterwards repaired to their own country, bringing with them the learning, the arts, and improvements of the continent. Besides this learning of the churchmen, there is reason to believe that many poems or romances were written in the Scoto-Saxon dialect of the time, and that their authors were held in high estimation. The few copies of these which existed have perished however; and the simple names of the authors, and an unsatisfactory notice of their poems is all that remain. Among these "Hucheon of the Aule Ryall," or Hugh of the Royal Hall, is celebrated by Wynton. The manuscript of Thomas Ercildoune's poem, published by Sir Walter Scott, has been pronounced by able antiquaries to belong to the middle of the fourteenth century, and is a very remarkable example of the literature of that age.

Where poetry was held in estimation, music could not be neglected, and accordingly Giraldus Cambrensis gives a remarkable testimony to the excellency of the Scottish music, during the reign of William the Lion. "In Ireland," says he, "they use for their delight only two musical instruments, the harp and the tabor. In Scotland we find three, the harp, the tabor, and the horn. In Wales they have also three, the harp, the pipe, and the horn. The Irish employ strings made of brass wire, instead of the gut of animals. It is the opinion of many at this day, that Scotland has not only equalled her mistress, Ireland, in musical skill, but has far excelled her, so that good judges are accustomed to consider that country as the fountain-head of the art." The church music, owing to the constant communication of the clergy with the continent, was in the same style with Italy and France. The organ, rude no doubt, but such as it was in other countries at the period, was in use in Scotland, so early as the marriage of Alexander III.

SECTION VII.

FROM A. D. 1371 TO A. D. 1424.

Robert II. crowned king.—A famine prevails.—Scotland invaded by England, and English fleet enters the Forth.—They suffer from famine and disease, and are obliged to retire.—French expedition under John de Vienne arrives in the Forth.—The troops are quartered in Fife and the Lothians.—This gives rise to dissensions with the inhabitants, which are increased by the conduct of the French.—Scots and French advance into England, are obliged to retire, and afterwards the French sail for the continent, where they arrive in great misery.—The war with England is continued by the Scots.—The earl of Fife invades England, and returns with great booty.—The earl appointed Regent.—His character.—Truce between France and England, to which the Scots accede.—Death of Robert II.—State of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures at this time. Robert III. crowned, continues the earl of Fife regent.—Truce with England renewed.—The king's eldest son created duke of Rothsay, and the earl of Fife duke of Albany.—The latter removed from the regency, and Rothsay appointed to the office, under the direction of a council.—Conspiracy against Rothsay.—He is imprisoned in the castle of Falkland, where he is allowed to perish miserably of hunger.—James earl of Carrick placed under the bishop of St Andrews.—Sails for France; is taken prisoner by the English; carried to London, and committed to the Tower.—Death of Robert III.—The duke of Albany declared Regent.—The opinions of Wycliff, the English reformer, attempted to be propagated in Scotland.—John Resby, an English priest, apprehended by the abbot of Lindores.—He is tried, condemned, and burned at Perth.—University of St Andrews founded by bishop Henry Wardlaw.—Albany uses every exertion to prevent the return of James I.—He dies, and his son Murdoch succeeds to the regency.—James at length restored.

ROBERT II., the first of the family of Stewart who ascended the throne, was crowned king of Scotland in March 1371 with great solemnity by the archbishop of St Andrews. The male line of the ancient earls of Fife having, as already mentioned, become extinct; and Robert, the second son of the king, having succeeded to the earldom by agreement with the heiress of the last earl Duncan, it is probable that the ancient ceremony of placing the king on the inaugural stone, which had arisen from the privileges granted by Malcolm Canmore to Macduff, was now omitted for the first time. At least in the account given of the ceremony nothing is said of its having been performed. The account which has just been given of the state of the country, under the several kings who had preceded Robert II. from the time of Malcolm, must have given some idea of the state of Fife at the period of the accession of the Steward. The value of the land in the county in the reign of Alexander III., and the high degree of prosperity to which the kingdom had attained at his death, have been stated; and the subsequent deterioration, with the cause which produced this, has been shown from the valuation taken in the reign of David II. During the latter portion of that king's reign, however, commerce had begun to increase, and agriculture must also have obtained greater opportunities of improvement than were allowed it during the long period of the wars with England.

For some years immediately succeeding the accession of Robert II., Scotland, in addition to other causes of distress, was visited by a grievous scarcity; and it appears that the whole of the nobility were supported by grain imported from England and Ireland. A famine such as this, which fell so heavily upon the higher classes, must have been still more severely felt by the body of the people. The weakness of Eng-

land, however, at this time formed the best security for Scotland; and accordingly both nations saw the advantage of remaining at peace. Some years of peace accordingly blessed the country, during which the king was wisely employed in improving the internal condition of his kingdom. Infractions of the truce on both parts at length began to take place, and in 1383, the earl of Lancaster, who then governed England under his nephew Richard II., invaded Scotland at the head of a numerous army, while a fleet of victualling ships entered the Forth. The result of his expedition was peculiarly unfortunate. He pushed on to Edinburgh, but recollecting the hospitality with which he had there been treated when in exile, he would not consent to the wish of his army that it should be sacked and destroyed. For three days parties of the Scots were engaged in carrying every valuable beyond the Forth; so that when the English army approached Edinburgh, they found nothing to supply their wants—which were numerous; and many died from hunger, cold, and a mortal disease which had broken out among them. Lancaster was obliged to make good his retreat as he was best able.

A period of two years in which the nation could be said to be neither at peace nor war now ensued, until 1385, when France, anxious to attack England on her own ground, sent an expedition to Scotland under John de Vienne, admiral of France, for the purpose of co-operating with the Scotch. This experienced leader arrived in the Forth with a thousand knights, esquires, and men-at-arms, the flower of the French army, besides a body of cross bowmen and common soldiers, forming altogether an army of two thousand men. He carried also with him fourteen hundred suits of armour for the Scottish knights, and fifty thousand francs of gold, to be paid on his arrival to king Robert and his nobles. The Frenchmen were warmly welcomed by the Scottish barons; and every endeavour made to accommodate them with lodgings. This, however, was impossible to be effected in Edinburgh, and many of them were therefore lodged in Dunfermline, and other towns on both sides of the Forth. Loud and grievous outcries arose in consequence from the burgesses, farmers, and yeomen of Fife and the Lothians; and this dissatisfaction was increased by the behaviour of the French, who appropriated to themselves, without the trouble of asking it, the best of every thing they saw, and assumed a superiority of demeanour which the Scots could not tolerate. Quarrels and contentions arose, and every method was adopted by the men of Fife and their neighbours on the other side of the Forth to get quit of their guests. All this is described by Froisart in his usual graphic and pleasant manner. "What evil spirit hath brought you here?" said the Scottish burgesses and peasantry to their unwelcome allies. "Who sent for you? Cannot we maintain our war with England well enough without your help? Pack up your goods and begone, for no good will be done as long as ye are here! We neither understand you nor you us. We cannot communicate together; and in a short time we shall be completely rifled and eaten up by such troops of locusts. What signifies a war with England? The English never occasioned such mischief as ye do. They burned our houses, it is true; but that was all, and with four

or five stakes, and plenty of green boughs to cover them, they were rebuilt almost as soon as they were destroyed." The French, however, were ill treated by deeds as well as words. The country people rose upon them, attacked and cut off their foraging parties; and before a month, a hundred of their men were slain, till at length none of them ventured to leave their lodgings.

The expedition, which was undertaken by the Scots in conjunction with their French allies, ended in a counter expedition on the part of the English, in which they burnt and destroyed wherever they came. The French knights and men-at-arms were reduced to the most miserable plight by the campaign, which was so unlike any they had been accustomed to; and they returned to Flanders, says Froisart, as wind or weather drove them, with neither horse nor harness, right poor and feeble, cursing the day that ever they came upon such an adventure, and fervently desiring that the kings of France and England would conclude a peace for a year or two, were it only to have the satisfaction of uniting their armies and utterly destroying the realm of Scotland. The war was continued with spirit on the part of the Scots after the departure of the French; and the weak and vacillating government of Richard favoured their undertakings.

The earl of Fife, accompanied by the earl of Douglas and Archibald lord of Galloway, made an incursion at the head of thirty thousand men across the Solway, and plundered the rich district of Cockermouth and the adjacent parts of Westmoreland, returning with great booty. Among the plunder, it is related by Fordun, that an ancient Saxon charter of king Athelstane, with a seal appended to it, was picked up by some of the soldiers and brought to the earl of Fife. It was extremely illustrative of the simplicity of the early Saxon times, and its brevity astonished the earl: "I, king Adelstane, giffys here to Paulan, Oddam, and Roddam, als gude and als fair, as ever thai myn war; and thairto witness Mald my wyf." The earl, in subsequent times, when governor of Scotland, was accustomed to recall to memory the brevity of king Athelstane's grant, and to compare it with the complicated and tediously wordy charters which came before him in the exercise of his office. Another successful inroad was made in 1388 under the earl of Fife, and the well known battle of Otterburn was fought by a portion of the Scottish army under the earl of Douglas.

King Robert was fifty-five years of age at his coronation; and at that time had lost much of the spirit of enterprise which he had possessed in his younger days. With his age, his indolence and his dislike to business increased, till at length the necessity of appointing a regent became apparent. John earl of Carrick, the heir to the crown, had received a severe injury by a kick from a horse, and from bodily weakness was unable to execute the duties of such an office. The earl of Fife, the king's second son, was therefore more of necessity than choice appointed regent of the kingdom in a parliament which was held at Edinburgh in 1389; and the king most willingly gave up farther interference in public affairs. The regent was an ambitious and designing man; and seems to have possessed a deep selfishness, which, if its objects were attained,

scrupled little as to the means used for the purpose of attaining them. He possessed little genius for war, and though his talent for civil government has been extolled by the ancient historians, many of his acts exhibit great weakness. Such was the man, who having possessed himself of the ancient earldom of Fife, probably not by the very fairest of means, was now appointed to the government of the kingdom. Not long after this appointment, a three years' truce was concluded between England and France, and a mutual embassy of French and English knights arrived in Scotland for the purpose of endeavouring to get the Scotch to join in the truce. The court was then held at Dunfermline, and there the knights repaired, when after some deliberation, it was agreed that Scotland should become a party to the cessation of hostilities. Robert, who had long sought anxiously for peace, now saw it likely to be attained; and retiring to his castle of Dundonald on the coast of Ayrshire, he there died in the same year in which his son had been named regent.

Agriculture seems to have been in a very deplorable condition in Scotland during the greater part of Robert's reign, arising out of the interruptions of labour by the ravages of foreign invasion, and the havoc which necessarily attended the march of even a Scottish army through the country. The isolated situation of Fife, however, must have caused it to suffer less in this respect than the fertile districts lying on the south side of the Forth, which were on all occasions exposed to both the invading and defending armies. Commerce was on the increase; and the trade from the towns on the east coast with Flanders was conducted with enterprise and activity. A Scottish merchant of this reign named Mercer, who had occasion for some time to reside in France, was in consequence of his great wealth admitted to the confidence and favour of the French sovereign. The cargo of a Scottish ship taken by the English, was valued at seven thousand marks, a very extraordinary sum when the period is considered. The home manufactures, we learn from Froisart, who travelled in the country, were at this time in a very low condition ; but this was to be expected, as arising from the same cause which depressed agriculture. The exports still continued to be wool, hides, skins, and wool fells.

Robert III., who was crowned in August, 1390, and who possessed much of the character of his father, continued to entrust his brother, the earl of Fife, with the government of the kingdom. The truce with England was renewed, and the league with France was solemnly prolonged and ratified by the oath of the Scottish monarch. A period of eight years of peace ensued, during which the country had an opportunity of breathing anew, and of devoting itself to the pursuits of peace. At a parliament held at Perth in April, 1398, the king created his eldest son David earl of Carrick, duke of Rothsay, and his brother the earl of Fife, duke of Albany. This is the first creation of dukes of which we have any account in Scotland. Rothsay, now past his twentieth year, although immoderately fond of pleasure, was obviously marked by a vigorous ambition, which showed that he would not long submit to be governed by, or kept under the control of his uncle Albany. Accordingly, before a year had expired, Al-

bany was removed from the government by a parliament held at Perth, and the duke of Rothsay was appointed regent in his stead, under the direction of a council of which Albany formed one. For the success which crowned this scheme, the unfortunate duke of Rothsay was destined soon very dearly to pay; and the county of Fife was to be made the scene of an occurrence which for barbarous cruelty was totally unexampled even amid the "great and horrible destructions, herschips, burning, and slaughter," which the acts of parliament that appointed him regent declare to have been so common at this time. This was the plot which ended in the cruel death of this unhappy prince.

His father the king seems to have long had fears for his safety from the machinations of his uncle; and from the time he had reached his thirteenth year, repeated instances occur of bonds or covenants entered into between the king and his nobles, having for their object the safety and defence of himself and his eldest son. We have already mentioned the fondness of the young prince for pleasure and gaiety, but amid all his thoughtlessness, he possessed a high sense of honour, courageous openness of character, which gave promise in time of reformation. The hatred of Albany to the prince had been restrained from breaking into open outrage by the influence of the queen and her two advisers, Trail, bishop of St Andrews, and Archibald the Grim, earl of Douglas. The death of the queen, and of the bishop and earl, who did not long survive her, while it deprived the duke of Rothsay of the mild influence of maternal control, opened the way for the ambition and machinations of Albany, who possessed unfortunately far too great an influence over the mind of the king. Rothsay broke into some of his accustomed excesses; and Albany persuaded his father to place him under a temporary control, to which his proud spirit was little inclined to submit. Sir John Ramorgny was one of the prince's companions, who by flattering his follies had gained great influence over his mind. This profligate possessed a character capable of any species of villany; but he was learned, and had great talents for business. Seeing the restraints under which the prince was kept through the influence of Albany over the mind of the king, Ramorgny hinted at a scheme of ridding him of his difficulties by the assassination of his uncle. The prince, although guilty of many follies, viewed this proposal with the greatest abhorrence; and did not hesitate to state his opinion of it in terms so bitter and contemptuous, as not likely to be forgiven by one of Ramorgny's character. He now became the determined enemy of the prince, joined in the machinations of Albany against him, and aided with all his determination of character the plot for his destruction.

It was the misfortune of the prince, that at this time his foolish excesses had raised up against him two powerful enemies. These were Archibald earl of Douglas, the brother of his wife, whom he had much neglected; and Sir William Lindsay of Rossy, whose sister he had loved, and afterwards forsaken. Private resentment, therefore, led these powerful noblemen to join in the plot now rapidly approaching a crisis. It was represented to the credulous and too easy monarch, by Ramorgny and Lindsay that the

excesses in which Rothsay indulged, required the exercise of a firmer restraint than had yet been used towards him; and such was the success of their statements, that they obtained an order under the signet of the king, for Albany to arrest the prince, and place him under temporary confinement.

At this time, on the death of a bishop, the king became the occupier of his castle, until the appointment of his successor. The period of the prince's government, which had been limited to three years, was now expired, and the regency had been resumed by the duke of Albany. Jealous of this, the duke of Rothsay seems to have formed the design of seizing the castle of St Andrews, unoccupied in consequence of the death of bishop Trail. The design was illegal on his part, and Albany receiving intimation of it, no doubt from Ramorgny, who still continued in the confidence of the unsuspecting prince, determined to take advantage of it for the purpose of executing the plot which had been formed. The prince set out on his expedition to St Andrews, accompanied by a small retinue; and when riding along, he was arrested by Lindsay and the traitor Ramorgny at Strathtyrum, near where the Gare bridge crosses the river Earn. He was carried instantly to the castle of St Andrews, where he was subjected to the strictest confinement, until the farther orders of the duke of Albany and the earl of Douglas should be received. Albany and Douglas, on being informed of the arrest of the prince, instantly advanced to St Andrews with a strong party of soldiers; and appeared before the castle on a stormy and tempestuous day. They dismissed the few servants who had attended the unhappy prince, and compelling him to mount a wretched horse, a coarse cloak was thrown over his splendid dress, and they rode rapidly to Falkland, then a castle belonging to Albany as earl of Fife. Arriving there, he was rudely thrust into a dungeon, and placed under the charge of two ruffians named Wright and Selkirk.

Rothsay now saw that his death was determined upon, but he could not have anticipated the horrid cruelty with which it was to be accomplished. He was kept for fifteen days without food, while the villains who were set over him, watched the agony of their wretched victim, and the slow approach of death. For a time his life was preserved by a poor woman who, in passing through the garden of the castle, had heard his groans; and approaching the grated window of his dungeon, which was level with the ground, heard his dreadful story. At night she stole towards the grating, through the bars of which she passed small pieces of cake which the prince greedily eat; and with a pipe she supplied him with her own milk for his drink. His inhuman guards, however, suspecting from the appearance of their victim, that in some secret manner he was supplied with food, watched and detected the charitable visitor. She was in future prevented from renewing her visits, and the prince was left to his fate. Nature soon sunk from want of food; and the body was found in the most wretched state. It appeared that in the extreme agonies of hunger, he had gnawed, and torn, and endeavoured to eat his own flesh. The body was immediately carried to the abbey of

Lindores, where it was privately buried; and a report was immediately put in circulation that he had died of dysentery.

The public, however, were not to be deceived, and the duke of Albany was generally and loudly accused of the murder. The follies of the prince were forgotten in his horrid death; and men dwelt only on his good qualities, which even his errors had not been able to obscure. To exculpate himself, Albany produced the king's order for the arrest of the prince; and he affirmed that every thing had been done in consequence of the orders he had received. He defied any one to prove that the slightest violence had been exercised; and he appealed to the judgment of parliament. When parliament met, which was in May, 1403, Albany and Douglas were examined, and as a matter of course told their story their own way. No evidence could be produced to convict them, and it only remained for the national council to declare them innocent. A public remission was afterwards drawn up, under the king's seal, declaring their innocence, but in terms which seem conclusive of their guilt. Albany retained his situation as governor of the kingdom; and the dreadful fate of the unhappy Rothsay was soon forgotten, except by those who wanted power to revenge it.

Fears now began to be entertained that the designs of Albany might reach to the life of the king's only remaining son, James earl of Carrick; and means were therefore taken for his safety. In 1403 he was placed under the charge of Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, a loyal prelate, nephew to cardinal Wardlaw, and like him, famous for his eminence as a scholar and his attention to literature. At this time James was a boy of fourteen years of age, and he continued for some time to be bred under the eye of the bishop in all the learning, manly exercises, and accomplishments befitting his high rank and promising talents; and about two years afterwards he had the additional advantage of the presence and advice of the warlike earl of Northumberland, who having fled from England after the failure of the attempt to dethrone Henry IV., had, with his grandson Henry Percy, found an asylum in the castle of St Andrews. This great nobleman must have been of much use in advancing the instruction of the young prince in all the chivalric exercises of the age. The continued intrigues of Albany, however, filled the bosom of the king with fears for his son; and it was considered, that notwithstanding the advantages he enjoyed, Scotland was no fit place of residence for him. It was resolved therefore to send him to France, then considered the most fitting school for a youth of his high rank; and leaving St Andrews he proceeded to North Berwick, where he embarked, attended by the earl of Orkney, Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, and a small retinue. The ship sailed with a fair wind, and no fears were entertained of their safety, as a truce then existed with England. The prince had been, however, but a few days at sea, when the ship was captured by an armed merchantman belonging to Wye, and was carried a prisoner to London, where he and his attendants were committed by Henry to the tower. Henry was deaf to any remonstrances which were made to him by the aged king; and Albany, instead of resenting so gross a breach of the law of nations, looked upon it as one of the best events which

could have occurred. The aged king did not long survive the captivity of his son; and the duke of Albany was left in possession of what he had so long basely intrigued to obtain, the undisturbed possession of the government of the kingdom.

During the latter part of the reign of Robert III., the commercial relations of the country with England appear to have increased, and to have been prosecuted with great activity. Many of the prisoners who were taken at the battle of Homildon hill obtained letters of safe conduct from Henry, travelled home, and returned to England with cargoes of wool, fish, or cattle, with which they procured their ransom. One circumstance, however, shows that the agriculture of Scotland was still in a depressed state, and this is, that the ransoms of English captives at this time were usually paid in grain. Commerce too received occasional checks from the piracies of English cruisers and armed merchantmen, which on the slightest occasion were ready to make prize of any vessels they met with, French, Flemish, Genoese, or Scottish; and even at this early period English ships began to insist on that right to the dominion of the seas, which the navy of great Britain has since so proudly maintained. Henry generally showed himself willing to redress the grievances sustained by Scottish merchants, and anxious for the continuation of the trade between the two countries. At an earlier period, the Scottish ships had generally the advantage of the English in naval conflicts; but we now find that the English had in naval matters either advanced before them, or that the power of the Scots had suffered a diminution.

The duke of Albany was chosen regent by a parliament which assembled at Perth in 1407, a declaration having been first made, that the crown belonged of right to James earl of Carrick, then a captive in England, who was their lawful king. Peace with England was an important object with the regent, and although this proceeded from selfish motives, the period of quiet which ensued was extremely beneficial to Scotland. The intercourse with England which was now going on, led to an attempt to propagate in that country the doctrines of Wycliff the English reformer; and the dreadful flames of religious persecution were now to be kindled by the supporters of the Catholic faith. An English priest, named John Resby, appeared in Scotland in 1407, and was active in propagating the doctrines of the reformer. For some time he remained unnoticed, but at length the truth, the boldness, and the novelty of his opinions roused the fears of the clergy. He was seized by Laurence, abbot of Lindores, an eminent doctor of theology, and imprisoned at St Andrews, after which he was brought before a council of the clergy, where this inquisitor was the presiding judge. He was accused of holding forty different heretical opinions; amongst which were, his denying the pope to be the vicar of Christ, or the successor of St Peter, and that none could claim to be so who led a wicked life,—and a contemptuous opinion of the utility of penances and auricular confession. Resby was considered by the people an excellent preacher, but his eloquence had little effect on his judges. His written opinions, and the arguments with which he supported them, were triumphantly confuted by Lawrence of Lindores; and this brave and good advocate for the truth and simplicity of

the doctrines of Christ was condemned to the flames, and delivered over to the secular power for punishment. He was burnt at Perth, with all his books and writings, in the year 1408. This is the first example of martyrdom for religious opinions in the history of the Scottish Church; and it was followed by the usual effects of such exhibitions—increased zeal on the part of those who had adopted his opinions. These opinions were not disseminated openly, but people met in secret, read his pamphlets, and debated his doctrines. His principles were secretly cherished, and in a few years they appeared with renewed strength, and with a more determined spirit of proselytism. The regent had encouraged the persecution of Resby, and it is not unlikely that among the opinions of this reformer, there were some which regarded the origin and nature of the power of the civil magistrate and the rights of the people, which were disagreeable to his ears.

The county of Fife, however, was now to be the scene of a spectacle as grateful and pleasant, as the most of the circumstances which we have been hitherto recording, were revolting and disagreeable. This was the foundation of the university of St Andrews by the learned and worthy prelate Henry Wardlaw, bishop of the see. To this good man belongs the immortal honour of having founded the first university in his native country—of being, as it were, the father of the infant literature of Scotland. The lady Dovorguil, the wife of John Baliol, had established Baliol college in the University of Oxford in the thirteenth century; and a bishop of Moray had instituted the Scots college at Paris in 1326. It was reserved, however, for the enlightened understanding of Henry Wardlaw to afford the means of education to his youthful countrymen, without their being under the necessity of visiting foreign countries for the purpose of obtaining it. The names of the first professors have been preserved, and are worthy of being repeated. Laurence of Lindores, whose zeal for the catholic faith has so recently been seen, explained the fourth book of the sentences of Peter Lombard. Richard Cornel, archdeacon of Lothian, John Litstar, canon of St Andrews, John Sheviz, official of St Andrews, and William Stevens, afterwards bishop of Dumblane, expounded the doctrines of the canon law, from its simplest elements to its most profound speculations. John Gill, William Fowles, and William Crosier, delivered lectures on philosophy and logic. These learned persons began their labours in 1410; but it was not till 1413, that the university received the sanction and authority of the pope for its institution. On the 3d of February that year, Henry Ogilvie, master of arts, who had been sent for the purpose, returned from Italy with the papal bull, on which occasion, universal festivity and joy pervaded the city, and the bells of the different churches rung a merry peal. The following Sunday, the bulls containing the privileges of the university were presented, in the refectory of the monastery, which was splendidly fitted up for the occasion, to the bishop, who, arrayed in his pontificals, was surrounded by the dignitaries of the church in their richest dresses. The bulls having been read, they proceeded to the high altar, where *Te Deum* was sung by the whole assembly, consisting of bishops, prebends, priors, and other dignitaries, whilst four

hundred clerks, besides novices and lay brothers in front of the altar, and an immense number of spectators, bent their knees in gratitude and adoration. High mass was celebrated, and the remainder of the day was spent in mirth and festivity. In the evening, bonfires were lighted, the bells of the churches rung, and processions of the clergy walked through the streets. The people indulged in songs, and played on musical instruments. The wine cup flowed, the dance succeeded, and all was mirth and boisterous enthusiasm.

During the entire regency of the duke of Albany, it was his policy, by every effort in his power, to prevent the return of the young king to Scotland, and when he died in 1419, James being still a captive, Murdoch, the duke's son, succeeded not only to his titles of duke of Albany and earl of Fife, but to the authority and name of governor. Murdoch, however, was ill fitted for the situation, and Scotland soon became under him, one scene of rude anarchy and confusion. The necessity of the king's restoration soon became apparent, and Archibald earl of Douglas, the most powerful noble in Scotland, interested himself greatly to have this end attained. At length, after much negotiation, Henry consented to liberate his captive, and James returned to Scotland in 1424, after an absence of twenty years, accompanied by his queen Johanna, daughter of the earl of Somerset, whom he had recently married. Unjust as the conduct of Henry had been in detaining James in England, that monarch had certainly bestowed the greatest care upon his education. He was instructed in all warlike exercises, and in the high bred observances and polished manners of the school of chivalry. He was learned in every art and science of the age, and his mind and imagination were deeply imbued with the graces of poetry, of which Chaucer and Gower had given such bright examples to England. He had studied the art of government, and made observations on the mode of administering justice in a country which had been earlier civilized, and was more advanced in the knowledge of law, than that he was destined to govern. Under Henry V. he studied the art of war from one of the greatest captains England had produced.

SECTION VIII.

FROM A. D. 1424 TO A. D. 1436.

James and his Queen crowned at Scone.—Placed on the inaugural stone by Murdoch, duke of Albany, as Earl of Fife.—Resolves on punishing those who had been accessary to his detention in England.—The duke of Albany, his sons, the Earl of Lennox,—Sir Robert Graham, and twenty-six other noblemen and barons seized and imprisoned.—The duke of Albany's castles of Falkland and Doune taken possession of by the king.—The duke, his two sons, and the Earl of Lennox, tried, condemned, and executed at Stirling.—The other noblemen apprehended, are liberated, and reconciled to the king.—Law passed, against heretics, and Lollards.—Enactments regarding commerce—Embassy from Flanders—Laws regarding agriculture.—Dreadful pestilence ravages the country.—Paul Crawar, a Bohemian physician, suffers martyrdom.—James I. murdered at Perth.

JAMES and his queen were crowned at Scone in 1424; nor was the ancient ceremony of placing him on the inaugural stone omitted. This was performed by the late governor, Murdoch duke of Albany, as earl of Fife. Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, the faithful prelate to whom his early education had been committed, had at length the satisfaction of anointing his royal master with the consecrated oil, and of placing the crown upon his head. James no sooner found himself established on the throne of his father, than he seems to have determined on punishing those he conceived were to blame for his long detention in England, and for the anarchy and confusion in which he found his kingdom at his return. At a parliament held at Perth, duke Murdoch and lord Alexander Stewart, his youngest son, were suddenly arrested; and immediately afterwards twenty-six other noblemen and barons shared the same fate. A short time previous to this, the king had imprisoned Walter, the eldest son of duke Murdoch, the earl of Lennox, and Sir Robert Graham. The duke of Albany was confined at first in the castle of St Andrews, and afterwards in that of Caerlaverock; his eldest son was imprisoned in the castle of the Bass, which belonged to Sir Robert Lauder; and Lennox and Graham were committed to Dunbar. The castles of Falkland and of Doune, the residences of the duke of Albany, were now seized by the king; and in the latter was found Isabella the wife of Albany, a daughter of the earl of Lennox, who was immediately committed prisoner to the castle of Tantallon.

A court was held with great pomp and ceremony at the palace of Stirling, in May following, at which Walter Stewart, the eldest son of the duke of Albany, was brought to trial, found guilty of the crime for which he was tried—robbery, and condemned to death. His fate excited sympathy and commiseration among the people. On the following day, the duke of Albany, his second son Alexander, and his father-in-law, the aged earl of Lennox, were tried, found guilty, and likewise condemned to death. They were publicly executed on that fatal eminence in front of Stirling castle, popularly

called the Heading Hill. The earldom of Fife, with all its manors and castles, were forfeited to the crown; and the castle of Falkland, which had been so long a principal residence of the ancient race of Macduff, now became a royal palace. The other noblemen who had been arrested along with the duke at Perth, were all liberated, some of them previous to his trial, as seven of them sat among his jury, and joined in his condemnation. James now proceeded to legislate for his people; but it was his misfortune that his views on this subject were in many instances in advance of the age in which he lived, and were looked upon with suspicion by the nobles who had so long acted beyond the control of law.

The principles of the reformation, it appears, had been during this period secretly extending and increasing, and the clergy, alarmed for their power, requested and obtained from James a law against heretics and Lollards; and thus an attempt was made to check the light of truth, which, however, was in time to burst forth beyond the power of the benighted supporters of the Romish faith to suppress or control.

Throughout the whole reign of James I., considerable attention seems to have been paid by him to the encouragement of the rising commerce of the country; though many of the enactments made were dictated by that narrow and jealous spirit which pervades the early commercial policy of almost all nations. One of these was peculiarly inquisitorial, and must, in many instances, have retarded the advancement of enterprising individuals, and in others must have entirely prevented the possibility of their entering into commercial speculations. This enactment was, that no merchant should be permitted to pass the sea for the purposes of trade, unless he either possessed in property, or at least in commission, three serplaiths of wool, or the value of such in merchandise, to be *determined by an inquest of his neighbours*, under a penalty of forty-one pounds to the king, in the event of being found guilty of disobeying the law. A serplaith contained eighty stones, so that a merchant, in order to be allowed to trade, must have possessed two hundred and forty stones of wool, or its value.

During the captivity of James, the Flemings, who were allies of England, had committed many hostilities upon the Scottish merchants and their ships, in consequence of which, the king, as a punishment, had ordered the staple of the Scottish commerce in the Netherlands to be removed to Middleburgh, in Zealand. The Flemings, feeling the loss of this branch of their trade, sent an embassy to Scotland on the subject. The envoys arrived in 1425, and found the king at the castle of St Andrews, where he was engaged with his nobles and barons in celebrating his birthday. They were received by James with the highest distinction, who at once entered on the subject of their mission. It was agreed that the staple of trade should be restored to the Netherlands, but the king took care to secure for his subjects more enlarged privileges than they had ever yet enjoyed.

In these days, not only did the burgesses and citizens engage in commerce as a profession, but it was not deemed beneath the dignity of the wealthier clergymen and barons, or even the king, to increase their wealth by adventuring on commercial specu-

lations. In 1408, the earl of Douglas freighted a vessel with one or two supercargoes, and a crew of twenty mariners, to trade to Normandy and Rochelle. Next year the duke of Albany was the proprietor of a vessel which carried six hundred quarters of malt, in all probability the produce of his estates in Fife, and was navigated by a master and twenty-four sailors. At a still later period, the Mary of Leith obtained a safe conduct from the English king to unship her cargo, which belonged to his dear cousin, James, king of Scotland, in the port of London, and expose the merchandise for sale; and not many years after this, James Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, built a great ship called the St Salvator, which was popularly called the bishop's barge. This ship was employed in trading with foreign countries, and continued after bishop Kennedy's death to be the property of the see, till the reign of James III., when she was wrecked near Bambourgh, and plundered by the English of a very valuable cargo, for which Edward IV. paid a partial compensation of five hundred merks.

Agriculture also received the fostering care of James, but in this, as in his commercial legislation, although there were many enactments favourable, there were others equally tending to retard improvement. It was ordained that every man, of such simple estate as made it reasonable that he should be a labourer or husbandman, should either combine with his neighbour to pay half the expense of an ox and a plough, or dig every day a portion of land seven feet in length, and six feet in breadth. In a subsequent parliament, it was enacted that every farmer and husbandman, who possessed a plough and eight oxen, should sow, annually, a firlot, or four Scottish pecks of wheat, half a firlot of pease, and forty beans, under a penalty of ten shillings, to be paid to the baron of the land for each infringement of the law; whilst the baron himself, if he neglected to sow the same quantity within his own demesnes, or omitted to exact the penalty from an offending tenant, was made liable in a fine of forty shillings for every offence, to be paid to the king. The small quantity of beans here mentioned makes it highly probable, that they were at this period beginning to be introduced, for the first time, into Scottish agriculture.

Previous to 1429, the poor tenants and labourers of the soil had been often reduced to great distress, by being dispossessed of their farms, and turned out of their cottages, whenever their landlords chose to grant a lease of the estate, or to dispose of it to a new proprietor; and such was the enslaved condition of the people of Scotland at this time, and the influence of the feudal laws, that, although desirous of doing so, the king had it not in his power to remedy this grievance. James made it a request, however, to his prelates and barons, when met in parliament on the 26th April, 1429, that they would not summarily remove the labourers and husbandmen from any lands of which they held unexpired leases for the space of a year after the lease or sale they had entered into, unless they proposed to take the lands into their own hands, and keep them for their own use. This may be regarded as the first step towards giving tenants a real right of tack in land, as it certainly was the most important for the advancement of agriculture of any attempt at legislation, which had yet been made on the subject. It

was fully conceded to the great body of the farmers and labourers, about twenty years afterwards, and became a part of the law of the country.

The laws which were likewise enacted against those who stole green wood, stript the bark off trees under cover of night, or who should break into orchards to steal the fruit, clearly mark the attention which the nobles and gentry were beginning to pay to the enclosure of their parks, and the cultivation of ornamental wood around their castles. From the result of a tax laid on in 1424, of twelve pennies on the pound of rent, or other branches of income, it appears that the annual income of the people of Scotland at this time was two hundred and eighty thousand merks, equal to three millions of pounds of modern sterling money. And in this was not included the lands and cattle employed by landholders in their own husbandry, which were particularly exempted from the tax.

For three years a dreadful pestilence, which first appeared at Edinburgh in February, 1430, ravaged Scotland. It appears to have been different from those pestilences which had visited the country on three previous occasions, and is denominated by Bower the "pestilentia volatilis." The sudden appearance which this disease made in various parts of the country at different times, was the cause of his giving it this appellation of volatile; and it seems on this account, as well as from its dreadful nature, to have excited great terror and alarm. The eastern portion of Fife appears for a time at least to have remained free from this dreaded visitant, as in a parliament held at Perth in October, 1431, it is ordered that the collectors of the land tax should be obliged to arrange their accounts on the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin next to come "at Perth, provided the pestilence be not there, and if it is there, at St Andrews." That part of the country, therefore, had not been visited by it. The terror of the plague was much increased by the occurrence of a total eclipse of the sun on the 17th of June, 1432. The obscuration began about three o'clock in the afternoon, and, for half an hour, caused a darkness deep as that of midnight. It was long remembered in Scotland by the name of the Black hour.

It has been already mentioned, that, notwithstanding the martyrdom of Resby, and the laws passed by James, at the instigation of the clergy, against heretics and Lollards, there were still many who secretly held these opinions. This seems to have become known to the citizens of Prague, who had adopted the tenets of Wickliff; and they became desirous of opening up an intercourse with their brethren in Scotland. They accordingly sent for this purpose Paul Crawar, a Bohemian; he was a physician, and came to Scotland with letters which spoke highly of his eminence in his art. Undaunted by the fate of Resby, he seized every opportunity of disseminating the genuine declarations of the Bible, and of attacking the erroneous doctrines of the established church. Lawrence of Lindores, the inquisitor, immediately arraigned him before his court, and entered into a laboured refutation of his doctrines. In Crawar he found a courageous and an acute opponent. Deeply read in the sacred Scriptures, and having the power of quick and appropriate quotation, he was skilful in debate, and the

inquisitor found the discussion no easy task. The doctrines which Crawar taught were those of Wickliff; and it seems certain that he made many converts. The Bible, he maintained, ought to be freely communicated to the people; that, in a temporal kingdom, the civil ruler should be above the spiritual power, and magistrates had a right to try and punish delinquent ecclesiastics and prelates. He declared purgatory to be a fable, the efficacy of pilgrimages an imposition, the power of the keys, the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the ceremony of absolution, delusions and inventions of man. In the celebration of the Lord's Supper, he and his adherents had departed entirely from the gorgeous and unmeaning ceremonies of the established church, and performed it with greater simplicity.

Lawrence of Lindores, although he might be unable to confute, found no difficulty in his way in bringing to trial, and condemning the Bohemian physician; and as he refused to renounce his opinions, he was burned at St Andrews, giving up his life for the truth with cheerful, yet subdued resolution. It is lamentable to see Lawrence of Lindores, of whom we had recently occasion to speak, as one of the first professors in the newly erected university of St Andrews, taking the lead in such a transaction; but he, although unquestionably a man of talent and learning, appears to have been a stern and cold enthusiast for the catholic church, and the domination and power of the clergy. But it is still more a subject of regret to perceive a character, otherwise so excellent, as that of bishop Wardlaw, sanctioning such proceedings. The probability is, however, that he had not power to control or alter the decisions of the inquisitor; and such actions ought more properly to be attributed to the spirit of the age, which few men have the power to rise above, or to resist.

The death of James I., who was cruelly murdered at Perth, on the night between the 20th and 21st of February, 1436, again left Scotland, exposed to all the miseries of a minority arising from the struggles for power of a factious and turbulent nobility. During the greater part of the reign of James, John Lumisden of Glengarnock was sheriff of Fife

SECTION IX.

FROM A. D. 1436 TO A. D. 1488.

Minority of James II.—Miseries of the people.—A famine occurs, followed by pestilence.—Laws against forestalling.—Excessive power of the house of Douglas.—The bishop of Saint Andrews, appointed chancellor of the kingdom, endeavours to repress it.—The Earl of Crawford, and other confederates of the Earl of Douglas, ravage the bishops' lands in Fife and Angus.—They are excommunicated by the bishop.—Treaty of commerce with the united provinces.—Death of James II.—St Salvator's college founded at St Andrews.—Death of Bishop Kennedy.—Patrick Graham appointed to the see.—Opposed by the Boyds.—Goes to Rome, and is confirmed by the Pope.—Obtains St Andrews to be erected into an Archbishoprick, and is appointed legate for Scotland.—The clergy still oppose him.—He is excommunicated, and becomes insane.—Sheviz, the archdeacon of St Andrews, is appointed archbishop.—Invasion of Scotland by the English.—Their fleet enters the Forth, is attacked and defeated by Sir Andrew Wood, who receives a grant of the lands and village of Largo—Dissensions between James III. and his nobility.—Lauder Bridge.—Battle at Bannockburn.—Death of James.

THE minority of James II. affords hardly any facts of sufficient importance to require being detailed in this work. The whole nobility seem to have been engaged either in combinations and plots, for obtaining possession of the royal person, or in petty quarrels, assaults, and bloody retaliations among each other. The effect of this state of society was oppression and misery to the great bulk of the people. Bower, the continuator of Fordun, speaks from his own personal observation of the sufferings of the people of Scotland during the minority of James. "Long appears to us, O king," says that historian, "the time of thy arrival at majority, when thou mayest be able to deliver us, confounded as we are with daily tyranny, oppressed with rapine and spoil; when thou mayest dictate laws and exercise justice, that the poor, who among us have no helper but God and thee, may be freed from the hand of the powerful. Mayest thou remember that thou art a legislator, in order that thou mayest crush the robber, and restrain those who deal in rapine." "The groans of the humble," he continues, "and the miseries of the poor, whom I myself, who write this, have seen this very day, in my own neighbourhood, stripped of their garments, and inhumanly despoiled of their domestic utensils, constrain me to exclaim with him, who says, 'I have seen the injuries which are done, the tears of the innocent, and no comforter; and that the destitute cannot resist violence. I have praised the dead more than the living; and happier than both have I esteemed the unborn, the sole stranger to the evils of this world.'" In comparing the reign of the first James with the minority of his son, he adds, "Woe to us miserable wretches, exposed to rapine and injury, how can we endure to live, who enjoyed such prosperity in the days of that illustrious king, and now, by a sad change of fortune, experience the complete reverse."

In addition to these horrors of anarchy and intestine feuds, with which the people were affected, the miseries of famine and pestilence were soon to follow. In 1439, the famine became so severe, that multitudes of the poorer people died of absolute want.

The boll of wheat then generally sold at forty shillings, and the boll of oatmeal at thirty. In England the famine was also grievously felt, and there the price of wheat rose from the usual price of five shillings and fourpence the quarter to one pound, and, in 1440, to one pound four shillings. Want and unwholesome food produced a mortal sickness of the nature of a dysentery, of which great numbers died. A pestilence likewise visited Scotland of so dreadful a nature, that it was called "The pestilence without mercy." "Thar take it nain," says an ancient historian, "that ever recoverit, bot thei deit within twenty-four houris." The pestilence again returned in 1457, when laws were made for its "governaunce," the principal object of which seems to have been to shut up those infected in their own houses, so as they might not "fyle the cuntre about thame," and ordaining that there should be processions of the clergy twice a week.

The opinion generally prevailed, that the miseries of these scarcities, which we have seen from time to time occurring, were increased by the desire of those, who either grew corn, or purchased it for sale, to keep up what was in their possession, for the purpose of enhancing its price; and, for ten years afterwards, we find parliament legislating on the subject. In order to prevent that grievous calamity, a dearth of provisions in the land, the sheriffs, bailies, and all other officers, both without and within burghs, were strictly ordered to discover, arrest, and punish all persons who were in the custom of buying victual and corn, and hoarding it up till the occurrence of a dearth, and all provisions so found hoarded, are directed to be escheated to the king. In addition to this, whilst free liberty is given to all to buy or sell victual as they pleased, either on the north or the south side of the Forth, it is strictly prohibited that any person should have old stacks of corn in his farm-yard later than Christmas; and it is enjoined, that no burgess nor other person buying victual for the purpose of sale, shall be allowed, within or without the burgh, to lay up a great store of corn, which they keep out of the market till the ripening of the next harvest, but they are only to have as much grain in their possession as is requisite for the support of themselves and their families.

The inordinate power of the house of Douglas formed a fruitful source of disturbance to Scotland during the reign of James II. William, the eighth earl of that house, had the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom conferred upon him, while the king was yet a boy of thirteen years of age, in consequence of the plots of the different parties who sought to keep possession of his person, and thus to misrule the country in his name. This power, in the hands of such a person, was soon found to be incompatible with the safety of the sovereign, or the good government of the kingdom. Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, who foresaw the danger, and who was distinguished by his talents, learning, integrity, and high birth, now stood forward as the defender of the king against the faction who kept possession of his person. He was appointed chancellor of the kingdom, and, in his double capacity of head of the church and chancellor, there were few matters which did not come within the range of his inquir-

ing spirit. By his great influence, he was enabled to counteract the designs of Douglas, which seemed to aim at the crown; and, by his wise counsels, to guide and direct the youthful monarch.

He was soon, however, made to feel the weight of the task which he had undertaken, by the fierceness of the resentment with which his interference was met. On the instigation of the earl of Douglas, the earl of Crawford, with Alexander Ogilvy, Livingston, governor of Stirling castle, lord Hamilton, and Robert Reach, a wild Highland chief, the ancestor of the Robertsons of Strowan, * assembled an overwhelming force, with which they entered the lands of the bishop in Angus and Fife, and ravaged and laid them waste in the most savage and indiscriminate manner. The vassals and tenants of the bishop were led captive, their granges and villages destroyed with fire, and the only estates probably in Scotland, which, from their situation, and the enlightened management of this prelate, had been brought under any thing like a system of proper agriculture, were given up to the most dreadful havoc and desolation. The bishop, deeply indignant at the outrage, summoned the earl of Crawford to repair the damage; but that baron proudly refused to do so. On learning this, the bishop, in his cathedral at St Andrews, proceeded with that pomp and ceremony, which was calculated to strike awe into the hearts even of these ferocious lords, to excommunicate the earl and his adherents, suspending them from the services and the sacraments of religion, and denouncing the extreme curses of the church, with mitre, staff, bell, book, and candle, against all who should presume to harbour or support them. The fate of the earl of Douglas, who fell under the indignant hand of James himself, and the defeat and flight into England of his brother, the ninth earl, put an end for ever to the ambitious projects of this proud branch of that noble and ancient house. The earl of Crawford was slain in the course of the following year, in attempting to prevent a combat from taking place betwixt his son, the master of Crawford, and his vassals, and Ogilvy of Innerquharity.

James II. made many enactments for the encouragement of commerce; and after his marriage with Mary of Guildres, he formed a treaty of perpetual friendship with the United States of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, and Zealand. A law was passed for the encouragement of small dealers attending fairs, by freeing them from the tolls and taxes previously exacted; and numerous provisions were made for the advancement of agriculture, and for the planting of wood and hedges. In the midst of his strenuous endeavours for the amelioration of his kingdom, he was killed at the siege of Roxburgh castle by the bursting of a cannon, leaving his eldest son, a boy of only eight years of age.

Kennedy, bishop of St Andrews, who had been the careful guardian, and afterwards

* This family is said to have sprung from the great sept of the M'Donalds. Their remote ancestor was one Duncan Croisda, or Duncan the cross-grained, a son of M'Donald, Lord of the Isles, in the reign of William the Lyon. From him they were called clan Donachie, or Duncanson: and in consequence of the fame of Robert Reach, who had apprehended Robert Graham, one of the murderers of James I., they afterwards adopted the patronymic of Robertson. Robertson of Strowan, the poet, who *was out* in 1715 and also in 1715, was descended from Robert Reach.

wise counsellor of James II., was intrusted with the chief management of affairs after his death; and certainly the choice could not have fallen on one better fitted for the task, either from probity, talents, or experience. But his death, which had been preceded by that of the queen mother, left the kingdom again, exposed to turbulence and misrule. This prelate was in every respect a remarkable man; his charity was munificent, active, and discriminating; and his religion as little tinctured with bigotry or superstition as the times in which he lived would allow. His zeal for literature was amply made apparent by the noble college (St Salvator's) which he founded at St Andrews in 1456, and which he very richly endowed out of his revenues.

Patrick Graham, the uterine brother of Kennedy, a worthy man, and a prelate of primitive simplicity, was chosen to succeed him; but this was opposed by the Boyds, who ruled every thing at court. The bishop elect, therefore, secretly left the country for Rome, and there obtained his confirmation from Pope Paul II. At this time the claim of the see of York, to the supremacy of the Scottish church, was under controversy; and Graham had the honour of convincing the pope (Sextus IV., successor to Paul) that the claim of the archbishop of York was completely unfounded. He, in consequence, obtained the see of St Andrews to be erected into an archbishopric, and the twelve bishops of Scotland were solemnly enjoined to be subject to it in all time coming. Graham farther induced the pope to appoint him his legate in Scotland, purposing, in his own mind, when he should return to make a determined effort for the removal of the many abuses which he felt had long deformed the Scottish church. The reception which he met with in Scotland was but a sorry requital for the exertions he had made for the honour and dignity of the church.

The bulls of the pope had been published previous to his arrival, and appear to have excited the envy of the bishops, while the nobility, who had fattened on the sale of church livings, were determined to counteract all his exertions for reform. He was accused of having intruded himself into the legation, and of carrying on a negotiation with the papal court without the consent of the king. On his arrival, he was summoned to answer these complaints, and interdicted from taking the title of archbishop, or exercising the office of legate. Sheviz, the archdeacon of St Andrews, a talented, but unprincipled man, had obtained great influence over the royal mind, by his skill in judicial astrology, and he was the determined enemy of Graham. He forged accusations against the archbishop; and agents were employed at Rome for the purpose of raising up imputations of heresy against him. His judges were bribed with money by his clerical enemies, and it is even said that the mind of the king was swayed by an offer of eleven thousand merks. The bankers and creditors to whom Graham was indebted, for sums expended in procuring the papal bulls, were instigated to demand premature payment; and the rector of his university forcing a quarrel upon him, dragged him before his court, and pronounced against him sentence of excommunication. Against this accumulated persecution Graham bore himself with meek and pious fortitude; but the unworthy conduct

of the king, who confirmed the sentence of the rector, entirely broke his heart, and threw him into a state of distraction, from which he appears never to have recovered. At last Sheviz procured him to be declared insane, and obtained the custody of his person. He was confined first in Inchcolm, and afterwards in the castle of Loch Leven, where he died, when Sheviz received the object of his guilty ambition, in being promoted to the vacant see.

Scotland, during a great part of the reign of James III., enjoyed the advantage of peace with England; but the full benefit which might have been produced by this circumstance, was prevented by the private feuds and intestine disorders which were continually arising between the nobles. The monarch, too, was unpopular with the great portion of his nobility, who despised his retired and secluded habits, and looked with the most profound contempt on those arts, the cultivation and encouragement of which formed his chief pursuit. It was, therefore, the policy of James to have continued at peace with England; but, instigated by the French government, he was so far blind to his own interests, as, in 1480, to declare war against that kingdom. This was followed on the part of both nations by mutual aggressions across the borders. James assembled an army, with which he marched towards England; but he was met by a nuncio from the cardinal legate in England, who exhibited a bull from the pope, commanding the king, under pain of excommunication, to abstain from war. The king felt obliged to pay obedience to this command, and he expected that Edward of England would also have been controlled by it. In this, however, he was disappointed, for that monarch, disregarding the command of the pope for the preservation of the peace of Christendom, attacked Berwick vigorously, though without effect; while his army broke into Scotland, carrying fire, bloodshed, and devastation, wherever they came; and a squadron of English ships appeared in the Frith of Forth. These were bravely attacked, and repulsed by Andrew Wood, then of Leith, who was now beginning to rise into eminence.

This great naval commander had previously rendered many services to James, both by sea and land, in peace and in war; for on the 18th of March, 1483, he received from the king a charter under the great seal, which on these grounds, and in particular for his eminent services in the defence of Dumbarton, when the English came to besiege it, granted to him and his heirs in fee, the lands and village of Largo in Fife. This charter was confirmed by James IV. in 1497. It seems probable that Andrew Wood was originally a merchant trader of Leith; and that his talents for naval warfare, which subsequently shone out so conspicuously, had been cultivated by the necessity of his being often obliged to defend his merchandise and ships from the piratical attacks then so common.

The treason, which had long been silently spreading among the great body of the Scotch nobility, broke out into actual violence in 1482, at Lauder, where the king had collected an army destined to attack England. Here the barons seized and executed several of James's favourites, whilst he himself remained a prisoner in their hands.

He was then conveyed to Edinburgh Castle, in which he was strictly confined for a time, under the charge of the earls of Athole and Buchan, his two uncles. By an arrangement between the nobles who were of the king's party, and those who had risen against him, James obtained his liberation; but new conspiracies were afterwards entered into, and the discontented barons getting possession of the king's eldest son, afterwards James IV., then in his fifteenth year, they excused their treasons under the shelter of his name.

As the boldness of their measures increased, the king became alarmed and when made aware that they had collected an army, at the head of which was the duke of Rothsay, whom they had proclaimed king, he formed the design of retreating into the north. Before, however, his preparations were completed the rebellious lords had advanced upon Edinburgh, his baggage and money were seized, and the unfortunate king had scarcely time to get on board one of the ships of Andrew Wood, and cross over to Fife, when he learned that the whole of the southern part of Scotland had risen in arms. Proceeding towards the north, James issued orders for assembling an army, and he speedily found himself at the head of a well-appointed force of thirty thousand men.

Among other barons who rallied round the standard of the king, was David, lord Lindsay of the Byres, a veteran commander of great talent and loyalty, who had served in the French wars. He appeared with a body of three thousand footmen, and a thousand horse which he had assembled in Fife and Angus,—the latter forming the principal chivalry of these counties. In the battle which followed, and which was fought on the celebrated field of Bannockburn, in June 1488 these levies, under the earl of Crawford, formed the centre division of the army, which was commanded by the king in person. The army of James was much inferior in numbers to that of his opponents, yet they fought with bravery and determination. Their efforts, however, were vain, they were finally defeated, and the unfortunate monarch was obliged to seek safety in flight. Falling from his horse, he was much bruised by the weight of his armour, and was carried into a miller's cottage at a hamlet called Miltoun, where he was basely murdered, it is said by a priest in the service of lord Gray, one of the rebel lords.

Robert Livingston of Drumry held the office of Sheriff of the County during part if not the whole of the reign of James II.; and Alexander Kennedy, during that of James III.

SECTION X.

A.D. 1488. TO A.D. 1513.

Sir Andrew Wood.—His interview with the rebel lords.—James IV. mistakes him for his father, new arrangement for the government of the country.—Lord Lindsay of the Byres appointed conservator of the peace of the county of Fife.—Joins in some attempts against James IV.—Summoned before the council.—Is defended by his brother Patrick.—Cultivation by James of the arts and sciences, and of navigation.—English piracies.—Fort built on Inch Garvie.—Scotch merchant ships attacked and plundered in the Firth.—Naval exploits of Sir Andrew Wood.—Building of the great Michael.—Expedition under the Earl of Arran—Invasion of England.—Battle of Flodden and death of James IV.—Laws passed as to education, literature and learned men.—Introduction of art of printing.—Agriculture—State of and laws regarding.—Agricultural population.—Burghs and their inhabitants.—Commerce and Scottish merchants.

The death of James was not for some time ascertained by the conspirators. Sir Andrew Wood's two ships, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, while sailing up and down the Forth, had been seen taking on board several men wounded in the battle, and it was supposed that the king having effected his escape, was on board of one of them. Messengers were sent to inquire if this was the case; and when it was returned for answer that he was not, the lords doubted the fact, insisting that Sir Andrew should appear before the council. To this the knight of Largo agreed, on condition that the lords Seton and Fleming should remain on board his ships as security for his safe return. Appearing before the council, he denied all knowledge of the king, and boldly reproached the nobles with their treason. Lindsay of Pitscottie, who in his history gives a simple yet graphic and circumstantial account of this interview—says, in a passage of great pathos, that on Sir Andrew Wood's entering the council-room, the young king mistook him for his father. The tale is affecting; but can hardly be credited, as there is no hint of any previous estrangement between the father and son; and James IV. was now sixteen years of age, and must have known his father's person well. The lords, irritated at the plainness with which Wood had spoken his mind to them, would willingly have punished him, but from consideration for the hostages which had been given for his safety, they restrained their angry feelings. On the arrival of the lords Seton and Fleming, they resolved to punish the brave sailor for what they were pleased to consider his insolence. The mariners of Leith, however, to whom they applied for the purpose, declined attempting so dangerous an enterprise, stating that no ten ships of Scotland dared attempt to attack the two ships of Sir Andrew Wood, such was their opinion of his naval skill, and the admirable manner in which his vessels were appointed with men and artillery.* The death of the unhappy James was soon fully ascertained; but Wood refused for a time to give in his adherence to James IV. This, however, he at length did, and ultimately became as loyal a servant and as great a favourite with the son, as he had previously been with the father.

* The Elder Barton, a man of great naval skill and much bravery, was one of the captains applied to on this occasion; but he decidedly and at once refused to attempt the undertaking.

In the first parliament which met after the accession of James IV., a new arrangement was made for the preservation of the peace of the country, under which the care of the county of Fife was committed to lord Lindsay of the Byres and the sheriff of the county. Some abortive attempts at insurrection were made during the early part of the reign of the young king, but they were speedily put down, and his government became daily more popular, as it became more successful. Notwithstanding his appointment as conservator of the peace of Fife, lord Lindsay, who had been a strong adherent of the late king, appears to have engaged in some of these attempts; for which, and also for his strenuous exertions in favour of his former master at the field of Bannockburn, he was brought to trial. The account given by Pitscottie of this trial, which took place before James in person and his council, is, as usual, minute and interesting, and highly descriptive of the people and of the times. Lord Lindsay was called upon to answer for his cruel coming against his majesty at Bannockburn, with the late king, giving him council to have "devoured the king's grace here present," for which purpose he had given him a sword and a good horse, to fortify him against his son. To this accusation, lord Lindsay, who was a rash man, and though brave in the field, not over politic for the council, gave a rough and unguarded answer, which but for the superior wisdom and address of his brother Patrick, might have been of unpleasant consequences to the honest nobleman. Patrick Lindsay, however, who was present on the occasion, asked and obtained liberty to speak for his brother; and pointed out a defect in the citation, which rendered it null. Lord Lindsay, and some other nobles who had been cited with him, were accordingly dismissed, on finding security to appear again when called on. The prosecution does not appear to have been revived, and lord Lindsay was so satisfied with the result of his brother's exertions in his behalf, that he exclaimed, "Verily, brother, you have fine pyit words; I would not have trowed that you had such words. By St Mary, you shall have the mains of Kirkforthar for that." Patrick Lindsay afterwards succeeded to the title, and became fourth Lord Lindsay of the Byres; but at the time his skilful defence of his brother and the other nobles gave great displeasure to the king, who declared he would make him sit where he should not see his feet for a year. He was immediately carried to Rothesay, where he was imprisoned in a dungeon of the castle, and kept in confinement according to the king's threat for a year.

The reign of James IV. was certainly the most brilliant period in the history of Scotland while a separate kingdom. The king patronised the useful arts and sciences, and in particular, navigation, which had hitherto been rather neglected by the Scottish monarchs. In the latter he was no doubt both assisted and encouraged by his brave commander, the knight of Largo, who had already done much to render the Scottish flag respectable, and was destined still farther to increase its fame. England had began to claim the naval pre-eminence it has now so long held, and its privateers had often made the trade of Scotland feel their power. Indeed the ships of England appear often to have entered the Frith of Forth, and even there to have captured and plundered Scottish merchantmen. In a charter, of date the 14th May, 1491, James, in the consideration

of the damage done to his subjects at sea, by the English and Dutch, grants the isle of Inchgarvie, between the Queen's ferries, to build a fortalice thereon to John Dundas of Dundas; with the constabulary thereof, and the duties on ships passing. Dundas did not build the fort, which was afterwards erected in 1510 by the king; but the terms of this charter show the injury the trade of Scotland had previously sustained.

About this period, though the exact date is not very clear, five English ships entered the Frith of Forth, and seized and plundered several merchant ships belonging to Scotland and to some of her allies. James and his council were indignant at the outrage, and eagerly desired to be revenged. Notwithstanding, however, their persuasions and promises of reward, none of the masters of the ships then in the harbours of the Forth would venture to attack the enemy, but Sir Andrew Wood on being applied to, readily undertook the enterprise. Amply furnished with men and artillery, Wood immediately proceeded with his two ships, the Flower and the Yellow Carvel, against the English, who were also well-appointed. He met his opponents opposite to Dunbar, and at once engaged with them, when a sanguinary and obstinate engagement ensued. The skill and courage of Wood at length overcame the superior force of the English; the five ships were taken and carried into Leith, and their commander presented to the king and council. Sir Andrew was well recompensed by James and his nobles, for his valour, and to this was added the loud voice of public fame.

The king of England (Henry VII.), indignant at the disgrace his flag had sustained, and that from a foe hitherto but little known on the sea, determined that signal punishment should be inflicted on the daring offender. He offered a large annual pension to any of his commanders who should capture the ships of Wood, and bring him prisoner. But the naval skill, the valour, and the uniform success of Wood had now become so well known, that few of the English commanders of ships felt inclined to attempt the deed. At length, however, one Stephen Bull, an English officer, engaged to take Wood, and bring him to Henry, dead or alive. Appointed to three stout ships, fully equipped for war, Bull sailed for the Forth, and, entering the Frith, cast anchor at the back of the isle of May. Wood, in the belief that peace had been established with England, had, in the mean time, gone to Flanders as convoy to some merchants' vessels. Bull, afraid that any mistake might occur, as to what he considered his destined prey, seized some fishing-boats, retaining the fishers on board his ship, that they might point out to him when they arrived, the ships of the brave Sir Andrew.

The English continued to keep a good look-out to sea, and at length one summer morning, immediately after sunrise, they discovered two vessels passing St Abbs head at the mouth of the Frith. The fishermen who had been taken captives were now sent to the tops, to give their opinion of the ships in sight. At first they hesitated to say whether the approaching vessels were Wood's or not, but on their liberty being promised them, they immediately declared them to be his. The English commander now ordered his men to prepare the ships for battle, distributing wine among them. The gallant Sir Andrew meanwhile was entering the Firth, without the least idea of

an enemy, till he perceived the three ships of England appearing from the shelter of the isle of May, prepared for combat. He instantly made similar preparations, and gave every encouragement to his men to meet the foe bravely. "These my lads," said he, "are the foes who expect to convey us in bonds to the English king: but by your courage and the help of God, they shall fail. Set yourselves in order—every man to his station. Charge gunners: let the cross-bows be ready; have the lime pots and fire balls to the tops; and the two-handed swords to the fore-rooms. Be stout—be diligent for your own sakes, and for the honour of this realm." Wine was handed around, and the Scottish ships resounded with cheers.

The sun having now arisen, fully displayed the strength of the English force; and the Scots saw the necessity of every precaution. By skilful management, Wood got to windward of the foe; and immediately a close and furious combat ensued, which lasted till night. The shores of Fife were, during the whole day, crowded with spectators, who, by their shouts and gesticulations, exhibited their alternate hopes and fears. At the close of the day, the combatants mutually drew off, and the battle remained undecided. The night was spent in refitting, and in preparations for the ensuing day. No sooner had morning dawned, than the trumpets sounded for the fray, and the battle was renewed, and continued with the greatest obstinacy. The ships, closely locked together, floated unheeded by the combatants, and before an ebb tide and a south wind drifted round the east coast of Fife till they were opposite the mouth of the Tay. The seamanship of Wood, and the valour of the Scottish sailors, at length prevailed, and the three English ships were captured, and carried into Dundee, where the wounded of both parties were landed, and every attention paid to them. The unfortunate English commander was afterwards taken to Edinburgh by Wood, who presented him to the king. James had then an opportunity of displaying that nobleness of mind, and royal magnificence, which in him, always conspicuous, was sometimes carried to a fault, but which endeared him to the people of Scotland. He bestowed gifts upon Bull and on his people, and freeing them from any ransom, sent them home with their ships as a present to the English king. At the same time, he desired them to inform their master, that Scotland, like England, could boast of brave and warlike sons both by sea and land; and he requested that England should no more disturb the Scottish seas, else a different fate would hereafter await the intruders. The king of England returned unwilling thanks, and concealed, in the mean time, his desire for revenge.

The success which had uniformly attended the naval enterprises of Wood, appears to have excited in James an ambition for possessing a fleet, which should render Scotland more powerful at sea than she had ever been under her previous kings. Yet although he used every exertion for this purpose, he was not always successful in his endeavours, nor in the means which he employed. Utility was sometimes sacrificed to splendour, and certainly never more evidently than in the building of a ship, called the Great

Michael, of such enormous dimensions, that Francis I. and Henry VIII. laboured in vain to imitate it. This celebrated vessel was larger and stronger than any ship England or France had ever possessed. Large quantities of timber were brought from Norway for the purpose of building her, after the oak forests of Fife, with the exception of that of Falkland, had been exhausted in her construction. Numbers of foreign and Scottish carpenters were employed in the work, under the almost daily inspection of the king himself, and at the end of a year and a day, the Great Michael was ready to be launched. She was two hundred and forty feet in length, but disproportionately narrow, being only thirty-six feet across the beams. Her sides were ten feet thick, and were obviously meant to defy the power of any artillery which could be brought against her. The expense of the construction of this vessel, exclusive of her furnishings of artillery and ammunition, is estimated at seven thousand pounds—a very large sum for the period, and for the limited income of James. The cannon carried by the Great Michael was very disproportionate to her size, amounting only to thirty-six, with three of a smaller size. Her crew consisted of three hundred sailors, one hundred and twenty gunners, and one thousand fighting men. The whole was put under the charge of Sir Andrew Wood, and of Robert Barton, another eminent Scottish mariner of the period.

Lindsay of Pitscottie seems to have had his doubts whether his readers would believe his account of the size of this great ship, which, as he says, "cumbered Scotland to get her afloat." To set all doubts at rest, therefore, he adds, "and if any man believe that this description of the ship be not of verity, as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tullibardin, and there afore the same, ye will see the length and breadth of her planted with hawthorn by the wright that helped to make her." As evidence of her great strength, he farther says, "when this ship past to the sea, and was lying in the road, the king gart shoot a cannon at her, to essay if she was wight; but I heard say, it deaved her not, and did her little skaith."

Notwithstanding the expense incurred in her construction, we do not find that this great ship was ever of much use, or that for some years she had sailed from the Frith of Forth. In 1513, when England, assisted by the emperor and the house of Austria, made an attack on France, James, alarmed for the safety of his ally, and apprehensive of subsequent danger to his own kingdom, ordered his fleet to prepare for sea. James Gordon of Letterfury, a son of the earl of Huntly, was, according to Leslie, appointed admiral, and ordered to conduct the earl of Arran, with about three thousand soldiers, into France. According to Lindsay of Pitscottie, the earl of Arran was both general of the troops and admiral of the fleet.* The lord Fleming was vice-admiral in the Margaret, and the lord Ross of Halket commanded the James. The exact number of ships forming this, the only fleet destined for war, ever equipped by the king of Scotland, has not been stated by any of our ancient historians; but it does not appear to have exceeded twenty. Among them, the Great Michael, the Margaret, and the James, are especially commemorated for their size and strength.

* From what subsequently occurred we should be inclined to think that the historian of Pitscottie was correct.

On the 26th of July the fleet sailed, the king remaining on board the Michael for the purpose of encouraging his troops, till they had passed the isle of May, when he landed. The subsequent conduct of the earl of Arran, and the fate of this armament, which had been so expensive to James, was very different from what must have been his expectations. No sooner had the fleet left the Forth, than the earl of Arran ordered sail to be made for Ireland, where, landing at Carrick-Fergus, he sacked and plundered it with great barbarity. This is evident from the poems of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who, in his History of Squire Meldrum, a gentleman of Fife, engaged in this expedition, represents the town as having been committed almost entirely to the flames, and squire Meldrum as exerting himself in protecting priests, friars, and females, from the ruthless soldiers. The first adventure detailed of him during this outrage, is his protecting a wealthy lady from robbery and violation. After committing this outrage, the originating cause of which, on the part of the earl of Arran, has not been very satisfactorily explained, that nobleman sailed for Ayr in the Clyde, where he deposited his spoils in safety.

James, justly enraged at the conduct of Arran, ordered Sir Andrew Wood to proceed immediately with a herald, in order to supersede Arran, and take the command of the fleet. Previous to his arrival, however, the earl had sailed with his ships for France. Of the exploits of Arran and his troops nothing is told; and the fate of the Scottish fleet is equally obscure. The king of France issued letters of general naturalization in his kingdom, to all the people of Scotland; and settled a pension for life on the earl of Arran, who about the end of the year returned to Scotland with a small portion of the fleet, which was subsequently left to rot in neglect. The remaining portion is said to have been sold in France; and in particular, the Great Michael was purchased by Louis XII. on the 2d of April, 1514, for forty thousand livres, from the duke of Albany, who sold it in name of the Scottish government. Buchanan gives a different account of the unfortunate termination of this expedition. He says that the fleet of Arran was scattered by tempests, and that the Michael was suffered to rot in the harbour of Brest. Buchanan, however, was an enemy of the Hamiltons, and was desirous of exaggerating the sufficiently disastrous result of the earl's conduct, with regard to this miserable affair.

It was the great misfortune of James that he cultivated the friendship of France, and could not remain at peace with England. He was successful in cultivating for a time all the arts of peace. Trade and commerce had continued steadily to increase during his government, and wealth to flow into the Scottish burghs, which, especially those upon the east coast, were rising in number and importance. Agriculture was beginning to be better understood, and the education of the people to be attended to. But the enmity of James to the English king was destined to bring destruction upon himself, a great portion of his nobles and the men of Scotland able to bear arms, and to plunge the nation again into all the anarchy of a minority; an event which had already, on more than one occasion, been so adverse to its improvement and civilization.

On the 22d of August, 1513, while the earl of Arran was with the fleet in France, James passed the Tweed into England with an army of one hundred thousand men, who had, on receiving his summons, crowded to his standard from every county of Scotland, and even from the distant isles. Some slight successes at first attended him; but on the 9th of September, he encountered the English army at Flodden, where he was killed, and his army totally defeated. The archbishop of St Andrews, a natural son of James, whose promising youth had been honoured with an eulogy by Erasmus, fell with his father, as did other churchmen of rank, and among those George Hepburn, bishop of the Isles, and the abbots of Kilwinning and Inchaffray. Of the nobles, twelve earls were killed—Crawford, Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassils, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn; besides thirteen lords, and five eldest sons of peers. The gentlemen of high rank and heads of families amounted to fifty. Of the commons, about ten thousand were left upon the field. Satisfied with the victory they had obtained, the English did not advance into Scotland, which, amidst her grief and despair for the calamity which had befallen her, was now but little prepared to meet them.

Instead of enlarging on the disasters and horrors of war, it is more pleasing to notice at greater length the progress which Scotland had made in civilization during the energetic reign of James IV. Education must be the foundation of all improvements in every country, and accordingly the advancement of this essential element in civilization did not escape the efforts of the king. By an act of Parliament, in 1494, it was "ordained through all the realm, that all barons and substantial freeholders, put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools at the age of six, or at the utmost, nine years; who are to remain at the grammar-schools till they have a competent foundation and good skill in Latin. After which they are to study three years in the schools of arts and laws, so that they may have knowledge in the laws, and by this mean, justice be administered through all the realm; those who became sheriffs or judges ordinary having proper understanding, and the poor being under no necessity of recourse to higher courts for every small injury. Any baron or freeholder failing without just cause, is to incur a penalty of twenty pounds." This act shows that learning had begun to be cultivated in Scotland; and it must have contributed materially towards its advancement. Accordingly many men of talent and learning began about this time to make their appearance.

Among these may be mentioned Dunbar, who is deservedly ranked among the chief of the early Scottish poets; Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, who translated Virgil into his native tongue; Kennedy, who flourished about the year 1490, and Robert Henryson, who was a schoolmaster at Dunfermline, and composed his apologues about the year 1500. Besides these, there were various others, now only known by the report of their successors. Sir James Ingles, abbot of Culross, is celebrated by Sir David Lindsay for his ballads, farces, and plays: Lindsay also speaks in praise of Kyd, Stewart, Galbreth, and Kinloch, as poets of the period. Among the writers in prose Mayor was one of the most noted. He studied at Oxford and Paris, and became a

professor at the Sorbonne, and afterwards at St Andrews. His history of Scotland is scholastic and meagre, but it revived that important branch of study, which seems to have been suspended from the termination of Bowar's work. The fabulous Boyce, whose work has tended to degrade the early history of his native country, was contemporary with Mayor; and, besides his history of Scotland, published lives of the bishops of Aberdeen, for which he deserves greater credit than his nominally more important work entitles him to. The Latin epistles of Patrick Panter, secretary to James IV., are elegantly written, and from their superiority to any received from the princes of other nations with whom James corresponded, afford evidence of his talents and high literary attainments. Scholastic theology had many distinguished students and professors; but we look in vain for any works on law, medicine, ethics, natural philosophy, or mathematics, during this period. The introduction of the art of printing into Scotland, which took place about 1508, while it forms another mark of the rise of learning during the reign of James IV., was afterwards to afford additional means for its preservation and its increase.

Agriculture was not neglected by parliament during this reign. An act was passed allowing the king to let all his lands in feu farm, to remain to heirs in perpetuity, so that it was not done in diminution of the rental, *grassum*, and other duties, and that the lease contained such clauses as should be considered necessary; and another ordaining all landed proprietors to form parks with deer, fish-ponds, rabbit-warrens, dove-cots, orchards, hedges; and to plant at least one acre of wood, where there were no great woods or forests existing. Among the prohibitory statutes one was made, ordering that no multure should be exacted for flour arriving at Leith; another regulating the rate of one boll on the chalder of beer for making malt, and compelling the malt-makers to observe proper hours for sale; and a third against robbers of fish-ponds, dove-cots, orchards, gardens, and bee-hives. Some idea of the state of agriculture at this time, in the southern part of Scotland, which is even yet mostly a pastoral country, may be obtained from a letter of Lord Dacre, describing the ravages committed by the English in Scotland, in 1514, the year after James's death at Flodden. He says that on an extent of twelve miles, along the river Lid, there had been one hundred ploughs; and in six miles along the Leidder, forty ploughs. High as this allows us to estimate the state of agriculture on the border, there is certain reason to believe, when we consider its more secluded position, and consequently comparative freedom from the incursions of an enemy, and the skill and fostering care of the clergy who possessed so great a portion of it, that at this time the county of Fife was still farther advanced in this the most useful of all arts.

Notwithstanding the brilliancy of the reign of James IV., and the efforts of his government to improve their condition, the situation of the agricultural population still was what would now be considered very wretched. Their land was generally rented by the year, or at most only for four or five years; and their houses were small and ill constructed, because from the uncertainty of their tenure they had little to incite

them to erect better. They were still grievously oppressed by the nobles, who preferred the satisfying of their pride to their interest. "The lords," says Margaret, the queen of James IV., in a letter dated Sept., 1523, "regard not the disasters of the poor, but laugh at them." The cottagers and farm servants were at this time almost as rich as their masters; and had infinitely less care, because they were less oppressed.

In the burghs, as might be expected, the advancement was greater; and besides being enriched by the wealth derived from commerce, many of the inhabitants continued to exercise various handicrafts within them. Among these we find weavers, clothiers, millers, butchers, tailors, brewers, bakers, carpenters, masons, blacksmiths, and goldsmiths. And it is about this time that we first meet with seals of cause erecting different trades into incorporations with exclusive privileges. Frequent complaints appear to have been made regarding the arts and extortions practised by artisans in their dealings with their customers; and various statutes appear from time to time for the purpose of preventing these. Their prices were ordered to be regulated by the magistrates; who were also empowered to fix those of wine, salt, and timber imported. The prices of the cordiners, smiths, bakers, brewers, and other craftsmen, who appear to have continued their extortions notwithstanding the laws made to the contrary, were by a subsequent statute referred to a committee of the lords. In 1490, the fineness of gold and silver was regulated to prevent frauds; drapers were prohibited from drawing and extending the cloth, and so weakening it, in order to increase the measure; and dyers from using perishable colours.

From the various enactments in the statute book, it is quite unquestionable that foreign commerce was still on the increase; and that the ports, particularly those on the east coast, were regularly visited by foreign vessels. The Netherlands, however, still continued to be the chief seat of the foreign trade; and a conservator was now appointed to judge in all disputes arising between the Scottish merchants abroad. He was obliged to have six or at least four assessors in every cause on which he sat, to assist him in his decision; and was ordered to visit Scotland once in the year, to answer any charges that might be brought against him.

Sir Andrew Wood had originally been a merchant trader, and had prosecuted his adventures successfully. His skill as a seaman, and his eminence as a warrior have already been spoken of. The Bartons, a family of seamen and merchants, had also very successfully traded abroad; but they do not seem to have been very scrupulous in attacking and capturing the ships of other nations. The Portuguese especially, who had now begun to make successful voyages to the east, were often laid under contribution. On one occasion, a vessel belonging to John Barton, loaded with rich merchandise, had been taken by a Portuguese squadron, and several years (1506) after James IV. granted letters of reprisal to Andrew, Robert, and John Barton, sons of John Barton, and to their assignees, to seize all Portuguese ships, till they should be repaid the sum of 12,000 ducats of Portugal. The Bartons appear to have made good use of the letters thus granted them; and to have continued to do so for a very long period, even so

late as 1540. In consequence of this, and of the riches of their various captures, even one of which was far beyond any loss the elder Bartons pretended to have sustained, their contemporaries did not hesitate to style them pirates. In 1543 the regent Arran granted similar letters to John Barton, grandson of the first John, and these do not appear to have been recalled till 1563, when they were formally revoked by Queen Mary, because they had been abused into piracy. The whole of this family accordingly seem to have become wealthy, as, in 1508, Robert buys the estate of Over Barntoun, and, in 1510, lands are purchased by Andrew. Robert became eminently wealthy, was afterwards knighted, and was made master of the household during the minority of James V.

The merchants of Scotland had never yet attempted distant voyages, as the Portuguese had done, but the contributions which the Bartons laid that nation under, supplied the want of this. Among the novelties introduced by these captures, Dunbar celebrates in one of his poems a Blackamoor woman, whom they had brought to Scotland, and who was an object of wonder and amazement on her arrival. In another of his poems, Dunbar gives a hint of the wealth of some of these Scottish merchants of his time. A woman of rank is introduced, who has married a merchant of opulence. She induces him to settle his houses upon her child, after which, she gives scope to her extravagance, in gowns of silk and scarlet cloth, golden chains, ruby rings, while her son is dressed like a young lord. After her husband's death, she is rich, and courted by barons and knights.

We are not, however, altogether to presume that such wealth was often to be found among Scottish merchants. It appears rather to have been limited to a few, for the contemporary author of an account of Scotland, written at a subsequent period, (1590,) says that the Scottish merchants were few in number; and for wealth, he was considered a wealthy merchant who was worth 100*l.* sterling. This author also says, that "handicraftsmen have but small trade, and their trades but few; by reason the people are but poor, and accustomed to live hardly, without any variety of diet, apparel, &c., whereby, they have the less use of divers occupations, and other handicraftsmen make less return. There are three trades for some commodities, some coarse cloth-making, armoury-making, and linen cloth, all from hand to mouth."—"Husbandmen are very poor; they are a kind of slaves, and pay in a manner to their lords all the commodities that come of their labour, reserving to themselves at the year's end nothing but to live."—"Of lawyers there are but few, and these about the Sessions at Edinburgh; for that in the shires all matters are ended at the great men's pleasures. These are of mean wealth, and bear more duty and respect towards the Prince."

"This defect of the commonality, viz., that there are so few of the middle rank of subjects amongst, that are able to live competently and honestly of their own, and by that means are a band to tie together the two extremes, viz., the higher sort and the rascality; and to sway with the better and more peaceable part as having something to lose; is another great cause of the distemper and disquietness of that realm. For by

that means the whole commonality in a manner, a few excepted which are of no reckoning in comparison of the whole, being beggarly and rascal, are apt for faction and tumult when occasion serveth; as having nothing to lose and hoping to get something, when they may fish in a troubled sea; and so follow their lords' quarrels either amongst themselves or against the Prince. Whereby the Prince and Commonwealth is ever weaning and floating like a boat on a sea, to and fro, *vento nobilitatis et vulgi fluctibus.*"

Such is the account given by a contemporary writer, at a somewhat later period than that of which we have been treating, of the state in which the merchants, handicraftsmen, and agriculturists of Scotland were; but as the author was an Englishman, and could hardly be free from prejudice at that time, there is certainly reason to believe that he has exaggerated the general poverty of the Scottish merchants. Sir Andrew Wood, the Bartons, and some others were conspicuous exceptions; but even the general mass were undoubtedly not so very poor as they are represented by him. The poverty of the handicraftsmen within burgh, and of the agricultural part of the population, it is to be feared, is too near the truth, for any doubts upon the subject.

Our author seems to regret the want of lawyers through the country, any that then were being about Edinburgh. Many however may be inclined to think that they could well be spared; yet nothing that is said as to the general poverty of Scotland, so distinctly marks the fact as this. The people had few rights to defend, and little wealth, or lawyers would have been found in the provinces as well as in the capital of the country. This curious MS. is printed by Pinkerton, in the Appendix to his History of Scotland, from the Sloane MSS., where it is preserved.

SECTION XI.

FROM A. D. 1513. TO A. D. 1542.

Minority of James V.—Disputes as to the Archbishopric of St Andrews.—Forman, bishop of Moray, receives the appointment from the Pope.—Duke of Albany named Regent.—He retires to France.—A council of Regency appointed.—The Duke of Albany returns to Scotland.—Archbishop Forman dies, and James Beaton, bishop of Glasgow, succeeds him in the see.—Albany finally leaves Scotland for France.—Earl of Angus intrigues to be made Regent, and through the exertions of Archbishop Beaton, is for a time successful.—Obtains possession of the person of the king.—Several of the nobility take up arms, and are attacked and defeated at Linlithgow by Angus.—The earl marches into Fife and pillages the Abbey of Dunfermline, and the castle of St Andrews.—The Archbishop is obliged to fly and for a time live in concealment.—Becomes apparently reconciled to Angus, but secretly plots his ruin.—The king living at Falkland under the control of Angus, makes his escape to Stirling castle, where he is met by a great body of the nobility.—The earl of Angus and his friends are prohibited from coming within six miles of the residence of the king.—Doctrines of the reformation begin to spread in the country.—Martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton.—His death increases the number of converts.—James proceeds to act with vigour against the faction of the earl of Angus, who flies to the borders, and afterwards to England.—James visits the borders, and executes a great number of the lawless people who infest it.—War with England, followed by a truce between James and Henry, to last during their joint lives.—Marriage of James with Magdalen of France.—Her death.—His marriage with Mary of Guise.—Festivities at St Andrews on her arrival.—The progress of the king and queen through different parts of the country.—Death of Archbishop Beaton.—He is succeeded by Cardinal Beaton, his nephew, who proceeds with great pomp towards St Andrews.—His determination to resist the Reformation, and persecute the Reformers.—Expedition of the king to the Orkney isles.—Birth of two princes who die young.—Dissensions between the king and the nobility.—He favours the clergy, in order to depress the nobility.—Renewed persecutions; several persons suffer martyrdom, and many men of learning leave the country to save their lives.—War with England.—The duke of Norfolk ravages the south of Scotland.—James raises an army, proceeds to the borders, finds the English have retired into their own country, is desirous of invading England, but is resisted by his nobility, who refuse to do so, and disbands his army in disgust.—A new army raised, which proceeds to invade England.—Dissensions arise in it.—Attacked at the Solway Firth by a small body of the English, and completely defeated.—James, overwhelmed with grief and chagrin, retires to Falkland, where he dies.—State of the country during his reign.—Institution of the court of session.—Agriculture.—Learning and learned men.—Field sports.—Fisheries.—Royal burghs.

The minority of James V. exhibited the usual features of struggles and contentions among the nobility and churchmen for power, aggravated by a continuation of the war with England. Except for connexion, few of the occurrences arising out of these require to be noticed in this sketch. Yet the struggle which arose for the archbishopric of St Andrews, may be more fully detailed. The Scottish kings had always maintained their right to nominate to vacant sees and abbacies, notwithstanding the papal pretensions to this power. But the minority of James seems at this time to have occasioned applications to Leo X., who then occupied the papal chair, with regard to the vacant benefice. The queen-dowager supported the claim of her own relation, Gawin Douglas, afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, and one of the early ornaments of Scottish literature. His servants had seized possession of the archiepiscopal castle at St Andrews, and he for a brief period maintained that fortress. The chapter of St Andrews met in the mean time, and elected Hepburn the prior to the office, who immediately besieged the castle, and, being favoured by most of the nobility, gained possession of it. The earl of Angus, who favoured the claim of his kinsman, the excellent Douglas, set off with two hundred horse to rescue this important fortress from the archbishop elect; but he was too late in arriving, and Hepburn for a short time held the castle, and nominally

the rank of primate of Scotland. To put an end to this unseemly dispute, the duke of Albany, son of the banished prince Alexander, brother of James III., who had been called to the regency, but had not yet arrived from France, made application to the Pope, and obtained the dignity to be conferred on Andrew Forman, bishop of Moray, an artful and avaricious prelate. This churchman, as the reward of repeated treacheries to his king and country, besides his bishopric of Moray, held the archbishopric of Bourges in France, and the abbacy of Cottingham in England. Not content with these, however, he now exchanged his bishopric of Moray for the primacy of Scotland, and in addition he grasped at, and obtained the rich abbacies of Dunfermline and Arbroath. These dignities he held for seven years, and his extravagance and expenditure equalling his avarice, he became a powerful friend to Albany in his pretensions to the regency, and an equally powerful support after his arrival the year following (1515), during his disputes with the queen-dowager, and her husband the earl of Angus, and their adherents.

Two years of such broils as then agitated Scotland, disgusted the Regent, and when England, in a secret article in which it consented to the prolongation of a truce which then existed, stipulated that he should leave Scotland, he at once consented to do so, under the honourable pretence of transacting the ecclesiastical affairs of the kingdom with the Pope. While he nominally retained the name of Regent, a council of regency was appointed, of which the archbishop of St Andrews, and James Beaton, bishop of Glasgow, chancellor of the kingdom, were influential members. A few months after his departure, the Regent resigned his office, and wrote the queen-dowager, requesting her to assume the office. A new struggle now ensued, between her husband the earl of Angus, and the earl of Arran, who claimed the office; the kingdom was still divided into parties; and these parties were supported by the kings of England and France, who were mutually desirous of possessing an influence in Scotland. The council of regency, however, still continued to act; while the earl of Arran possessed great power as lieutenant-general of the kingdom; but the pretensions of Angus were much weakened, by his constant dissensions with his wife, from whom they were alone derived.

These divisions and dissensions continuing, the duke of Albany returned to Scotland in 1521; and the queen, now irritated at her husband, immediately joined him, and the greater part of the nobles and chiefs crowded to his court, while the earl of Angus and his party fled towards the borders in great dismay. New dissensions ensued, a war followed with England, and in October, 1522, Albany again left the kingdom, and sailed for France. In the beginning of that year, however, the see of St Andrews became vacant by the death of Archbishop Forman, and James Beaton, the bishop of Glasgow, who had been chancellor of the kingdom, received the appointment. In 1523 Albany again returned; the war with England and the internal commotions still continued, while the young king was moved from one place of strength to another, alternately under the superintendence of one or other of the parties into which the state was divided. The year following Albany finally departed for France,

when it was proposed that the sovereign power should be ostensibly placed in the hands of the young king, now in his twelfth year, though really in the hands of a council under the control of England. The energy of the queen, who with her son took possession of Edinburgh castle, and at once formed a party in the English interest, prevented the necessity of the various underplots which had been formed for bringing this about. From this time, James was nominally, though for some years not really, the sovereign of his country.

This arrangement, however, only led to new dissensions. The queen had divorced her husband Angus, and partly from irritation, and partly instigated by the English court, which seems to have had doubts of her subserviency to its interests, continued to embroil the nation with attempts to obtain possession of the person of the king, and the entire government of the country. The exertions of Angus, notwithstanding the endeavours of the queen and her party, were at length, by the assistance of James Beaton, the archbishop of St Andrews, chancellor of the kingdom, in a great measure crowned with success. The king was delivered up to him and the chancellor; and by a parliament, which was held in 1525, a secret council was appointed for the government of the realm, of which he and the chancellor were influential members. This arrangement, like the others which had been made, did not long subsist. Angus, still intriguing, soon usurped the government, and got the entire control of the royal person. The other nobles who had been joined with him in the secret council took arms; and James was unwillingly forced to appear against them, with Angus and the Douglas faction.

The two parties met in September 1526, about a mile west of Linlithgow, where the Douglases defeated their opponents, killing the earl of Lennox, the abbots of Melrose and Dunfermline, and some gentlemen. Angus now marched to Stirling, intending to seize the persons of the queen and the chancellor archbishop; but before his arrival they had fled, and sought safety in concealment. The victor then advanced into Fife, and pillaged the abbey of Dunfermline, and afterwards the castle of St Andrews: but the archbishop had again fled at his approach. "They could not find the bishop," says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "for he was keeping sheep on Bogrian-knowe, with shepherd's clothes upon him, like as he had been a shepherd himself." Angus was now, for a time, uncontrolled governor of the kingdom; but his enemies did not cease their intrigues to overturn his influence, and to get the king out of his hands.

By gifts, which his wealth well enabled him to bestow, the primate of St Andrews effected an apparent reconciliation with Angus; and at the festival of Christmas (1527), he entertained the king, the queen dowager, Angus, and others of the Douglas party, at his castle of St Andrews. There, says Lindsay, he "made them great cheer and merriness, and gave them great gifts of gold and silver, with fair halkneys and other gifts of tacks and steedings, that they would desire of him, that he might pacify their wrath therewith, and obtain their favours. So the king tarried there a while quiet, and used hawking and hunting upon the water of Edin." Angus at length left Fife for the Lothians, leaving the king, who was now residing at Falkland, under the charge of Sir Archibald

Douglas his uncle, Sir George his brother, and James Douglas of Parkhead, captain of the royal guard. James had long been disgusted with the usurpation of the earl of Angus, and the Douglases, and a plot had for some time been carrying on, in which the queen and the archbishop were engaged, for freeing him from their control.

About the month of July, Sir Archibald Douglas went to Dundee, and Sir George to St Andrews, for the purpose of concluding a lease with the primate, leaving a guard of 100 men at Falkland, under the command of Douglas of Parkhead, conceiving this to be a sufficient check on the motions of the monarch. The opportunity was too good, however, not to be taken advantage of; and James ordered preparations for a great hunting party, at seven in the morning on the following day. The king pretended to retire early to bed, and the captain after setting watch followed his example, that he might be ready to attend his majesty in the morning. As soon as all was quiet in the palace, however, the king disguised as a groom, and attended by two faithful servants, went to the stables, and speedily mounting fleet horses, they rode off, and reached Stirling, by dawn next day. The gates of the town were shut immediately after his arrival, and retiring to the castle, he took some repose, giving orders that no one should be admitted without a royal order. A council was held the same day, at which several noblemen attended, and proper measures were taken for securing the king and kingdom from the farther control of the Douglases. The flight of James was not discovered by his keepers till the following morning, when Sir George Douglas was awakened by the unexpected tidings of his escape. A messenger was instantly despatched to Angus, and on his arrival they proceeded towards Stirling, but were met on the way by a herald with a proclamation prohibiting any one of the house of Douglas, or its adherents, under pain of treason, from approaching within six miles of the court. Thus was the power of this ambitious house reduced to its proper limits, and chiefly by the determination and energy of the young king.

The doctrines of Luther were about this period creating much interest on the continent, and Scotland was not without its converts to them. The tenets which had been propagated by Resby and Paul Crawar, and for which they had both suffered, although a considerable period had elapsed, were not altogether forgotten, but had been secretly cherished by many persons. The scandalous lives of numbers of the catholic clergy, their ambition and avarice, and the ignorance of a great portion of the monks and friars, had prepared the minds of most men to listen to the doctrines of the Reformers. The poets had eagerly seized upon these circumstances, as subjects for invective, satire, or ridicule, and had done much to lower the clergy and their pretensions in the eyes of the people. The catholic priesthood saw the danger which threatened them, but unwilling to amend their own lives, or to render the arguments of their opponents harmless by reforming themselves, saw no mode of stopping the spreading heresy, but by having recourse to persecution, and by bringing those whom they could not silence to a cruel death.

Among those who had adopted the doctrines of the Reformation, was Patrick Ham-

ilton, son of Hamilton of Kinkavil, formerly captain of Blackness castle, son of the Lord Hamilton, who married a sister of James III. This young man was originally educated for the church, and according to the custom of the time had the abbacy of Ferne conferred upon him in his childhood. How he had first received the light of truth—whether from some of those who still cherished the principles for which, at an earlier age, Resby and Crawar had suffered, or from having read the writings of Luther, which in 1525 were prohibited to be imported into Scotland, cannot now be ascertained—but when little more than twenty years of age, a gleam of gospel truth had been imparted to him. The desire of farther knowledge led him to visit the continent, that he might acquire it from those who seemed so really able to teach; and he did so the more willingly that he had already drawn upon himself the suspicions of the clergy by his recommendations of ancient literature, in preference to the philosophy which was then taught in the schools. The station which he held in the church, his rank in life, and above all, his genius and desire for knowledge, attracted the attention of Luther and his amiable colleague Melancthon, on his visit to Wirtemburg, and after retaining him for a while, and imparting to him their doctrines, they recommended him to the college of Marpurg. There under its learned head Francis Lambert of Avignon, who leaving his native country had sacrificed an excellent situation for his principles, Hamilton was instructed in the reformed religion, and imbibed a knowledge of the scriptures with extraordinary avidity. He was soon however seized with a determined design to visit Scotland, that he might impart to his countrymen the knowledge he had acquired. The dangers he must undergo were pointed out to him, but his object was determined, and he resolutely left Marpurg, and returned to Scotland.

There he did not remain idle, but immediately began to teach and instruct the people. He spoke against the corruptions with which the gospel had been disfigured, and reproved the superstitious practices which had been introduced by the catholic church. His talent, his learning, his youthful and graceful appearance—all were favourable to his making an impression on his hearers. The clergy became alarmed at his success, and they did not allow him long to disseminate his opinions. He had, however, expressed himself with great caution, and although they might suspect the extent to which he wished reformation to be carried, they could not find obvious grounds at first for wreaking their vengeance upon him. They had recourse therefore to dissimulation, and, pretending a wish to hold a free conference with him, they decoyed him to St Andrews. Beaton the archbishop, on his coming to St Andrews, appointed Archibald Campbell, a dominican friar devoted to the church, to insinuate himself into his confidence, and to ascertain his real sentiments. The friar was a man of talent, and executed his commission so adroitly that Hamilton was put off his guard, and frankly gave him his whole mind. To mislead him as far as possible, Campbell apparently coincided in his views, but immediately after leaving him, he detailed the conversation to his employer.

Hamilton remained in St Andrews unsuspicious of danger, but his enemies had

now received sufficient evidence for their purpose. He was suddenly apprehended by the archbishop, and imprisoned in the castle. A court was now held, at which the archbishop, the bishop of Glasgow, and other dignitaries of the church acted as judges, and Campbell the friar as his accuser. The account of the trial given in Lindsay is exceedingly interesting, and is marked with his usual simplicity and minuteness. The tenets of which he was accused were the following, 1. "That the corruption of sin remains in "children after their baptism; 2. That no man by the power of his free will can do any "good; 3. That no man is without sin so long as he liveth; 4. That every true Christian "may know himself to be in a state of grace; 5. That a man is not justified by works, but "by faith only; 6. That good works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good "works, and an ill man, ill works, although these ill works, if truly repented, do not make "an ill man; 7. That faith, hope, and charity are so linked together that he that hath one of "them, hath all; and he that wanteth one, wanteth all; 8. That God is the cause of sin, in "this sense, that he withdraweth his grace from man, and grace withdrawn, he cannot but "sin; 9. That it is devilish doctrine to teach, that by any actual penance, remission of sin "is purchased; 10. That auricular confession is not necessary to salvation; 11. That "there is no purgatory; 12. That the holy patriarchs were in heaven before Christ's "passion; 13. That the pope is antichrist; And 14. that every priest hath as much "power as the pope."

The first seven of these articles brought against him, Hamilton in his defence admitted that he considered unquestionably true, the others he allowed to be doubtful, although he was inclined to consider them as agreeable to the word of God. The admissions made were considered sufficient by the enemies of Hamilton for his being found guilty of heresy, and they accordingly did not hesitate at once to condemn him to the flames. To strike still greater terror into the hearts of those who had listened favourably to his teaching, he was led to the stake on the same day on which his sentence was pronounced. This was the twenty-ninth day of February, 1528. The area in front of Saint Salvator's college was selected as the scene of his execution, "where," says Lindsay, "was a great fire, and a stake, and a scaffold made, whereon they put this innocent man, in presence of all the people." His calmness and intrepidity at the soul-trying occasion was worthy of the cause for which he suffered. While the fire was preparing, he gave some tokens of regard to his attendants, and, raising his eyes to heaven, commended his soul to God. In consequence of the fuel not being sufficiently dry, or from some other cause, the fire burned but slowly, and he was long kept in torment; nor even during this afflicting period was he freed from the importunities of the friars, who urged him constantly to disavow the principles for which he suffered. Campbell was one of the most importunate of these, but the martyr quietly begged him to desist, and not to embitter the last moments of him he had betrayed. His request being disregarded, he solemnly reproached him for the perfidy of his conduct, and summoned him to answer for it before the tribunal seat of God. In order to hasten his death powder was brought from the castle, and thrown upon the fire; and he at length

died, exclaiming, "How long, O Lord, shall darkness cover this realm! How long wilt thou suffer this tyranny of men! Lord Jesus, receive my spirit."

At the time of his death Hamilton was only in his twenty-fourth year; but his murder had a very different effect from what had been anticipated by his persecutors. His fate was universally pitied, and the heroism with which he suffered, admired. Men were incited to inquire into opinions, which had so powerfully sustained one so young amid such torments; and the result was a conviction of their truth. The miserable fate of Campbell his betrayer served to strengthen and preserve the feelings which had been excited. The workings of this unhappy man's conscience, the horrid scene which he had witnessed, and the dying words of the martyr, affected his reason, and, after remaining miserable and unhappy for about a year, he died at Glasgow in a state of insanity or despair.

Even in the university of St Andrews the principles of Hamilton began to gain ground. Gawin Logie, rector of St Leonard's college, was so successful in instilling them into the minds of the students, that it became proverbial to say of any one suspected of Lutheranism that "he had drank of St Leonard's well;" whilst under the secret sanction of John Winram, the superior, they even began to spread among the noviciates, and younger monks of the abbey. These opinions however were not to be confined to St Andrews, its university, or its abbey. They soon began to spread throughout the country; and every where persons were to be found who held that Patrick Hamilton had died a martyr. The clergy became still more alarmed for their power; and the flames of the persecution, their only remedy for the growing evil, were soon to be kindled in all quarters of the country. The progress of truth however was not stayed by such means. The flames which consumed Hamilton, "were," says Pinkerton, "in the course of one generation, to enlighten all Scotland; and to consume with avenging fury, the catholic superstition, the papal power, and even prelacy itself."

James V. was aged little more than sixteen years when he made his escape from the Douglases; but although his education had been wilfully neglected, and very erroneous, he had qualities and discernment above his years, and warm affections. He was a poet, and his taste in art is still to be seen in the remains of the palaces erected by him. He replenished Scotland with artillery and military weapons, and the gold coins of his reign are remarkable for the beauty of their execution. The Scottish navy had been utterly ruined by the regent Albany, but under James it was for a time revived, and his voyages to the Orkneys and Hebrides, accompanied by men of skill, to examine the dangers and advantages of the surrounding seas, are worthy of commendation, when the period is taken into consideration. For a time after his emancipation, the king was chiefly guided by his mother and some of her adherents, but his extreme youth rendered this influence in a great measure natural. The Earl of Angus, and others of the Douglases were forfeited, and the king having raised an army besieged the Earl's castle of Tamtallon, though without effect. They were at length however driven into England; and, in consequence of a treaty with the English, that castle and

other fortresses belonging to this once powerful family were delivered up to James. The distracted state of the borders now attracted the attention of the king; and, having first imprisoned several of the most powerful barons of that portion of his kingdom, he in 1529 collected an army and proceeded to Eusdale against the marauders. Forty-eight of the most criminal of the border thieves were seized and hung, and John Armstrong, the chief of that name, having been with difficulty captured, also suffered the death of a felon. Having secured the subordination of this wild district, James now relieved the nobles he had imprisoned, and whom he had thus taught to respect his power.

For some years James was engaged in strenuous exertions to reduce the power of his nobles, and to cause them to respect the laws; and in 1532 a war broke out with England which led to mutual destructive inroads, till the following year, when through the intervention of France a truce for one year was concluded. In 1534 a solemn truce was concluded, to last during the lives of James and of the English king. The desire of the nation that James should marry had led to repeated embassies to Germany and France, having this object in view; but it was not till 1537 that James was married to Magdalen, the daughter of the king of France. The young queen was received in Scotland with the warmest regard, and universal joy prevailed on her arrival. This happiness however was but short-lived, and was speedily turned into mourning and regret. Magdalen was in bad health at the time of her marriage, and she died within six weeks after her arrival in Scotland.

A second marriage was next year contracted betwixt James and Mary of Guise, daughter of the duke of Guise, and widow of the duke of Longueville. Conducted by an admiral of France and the Lord Maxwell, this princess left her native shores, and landed at Balcomie, near Fifeness, from which she proceeded on horseback, towards St Andrews, where the king, with many of his nobles, was then residing. Hearing of her arrival, he immediately rode forth to meet her, accompanied by his nobles, several dignified clergymen, and many barons, lairds and gentlemen, all magnificently dressed. A splendid pageant had been prepared after the quaint fashion of the times, by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, the Lord Lyon, in honour of her. At the abbey gate a triumphal arch was erected, beneath which she had to pass; and above it was a painting representing a cloud. On her approach, the cloud opened, "and there appeared," says Lindsay of Pitscottie, "a fair lady most like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen, in sign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her grace." An oration was then delivered to her by Sir David Lindsay, "instructing her," says the same curious historian, "to love her God, obey her husband, and keep herself chaste, according to God's will and commandments." She then passed on to the palace, which had been prepared for her, and "which was well decored against her coming." The ceremonies of religion were not awanting on this great occasion. High mass was performed in the church, several bishops, abbots, priors, monks, friars, and canons regular assisting at the ceremony. The queen dined with

the king in the palace where he had been residing, and the remaining part of the day was spent in festivity and mirth.

Next morning the queen made a progress through the city, and examined the cathedral, the monasteries and the three colleges. The provost, and "the honest burgesses" were introduced to her, and she was attended, as on the former day, by the king, the nobles, and the gentry who had come to welcome her. After the marriage ceremony had been performed with great pomp, the day was again spent in amusement. The festivities were continued at St Andrews for forty days. In the mornings the amusements were, jousting in the lists, archery, hunting, and hawking; and in the evenings dancing, singing, masking, and plays. To one who had resided at the court of France, it might well be conceived, that all the pomp and pageantry which Scotland could at that time exhibit, would appear but mean and trifling. Yet, if we are to believe Lindsay, this was not the case. For he says that on her return from examining the city, the day after her arrival, the queen confessed to the king, that "she never saw in France nor no other country, so many good faces in so little room, as she saw that day in Scotland: for she said it was shown to her in France, that Scotland was but a barbarous country, destitute and void of all good commodities, that used to be in other countries; but she now confessed she saw the contrary: for she never saw so many fair personages of men, women, young babes, and children, as she saw that day. At these words of the queen," continues Lindsay, "the king greatly rejoiced, and said to her, forsooth madam, you shall see better, please God; ere you go through Scotland, you will see many good-like men and women, with other commodities that will be to your contentment." The royal party at length left St Andrews, and proceeded to Cupar, where they dined, and where they were received with equal rejoicings. In the evening they went to Falkland. Here they remained for a week, enjoying the pleasures of the chase in Falkland forest, and following the hounds and the fallow-deer over the Lomond hills. They next visited Stirling and Linlithgow, from whence they went to Edinburgh, where they were welcomed with great triumph; and again they set out for Perth and Dundee, accompanied by rejoicings and demonstrations of respect, wherever they went.

In little more than a year after this festive occasion, James Beaton, the proud prelate of St Andrews, and the determined enemy of the Reformation, died. But this proved no respite to the persecution of the reformers; for he was succeeded in his office by his nephew David Beaton, who had received the dignity of a cardinal from the Pope, was equally proud, intriguing and ambitious, equally determined to support papal domination, and to persecute those professing the doctrines of the Reformation. He was scarcely invested in the primacy, when he gave a public exhibition of his pride, his love of magnificence, and his aversion to the Reformation. He proceeded to St Andrews with the greatest pomp and parade. The earls of Huntly, Arran, Marshal, and Montrose, with the Lords Fleming, Lindsay, Erskine, and Seton, did him the honour to attend upon him. Gavin Dunbar, archbishop of Glasgow, Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, four bishops, six abbots, a great many private gentlemen, and a

vast multitude of the inferior clergy, appeared in his train. In the cathedral church, from a throne which he had caused to be erected, he harangued this company, and a crowd of other auditors, on the state of the church and of religion. He lamented the increase of heretics; he insisted upon their audacity and contempt of order; he said that even in the court of the sovereign too much attention was paid them; and he urged the strong necessity of acting against them with the greatest vigour. He informed the assembly, that he had cited Sir John Borthwick to appear before him, for maintaining tenets of faith hostile to the church, and for dispersing heretical books, and he desired that he might be assisted in bringing that heretic to justice.

James having brought the southern part of his dominions into order, in 1540 projected his great expedition to the isles and northern extremities of his kingdom, which now alone remained in ignorance of the laws, and his power to enforce them. That the project might be beneficial to science, and useful to his subjects, James employed a skilful navigator, Alexander Lindsay, to accompany him, and report the nautical and other observations which might be made. Twelve ships, with proper artillery, were prepared in the Forth for the expedition. Of these, six were allotted to the king himself, and his own immediate dependents and soldiers; three solely for victualling the fleet; and the remaining three were separately appropriated to the cardinal archbishop of St Andrews, to the earl of Arran, and the earl of Huntly. Cardinal Beaton had the conduct of 500 men from Fife and Angus; Arran, besides the gentlemen and servants in his suit, of 500 men from the west country; and Huntly the like number from the north. The expedition sailed in the beginning of June, the archbishop having previously, on the 28th of May, in a solemn court of spiritual and temporal peers, held at St Andrews, condemned Sir John Borthwick to be burnt in effigy for heresy. In all probability the temporal peers here alluded to, were a portion of the force he was to command and lead to the north. As the fleet sailed down the Forth, the royal banner displayed from the admiral's ship, and the banners of the nobles streaming from the masts of the others, the shores of Fife and of the Lothians echoed the acclamations of numberless spectators.

Leaving behind the shores of Fife, and passing the estuary of the Tay, this expedition for the diffusion of law and justice, bore along the northern portion of the eastern coast, and at length arrived at the Orkney islands. Here there was little crime to punish—few grievances to redress. The pilot and his assistants made observations and remarks, and prepared charts of these dangerous seas and shores; after which the expedition sailed through the Pentland Firth, doubled the stormy cape Wrath, and visited the greater part of the Hebrides, and the eastern shores of the mainland. The astonishment was here mutual. The wild inhabitants of these distant isles, gazed in wonder from their mud hovels, at the lion of Scotland, displayed probably for the first time on their shores; and they trembled when they heard the artillery, with which she was prepared to punish their treasons and crimes. The inhabitants of industrious Fife, and the more civilized portion of the country, were surprised at the wild scenery,

and the still wilder people they had come among. Bringing with them as prisoners several of the chieftains of these remote districts, the expedition now entered the Clyde, and the king disembarked at Dumbarton, ordering several of the ships to return with the prisoners, by the route by which they had come. The chieftains who had been seized, were detained in different prisons, as hostages for the tranquillity of their people; and continued to be so during the remainder of the king's life.

The effect of this expedition was great in reducing to comparative quiet the remote districts which had been visited. The laws began to be respected by the northern clans which inhabited them, as readily as in the more civilized provinces; and nothing is again heard of conflicts among them, till the reign of James VI. The borders he had already reduced to tranquillity and peace; so much so indeed, that Lindsay of Pitscottie, in a passage which is highly complimentary to the industrious and peaceful habits of the inhabitants of Fife, says, "thereafter, there was great peace and rest, in the borders, a long time; where-through the king had great profit; for he had 10,000 sheep going in the Ettrick forest, in keeping by Andrew Bell, who made the king as good count of them, as they had gone in the bounds of Fife."

While the king was thus engaged in securing the peace of the country, his domestic felicity had been increased, by the queen giving birth to two sons—one born in May 1540, and styled James Prince of Scotland, and Duke of Rothsay—the other in June 1541, and named Robert, duke of Albany, and earl of Fife and Menteith. The death of these infants within a few days of each other, proved however to James a sad reverse of fortune, and deeply affected his happiness. The eldest child had from its birth been nursed and brought up at St Andrews. Shortly after the birth of his second son, the king received notice of the illness of his eldest. He instantly set off for St Andrews, but on his arrival found that the prince was already dead. A messenger now came to inform him that his second son was also ill; and he departed immediately for Stirling, where the child was with the queen. It died shortly after his arrival, which, says Lindsay, "was very sorrowful to the king's grace, and also to the queen."

The great misfortune of the reign of James, after the power came into his own hands, was his constant dissensions with his nobility; and yet, as he was circumstanced, this was unavoidable. Ignorant and incapable as the greater part of them were, and distinguished for little else than disturbing the public peace, he found it necessary to check their pride, and he was stern and uncompromising in doing so. They had little relish for the control of law, and still less for imprisonment, or the deprivation of lands, as a punishment for their numerous breaches of it. Yet from either of these modes of bringing them to reason, James did not shrink when occasion required. Mutual jealousies thus existed, which gave rise to mutual fears, and the nobles only waited a fitting opportunity to revenge upon the king the stern justice with which he occasionally visited their misdeeds. The clergy were possessed of learning, and some knowledge of business; except in cases interfering with the rights of the church, they were in general

friends of good order, and paid some respect to the laws. To them, therefore, the king naturally looked for assistance in the management of public affairs; and they equally supported him in his system of depressing the nobles, who despised the clergy as of inferior rank, and envied them for their superior wealth.

In such a state of matters the clergy found their advantage, and they did not neglect to use the influence which it afforded them against the reformers. The death of Hamilton was followed up by that of several others, and between 1530 and 1540 ten individuals suffered martyrdom at St Andrews and other parts of the country. One of these, Thomas Forrest, a canon regular of the monastery of Inch-colm, and vicar of Dollar, was of the house of Forrest, or Forret in Fife. His father had been master-stabler to James IV., and he had been well educated on the continent. A dispute had arisen between the abbot and the canons, as to the allowance to which they were entitled, and some of the latter had got hold of the book of the foundation, to examine into the extent of their claims. In order to get them to return this book, the abbot lent them from the library of the monastry, a volume of the works of Augustine. This book was read by Forrest with great earnestness, and he afterwards declared it to have been a blessed book to him, as it first brought him to a knowledge of the Scriptures. He then applied himself with equal ardour to the reading of the Scriptures themselves. No sooner had he begun to see the truth of the reformed doctrines, than he commenced instructing others in them; and he converted some of the young canons; "but the old bottles," as he said, "would not receive the new wine." The abbot frequently advised him to keep his mind to himself, otherwise he would incur punishment; but the advice was without effect. "I thank you, my Lord," he would say; "ye are a friend to my body, but not to my soul."

Forrest, after he was admitted to the vicarage of Dollar, rendered himself obnoxious to his brethren, by his diligence in instructing his parish, and his benevolence in freeing them from oppressive exactions. When the agents of the Pope came into his bounds to sell indulgences, he said, "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you. This is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us either from Pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ." He had been often summoned before the bishops of St Andrews and Dunkeld, but had hitherto escaped punishment. The bishop of Dunkeld had admonished him, and warned him of the danger in which he stood; but his sense of duty was too strong to make him fear speaking his mind before all men, and on all proper occasions. "I thank my God," said the bishop, "that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; therefore, dear Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuise and pontifical. Go your ways, and let be all these fantasies, for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, you will repent when you may not amend it." To this Forrest answered, "I trust my cause is just in the presence of God, and therefore I heed not much what may follow thereupon."

His zeal, however, was too great to be allowed to pass long without more particular notice; and accordingly in 1539, a convocation of bishops, the archbishop of St Andrews

at their head, met at Edinburgh. They took under their consideration the decaying influence of the church, and they perpetuated the memory of their assembly, by the increasing activity against heretics. The amiable vicar of Dollar, was summoned before them; and four other individuals—three of whom were like himself, priests. These were Keiller and Beveridge, two friars, Sir Duncan Simpson of Stirling, a regular clergyman, and Robert Forrester, a gentleman of respectability. Little is known of the charges brought against these individuals, but Lindsay has given an interesting, and very particular account of the trial of the vicar of Dollar. It is to be presumed the charges against all were much alike; and as they did not deny their principles, the court of bishops felt little hesitation in consigning them all to the flames. The whole five were consumed in the same fire on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh.

A few, during these dreadful times, overcome by the horror of the stake, or from other causes, saved their lives by abjuring their opinions. Among these were Cathrine Hamilton, the sister of Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish martyr. She, with another brother, James Hamilton, was summoned to Holyrood house, before the bishop of Ross, as commissioner for the archbishop of St Andrews. The gentleman bythe king's advice, who had a respect for him, did not appear, and was condemned for his contumacy. The sister appearing, and being questioned upon the point of justification by works, answered simply that she believed no person could be saved by their works. Mr John Spence, the lawyer, held a long discourse with her on this subject, telling her that there were different sorts of works, works of congruity and works of condignity, in the application of which he consumed much time. She, however, growing irritated with his absurdities, cried out, "Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly, that no works can save me, but the work of Christ my Saviour." James V. who was present on this occasion, and was highly amused with her answer, taking her aside, moved her to recant her opinion. This she did; and several others following her example, did so likewise.

Many others saved their lives by flight, making their escape to England and to the continent. Among these were Gawin Logie, Alexander Seaton, Alexander Aless, John M'Bee, John Fife, John Macdowal, John Macbray, George Buchanan, James Harrison and Robert Richardson. Gawin Logie had been, as already mentioned, rector of the college of Saint Leonards, and after the death of Patrick Hamilton, had successfully taught the doctrines of the Reformation to his pupils, while John Winram the subprior had sanctioned their dissemination in the abbey. Winram it would appear had temporized with his superiors; but Logie, more uncompromising and more devoted to the truth, found safety only in flight. Seaton was a dominican friar, and had been confessor to James V. He was appointed to preach at St Andrews during the lent, immediately after the death of Patrick Hamilton. Instead of dwelling in his sermon on the usual subjects,—the doctrine of purgatory—the obligation of pilgrimages—and the relation of pretended miracles by which the papal power had been so long supported; he insisted on the vital parts of religion, and informed his audience, that the only mode

by which pardon of God could be obtained was by sincere repentance and trust in the mercy of Christ. He left St Andrews immediately afterwards, and his doctrines were immediately opposed by some individuals of his own order. Learning this he had the fortitude to return, and still farther to illustrate the doctrines he had inculcated; and to this he added a delineation of what ought to be the temper and character of a Christian bishop as described in scripture. This was even worse than his first offence; he was summoned before the archbishop and reproved for his rashness and presumption. His defence, that he had not used his own language, but the language of the bible, was a greater crime than he had committed; but the situation which he held in the confidence of the king preserved him at this time from the punishment which would otherwise assuredly have overtaken him. It was necessary however to have him at least removed. He was therefore denounced as a heretic, and the king was prejudiced against him. His conscientious admonitions to the young monarch were misrepresented, and James was told by the more dignified clergy that they did not approve of the rigid authority which his father confessor had exercised towards him. Seaton found it necessary to make his escape, and he first fled to Berwick, from whence he wrote to the king; but his letter though full of truth was neglected by his sovereign, who amid gaiety and thoughtlessness forgot his ancient spiritual guide.

Alexander Aless was a canon of the cathedral of St Andrews. His conversion was most singular. He was a young man of acute talents and well versed in scholastic theology. He had also studied the Lutheran controversy, and he undertook to reclaim Hamilton from his heresy. But he found, that instead of doing so, his own faith was staggered; and his doubts were increased when he saw the firmness with which Hamilton suffered. Suspicion was very soon afterwards excited against himself, by his delivering a Latin oration, in which he censured the vices of the clergy, and exhorted them to diligence and a godly life. He was thrown into prison, from which, after a year's confinement, he made his escape, and getting on board a vessel which lay on the coast, he was conveyed to the continent. In 1540 he was made professor of divinity at Leipsic. John Fife also fled from St Andrews, accompanied Aless to Germany, and shared in his honours at Leipsic. He subsequently returned to Scotland, and acted as a minister of the reformed church. He died at Saint Leonards soon after the establishment of the reformation.

John MacBee was afterwards well known on the continent under the name of Dr Maccabæus. He became a professor in the university of Copenhagen, and was of great use to Christian III. in the settlement of the reformed religion in Denmark. He was one of the translators of the Danish Bible, first printed at Copenhagen in 1550. It has been discovered by Dr M'Crie, in the course of his laborious researches, that the name of this learned man was neither MacBee, nor Maccabæus, but MacAlpine; that in fact he was a son of the great clan Gregor, a clan of which, though it was one of the most unfortunate, it is said in the Highlands, that except the mountains and the clan Arthur, there was nothing so old. The probability is, that he, like others

of his race, had been obliged to change his name, a circumstance which repeatedly occurred in the history of this unfortunate people. Of all things the most extraordinary, and the least to have been anticipated, was the discovery of Dr M'Crie, that a son of the wild and lawless Gregarach, one of the Children of the Mist, a slip of the wild clan Alpine, should have been an earnest promoter of the reformation, and a translator of the Bible into the Danish language.

George Buchanan had also studied at St Andrews, and he had rendered himself obnoxious to the order of Franciscans, by his well known satire upon them. He also found it necessary to leave a country, in which it was no longer safe for him to remain. The other persons named as having fled about this period, were all persons of education and talent, but do not appear to have been in any way connected with Fife. Such were some of the men of learning, of whose services Scotland was at this period deprived by clerical persecution. All exertions, however, to stop the progress of truth were ineffectual; the principles of the reformation continued to spread; and by the year 1540, besides numbers of the ordinary class of people, many persons of rank and respectability had been converted. Among these were the following, William, Earl of Glencairn, his son Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs, William, Earl of Errol, William, Lord Ruthven, his daughter Lillias, married to the master of Drummond, John Stewart, son of Lord Methven, Sir James Sandilands, with his whole family, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Erskine of Dun, Melville of Raith, Balnares of Hallhill, Straiton of Lauriston, with William Johnston and Robert Alexander, advocates.

During the last two years of James V., the number of reformers were rapidly increased, and Cardinal Beaton continued every exertion in his power to cut them off. On one occasion he caused a list containing the names of some hundred suspected persons, possessed of wealth, to be presented to the king, and endeavoured to get his consent to their condemnation, by showing him the immense riches that would accrue to him by the forfeiture of their estates. James, however, who appears all along to have yielded to the wishes of the clergy on this head with reluctance, and who was led to sanction their violent proceedings in any instance, more from unavoidable circumstances than from a desire to persecute, rejected the proposal with strong marks of displeasure and indignation. Nay, he went so far as to tell them to amend their own lives, or he might find it necessary to force them to do so. As his antipathy at his nobles increased, however, and the influence of the clergy over him necessarily became greater, there is reason to fear that he might have at length yielded to their solicitations, and, had he lived, that the miseries of persecution might have been greatly increased.

Notwithstanding their near relationship, and the peace which had been concluded between Henry of England and James, the friendship had never been very cordial. An open rupture at length broke out in 1542; and the Duke of Norfolk entered Scotland at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. He gave to the flames about twenty villages, with the towns of Kelso and Roxburgh. The Scots were unprepared altogether to repress this invasion, but an army of ten thousand men,

under the Earls of Huntly and Home, and Lords Seton and Erskine, watched every opportunity of annoying the English, and prevented the extension of the mischief, from their sending out marauding parties. James now found the injurious effects of his long continued enmity with the nobles, and he in vain attempted to effect a reconciliation with them. It was known that the clergy had presented him with a new list of names for persecution and proscription, and his conduct was now looked upon as being covered with a mask, to be removed as soon as the danger was over. As the necessity for their assistance increased, the discontent of the nobles became more apparent, and at length broke out into open murmurs.

James, though aware of all this, ordered an army of thirty thousand men to assemble at the Boroughmuir, near Edinburgh, and had marched with them to Fala, near the western extremity of the Lammermuir hills, when he received intelligence that Norfolk had withdrawn his army. The desire of the king was to retaliate the injuries which had been sustained, by entering England; but his refractory nobles refused to do so, declaring they would only act on the defensive. He was therefore obliged to dismiss his army, and he returned to Edinburgh in the greatest grief and chagrin. To lessen his anguish of mind, his council, consisting chiefly of clergymen, whose advice joined to the violence and precipitation of Henry had brought on the war, proposed to levy a small army of about ten thousand men, and to retaliate on England by invading her western marches. This army was raised and the command of it given to Lord Maxwell, who was firmly attached to his sovereign; but, as if from infatuation, the council joined others with him in the command, who were favourers of the English interest and of the reformation. Advancing towards the Solway Firth, the army had passed into English ground and approached the river Esk, when Oliver Sinclair, a favourite of the king's, was elevated upon shields for the purpose of reading the royal commission appointing the general, and directing the proceedings he was to adopt. Murmurs now arose that this minion had been named commander, and the whole army was speedily a scene of tumult, uproar, and disorder. A small English army of observation, consisting of three or four hundred men, under the command of Thomas Dacre and John Musgrave, had advanced for the purpose of watching the proceedings of the Scots; and perceiving the state of confusion of the Scotch army, and their incapability of making any defence, instantly charged them. A panic ensued, and a speedy flight put an end to the disgraceful disaster. Upwards of a thousand prisoners, among whom were several noblemen, were taken by the English.

Impatient to learn the success of his expedition, the king advanced to the castle of Caerlaverock, in Dumfries-shire, and there he learnt its inglorious fate. The mind of James, though strong, was unable to bear up against this dreadful disgrace; he considered his reputation as irrecoverably lost, and he fled to the retirement of Falkland, that he might hide his shame, and indulge his grief in private. Here he "became heavy and dolorous," he lost his powers of digestion, and could neither eat nor drink. A burning fever prayed upon his frame. "He became," says Lindsay, "so vehement sick, that no man had hope of his life. He sent for certain of his lords, both spiritual

and temporal, to have their counsel; but ere they came, he was nearhand strangled to death by extreme melancholy." "By this the post," says the same historian, "came to the king out of Linlithgow, showing to him good tidings, that the queen was delivered. The king inquired whether it was a man-child or a woman. The messenger said, 'It was a fair daughter.' The king answered, 'Adieu, farewell, it came with a lass, and it will pass with a lass;' and so he recommended himself to the mercy of God, and spake little from that time forth, but turned his back unto his lords, and his face unto the wall." Shortly after this he turned round and smiled on those who were in waiting, held out his hand to each of them to kiss, and then expired. Lindsay mentions that the only persons present at James' death, except his servants, were Cardinal Beaton, the Earl of Argyle, the Earl of Rothes, the Lord Lindsay, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Kirkaldy of Grange, Andrew Wood of Largo, Norman Leslie, the Master of Rothes, and Mr Michael Durie, the king's physician.

At the period of his death, James had not attained his thirty-first year. Although his reign had nominally extended to twenty-nine years, the duration of his real authority was only about fourteen years. This short period was not sufficient to enable James to retrieve all the injuries his kingdom had sustained during his long minority; but his whole exertions were for its benefit, and for the advantage of his people. The navy, which his father had spent so much in constructing, was ruined before James came into power; but his expedition to the north shows that he had been equally anxious to improve this important defence of his sea-coasts. From France and Flanders he procured large supplies of military stores; and he zealously encouraged artizans from these countries, and from Holland, Spain, and England, to visit Scotland, and encouraged their stay among the people, by giving them liberal wages and annual pensions. Lindsay enumerates, among others, who received royal encouragement, gunners, carpenters, carvers, painters, masons, smiths, harness makers, weavers of tapestry, embroiderers, taylors, surgeons, apothecaries, with all other kinds of craftsmen that might bring his realm to policy. His taste in architecture may still be admired in the palaces of Stirling, Linlithgow, Falkland, and the older wing of Holyroodhouse, which were built by him.

His anxiety for the due administration of justice, caused him in 1532, to institute the court of session, the plan of which was taken from the parliament of Paris. Previous to this, the supreme court consisted of standing committees of the three parliamentary estates, who made an annual circuit into each of the quarters of the kingdom. The plan was liable to many objections; the expense incurred rendered the members unwilling to perform the duty, and when they did go, caused them to hurry the business to a conclusion. The deputies from the commons were changed annually; so that if a suit were protracted, a constant change of judges, who required to be again instructed in the whole merits of the case, created great delay, and embarrassed the proceedings. The new court was freed from these disadvantages, and its powers were made to extend over all causes of a civil nature. The original number

of the judges was fifteen,—one half clergy, one half from the laity, and a president. In the names of the first members of the court, we recognize some connected with Fife, and among these, Scott of Balweary. The advocates authorized to plead before the court, were originally limited to ten. The annual expenses of the court were ordered to be defrayed from the revenues of the clergy, who strenuously opposed the taxation.

Agriculture also received the care and attention of James. Many enactments were passed during his reign, having its protection in view; and he paid great attention to the improvement of the breed of horses. He imported from Denmark and Sweden a superior breed of this noble animal, for the purpose of ameliorating the native breed; and on 2d May, 1542, the lands of Kingsmuir in Fife, were granted to Charles Murray, for his services in purchasing large war-horses abroad for the king.

Learning and literature continued to increase during his reign. James himself was a poet, though it is very doubtful if any of his works have reached our time. Other poets and learned men flourished under his encouragement and protection; but Sir David Lindsay bears the palm from all those of his day. His strong powers of satire rendered him obnoxious to the clergy; but the protection of the king, with whom he had been brought up from infancy, and who patronized him after they had both grown up to manhood, saved him from their revenge. He was promoted to the office of Lord Lyon king at arms; and though he often complains in his poems of not being rewarded according to his own estimate of his merits, it is certain he continued to enjoy the king's friendship till his death. In his office as the Lyon king, he would be obliged to direct the mournful ceremony of the funeral which placed the remains of the fifth James beside those of his first wife in the chapel of Holyroodhouse. Lindsay could be no favourite with the cardinal, who made a bold though unsuccessful attempt to obtain the regency of the kingdom, and he now in all probability bade adieu to Falkland where he had been so often happy.

> 'Fareweill Faulkland, the forteress of Fyfe,
> Thy polite park, under the Lowmound law:
> Sum tyme in the I led ane lustie lyfe,
> The fallow deir, to se thame raik on raw.'*

Previous to the year 1534, there is no evidence of the Greek language having been studied in Scotland, or of their being any seminary at which a knowledge of it could be acquired. Boece in his account of the universities in his time, although minute in his details, makes no mention of it as among the branches taught at any one of them. A few individuals are alluded to previous to that year, as possessing a knowledge of it, but they had acquired it either on the continent or in England. When the principles of the reformation however began to be disseminated, a desire to read the New Testament in the original, increased the wish to obtain a knowledge of Greek; and

* Walk in a row.

Erskine of Dun, an early friend of the reformation, brought a learned man from France, whom he employed to teach the language in Montrose, near which town his estate lay. Here George Wishart the martyr obtained his knowledge of it, and here he afterwards taught it, on succeeding to his master's situation. The bishop of Brechin, hearing that Wishart taught his pupils to read the Greek New Testament summoned him to appear before him on a charge of heresy. In consequence, he, dreading the result of appearing to answer the charge, fled the kingdom. Shortly afterwards it appears to have been taught in the university of Aberdeen, for in 1540 when the king made his progress through the country, he was entertained on his arrival there by the students reciting "orations in the *Greek*, and Latin tongue, composed with the greatest skill." At a still later period however it does not appear to have formed a branch of education at St Andrews; for about 1559, when the celebrated Andrew Melville entered that university, he surprised his teachers by being able to read Aristotle in the original, which they themselves did not understand. It was probably he who, at a subsequent period, first made Greek an object of study in that university.

Field sports appear to have increased in estimation during the reign of James, who seems himself to have been another Nimrod. His great hunting match in Athole was on the most magnificent scale, and is fully and spiritedly described by Lindsay. Before he made his attack upon, and brought to justice, the border reivers, he invited all noblemen and gentlemen of the Lowlands and Highlands, who had superior dogs, to a solemn hunting. The number of people assembled on this occasion is estimated at twelve thousand; and the prey in the eastern parts of Galloway at three hundred and sixty harts, exclusive of the smaller game killed by the hawks. The ancient forest laws being much neglected, a new enactment was made in 1535, for regulating the royal forests, woods, and parks. By this law all those claiming hereditary offices or leases of the king's forest were ordered to produce their grants; and no horse, cattle, or sheep were to be allowed to pasture within their bounds under pain of forfeiture. An act passed in 1552, ten years after James' death, to regulate the price of game, is curious and may here be quoted as showing their relative value at that time. The crane, then not unknown in Scotland, five shillings, the swan five shillings, the wild goose two shillings, the *claik*, *quink* and *rute*, one shilling and sixpence, plover and small muir fowl fourpence, black cock and grey hen sixpence, dozen of *pouts* one shilling, the *quhaip* sixpence, rabbit one shilling, *lapron* one shilling, woodcock fourpence, dozen of larks fourpence, snipe and quail twopence. At this period the domestic hen was sold for eightpence, the capon for one shilling, and the goose for sixteen pence.

Amidst his many conceptions for benefiting his kingdom, the improvement and encouragement of the valuable fisheries upon her shores seems to have attracted the attention of James. In his voyage to the north, he had observed the advantage these fisheries had been to foreigners, and particularly to the Dutch. He had learned that the fishing vessels of Holland, Flanders, and Bremen, had made great intrusions on the privileges of his subjects in the seas of Orkney and Shetland, by advancing too near

the shores, and not only interrupting the Scottish fishers, but sometimes even compelling them to withdraw from the best fishing stations. He was likewise informed that a Scottish boat, with twenty native sailors on board, had been sunk with all its people, by the guns of these strangers. As soon as he returned, James ordered Maxwell, the admiral of Scotland, to sail to the islands, and notify his resolution to punish such attempts in future. Maxwell, when he came among them, found them refractory, and therefore ordered one or two sailors from each foreign vessel on board his own ship, he then seized one of their vessels, in order afterwards to convey the prisoners to the continent, but in the meantime he brought the whole to Leith. They were brought before the privy council at Edinburgh, when they were charged under the penalty of just retaliation, to abstain from such inimical practices; and letters were sent to the several states to which they belonged, declaring the king's fixed resolution on the subject. The prisoners were then liberated and sent home in their own vessel. It is probable the prohibition was for a few years attended to; but that it long remained effectual, or prevented foreigners from fishing in the Scottish seas, is not to be believed, as even down till very recently this has been a subject of constant complaint. Indeed, it is questionable if even yet the full benefit of the fisheries on the coast of Scotland has been reaped by the inhabitants.

During this reign we find three royal burghs added to those already existing in Fife: Pittenweem, Burntisland, and Dysart, having received charters from James. Indeed he appears to have paid much attention to the prosperity of the royal burghs, as several enactments were made regarding them; and in particular that of 1535, which, proceeding on the narrative that many peers and landed gentlemen had procured themselves to be elected into the magistracy, and under colour of protecting the towns, had delapidated their resources, ordained that the magistrates should thenceforth be chosen solely from among the substantial burgesses and merchants; and that they should annually produce their accompts at the exchequer, after a public notice of fifteen days, that all the inhabitants might have an opportunity of examination and objection. In 1531, George Earl of Rothes is sheriff of the county; but his grandfather George, the second Earl of Rothes, had, in 1489, received a charter from James IV. conferring this office heritably on him and his heirs. This noble family retained the office until the abolition of heritable jurisdictions in 1746, when the office of sheriff throughout Scotland was vested in the crown.

SECTION XII.

FROM A. D. 1542 TO A. D. 1554.

Mary succeeds her father when only seven days old.—Cardinal Beaton attempts to obtain the regency.—The office is conferred on the earl of Arran.—Proposals of Henry for marrying the infant queen to his son.—Disliked by the Scottish nation.—Cardinal Beaton imprisoned.—A treaty with England.—The marriage with prince Edward agreed to, and hostages to be given by the Scots for its fulfilment.—The regent favourable to the Reformation.—Cardinal Beaton joins the party of the queen regent, and through her exertions obtains his liberation.—They renew their exertions to excite disgust at the treaty and marriage with England.—The conduct of Henry increases the dislike of the Scotch.—The nobility refuse to send hostages.—At the instigation of Beaton, the Earl of Lenox visits Scotland, in the hope of supplanting Arran in the regency.—The young queen removed to Stirling castle, where she is more under the power of her mother and the cardinal.—The regent begins to vacillate.—He ratifies the treaty with England, but immediately afterwards joins the party of the cardinal and queen dowager.—Arran now only nominally regent, the whole real power being in the cardinal.—Persecution of the Reformers.—John Knox flees from St Andrews.—Beaton and the regent make a tour of persecution through Perth and Angus, and many are given to the flames.—At Christmas they return to St Andrews, where the regent is magnificently entertained by the cardinal.—Martyrdom of George Wishart.—Beaton becomes more unpopular.—Plots formed against his life.—He is assassinated at St Andrews.—Conspirators retain possession of the castle.—Clergy urge vigorous measures against them, and are supported by the queen dowager.—Proposal to surrender the castle.—Regent agreeable to the proposal, but the clergy object.—Proceedings against the conspirators.—They are favoured by Henry VIII.—John Hamilton appointed archbishop.—An armistice entered into.—John Knox comes to St Andrews, and engages actively in inculcating the doctrines of the Reformation.—His success as a preacher.—The castle surrendered and destroyed.—War with England.—Scots defeated.—Reformation continues to advance.—French army arrives in Scotland.—The young queen is sent to France.—Disapproved of by protestants, and connexion with France becomes unpopular.—Peace with England.—Renewed persecution.—Martyrdom of Wallace.—Efforts to reform the clergy.—Regent becomes unpopular.—He resigns, and the queen dowager is appointed regent.

MARY, at the age of seven days, succeeded to the crown, and to the misfortunes of her father. A great many of the nobility had been taken prisoners at the route at Solway Moss, and were still in London, where, as several of them had previously been favourable to the views of Henry VIII., they received from that king considerable attention. Those who were at home had the usual inclination to be factious and troublesome; and Cardinal Beaton was not only eager to retain the power which he had held under James, but to augment it by obtaining the regency. Popery and the Reformation were at this unhappy time struggling for the superiority; the dispute between light and darkness had rivetted the attention, and was exciting the minds of all classes in the community. Nothing could be more deplorable than the state of Scotland at this unhappy period.

Cardinal Beaton, immediately after the death of the king, published what he said was a deed executed by James on his deathbed, constituting him, and three noblemen in his interest, regents of Scotland, and guardians of the young queen. How this deed had been obtained has never been ascertained. Some of our old historians distinctly charge the cardinal with forgery, and represent it as having been prepared without the knowledge or consent of the deceased monarch; while others affirm that the king had been assisted in affixing his name to it when he was struggling with the pangs of death. In whatever mode the deed had been prepared, it proved useless, and the cardinal failed in his attempt. The great body of the nation looked with horror at the very

idea of an intriguing and savage persecutor obtaining the government of the country. The nobility shrunk from being subordinate to an ambitious churchman; and by general consent the office was conferred on the earl of Arran, who was of royal descent, and next heir to the crown. The new regent possessed many private virtues, but he decidedly wanted the strength of judgment and the firmness of purpose necessary for the government of a country situated as Scotland then was. The queen, not yet a year old, was crowned at Stirling, on Sunday, the 9th of September, 1543, by Cardinal Beaton, the regent Arran, as next in blood, bearing the crown. Commissioners were appointed to take charge of her person; but she was allowed to remain with her mother, to whom the palaces of Linlithgow and Stirling were assigned for her residence. Liberal provision was also made for upholding her dignity and securing her comfort.

Henry VIII., who had so long embroiled the council and government of James, had now a new object to attract his notice; and before the queen was a month old he had begun his boisterous courtship for his infant son,—a courtship which disgusted the Scottish nation, and led the Earl of Huntly, when asked for his support to the match, to say, that he misliked not so much the match as he did the way of wooing. Under the peculiar circumstances in which the country was placed it was subsequently considered unsafe to trust the person of the queen either at Stirling or Linlithgow; and accordingly she was conveyed, still under her mother's charge, to Inchmahome, an island in the Loch of Menteith, where she remained until her departure for France. Notwithstanding the objections to the violent manner in which Henry paid his addresses, the Regent and his party were inclined to listen to the proposal, as being likely to be conducive to the peace of the kingdom. They knew well, however, that it would be vigorously opposed by the cardinal and the queen dowager.

A parliament was called in 1543, for the purpose of taking the matter into consideration; and, in order to get rid of the opposition of the cardinal, he was apprehended, and imprisoned, on the ground of having invited the Duke of Guise to invade Scotland. The chief opponent being thus removed, when parliament met, it decidedly approved of peace with England, and of the marriage with the Prince of Wales; but they refused to allow the queen to be removed to England till she should be of age to complete the great object of Henry's desire, therefore, his desire for the instant custody of the infant queen, and the delivery into his possession of the principal forts in Scotland, was frustrated. Henry at length, found it necessary to moderate his demands, and treaties of peace and marriage were signed, by which it was stipulated that Mary should remain in Scotland till she was ten years of age. It was agreed that the English king should send a certain number of attendants to wait upon her, and superintend her education; and that hostages should be given to him for the due execution of the treaty. It was secured by it that Scotland should continue to remain an independent kingdom.

The Regent on first assuming power was favourable to the reformation; and received into his family as domestic chaplains John Rough and Thomas Williams, originally

Dominican friars, but who had renounced the errors of popery, and had been in the practice of preaching earnestly against the corruptions of the Roman faith. In the parliament which met in 1543, the restrictions against reading the Bible were removed, and full liberty was given to all to possess a translation of the word of God. This was previously considered a crime only to be expiated at the stake. To this important law the Regent gave his consent; and notwithstanding the protestations and objections of the clergy, a proclamation was issued by him intimating the liberty which had been bestowed. But while he thus far favoured the reformers, Arran steadfastly refused to listen to the solicitations of Henry and his ambassador Saddler, to root out the regular clergy and dissolve the monasteries. The wise and moderate counsels which the Regent at first adopted led many to hope that the nation was to be blessed with peace and tranquillity; but this prospect was not lasting. The different interests of opposing parties soon created trouble and disturbance, and the precipitation and injustice of Henry, altogether disgusted those who had been most favourable to his views.

The disappointment which the cardinal had sustained with regard to the regency, his anger at the imprisonment which he was suffering, and his jealousy, as well as that of the whole body of the clergy, at the favour which had been shown to the Reformers, could not fail to excite in the mind of such a prelate a strong desire to oppose the Regent, and as far as possible to regain the power which he had lost. The queen dowager from birth and education would naturally hold principles similar to his, and accordingly a union was formed between them, and every exertion used to obtain his liberation, which was at length effected. Every artful policy was now put in requisition to awaken the ancient prejudices against England, to disgust the nation with the proposed marriage, and to render the Regent unpopular, as having been favourable to it. Nor were they unsuccessful in their endeavours. The connexion with England became hateful, and became every day more detested. The conduct of Henry increased the growing dislike. As soon as the treaty was signed, some Scottish merchants, now freed from the terrors of war, fitted out a number of vessels and sent them to foreign countries. A storm having ensued, the commanders took shelter in the nearest English harbours. They at first received some few civilities from the English authorities, but they were afterwards prevented from proceeding on their voyage, and their rich cargos were confiscated. The remonstrances made by the Scotch were treated with evasion and contempt; and the opinion became universal that no faith could be placed on the professions of the king of England. Beaton taking advantage of these circumstances, alarmed the nobility from whose families the hostages for the fulfilment of the treaty were to be selected, and soon got it to be almost unanimously determined, that this portion of the treaty should not be executed.

Beaton now conceived the project of raising up a rival to the Regent, in order still farther to perplex him. He therefore solicited Mathew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, also nearly related to the crown, to return from France, flattering him with the hope of obtaining the queen dowager in marriage, of thus obtaining the Regency, and in the

event of the death of the young queen of ultimately succeeding to the crown. Lenox, captivated by the proposals, soon arrived in Scotland, and waiting on the Regent he expressed for him the greatest regard; but he at the same time had a meeting with the cardinal and the queen dowager, at which he declared his resolution to adhere to their party. Still farther to increase his influence, Beaton determined to obtain possession of the queen's person; and collecting a considerable force under the command of Huntly and Lenox, he had her conveyed from Linlithgow to Stirling Castle, which belonged to the queen dowager and was under her entire control. The Regent now began to show weakness and indecision of mind. Under the advice of his natural brother John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, he renounced his Protestant chaplains, and made overtures of reconciliation to his opponents.

His honourable mind, however, shrank from not fulfilling his obligations to the English king; and accordingly with religious ceremony, and in presence of Henry's ambassador, he ratified the treaties. To convince the latter that he was in earnest, he went the same afternoon to St Andrew's that they might receive the submission of cardinal, which had previously been repeatedly but insincerely offered. The prelate, however, now secure in his plots, treated the Regent with the greatest contempt, remained shut up in his castle, and refused to pay him any mark of respect. Arran, indignant at the conduct of the proud churchman, denounced him as a rebel, and returned to Edinburgh for the avowed purpose of raising forces, and reducing him to subjection. A very few days, however, shows him in another light. On the 3rd of September, he left Edinburgh for the purpose of visiting his wife at Blackness, but he went to Callendar where he met Beaton, and next day he proceeded with him to Stirling. There he joined the party of the cardinal and the queen dowager; abjured, in the Franciscan church, the Protestant religion; received from the cardinal absolution for the zeal with which he had hitherto promoted it; and assisted at the coronation of the young queen, which took place a few days afterwards.

Arran was now only nominally Regent. He was allowed to retain the title; but he was completely under the power of the cardinal, and of a council which was chosen under his direction. He lost the esteem of his own party, and notwithstanding his endeavours, he did not gain the confidence of those to whom he had made such concessions. The French party in Scotland were now ascendant, and they soon felt desirous to be rid of the Earl of Lenox, whom they had used as a tool against Arran. Suspicions were excited against him at the court of France, he was coldly treated by the party in Scotland whom he had benefited; and, indignant at the treatment he had received, he retired to England where he was received by Henry with honour and distinction.

Having obtained the power, though not the name of Regent, Beaton turned his attention to his favourite project, the entire destruction of the growing party favourable to religious reformation, and the strengthening the defences of the established church. At his instigation, the vacillating Regent, in a parliament held in Dunbar, not

only procured a law, recalling the permission which had been given to read the Scriptures, but brought forward a resolution, in which, after lamenting the increase of heretics, who taught damnable opinions, contrary to the faith and laws of holy church, all prelates were exhorted within their own dioceses and jurisdiction, to enquire after these persons, and to proceed against them according to the laws of the church; and he assured the bishops that as regent, he would be at all times ready to do what became his office. Nor was this enactment long of being rigidly enforced. It appears to have been about this period that the great John Knox first began to attract the notice of his superiors. He had been ordained a priest of the Catholic Church, and for some time read lectures on philosophy in the university of St Andrews. The reformed doctrines were now the common topic of conversation, and Knox had embibed some of them. The change of his views was first detected in his lectures, in which he began to forsake the old scholastic path, and to recommend to his pupils a more rational mode of study. This beneficial innovation excited suspicions of heresy against him; and these were confirmed when he proceeded to find fault with the corruptions which prevailed in the church. St Andrews was too much under the power of Beaton to be long a safe residence for the reformer; and he therefore fled to England, where he avowed his full belief in the doctrines of the reformation. Enraged at his escape, sentence was pronounced against him as a heretic, and he was degraded from the priesthood. It is even said that assassins were employed by the cardinal to way-lay him; and that he must have perished by them, but for the protection afforded him by the laird of Langniddrie.

Beaton, accompanied by the regent, made a journey through his diocese for the purpose of endeavouring to strike terror into the hearts of all who were enemies of the Church. Four men were given to the flames at Perth, one of whom was accused of having interrupted a friar, who taught that a man could not be saved without praying to the saints, and the other three of having treated with disrespect the image of a saint, and having eaten flesh on a day forbidden by the Church. Another man met with the same punishment, against whom the only accusation was, that he had kept company with those who had been convicted. The wife of one of the four was put to death by drowning, because during the agony of labour she had refused to invoke the Virgin Mary, affirming that she would pray to God alone, in the name of Jesus Christ. Not satisfied with these atrocities, the cardinal caused numbers to be banished; and still accompanied by the regent, he with a large retinue of nobility and clergy proceeded to examine into the state of the counties of Angus and Mearns. Great numbers were summoned before them, charged with reading the New Testament, but it does not appear that any capital punishments were inflicted. It is probable that the regent could not be brought to execute men for doing that which the law of the country had so recently sanctioned; and that Beaton, however anxious to persecute, did not consider it prudent to quarrel with the regent on that point. Many, however, were left languishing in prison; and John Roger, a Dominican friar, who had distinguished himself in preaching, was carried prisoner to the castle

of St Andrews. Shortly afterwards his body was found on the rocks below the castle, so that he had either been murdered in his dungeon, and his body thrown over the precipice on which the castle stands, or in attempting to make his escape had fallen over and been killed.

The cardinal was occupied by this attempt to support the falling Church and overcome its enemies, until the approach of Christmas, when he returned to St Andrews. He invited the regent and other nobles to spend the festive occasion with him at his castle; and there he entertained the representative of his sovereign for some time with great splendour and magnificence. His object in all was plainly to confirm his influence over the vacillating and weak-minded regent; and in this view, he also made him many gifts, gave promises of more, and arranged with him various schemes connected with the government of the kingdom.

While thus employed in strengthening his power, and preparing for farther persecution of the reformers, the cardinal was not unaware that the scandalous lives of the clergy had tended greatly to bring them into contempt, and to strengthen the arguments of the enemies of the Church. In 1546, therefore, he summoned an assembly to meet at Edinburgh, to consider the best means of extirpating heresy, supporting the rights of the Church, and restraining the licentiousness of the clergymen. It does not appear that any thing was done at this convocation for promoting the last of these objects; but as the cardinal was informed that George Wishart, who had been most successful for some time in teaching and disseminating the protestant doctrines was now in the Lothians, and might be apprehended, all his endeavours were at once directed towards this end.

This eminent man had been educated at Montrose, and had afterwards taught Greek there; but he had early embibed the principles of the reformers under his father's roof. He had read the Greek Testament, with his pupils at Montrose, and for this had been obliged to fly from the persecution of the bishop of Brechin. Proceeding to England, he had resided for some time at Cambridge, and it is said he had also visited Germany, where his principles had been strengthened and his knowledge increased. In 1544, he returned to Scotland, and from that time had continued preaching in various parts of the country. He excelled all his contemporaries in learning, was possessed of a most persuasive eloquence, his manners were pleasant and courteous, his morals and course of life pure and irreproachable. The people crowded to hear his discourses, and eagerly adopted his doctrines.

Learning that after preaching at Haddington, Wishart had taken refuge in the house of Ormiston, the regent and cardinal ordered him to be apprehended by the earl of Bothwell, then sheriff of East Lothian. Ormiston was unwilling at first to deliver up the unfortunate preacher, but as there appeared no means for his escape, and as Bothwell pledged himself for his safety, he was allowed to be taken into custody. The pledge given by Bothwell was, however, little attended to by him, for yielding to the persuasions of the queen dowager, he within a day or two after delivered up his prisoner to the car-

dinal, who immediately had him conveyed to the castle of St Andrews. A convocation of the clergy was immediately called; and among others the archbishop of Glasgow came to St Andrews. This prelate suggested to the cardinal the propriety of applying to the regent to have a commission issued to some dignified layman to act as judge on Wishart's trial. The suggestion was acceded to by the cardinal; but on application being made to him, the regent refused to make the appointment, and wrote to the cardinal desiring him to delay the trial till he himself should arrive at St Andrews.

Irritated at the refusal of the regent, the cardinal determined to proceed with the trial on his own responsibility, and the archbishop of Glasgow did not longer oppose his doing so. Wishart was accordingly summoned to appear before his persecutors, in the Abbey church, on the last day of February. After a sermon from John Winram, the subprior, the articles of accusation were read by a churchman named Lauder, who according to Lindsay indulged besides in the "most bitter and despiteful railings and threatenings" against Wishart, to all which he answered "very modestly, and withal very pithily." The doom of the unhappy man was predetermined, and he was accordingly condemned as an obstinate heretic, and sentenced to be burned. He was immediately afterwards carried back to the castle, where he was visited by two monks who exhorted him to make confession, but he refused to hold any communication with them, and requested to be allowed to converse with the subprior. This priest who was himself suspected of holding many of the reformed doctrines, inquired if Wishart wished to partake of the sacrament; and on his expressing his desire to do so, according to what he considered the mode ordained by Christ, the subprior who felt convinced of his innocence, and had the matter depended on him, his desire would at once have been gratified. He stated, however, his conviction of his innocence to the cardinal, but the answer which he received alarmed him for his own safety. "Well, sir, and you," said that haughty prelate, "we know what a man you are seven years ago." Winram then inquired if they would consent to Wishart receiving the sacrament; but after consulting together, the prelates decided, that being condemned as a heretic, he was not entitled to partake of it. The subprior reported this answer to the martyr, and they parted with tears promising mutually to pray for each other.

On the morning of his execution, Wishart breakfasted with the captain of the castle, and bread and wine being placed before him, he blessed them, and partaking of them himself, presented them to those present, who deeply affected with the scene partook with him. Shortly afterwards he was led forth to the place of execution, which was the area before the castle. He was clothed in a linen garment, from which were suspended several bags of gunpowder, and bound to the stake by an iron chain. The death of Wishart was such as can only be exhibited by those who are sustained by more than human strength. He implored the support of heaven, exhorted the people to keep steadfast in the doctrines he had taught them, and having again prayed, the fire and the gunpowder was kindled by the executioner. His death, however, was not instantaneous. He still survived amid the the flames, and the captain of the castle, who seems to have been much impressed by his

sufferings, entreated him still to preserve his fortitude. He answered with unshrinking fortitude; and the cord with which he was bound being tightened round his neck, his sufferings were brought to an end.

The fate of this amiable man had a great effect on the minds of the people at the time, and the cardinal appears to have been perfectly sensible of this, and even to have feared that an attempt would be made to rescue him from the flames. The execution took place in front of the castle, and the whole of its artillery was pointed in that direction. While, in order to watch the proceedings of the people, the cardinal, and the prelates who were with him, witnessed the execution from the windows of the front tower, which was hung with tapestry for the occasion. When the captain of the castle spoke to Wishart, he looking up at the cardinal answered, "this flame hath scorched my body, yet it hath not daunted my spirit; but he who from yonder place beholdeth it with such pride, shall within a few days lie in the same, as ignominiously as he is now seen proudly to rest himself." This has been peculiarly considered as prophetic of the cardinal's death, which so soon afterwards took place; and the late William M'Gavin, author of the Protestant, considers it "one of the best authenticated instances of what has been called prophecy, by any of our worthies." It is extremely doubtful, however, if the words attributed to Wishart were ever uttered by him; and if they were, he could only mean by the words, "in a few days," the remaining period of Beaton's life, which to one entering on eternity could but appear as few days, however, it might be lengthened out.

The churchmen looked upon the death of Wishart as a triumph to their cause, and they highly applauded the promptitude and decision of Beaton; but they soon found that they had little cause for congratulation, and that so far from strengthening the Church, as they had anticipated, the death of Wishart in defiance of the civil power, had served to convince the people of the strong necessity for subverting it. The cardinal now became generally unpopular; and many became persuaded that he had forfeited the protection of the government, and might by private individuals be punished for the murder which it was held he had committed. John Leslie, a brother of the Earl of Rothes, openly avowed these opinions, and declared that the blood of Wishart should not go unrevenged. Beaton became alarmed when he heard that such a spirit and such opinions prevailed so generally; and he sought to secure himself by forming a closer connection with the nobles. He married his natural daughter to the son of the earl of Crawford, and was present at the marriage which was solemnized with great splendour. About that time, however, a plot was formed which was shortly to put an end to the life and to the schemes of this ambitious prelate.

The persons associated in this conspiracy were thirty-five in number; the leaders were Norman Leslie, the son of the earl of Rothes, John, his uncle, James Kircaldy of Grange, James Melville of the family of Carnbee, and Peter Carmichael of Balmadie.* They

* The following list of the names of the conspirators is preserved in the public records:—"Normane Leslie fiar of Rothes, Peter Carmichaell of Balmadie, James Kircaldie of the Grange, William Kircaldie his eldest son, David Kircaldie his brother, Jhonne Kircaldie of the Grange, Patrick Kirkcaldy, George Kirkcaldy,

fixed on the twenty-ninth of May (1546) for executing their design; and in order to avoid suspicion, they went to St Andrews, either singly or in small numbers, and at different times. The cardinal was at this time making additions to the fortifications of the castle, and the number of people within it was unusually great. At three in the morning of the day which had been fixed on, the conspirators met in the Abbey churchyard and finally arranging their plan, proceeded to the castle. Kirkcaldy and his attendants first obtained admission, and entered into conversation with the porter, to withdraw his attention as much as possible from their associates. Norman Leslie, and those with him, accordingly passed unheeded, but John Leslie coming up considerably agitated, led the porter to suspect a plot, and he instantly attempted to draw up the bridge. He was at once secured, however, and with the cardinal's servants put out of the castle. The workmen employed, fearing an attack from a larger body, withdrew of their own accord. Having thus made themselves masters of the castle, the conspirators now proceeded to the cardinal's bed-chamber, and knocking at the door awakened him. He instantly attempted to secure the door; but on their threatening to force it, and solemnly assuring him that they would not personally injure him, he opened it, and gave them admission. To this promise little attention was paid, and equally little to the sanctity of his office of which he reminded them. James Melville exhorted him to repentance, and told him, that they were now to avenge the death of Wishart, and then instantly thrust him through the body with his dagger. Others of the conspirators also stabbed him with their swords. The inhabitants of St Andrews, alarmed by the report of the castle being taken, came towards it in crowds, some in order to gratify their curiosity, and others with offers of assistance. The adherents and dependants of the cardinal insisted on seeing him; and the conspirators, carrying his dead body to the window, exposed it to the public gaze, at the same place from which he had so recently in his pride of place witnessed the sufferings of Wishart.

An immediate attempt was made to retake the castle, and the conspirators were joined by about one hundred and forty other persons determined to keep possession of it; and they were the better enabled to do this as the policy of Beaton had led him to increase the fortifications, and to collect an abundant supply of provisions. The eldest son of the regent had been found in the castle when it was taken, and the conspirators detained him in custody, as a check on the proceedings which the father might be inclined to adopt against them. The offices which had been held by the cardinal were speedily filled up. John Hamilton, abbot of Paisley, the natural brother of the regent, was elected archbishop of St Andrews, and the earl of Huntly was appointed chancellor of the kingdom. The

brother to the said James Kircaldy of the Grange, Thomas Kircaldy his sonne, Jhonne Leslie of Parkhill, Alexander Inglis, James Malvile elder, Jhonne Malvile bastard son to the laird of Raith, Alexander Malvile, David Carmichaell, Gilbert Geddes younger, Robert Munerief brother to the laird of Tibbermello, William Symsoun, Alexander Andersoun, David Balfour sonne to the laird of Monquihanny, Thomas Conyghame, Nicholl Hart, William Guthrie, Jhonne Sibbald brother to the laird of Cuikstowne, Peter Carmichael, Walter Malvile younger, Sir Jhonne Auchinleck chaplane, Nicol Learmounth, Sir Jhonne Young chaplane, David Kircaldie cuik, Niniane Cockburne, Jhonne Poll gunnar, William Orok, Jhonne Rollock, and Andrew Tanzor.

clergy eagerly desired to have the cardinal's death revenged, and they strongly urged the regent to proceed vigorously against the murderers. They pronounced sentence of excommunication against every one who had been concerned in the murder; and gave a liberal subsidy from the church revenues for carrying on the siege of the castle. The queen dowager supported them in their wishes, and also advised immediate measures being adopted. The fears of the regent, however, for the life of his son, was a strong reason for his proceeding with caution, and must have made him reluctant to drive the conspirators to despair. At length, however, on the tenth of June, a summons of treason was issued against them; and a proclamation, prohibiting all persons from holding any correspondence with the castle, or from supplying it with arms and provisions, under pain of death and forfeiture of goods.

A proposal was made to parliament in July following, to deliver up the castle, and the regent's son, on a free pardon being granted for the murder; and to these terms the regent and the parliament were willing to agree, but the archbishop of Glasgow protested solemnly against it, maintaining that as the murderers had been excommunicated by the church, no agreement ought to be made with them till they had obtained absolution from the pope. This at once put an end to any intention of capitulation, and measures were immediately adopted against them. They were declared guilty of treason, and their property confiscated; a force was assembled for besieging the castle, and by the end of August the siege was commenced. The conspirators immediately opened a communication with the king of England, and solicited his support. Henry, at once, in opposition to every principle of honour and good faith, despatched several vessels with provisions for the garrison, supplied the castle with whatever was necessary for its defence, and remitted money to secure the constancy of the garrison.* The siege was continued during a period of four months, without prospect of success. Well supplied with arms and provisions from England, the conspirators set the regent at defiance.

The regent, finding how little success attended his endeavours to retake the castle, had again recourse to negotiation, and the garrison were equally eager to come to terms. It was at length arranged "that the government should procure for the besieged a sufficient absolution from the pope for the slaughter of the cardinal; that they should not be pursued by force, or deprived of the castle, until that absolution should be obtained; that the besieged, and none connected with them, should ever be prosecuted for the slaughter of the cardinal; that they should enjoy all their privileges and rights, spiritual and temporal, as freely as if it never had been committed; that they should give pledges for fulfilling their part of the treaty; and that the governor's son should remain in the castle till all things were finally adjusted." Upon the part of the conspirators it was stipulated, that on these conditions being fulfilled, the castle should be surrendered, and the regent's son

* Mr Henry Balnaves, agent at the court of England for the conspirators, received £1180 for one half year's pay to garrison. Norman Leslie had a pension of £280. Sir James Kirkcaldy had £200, and smaller pensions were allowed to other persons.

delivered up to him. These arrangements having been made, Arran dismissed his army, and retired to Edinburgh. The conspirators were therefore allowed free communication with the town and the surrounding country, of which they no doubt gladly took advantage.

The length of time which the murderers of Beaton had been enabled to hold out the castle of St Andrews against the regent, and the armistice which they had secured for themselves, had a very favourable effect on the progress of the reformation, as it enabled them to afford protection to several of the protestant preachers. Among these, John Rough, originally a monk, had acted as chaplain to the garrison, and was met there by John Knox, the great apostle of the reformation, when he visited the castle after the conclusion of the armistice. It was here, that on the suggestion of Rough, Knox was first called to the ministry, and first began publicly to deliver his addresses on the antichristian nature of the papal power. Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and Henry Balnaves of Halhill, were also among the eminent reformers, who, although innocent of any connection with the death of the cardinal, had been forced to seek refuge in the castle. Sir David's tragedy of cardinal Beaton is said by Chalmers to have been written in 1546, and the probability is, it was written in the castle.

The absolution which had been required by the garrison arrived from Rome in the month of June, but from the absurdity of the manner in which it was expressed, they considered themselves justified in refusing to consider it valid, and consequently to deliver up the castle.* Their friend Henry VIII. in the meantime died, but he had previously recommended the prosecution of the Scottish war, and they knew that the counsellors of Edward VI. were making vigorous preparations for an invasion of the kingdom. They therefore felt confidence in being still able to hold out the castle against the regent; and they accordingly again retired within its walls, making every preparation for its defence. John Rough, who had hitherto acted as chaplain, displeased with the improper behaviour of many of the garrison, now left it, and went abroad; but Knox remained with them, and did not hesitate freely to reproach them with the impropriety of their conduct. They were shortly afterwards joined by the Earl of Rothes, who had just arrived from Denmark.

Promises had been made by the French monarch to lend the regent his assistance, yet this had not been done; but Henry II., who now filled the throne of that kingdom, was completely under the direction of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorrain, brothers of the queen dowager. By their advice a fleet was at length despatched, and made its appearance in the bay of Saint Andrews in June 1547. The regent on learning this, hastened to join them with his army; the castle was at once invested by land and sea, and the siege proceeded in with vigour and determination. The French had better artillerymen, than were to be found in the army of the regent, and they soon succeeded in destroying a considerable portion of the works of the castle: a pestilential disorder broke out among the garrison, which carried off a good many of them; and there was little prospect of

* The words of the bull which they objected to were "Remittimus crimen irremissible."

immediate relief from England, whence alone they could expect it. In these circumstances they were obliged to surrender, but they refused to do so to the Earl of Arran. From the French general they received better terms than they could have expected from the regent; and on their delivering up the castle with all its treasures to the French, it was agreed that all their lives should be spared. They were to be carried prisoners into France, and should they afterwards wish it, carried into any other kingdom but Scotland at the expence of the French King. The spoils of the castle were very considerable, including its furniture, the treasures of the cardinal, and the wealth of the garrison, which had been brought there for security, and the whole was taken on board the ships and carried to France. The prisoners from the dislike to protestants in that country were not well used; nor was the terms of the treaty adhered to. Some were confined in prisons; others, among whom was John Knox, were sent to the gallies; while a few were admitted into the service of the French king.* The castle was immediately afterwards dismantled and laid in ruins, part of it being razed to the ground. This was done in pretended conformity with the canon law, which required that of a building in which the blood of a cardinal had been shed, not a vestige should be left; but as it was not altogether razed, it is more probable that the real purpose was merely to dismantle it to prevent its afterwards falling into the hands of the English.

The clergy of the established church were filled with joy at the reduction of the castle, and it is most probable they would have instantly endeavoured to persuade the regent to farther measures of persecution against the reformers; but that the kingdom was soon threatened with a calamity, an invasion from England, which called forth all the energies of the nation, and caused for a time religious disputes to be laid aside. The duke of Somerset, protector of England, during the minority of Edward VI., was determined to

* Norman Leslie, the master of Rothes, and the young laird of Grange were among those who entered the service of the French monarch. The former gained no little reputation in the wars between that monarch and the emperor. He was killed in an engagement fought between the armies of these monarchs, near Cambray, in 1554. Sir James Melville was present at this engagement, and in his memoirs (p. 33) gives the following account of the last exploit of this gallant but misdirected Scotsman, who in a moment of irritation joined a conspiracy, for which he forfeited his right to an earldom. "With thirty Scotsmen," says Sir James, "he rode up the hill upon a fair grey gelding. He had above his coat of black velvet, his coat of armour with two broad white crosses, the one before, and the other behind, with sleeves of mail, and a red bonnet upon his head, whereby he was known and seen afar off by the constable, the duke of Anguien and the prince of Conde: where with his thirty he charged upon sixty of their horsemen with calverines followed but with seven of his number. He, in our sight struck five of them from their horses with his spear before it brake: then he drew his sword, and ran in among them, not valuing their continual shooting, to the admiration of the beholders. He slew divers of them, and at length, when he saw a company of spearmen coming down against him, he gave his horse the spurs, who carried him to the constable, and there fell down dead, for he had many shots; and worthy Norman was also shot in divers parts, whereof he died fifteen days after. He was first carried to the king's own tent, where the duke of Anguien and prince of Conde told his majesty that Hector of Troy was not more valiant than the said Norman: whom the said king would see dressed by his own chirurgeons, and made great moan for him. But no man made more lamentation than the laird of Grange, who came to the camp the next day after, from a quiet road whither he had been commanded."

follow up the intentions of Henry VIII., in effecting, if possible, a union of the two kingdoms, by the marriage of Edward to the young queen of Scots; and, like Henry, his late master, he seems to have considered an invasion of the kingdom the easiest and most legitimate mode for effecting this desirable purpose: he entered Scotland with an army of eighteen thousand men; and sent round the coast a fleet of sixty sail, one half of which were ships of war, and the other half vessels loaded with provisions and military stores. The regent Arran was filled with dismay at this intelligence, but he assembled an army of forty thousand men to oppose the invasion. The battle of Pinky, which immediately followed, was decisive in favour of the English who only lost about five hundred men; while above ten thousand of the Scottish army were slain.

Scotland was now apparently completely exposed to the power of England, and the desired marriage could hardly have been withstood by the vanquished. But the power of the English protector was threatened by plots among his enemies at home; and the preservation of his own influence in the government of his country, caused him immediately to march back into England. Previous to his departure, however, he took measures to secure an entry into Scotland, both by land and sea. He placed a garrison on St Colms' isle in the Forth, leaving two ships of war to guard it; and stationed another garrison at Broughty Castle, near the mouth of the Tay. In his march towards home, he caused many of the nobles and barons to deliver up their castles to him, and to swear allegiance to the king of England. Some of these places of strength he destroyed; and in other cases he increased the fortifications, and left garrisons for their defence. The result of this invasion, although it might have been expected to produce worse consequences, was sufficiently disastrous to the Scottish nation, but its effects were beneficial to the progress of the principles of the reformation. The reformers looked for protection from the English monarch, and his advisers, who had embraced the protestant faith; and the queen dowager, who had long been desirous of supplanting the regent, disguised her hatred of the reformed party, and began to court their favour, that she might obtain their assistance in her schemes.

In June, 1548, a French force of six thousand men, under D'Esse, arrived in Scotland, and, in July following, it was decided in parliament by a large majority that the young queen should be sent to France. She accordingly sailed from Dumbarton shortly afterwards, and after an unfavourable voyage, arrived in France, where she was placed under the protection of the French monarch. The protestant party highly disapproved of this measure, and as soon as her departure was generally known, the great body of the people saw how pernicious to the advance of the reformation, an alliance on the part of their queen with France would prove. This dissatisfaction was very soon greatly increased by the conduct of the French who had come to Scotland. The French were brave in the field, and rendered great assistance against the English invaders; but they outraged the feelings, despised the habits, and even violated the property of their Scottish friends; and on one occasion so far did they carry their licentious proceedings, that in a riot they slew the chief magistrate of

Edinburgh and his son, in the streets of that city. The French monarch recalled the general who had hitherto commanded his troops in Scotland, against whom the popular indignation ran very high; but nothing could remove the hatred which had been created against the French, or the national disgust at a French alliance.

The war with England was continued with various success for a period of two years. No real advantage was gained by the English; but their fleets did considerable damage to the inhabitants of the sea-coast towns, then the wealthiest in the nation. At length, tired of their fruitless efforts against Scotland, the English monarch and his council consented to a peace, which was proclaimed in April, 1550. Little benefit accrued, however, to unhappy Scotland from the peace, for no sooner was the nation relieved from danger from without, than internal divisions and dissensions began to prevail, and the church, to renew her persecutions of heretics, as she styled those who opposed her particular views. The influence which the archbishop of St Andrews naturally exercised over his brother, the facile and vacilating regent, enabled him to exert the power of the government, as well as of the church, against those who dared to differ from him in opinion, or to dispute in any way the doctrines or infallibility of the papal power. This persecution commenced with the trial and condemnation of Adam Wallace, a man in a humble rank of life; whose influence could only arise from the truth of the doctrines he promulgated, and whose death only excited the hatred of his followers to the power which destroyed him.

The archbishop soon perceived that the church had been little benefited by the death of Wallace, and he became convinced of the necessity of other measures being adopted for its preservation; and the recall of the wanderers from within its pale. A synod was summoned in 1552, at which it was resolved to publish a catechism for the instruction of the people, and several regulations were made for reforming the corrupt lives of the clergy. The period, however, was now past for such efforts to be of much use. The catechism was published, and disseminated with the greatest diligence; but the people of Scotland undervalued the gift, and in derision called it the two-penny faith. The desolute habits the clergy had unfortunately acquired, were now too confirmed to be easily altered; and while the laws passed for their reformation, abundantly confirmed the statements of the reformers with regard to them, they produced little or no effect on the corrupt body of men they were intended to amend.

During this period, the dislike to the regent had been increasing throughout the nation, while the conciliatory conduct of the queen dowager had gained her the favourable opinion of many. Various attempts were from time to time made to get him to resign the regency in her favour, but he clung with great tenacity to the power which he had so feebly, and with so little credit to himself, exercised. The prudent conduct of the queen dowager at length prevailed; and after some of his usual displays of irresolution and indecision, he resigned on the 10th April, 1554. At a meeting of parliament held on that occasion, he delivered to the French ambassador the badges of his office, when, in the name

of the young Mary, they were delivered over to her mother. She returned from the assembly to Holyrood-house with royal state; while the late regent, now assuming the title of duke of Chatelherault, which had been conferred on him by the king of France, as a consideration for his resigning the supreme power, followed in her train.

SECTION XIII.

A. D. 1554, TO A. D. 1560.

Fears of the Reformers on the Queen Dowager being appointed Regent.—Increased by the death of Edward VI. of England, and the accession of Mary.—Her banishment of Protestants from England favourable to reform in Scotland.—Preaching of Knox—He is summoned before the clergy, but his trial adjourned.—He retires to Geneva.—Queen Regent shows her desire to proceed against the Reformers.—Causes the Protestant preachers to be cited, and commands all strangers in Edinburgh without permission, to retire for fifteen days to the borders.—A tumult created in consequence.—The Regent recalls the proclamation, and promises not to proceed with the trial of the ministers.—The Regent proposes the introduction of a foreign force for the defence of the kingdom, and to levy a tax for its support.—The measure strenuously opposed, and given up.—War with England.—French commander besieges Werk castle, without the knowledge of the Scottish commanders.—They refuse in consequence to proceed into England.—French commander recalled, and army disbanded—Reformers now joined by many of the nobility—First covenant entered into.—Marriage of the young Queen with the Dauphin of France.—Persecution of the Reformers renewed by the Archbishop of St Andrews.—Martyrdom of Walter Mill.—Reformers see the necessity of combining for their mutual defence.—Remonstrate with the Regent and also with the clergy.—They are flattered by the Regent, while the clergy offer to refer the points in dispute to a public disputation.—The death of Mary, and the accession of Elizabeth to the English throne favourable to the Reformers.—The King of France causes the young Queen of Scots to be proclaimed Queen of England.—The Regent favourable to this, but the Reformers against it.—The Regent and Archbishop of St Andrews prepare to proceed with rigour against them.—The preachers are cited to appear at Stirling.—She is warned not to proceed against them.—Reformation established at Perth.—Regent irritated at this, issues a proclamation for the solemn holding of the festival of Easter.—The preachers again cited, prepare to attend their trial, attended by a great convocation of the Reformers.—The Regent alarmed, entreats them not to proceed nearer Stirling, and declared that all proceedings should be stopped.—Convocation in consequence dismissed.—Preachers not having attended on the day of citation are denounced rebels, and all persons prohibited, under pain of treason, from affording them assistance.—Knox again arrives in Scotland, and preaches at Perth.—Altars and images, and the monastaries there destroyed.—The same occurs at Cupar-Fife—Reformers have recourse to arms.—A second covenant for mutual defence and the establishment of Protestantism entered into.—Knox preaches at Crail and Anstruther, where all monuments of Catholic worship are destroyed—Cathedral of St Andrews threatened with the same fate, and, notwithstanding an attempted defence by the Archbishop, destroyed.—The Regent collects troops at Falkland.—Reformers collect troops, which assemble at Cupar-Fife.—Army of the Regent encamp on the Garliebank near Cupar, while the Reformers encamp on Cupar muir, on the opposite side of the Eden.—An armistice entered into, and terms of a treaty of peace proposed.—French troops sent across the Forth, but the Regent refuses to remove her garrison from Perth.—sufferings of the inhabitants.—Reformers attack the town, and the garrison surrenders.—Abbey of Scone destroyed.—Reformers proceed to Stirling, and the abbey of Cambus Kenneth laid in ruins.—Afterwards march to Linlithgow, and thence to Edinburgh, the Regent flying to Dunbar.—Proceedings of the Reformers at Edinburgh, their force begins to diminish by desertion.—The Regent leaves Dunbar for the purpose of attacking them.—They accept terms of accommodation.—The death of the King of France, and the accession of the Dauphin and the young Queen of Scots to that throne, give renewed hopes to the Catholics.—The Reformers again meet, and enter into a third covenant.—Disturbances in Edinburgh.—Arrival of troops from France.—The congregation assembles at Stirling, where they are joined by the duke of Chautelherault and his son.—They obtain possession of Broughty Castle.—They march towards Edinburgh, while the Regent retires to Leith. She is removed from the Regency by the Reformers.—Siege of Leith.—Reformers apply to Elizabeth for assistance, and until the issue of their embassy retire from Leith, one portion occupying Fife, and another the west country.—The regent again enters Edinburgh, and establishes there the Catholic worship, and proceeds against the Reformers in Fife.—Proceedings there.—Arrival of a fleet from England with assistance to the Reformers.—Treaty entered into between the congregation and Elizabeth.—The Regent disappointed in her expectations of assistance from France.—The hopes of the Reformers are renewed, and enter into negotiations with France.—They are joined by an army from England.—The Queen Dowager retires to Edinburgh Castle.—The siege of Leith renewed.—The Reformers enter into the fourth covenant.—Death of the Queen Dowager.

NOTWITHSTANDING the favour which had been shown the reformers by the queen dowager, during the time she was endeavouring to undermine the power of the Duke of Chatelherault, they looked with considerable fears on her elevation to supreme power. They knew the principles in which she had been educated, and the influence which her brothers possessed over her. The gloom which these considerations caused was increased, by reflecting that they were now deprived of the hope of any assistance from England, in consequence of the death of Edward VI., and the succession of Mary, his aunt, who had been educated in all the strictness of the catholic faith. The fears which they entertained haply proved groundless. The dreadful persecutions which Mary carried on in England, forced the most celebrated of the English divines to leave the country, and while several of them retired to the continent, many of them fled to Scotland, where their preaching and example tended much to strengthen the protestant cause. The preaching of Knox, who was alike remarkable for the vigour of his eloquence, and the intrepidity of his character, was of incalculable advantage to his native country.

His powerful eloquence was soon followed by the most marked consequences; and the clergy were seriously alarmed at the extensive desertion of the services of the church which now took place. They made strong representations to the regent on the subject; but notwithstanding her zeal for the catholic faith, her political wisdom led her to act with more moderation than they were inclined to do. She recommended the clergy to proceed against the reformers by virtue of their spiritual, rather than by using the civil power against them. They in consequence summoned Knox before them. He was attended by Erskine of Dun, and many other gentlemen who at once appeared to answer the complaint; but when the churchmen saw the manner in which he was supported, they became alarmed for the consequences, and under pretence of informality in the citation, adjourned the trial. This circumstance inspired the party with renewed confidence, and particularly gratified Knox, whose hearers daily and rapidly increased.

The conduct of the regent, however, during this time, sufficiently showed that she would give no direct support to the reformers, and there was too much reason to fear that she only waited for an opportunity to use her utmost efforts to suppress, what she now with the clergy, considered heresy. The reform party were not as yet sufficiently strong, openly to oppose government, should the regent feel inclined to exert her strength against them, and under these circumstances, Knox, in 1556, considered it prudent in the meantime to leave Scotland, and to retire to Geneva. The number of reformers, however, continued to increase, and numbers of the catholic clergy became converts to the protestant faith. In 1557, the regent, although still unwilling to proceed with rigour, in compliance with the desire of the clergy, summoned a number of the protestant ministers, to answer for their conduct as a civil offence against the law, and a proclamation was at the same time issued, commanding all persons who had come to Edinburgh without permission, to repair for fifteen days to the borders. This was caused by the fears entertained of tumults from the followers of the preachers who had been summoned.

The consequence of this proclamation was a tumult among several gentlemen from the west country, then in Edinburgh, who appeared in a riotous manner before the palace, and obtained an audience of the regent, when they expostulated with her upon the hardship of the proclamation. She endeavoured to convince them of its propriety, but they answered rudely, and concluded by placing their hands upon their swords. The regent became alarmed, and promised not only that the proclamation should be revoked, but the proceedings against the preachers suspended. The state in which the country was, appears now to have suggested to the regent the idea of introducing a paid force of mercenary soldiers for the defence of the country, instead of intrusting its defence, as heretofore, to the barons of the kingdom, and their followers. It was accordingly proposed, that a certain amount of every man's property and income should be annually levied, for the purpose of paying such a force. The mere suggestion of this measure filled the nation with the greatest alarm. The plan was conceived to have been suggested by her French relations, and it was supposed it was intended to pave the way for introducing an army of that nation to keep Scotland in subjection. The opposition was decided, but respectful; and the regent was obliged at once to renounce it, although she repeatedly asserted that the proposition did not originate with France, but had been suggested by some of the most eminent of the Scottish nobility.

New dissensions now arose with England, and at the instigation of the king of France, the regent expressed her desire to commence hostilities against that country. The nobility generally were against such a war, but they ultimately yielded to her wishes. Several successful excursions were made into England, and a large army had advanced as far as Kelso, when D'Oysel, the French commander, without orders from, or consulting, the Scottish general, but with the connivance of the queen regent, passed the Tweed with the ordinance and forces under his command, and laid siege to the castle of Werk. The indignation of the Scottish nobles was instantly roused by this insolence. They accordingly refused to advance into England; and the queen regent was obliged to recall D'Oysel with disgrace, and to disband the army which had been called out.

The reformers at length became a body in the state of too much importance to be neglected by the nobility. Many now joined their ranks, and offered themselves as leaders of the party. Among these, James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, the natural brother of the young queen, was soon to act a prominent part, such as his rank and talent entitled him to do. The party began to act in a more regular and decided manner than they had hitherto done. A formal bond of agreement, which has been called *the first covenant*, was entered into, and all the persons of eminence, who favoured the reformation, were invited to subscribe it. They henceforth distinguished themselves by the title of the Congregation of Christ; and the leaders of the party were called the lords of the congregation. Sensible of the precarious nature of her power, the regent was desirous of hastening the marriage of her daughter with the Dauphin. Her views were that the crown of Scotland being invested in the son of the king of France, the nations would be bound together in a close

and cordial union; and that she would thenceforth be enabled to carry on her government in the name of the king and queen, with a power and vigour that would be irresistible by the reformers or any other party. After much negotiation, and every caution had been adopted on the part of the Scots to preserve the independence of their ancient kingdom, the marriage was celebrated at Paris with the greatest pomp, in April, 1558. A few months afterwards, notwithstanding considerable opposition, an act of parliament was passed, conferring the crown-matrimonial upon the Dauphin, during the existence of the marriage, but without any prejudice to the liberties of the kingdom, to the heirs of the queen's body, or the order of the royal succession. The earl of Argyle, and James Stewart, prior of St Andrews, were appointed to carry the crown-matrimonial to France, but the transaction never was completed.

The compact form which the party of the reformers had now assumed, and their steady and concentrated proceedings, again alarmed the clergy for the safety of the church. The archbishop of St Andrews saw the danger, and endeavoured first by address, and then by rigour, to repress the coming storm. He endeavoured to gain the earl of Argyle to leave the congregation, and return to the bosom of the church, but in vain; and the earl dying about this time, not only held his principles firmly, but impressed them strenuously upon his son, the lord Lorn. Irritated by his want of success at conciliation, the archbishop, with the other prelates, determined to overwhelm their opponents by a furious persecution. Walter Mill, a priest, who had neglected to officiate at the altar, and who had long been under suspicion of heresy, seemed a proper person with whom to commence this course of proceedings. He was in extreme old age; his powers of nature were nearly exhausted; and he had struggled all his life with poverty. This poor old man was apprehended and carried to St Andrews, where he was committed to prison, and accused before the archbishop and his suffragans. To this accusation he replied with signal fortitude and caution; and the firmness of his mind, in the feeble state of his body, excited general admiration. His examination is given by archbishop Spottiswoode with affecting simplicity; and signally shows his proud superiority over his ignorant, but powerful oppressors. After the clergy had declared him to be a heretic, it was necessary that a civil judge should pronounce sentence of condemnation upon him; but such was the pity which his aged appearance had excited, that no judge could be found who would perform the office. At length, however, the odious duty was undertaken by a domestic of the archbishop, a man of dissolute habits; and Mill was led to execution. At the stake his resolution did not forsake him; and he died praising God that he had been called upon to seal the truth with his life.

This barbarous deed, like all those acts of cruelty which had preceded it, had no such effect as its abettors desired. The reformers were struck with horror at its atrocity, but instead of being daunted by it, they were impelled to additional activity. They began to see the necessity of combining for their mutual defence; and subscriptions for this purpose were raised throughout the country. When the leaders saw the ardent zeal of the people from the number of signatures which had been obtained, they assembled to delibe-

rate on the measures to be adopted; and they agreed to present a supplication to the regent, from their whole body, complaining of their injuries, and urging her to afford them her protection. The regent feared the reformers too much, altogether to refuse their supplication; but she had little inclination to grant their desire to any extent. She tamporised therefore, flattering them with hopes she never meant should be fulfilled; and told them, that every thing which they could desire would be granted. The clergy were at this time holding a provincial council at Edinburgh. To them the congregation also presented their articles of intended reformation, which were at first received with storms of rage. On cooling, the churchmen offered to submit the dispute to a public disputation; and to this the congregation was willing to agree, provided they were allowed to refer to the Scriptures as the standard of truth. The clergy, however, would admit of no standard but the canon law, and their own councils. Terms of reconciliation were then offered by the clergy, but they were such as the congregation did not choose to answer. The Protestants, now resolved to apply to parliament on the subject; but the regent by her artifices and her persuasions, got them to defer their intention, till what she was pleased to call a more convenient opportunity.

The death of Mary of England, in November, 1558, and the accession of her sister Elizabeth, to the throne of that kingdom, was a circumstance which was to have a powerful effect on the progress of the reformation; but it stirred up the regent against its professors, and led to proceedings, on her part, which ended in a breach between them. The king of France, urged by the princes of the house of Guise, as soon as Mary's death was known, caused the queen of Scots to be declared queen of England; and in this meditated attempt on the crown of England, he waited for the powerful assistance of the Scottish nation. The regent was at his devotion, but from the congregation he dreaded a strong opposition. He, and his advisers, therefore, recommended the strongest measures against the reformers, and the total destruction of the leaders of that party was projected. The regent forgetting her prudence, was preparing to erect scaffolds, and to imbrue her hands in innocent blood. She now became reconciled to the archbishop of St Andrews and the clergy, from whom she had lately been estranged, by the favour she had shown the congregation; and she proclaimed through the kingdom, in 1559, the solemn observance of the festival of Easter. Her whole carriage after this showed her desire to contemn the reformers and encourage the clergy. She caused inquiries to be made after the preachers of the congregation; and had them cited to appear at Stirling, to answer the charges which might be brought against them.

The lords of the congregation did not observe these preludes of the approaching storm unmoved; and they deputed the earl of Glencairn, and Campbell of Loudon, to admonish her not to persecute the preachers. She declared that they should be banished, though their doctrines were as sound as those of St Paul. She was intreated to be moderate, and was reminded of her promises to the congregation. "The promises of princes," said she, "ought not to be claimed with rigour, and are only binding when subservient to their

pleasure." The deputies firmly and indignantly replied, that if such were her sentiments the congregation could no longer acknowledge her authority, but must renounce their allegiance as subjects. Her indignation and passion were unbounded; nor was her rage lessened by what she heard had occurred at Perth. The inhabitants of that city had publicly embraced the new doctrines, and established the reformation there. The provost of Perth was ordered to suppress the religious novelties in his jurisdiction; but he told the regent that he had no power over the minds or consciences of men. Her proclamation for the observance of Easter was very generally despised throughout the country; the people declaring that the mass was an idol, and that they hated idolatry and superstition.

The preachers, having received new citations, prepared to attend their trial, and gathered themselves into a body, followed by vast numbers of protestants from all parts of the country. Erskine of Dun preceded this convocation, and informed the regent that it was made with a view that they might offer a profession of their common religion with the preachers, and to assist them with their testimony. The regent, struck with their power and force, entreated Erskine to stop them from advancing farther, and assured him all proceedings against the preachers should be abandoned. The multitude in consequence was dismissed, and the noblemen, gentlemen, and preachers, remained at Perth. The preachers, trusting to the promise of the regent, did not present themselves at Stirling; but in defiance of all faith, they were in consequence denounced as rebels, and all persons were prohibited, under the penalty of high treason, from affording them any assistance. The reformers were justly exasperated at this perfidy, and they resolved to provide for the most desperate emergencies.

John Knox had at this time (May 1559) arrived in Scotland, and instantly went to Perth. Here he preached, and the people were roused to the highest enthusiasm by his eloquence. A foolish priest had the hardihood to prepare to say mass immediately after the preacher had concluded; and opening a tabernacle, which stood on the altar, displayed the images of the saints. The day, however, was past when such absurdities could be tolerated. The altars and images were attacked with fury and instantly destroyed; and the rage of those within the church was communicated to those in the streets. A furious attack was now made on the monasteries of the Grey and Black Friars, and they were soon demolished. That of the Carthusians shared the same fate. The wealth which these edifices contained was either seized by some of the mob, as their legal prize, or was appropriated to the poor by direction of the preachers. The inhabitants of Cupar Fife soon followed the example which had been shown by the people of Perth; and defaced or destroyed the altars, the images, the pictures, and other images of idolatry, with which the church there was decorated. The wretched priest, who officiated at this place, was so shocked at the desecration of so many objects, which he looked upon as holy, that he became furiously insane, and terminated his own existence.

Matters had now come to that state, that both parties saw the necessity of having recourse to arms. Similar insurrections were feared in other places, and the regent

expressed her determination to punish the inhabitants of Perth, for their profanity, and their contempt of the law. She summoned the nobility and other vassals of the crown, and collected the French troops together in the hope of surprising Perth before preparations could be made for its defence. The protestants, aware of the situation in which they stood, made every exertion to procure assistance, and dispatched messengers to their friends throughout the country. Anxious to prevent extremities, they addressed themselves to the regent, the French commanders in Scotland, the nobility, and the clergy; but no attention was paid to their declarations. They continued therefore their preparations for resisting force by force. The gentlemen of Fife, Angus, and Mearns, collecting their followers, formed a camp near Perth, where they were speedily joined by the earl of Glencairn with two thousand five hundred men from the west country. Perceiving these preparations, the pride of the regent gave way, and she again had recourse to negotiation. In the month of May articles of mutual agreement were entered into. It was then arranged that the two armies should return peaceably to their habitations; that the town of Perth should be evacuated, and made accessible to the regent; that no molestation should be given to the late insurgents, and no persecutions of the reformed be undertaken; that no French garrison should be stationed at Perth; that no Frenchman should come nearer that city than three miles; and that in the approaching assembly of the three estates, the work of the reformation should be finally established.

The leaders of the congregation subscribed this agreement, but under strong apprehensions that it would not be adhered to; and before they separated, they entered into a second covenant for the defence of each other, and the establishment of protestantism. As they feared, the agreement with the regent was soon broken on her part. She entered Perth attended by French soldiers, some of whom, firing into the house of a citizen, known as one of the reformers, killed his son. The inhabitants generally were harassed with every sort of outrage. Many of them were driven into exile; and from others, large sums of money were extorted. The magistrates were dismissed, and men put in their place who were more complacent, and more devoted to the regent and to popery. When the regent departed she left four companies of soldiers as a garrison, who were ordered to prevent the exercise of any religion save that of Rome. Such conduct increased the dislike of the reformers to the regent, and their belief in her perfidy and want of faith; but it was advantageous to her, as the strength of the city and its position was favourable for collecting troops from various quarters. The earl of Argyle, and the lord James Stewart, however, who had not acted lately a very decided part with the reformers, now openly joined them, and preparations were again made to collect together all the strength which the congregation could command.

In the meantime, John Knox had been exerting his eloquence in Fife. He preached at Crail, and as at Perth, the effect of his discourse was, that the people pulled down altars, images, and all other monuments of idolatry in the town. At Anstruther his preaching produced the same effect; and he then determined that the cathedral of Saint Andrews

should be the next theatre of his exertions. The Archbishop, with one hundred men at arms, threatened to destroy him if he made the attempt. The regent with her French troops was at Falkland, a distance of about eighteen miles. His friends, therefore, afraid for his safety, endeavoured to persuade him against the attempt; but neither threats, danger, nor friendship could prevail. He declared that he could not in conscience decline preaching, and that he would preach, whatever the result might be. The Archbishop fearing the result, left the city on the morning of the day on which Knox had determined to preach, and proceeded to Falkland to the regent, that he might represent to her the necessity of effectually resisting the lawless proceedings of the enemies of the church. Before the evening of that day, the fervid eloquence of Knox had its usual effect. All classes of the people, even the very magistrates, were excited, and the most magnificent of cathedrals, already time hallowed, and on which the wealth of provinces had been expended, was laid in ruins. The other churches were also deprived of all their ornaments and decorations, and the monasteries of the Franciscans and Dominicans destroyed.

The regent although not altogether reconciled to the Archbishop, listened with interest to the account he gave of the excesses which had been committed; and the necessity of exertions being made to repress farther outrage, produced a reconciliation between them. To anticipate the congregation who had not yet called together the force they had so lately dismissed, the regent immediately issued a mandate for collecting her own troops, and sent messengers to the adherents of the government in Fife, requesting them to assemble with their followers at Cupar. The lords of the congregation were equally urgent on their measures. Earnest representations were dispatched to their friends for assistance; and they instantly marched for Cupar, although only attended by a hundred cavalry, and the same number of infantry. No time was lost by their adherents in flying to their aid, and by the following morning they were joined by an army of three thousand men, many of whom had come from distant counties. Lord Ruthven brought to them all the men he could possibly muster; the Earl of Rothes, hereditary Sheriff of Fife, declared in their favour; the towns of St Andrews and Dundee, sent their most effective men; and Cupar poured forth its population, to defend itself, and aid the general cause.

An army had also been collected by the regent at Falkland, which marching from thence early on the morning of the 13th June, 1559, encamped upon an eminence in the neighbourhood of Cupar, called the Garliebank. The congregation stationed their troops, the command of which had been assigned to Halyburton the provost of Dundee, on the high ground called Cupar muir to the west of the town; and so posted their ordnance as to command the surrounding country. Their little army was disposed so as to appear to the best advantage, and to consist of a greater force than it really did. Lord Ruthven, with the cavalry formed the van; the main body commanded by the other lords, consisting of troops collected in Fife, Angus, Mearns, and the Lothians, formed the centre. The rear was composed of the burgesses of Dundee, St Andrews, and Cupar. Behind them, at some distance, the servants and followers of the camp, were so placed as to give them

the appearance of an auxiliary band. The army of the regent consisted of two thousand Frenchmen, under D' Oysel, and about one thousand native soldiers, commanded by the duke of Chatelherault. The small river Eden, winding through the low marshy ground, which divided the eminences on which they were respectively stationed, separated the two armies, which for some time during the morning were rendered almost invisible to each other by a thick fog which rose from the river and marshy ground.

The commanders of the royal force, when they left Falkland, had had no conception that they would meet with any opposition, and were therefore much astonished when they learned the strength of the army the lords of the congregation had brought against them, and the skilfully selected position which it occupied. In order, if possible, to draw them from this favourable ground, they twice feigned a retreat; but the commanders of the congregation were too cautious to be led into this snare. At length, however, as the day advanced, the fog cleared away, and the two armies were enabled to observe each other with more exactness. The duke and D' Oysel now saw distinctly that they were inferior in strength to their opponents; and they had no great faith in the Scotsmen, who formed a third of their army. These men were mostly protestants, and could hardly be expected to be other than averse to fighting against their countrymen, and their religion, for Frenchmen and popery; under these circumstances it was necessary to consult the regent who was still at Falkland. They stated to her the strength of the opposing, and their doubts of a portion of their own force; and gave it as their opinion that she should enter into negotiation with the congregation. Her desire to punish the insults which had been heaped upon her government and her religion made her adverse to this proposal; but she yielded to necessity, and authorised them to enter into terms. Messengers were accordingly dispatched to the reformers, soliciting an interview for the purpose of adjusting a treaty.

The reformers at first refused even to allow the royal messengers to enter their camp; but still averse, as they had all along been, to risk the necessity of shedding blood, they at length agreed to the proposed negotiation. A truce for eight days was after considerable discussion agreed to, on the condition that the French troops, with the exception of a small number who had lain for some time in the towns of Dysart, Kirkcaldy, and Kinghorn, should immediately be transported into Lothian; and that before the expiration of the eight days, the regent should send certain noblemen to St Andrews, to adjust finally with the lords of the congregation the articles of an effectual peace. This truce made at Garliebank was subscribed by the duke of Chatelherault and D' Oysel, for the regent. The lords of the congregation then dismissed their troops, and retired to St Andrews to prepare for the arrival of the commissioners who were to negotiate the terms of peace.

The regent so far kept her word on this occasion, that she sent her French troops and artillery across the Forth; but the reformers waited in vain at St Andrews for the appearance of the commissioners. During this time the protestant inhabitants of Perth endured the greatest sufferings from the garrison which had been left there. The regent was

respectfully but earnestly requested to withdraw this garrison, by the earl of Argyle and the lord James Stewart, according to her previous agreement to do so, but no attention was paid to the request. It was therefore resolved to expel that garrison by force, and thus to relieve the inhabitants of the fair city. The lords of the congregation buckled on their armour. Again the men of Fife, Angus, Mearns, and Strathern, formed an army, and, in the month of June, marched upon Perth. The earl of Huntly, chancellor of the kingdom, hastened to entreat the lords to delay besieging the town for a few days. He was told that it would not be delayed even an hour; and that if one single protestant should be killed in the assault, the garrison should be put indiscriminately to the sword. The garrison were twice summoned to surrender, but as they had hopes of being relieved, they refused to do so. The batteries of the congregation were now opened upon the town; and as the hopes of succour became faint, the fears of the garrison increased. They offered to surrender within twelve hours, upon condition that they were allowed to retire with military honours. These terms were accepted, and the town was thus restored to its liberties, and the exercise of the reformed religion, without blood being shed.

Excited by this success, and learning that the bishop of Moray was at the abbey of Scone, in the immediate neighbourhood, against whom they had a peculiar dislike, on account of his activity in bringing Walter Mill to the stake, a number of the reformers went to that abbey to express by acts of violence their feelings toward him. The leaders used every exertion to preserve the building in which so many of the Scottish kings had been crowned, but in vain. Even the eloquence of Knox, who here exerted himself to preserve the buildings, was unavailing. The palace and abbey were destroyed; and while the flames were ascending, an old woman was heard to exclaim:—"See now, the judgments of God are just! No authority is able to save where he will punish." Fears were now entertained by the government that the reformers would carry their arms into the southern counties. The regent was therefore desirous to throw a garrison into Stirling castle, and to obtain possession of the bridge over the Forth; but, apprized of her design, the earl of Argyle, and the lord James Stewart, appeared at Stirling with their followers, on the morning after the destruction of the palace and abbey of Scone. They entered Stirling without any resistance, and immediately afterwards the splendid abbey of Cambuskenneth, in its neighbourhood, was laid in ruins. They spent three days at Stirling, after which they marched to Linlithgow, and destroying the churches there, they proceeded to Edinburgh. The regent in terror fled to Dunbar; and the reformers immediately destroyed the religious houses in the capital, carrying off whatever was of value as spoil.

They determined to remain some time in Edinburgh, considering it necessary after the bold proceedings they had adopted to deliberate as to the future. After purifying the churches, they appointed preachers to expound the purer doctrines of christianity. They seized possession of the mint, with the instruments for coining, under the pretext that the stamping of base money had raised the price of the necessaries of life. During these proceedings the regent issued a proclamation against them, styling them a seditious mul-

titude, who, under the pretence of religion sought to overturn the government; she commanded them to leave Edinburgh in six hours; and enjoined all good subjects to avoid their society, under the penalty of treason. It was also anxiously spread abroad that it was the intention of the reformers to deprive the duke of Chatelherault and his heirs of their right of succession to the throne; and to confer the crown upon the lord James Stewart, the natural son of James V. The regent further stated in her proclamation her desire, that the differences as to religion should be settled by parliament; and, notwithstanding her previous duplicity, many believed that such was really her desire.

It might have been conceived that when the reformers gained possession of the capital they had gained every thing; but this was very far from being the case. Attachment to a government, whatever it may be, is a principle not easily removed in mankind; and after the proclamation, the congregation began somewhat to lose their popularity. Many of them became tired of the turbulent military life they had for some time led; and retired to seek repose and comfort within their homes and families. The lords of the congregation were careful to exculpate themselves from the charges brought against them; and to show their true objects to be merely the preservation of themselves and their companions in the free exercise of their religion. They offered to explain all their views and wishes in presence of the regent, if they were permitted free access to her. The regent affected still to doubt their intentions, and requested that the earl of Argyle and the lord James Stewart might be sent to her. A meeting of commissioners on both sides was arranged, and took place, but without any conclusion being come to. The regent still continued, however, to amuse them with negotiations and distant hopes, while she was using every endeavour to divide them; and their troops were continuing to disperse of themselves.

As soon as she conceived that the force of the reformers had become sufficiently weakened for her to venture to attack them, and that they were unable to defend Edinburgh, she left Dunbar, and with her troops marched towards Edinburgh. The reformers were now in the utmost perplexity. Collecting the few friends who remained, they went to Leith to join their adherents there, but Leith had already surrendered to the regent. Returning to Edinburgh, they were told by lord Erskine, the governor of the castle, that he would treat them as enemies if they presumed to oppose the entrance of the regent into her own capital.

In the extremity to which they were now reduced they were glad to accept of terms of accommodation, such as they could get, and a treaty was accordingly ratified. On the part of the congregation, it was stipulated, that the town of Edinburgh should be open to the regent; that Holyroodhouse, and the instruments of coinage, should be delivered up to her; and that they should be obedient to her authority and the laws, and should abstain from injuring the papists, or employing violence against the churches, monasteries, or religious houses. The regent agreed that the inhabitants of Edinburgh should adopt the reformed religion or popery as they might think proper; that no French garrison or Scottish mercenaries should be stationed within the city; and that in other places of the

kingdom a similar latitude with regard to belief and religious exercise should be given to the protestants and to their preachers.

During the progress of these events, Henry II., king of France died, and his son, Francis II., and the young queen of Scots ascended the French throne. The princes of Lorrain had now uncontrolled power over the councils of the young king and queen. They urged the regent of Scotland to proceed in the desperate courses she had adopted, and gave her assurance of aid sufficient not only to overpower her enemies, and to establish popery; but to subject Scotland to a military despotism, as a province of France. These important events did not pass unobserved by the reformers. They met at Stirling, where they held a council, and considered it proper to enter into a new league for mutual defence. This league has been styled the *third covenant.*

The regent had no desire to engage in hostilities before the arrival of the expected aid from France, but she could not avoid exhibiting her dissatisfaction with the reformers, and the concessions which had been granted to them. Previous to her entry into Edinburgh, the reformers were in possession of the High Church, and by the terms of the truce they were entitled to continue to occupy it. The regent, however, was desirous of having this church for her own use, and for the exercise of the mass. Application at her desire was made to the magistrates to procure it for her. This request, as a matter of course, was refused; as was a subsequent one that she might have it for the celebration of the mass, either before or after the reformed service had been performed. She resented these refusals by open insults to the preachers, and their hearers. The French officers and soldiers received orders to parade in the churches during divine service, and to give disturbance by indecency and noise. In this, two objects were taken into view: the reformed preachers might be induced to seek more retired places of worship, or the people might be irritated to break the peace, and afford an opportunity of accusing the party of turbulence and sedition.

An ambassador at this time arrived from France, who assured the regent that her government would immediately be supported by troops from that country, with a supply of money and ammunition. The lord James Stewart was now considered as the leader of the reformers, and the French envoy was also entrusted with letters from the young queen and her husband to him. These were full of reproaches, menaces, and entreaties. To them the lord James replied, that he acknowledged having joined himself to the protestants; and that for the glory of God, he was interested in the establishment of the reformation; but he entreated them to remember, that while the invidious name of rebellion was misapplied to actions, which could boast the most sacred of all motives, he was in all other things obedient and submissive to the laws. The letters of the king and queen of France were an artifice of the regent, and she was allowed an opportunity of perusing his answer. That she might transmit it, the answer was sent to her, and after perusing it, she asserted that a communication more replete with haughtiness and defiance, never was sent from a subject to a sovereign. The reformers were of a different opinion. While they praised his moderation, they conceived that he might have used much stronger language.

In August, a French force of one thousand men arrived under the command of an officer, named Octavien, who also brought military stores and money. The regent, encouraged by this opportune reinforcement, began immediately to fortify Leith, which might be useful to her, not only as a place of refuge, but as a port by which she might keep open her communications with foreign countries. About a month afterwards, La Brosse, a dependant of the house of Guise, arrived with an additional force of two thousand men; and under his protection came the bishop of Amiens and three doctors of the Sorbonne. This reinforcement was intended to convince the Scots of their errors, by argument, if not by arms. The regent now deprived the congregation of the High Church, and the clergy from France affected with many rites, and a great display of sanctity, to purify it from the pollution it had received in being occupied by heretics. The protestants treated them with the greatest contempt, and laughed at their parades and ceremonies, as tricks to flatter and impose upon ignorance.

The congregation again assembled, with the lord James Stewart at their head, at Stirling, and here they were joined by the earl of Arran, the eldest son of the duke of Chatelherault, who had so long been opposed to them, and soon afterwards their party was strengthened by the duke himself. Immediately afterwards a meeting of the reform lords was held at Hamilton, from whence they addressed the regent, expressing their astonishment at her conduct in fortifying Leith, expelling its inhabitants, and planting there a colony of foreigners; and stating their belief, that from this conduct, it was her intention to destroy the liberties of the nation, and subject it to despotism. No answer was returned to this remonstrance, but she used every means in her power to conciliate the duke of Chatelherault and the lord James Stewart, though without effect. The leaders of the reformers sent messengers throughout the country, showing the designs of the regent, the danger which hung over the protestant party, and calling on the people again to take up arms. They also obtained possession of Broughty Castle, a place of importance to them, as it protected from foreign attack the important towns of Perth and Dundee; and having collected their forces together at Stirling, they again marched to Edinburgh, which they entered on the eighteenth of October. The regent on the same day left Edinburgh, and retired to Leith, to put herself under the protection of the French troops there. The lords again addressed her, and remonstrated with her on her recent proceedings. Their messenger was dismissed without any answer; but a few days afterwards she sent to them the lord Lion, king at arms, who, defending the conduct she had adopted, commanded the congregation to leave Edinburgh, and disperse themselves, under the pain of high treason.

The necessity for vigorous measures now became apparent to the leaders of the congregation. A council was accordingly held on the twenty-first of October, at which, after much deliberation, it was determined that the regent should be degraded from her office; and all agreed in subscribing an edict suspending her commission of regency, and removing her from the administration of the government. The edict was published in the chief

cities of the kingdom. By this act the lords did not intend to destroy altogether the civil government. They considered themselves as a provincial council for the administration of affairs in the mean time, under Francis and Mary, till further arrangements were made. They therefore despatched the lord Lyon, king at arms, to the regent, with the act of her deprivation, and at same time they informed her that they considered her administration as in direct hostility to the will of the King and Queen, whose councillors they were. It was in their name and authority, they asserted, that they had suspended her from the regency. Nothing is more remarkable in this bold measure, than the inadequacy of the means, which the confederated lords possessed, for carrying it into effect, or maintaining the determination they had come to, of depriving the queen dowager of the regency. Their troops consisted entirely of their own followers, or of the inhabitants of the burghs, whose zeal had for a time led them to adopt a life for which they could have little relish. They had small means of maintaining the force they had collected; and the men who formed their force, even although supplied with every necessary, could not, without much inconvenience, be long absent from their usual occupations. The soldiers of the regent were mercenaries who had no trade but war, and she had the means to pay them; she was also in possession of most of the fortresses of the kingdom, and of almost the whole of the artillery and means requisite for conducting a siege.

The situation in which they were placed, however, did not discourage the confederated lords. The bold measure which they had adopted, they followed up by ordering, in the capacity they had assumed, the whole French and mercenary Scotch forces to march out of Leith, and leave that town as in a period of peace. The royal party, as a matter of course, treated this order with the greatest contempt, and as the reformers had invested Leith, some skirmishing, attended by little loss on either side, took place. They now prepared to enter Leith by escalade, and for this service ladders were framed in the church of St Giles. In the mean time their soldiers were impatient for pay, and became riotous and insubordinate. It became absolutely necessary to make some exertion to satisfy them. Collections were made among the lords and gentlemen, but these were found insufficient; and it was resolved that each nobleman should give up his silver plate to be coined into money. The instruments of coinage, however, were put out of the way by the friends of the regent, and this remedy could not be applied. The party of the congregation was in despair and threatened with ruin. A correspondence had for some time been opened, by the confederated lords, with Elizabeth of England, but there was not time to wait the effect of an embassy to her soliciting the assistance which she had frequently promised them. Application was, therefore, made to her governors of Berwick, and from them an aid of four thousand crowns was obtained. But the regent having obtained notice of this, the person who was entrusted with it was intercepted, under her orders, by the Earl of Bothwell, who made a prize of the whole subsidy for her.

In order to keep up the spirits of the party, the siege of Leith was proceeded with. Some pieces of artillery were brought against it, but before the attack commenced, the

French soldiers sallied from the fortress, took possession of the artillery, and drove the troops back to Edinburgh. Shortly afterwards, they made a new sally for the purpose of intercepting a supply of provisions and stores for the congregation. The earl of Arran, and the lord James Stewart, advanced to attack them, and forced them to retire. An additional French force having made its appearance, the combat was renewed, and the Scots were obliged to retreat. Dispirited, and nearly in despair, from the want of funds to pay their troops, and the defection of some of their friends, the lords now removed in the night time to Stirling. Here John Knox accompanied them, and anxious that they should, if possible, recover the courage they had previously possessed, he addressed them from the pulpit, calling upon them to remember the goodness of their cause, and assuring them in the end, of honour and victory. Their enthusiasm was again roused; and, holding a council immediately afterwards, the lords determined to send an embassy to Elizabeth, soliciting her aid. Maitland, of Lethington, who, after having been secretary to the regent, had recently joined the congregation, and Robert Melville, were deputed to proceed to England for the purpose. It was also agreed, that till they heard the result of this embassy, the congregation should divide into two parts for the better securing provisions; one division to be stationed under the duke, in the west country; and the other under the lord James Stewart, and other noblemen of consideration, to occupy Fife, particularly the eastern district around St Andrews.

After the congregation had left Edinburgh, the regent instantly took possession of it, and established the ancient religion with public and ostentatious solemnity; but while she rejoiced at the success of her exertions, she felt considerable fears from the correspondence which the lords had entered into with England. She therefore sent the most urgent requests to France for further assistance and reinforcements; and, in the meantime, she determined to use the force she already possessed, in, if possible, utterly destroying the scattered and dispirited bodies of the reformers. While a portion of her troops which were sent to the west country took possession of the bishop's castle at Glasgow, a larger body was marched into Fife, for the purpose of dispersing the reformers there, under the lord James Stewart, and getting possession of the castle of St Andrews, and repairing its fortifications. The force under the lords was inferior to that of the regent, but they were not dismayed, and various skirmishes took place, which were conducted on their part with a skill and intrepidity, which surprised the more disciplined French troops, and was often crowned with partial success.

The aid afforded by queen Elizabeth was now, however, to restore the hopes, and give increased energy, to the movements of the reformers. In order to prevent further assistance being sent from France to the regent, a considerable English fleet, under admiral Winter, was stationed in the Frith of Forth. The French troops were at the time of its arrival, marching along the south coast of Fife, towards St Andrews, and conceiving it to be an expected reinforcement of their own countrymen, under the marquis D'Elbeuf, they rejoiced at the prospect of the assistance they were about to receive. A short time, how-

ever, explained the truth to them, nor was it long afterwards till they learned, that the expedition under that officer which had sailed from Calais, had been scattered by a storm; that many of his ships were lost; and that with much difficulty he had been enabled to get back to the French coast with the remains of the expedition. Fearing that from the accession of force the reformers had received from England, they might be entirely cut off, the French resigned all hope of obtaining possession of St Andrews, and made a speedy retreat to Leith, where they arrived in a few days, having in the march lost several of their men from exposure to cold or from fatigue. An expedition which sailed from France under the count de Martignes was more fortunate than that under D'Elbeuf. With one thousand infantry and a few cavalry, he reached the Orkney Islands, and in the beginning of January, 1560, joined the rest of the French troops under the queen regent.

Alarmed at the arrival of the English fleet, the regent remonstrated with Elizabeth, who returned an evasive answer, expressing at the same time that she had no desire of going to war either with Scotland or France. Elizabeth saw distinctly, however, the advantage it would be to her, to afford effectual aid to the reformers in Scotland, and she had already given secret instructions to the duke of Norfolk, to meet with the Scots Commissioners at Berwick, to arrange the conditions on which her assistance was to be given. The lords of the congregation, on receiving notice of this, met at Cupar for the purpose of electing the commissioners who were to represent them at this important meeting. The persons selected on this occasion, were the lord James Stewart, the lord Ruthven, the masters of Maxwell and Lindsay, the laird of Pittarow, Henry Balnaves of Halhill, and the Secretary Maitland. After a great deal of negotiation, from which it is very apparent that Elizabeth was more influenced in the steps she adopted, by her fears of the French obtaining a permanent footing in Scotland, than by her regard for the reformers, or the advancement of their principles, a treaty was concluded between her and the leaders of the congregation, in consequence of which, on the 28th of March, an English force under lord Grey marched into Scotland. On the approach of the English army, the queen regent left her residence at Leith, and for greater personal security, sought an asylum in Edinburgh Castle. It was not the wish of Elizabeth to proceed to extremities, if it could be avoided, and accordingly a considerable time was spent in constant but ineffectual negotiation. At length the English army joined that of the congregation; and it was resolved to besiege Leith, the principal station of the French forces in Scotland. Whilst this siege was proceeding with varied success, the queen regent died in June 1560, deploring the calamities under which the kingdom was suffering, and earnestly exhorting the duke of Chatelherault and the other leaders of the congregation, to send both the French and English armies out of the country, to continue their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, and not to desert their ancient alliance with France.

SECTION XIV.

A. D. 1560, TO A. D. 1561.

State of parties at the death of the Queen Regent.—Meeting of Commissioners.—Treaty of Edinburgh.—Rejoicings of the Reformers at its conclusion.—Peace proclaimed.—French and English leave Scotland.—Meeting of Parliament.—New confession of faith sanctioned by parliament.—Acts passed against the ancient church, and those professing its faith.—Embassy to France to obtain the consent of the King and Queen to the laws passed.—Ambassador obliged to return without any answer.—Fears of the Reformers.—Relieved by the death of the King of France.—Book of discipline drawn up.—Great care exhibited in it for the education of the people.—Public disputations as to the new faith.—Embassies sent from the Catholics and Reformers to Mary.—Interviews of the ambassadors.—Mary's policy leans towards the Reform party.—Elizabeth negotiates with Mary for the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.—Mary's evasions.—Her return to Scotland.

SHORTLY before the death of the queen regent, the lords of the congregation had entered into a *fourth* covenant, for their mutual protection and assistance, and in this they were joined by the earl of Huntly, who had hitherto opposed their proceedings. The situation of the party was now greatly improved, and their hopes and confidence increased; but they were not averse to negotiation, or having their grievances adjusted without having farther recourse to arms. It was the desire of Elizabeth, throughout the whole proceedings, that their object should be thus effected; and the French, dispirited by the death of the regent, had no hope but in the result of negotiation. In these circumstances, commissioners were appointed by the two latter nations, for the adjustment of their mutual subjects of complaint, who at first met at Newcastle, but afterwards proceeded to Edinburgh, where their negotiations commenced in the month of June (1560).

The direct complaints of Elizabeth against France, would have been easily settled, but the great difficulty which arose, respected the inhabitants of Scotland, who had embraced the reformation. This party had hitherto been branded in France with the guilt of rebellion, and it was urged that the queen of Scots and her husband the king of France, could not consistently with their dignity as sovereigns, place themselves on a level, by negotiation, with persons so situated. This matter of form was removed by the lords of the congregation presenting a petition to the commissioners, stating their demands, and requesting that an article should be inserted in the treaty, binding the king and queen of France to confirm every concession which might be made by her ambassadors, in favour of the reformers.

As it was the desire of the French, if not altogether to dissolve the connexion between Elizabeth and the congregation, at least to withhold any direct sanction of it, it was her object that it should still be continued. Her commissioners, therefore, proposed that the treaty of Berwick should be recognised and confirmed by France; but this demand was at first positively refused. The commissioners of Elizabeth remained firm in their demand, and threatened to break up the conference unless it were complied with. By

the prudence and management of Cecil, and the mutual desire for peace, the difficulty was at length got over, and the treaty concluded. In so far as the Scots were concerned, this treaty stipulated, that the French troops should be removed, with the exception of a few who were to be left in the castle of Dunbar, and on the island of Inchkeith; that an act of oblivion should be passed, of all mutual wrongs committed from March, 1558, to August of the current year; that a general peace and reconciliation should be made among the lords and subjects of the realm; that the king and queen should not pursue, revenge, or suffer to be revenged, any violence or injury which had been done since that time, nor should deprive the subjects of any benefices, houses, or estates, they had enjoyed before, they continuing to yield due obedience to the sovereign; that the duke of Chatelherault, and all other noblemen in Scotland, should be repossessed of any property they had in France; that the claims of any bishop, abbot, or churchman, alleging they had received any injury, should be considered and redressed by parliament, and that, in the meantime, none of them should be prevented from enjoying their revenues; that a parliament should be held in August ensuing, with powers as ample as if it had been called by the sovereign; that the kingdom should be governed by a council of twelve persons, of whom, seven should be selected by the queen, and five by parliament; that the king and queen should have power to make peace or war without the advice of parliament, as their predecessors had done; that no stranger should be appointed to any office for the administration of justice; that none of the lords should make convocation of men of war, except in ordinary cases, according to the laws of the kingdom, nor should any of them cause foreign soldiers to be introduced; that the English army should return home as soon as the French had embarked, and the Scots army should be disbanded; and that, for the articles concerning religion, presented on the part of the nobility and people of Scotland, upon the consideration of which, the commissioners declined to enter, but referred to their majesties, a certain number of noblemen should be chosen in the next convention and parliament, to be sent to their majesties to lay before them what might be thought necessary respecting this important subject.

This treaty, although it made no stipulation in favour of the reformed religion, and expressly sanctioned the continuance of the ancient establishment, and secured their revenues to the clergy, gave the greatest satisfaction to the protestant lords. They looked upon it as sanctioning all that they desired; and their proceedings in the subsequent parliament, showed that their zeal had not abated. Little time was lost in carrying into effect the principal articles of the treaty. On the seventh of July, peace was proclaimed, amidst the joy of all classes throughout the hitherto so long distracted kingdom. Eight days afterwards, the French army embarked in vessels furnished by Elizabeth; and next day the English camp was broken up, and the army commenced its march towards the borders. Public thanks were then returned to God, in the church of St Giles, for the mercy they had received in the termination of hostilities, and the commencement of the avowed prevalence of the protestant faith. The most eminent preachers were distributed through

the principal towns for inculcating the reformed doctrines; and superintendents were appointed over different districts of the country for the regulation of ecclesiastical matters.

In terms of the stipulation in the treaty, parliament met on the month of August following, and after some days spent in discussing objections made to the lawfulness of its meeting, turned its attention to the question which agitated all minds—the state of religion. A committee of parliament, with some of the preachers, were appointed to prepare a summary of those tenets, to which, it was desired, parliament should give it its sanction as forming the principles of the reformed religion. In four days, a confession of faith was produced, and it immediately afterwards, without question or explanation being made, received the solemn sanction of parliament, as the standard of the protestant faith in Scotland. The silence of the clergy of the ancient establishment, at this proceeding, is not a little remarkable, but they probably conceived from the spirit of those with whom they were surrounded, that any opposition they could make would be useless. Many, even of them, however, were induced to yield to public opinion, on being promised that their lands should be erected into temporal lordships which they should be allowed to retain. Others were meditating the enrichment of their families, by leases and alienations of church property; and to sanction this, they applied to the pope for his approbation, on the ground it was necessary for procuring friends to support his authority. An act of parliament was next passed, notwithstanding these statements of the clergy, abolishing the power and supremacy of his holiness in Scotland; and this was followed by another, which repealed all the acts which had been made in favour of the catholic church.

Thus far the reformers may be defended, as having only promoted the establishment of what they conceived to be the truth, in opposition to the errors of that church with which they had so long struggled; but here they were not satisfied to stop. A third act was passed, ordaining that all who celebrated the mass, or were present at its being said, should be punished for the first offence, by confiscation of goods or bodily pains; for the second, by banishment from Scotland; and for the third, by death. Such, it is to be regretted, was the only toleration for those who might conscientiously differ from them, which their sufferings and struggle for ascendancy, had taught the reformers. To confirm these acts, the sanction of the sovereign was necessary; and to her they resolved to send them, though with no very sanguine hopes of obtaining the consent of either her or her husband to them. Other acts of minor importance were passed, and before they dissolved, twenty-four noblemen and gentlemen were named, from whom the council of twelve, for the government of the kingdom, were to be named.

As a person least likely to be offensive to the king and queen, Sir James Sandilands, a knight of Malta, who had taken no active part in the late proceedings, was dispatched to France, for the purpose of laying the proceedings of parliament before the queen, and obtaining her sanction to its acts. He soon found, upon his arrival in Paris, that the fears which had been entertained in Scotland, as to the views of the queen and her advisers, were not without foundation. Her uncles, relieved from the fears which the presence

of an English army in Scotland had excited, had formed the determination to punish the leaders of the reformation; and she even refused to ratify the treaty which her commissioners had entered into with Elizabeth at Edinburgh. Sir James Sandilands was reproached in the most violent manner by the Cardinal of Lorraine, who accused him of breaking his vows as a knight of the holy order, by becoming the bearer of the proceedings of the Scottish parliament, which he stigmatized as composed of heretics. Sir James, after using every endeavour to pacify and soften the cardinal, was dismissed without answer, and obliged to return to Scotland.

The failure of this embassay to the queen, caused the greatest consternation among the reformers; and they began to fear that they should have again to defend themselves against the power of France. Elizabeth had already complained of the sacrifices which she had made for their advantage, and they were not certain that she might be willing so soon again to incur expense in assisting them, or to endanger herself by a war with France. The death of the king of France, however, which took place in the month of December, suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. The youthful queen of Scots was left a widow, and entirely dependent on the affections and loyalty of her own subjects. Notwithstanding the fears with which they were assailed between the dissolution of parliament, and the death of the French king, the reformers had not neglected to use every means in their power for the promulgation of the reformed doctrines. At the request of the council, a number of the ministers, under the direction of John Knox, had composed and published the first book of discipline, which still remains a monument of the talent, enlightened views, and principles, of those who prepared it. Public disputations also took place between many of the leading reformed preachers, and the more learned and talented of the adherents of the ancient faith. But these disputations generally ended as such pieces of parade have ever done. Each party claimed the victory, and each averred that they had convinced and converted.

It was not one of the least important objects embraced in the book of discipline, that it inculcated the necessity of general education. While it recognised the principle that the clergy should be enlightened and well educated men, it laid the foundation for obtaining this in the education to be diffused throughout the whole body of the people. "We judge," say the writers of this book, "that in *every parish* there should be a schoolmaster; such an one as is able to teach the grammar and the latin tongue, where the town is of any reputation." In the towns where the superintendents resided, academies were to be founded, in which logic, rhetoric, and the learned languages were to be taught by competent masters. And for the completion of this scheme, three Universities were recognised, St Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen; while the objects which should there be studied, and the course to be followed were pointed out. For the payment of all the different classes of teachers, the book of discipline declared that a portion of the wealth and revenues of the ancient church should be set apart. In this scheme of education, we distinctly see the system of parochial schools,

which have since been so beneficial to Scotland, recognised and recommended; and to this recommendation we are unquestionably indebted for its subsequent adoption.

By the death of Francis II., the tie which bound Scotland to France was entirely loosed. Catherine de Medicis, the queen mother, a woman of unbounded ambition, possessed the entire controul of Charles IX., and was the personal enemy of the young queen of Scots. Mary soon found that she had little influence at the French court, and that there was no inclination to aid her in carrying any of the schemes which she had formed into effect. The power of the house of Guise was now completely abridged; and her uncles felt little wish that she should longer remain in France. The wish of Mary was to return to Scotland, and she was advised by her uncles to do so. They even pointed out to her the line of conduct which she ought to adopt after her arrival in her ancient kingdom.

In a convention of the nobility, summoned at Edinburgh, it was resolved to send the lord James Stewart to France, to condole with his sister on the loss she had sustained; and to entreat that she should reside in her own kingdom; to express the joy her doing so would create among all classes of her subjects; and to assure her of their steady and undiminished loyalty towards her. Many of the more zealous of the reformers, however, could not conceal their fears, arising from the queen's avowed regard for the popish faith; and they begged of the lord James not to compromise the reformation, by conceding to the queen her right to celebrate the mass in Scotland. He at once expressed his resolution to prevent any public expressions of reverence towards what he considered idolatry; but at the same time he declined to agree to any resolution, which might affect the rights of the sovereign to the free exercise of the religion which she professed.

The catholic party felt equal anxiety with the reformers to secure the good will of the sovereign. The nobles of that party met secretly, and dispatched to France, Leslie, the bishop of Ross, to explain their views to Mary,—offering her their services and their allegiance. The two ambassadors left Scotland about the same time; but as the lord James Stewart went through England, that he might have an opportunity of making Elizabeth acquainted with the intentions of the reformers, while the Bishop sailed direct, the latter arrived in France, and obtained an audience of the queen, the day previous to the arrival of the envoy from the reformers. He was graciously received by the widowed queen, and he lost no time in making her acquainted with the designs and wishes of the catholic party in Scotland. He made insinuations against her brother the lord James, and declared that the object of that nobleman was not to promote the reformed religion, but under cover of that pretence, to wrest from her the crown; and to prevent this eminent danger, he ventured to suggest to her, as the easiest mode of avoiding it, that she should detain her brother in France, until all the arrangements which might be necessary should be completed. That she might be the better enabled to do so, he recommended her to land in the north of Scotland, where the catholic party was strongest, and from whence she might with the greatest ease, overcome the opponents of the religion she professed. Mary acted on this occasion with much prudence and caution. She gave utterance to no expression of her

future intentions, and merely requested that the bishop should remain with her till she left France.

Next day the Lord James Stewart had an audience, and although he knew the purpose of Leslie's embassy, he took no direct notice of it. He informed the queen, however, that in order to secure the possession of her throne, she had no need of foreign troops, but would be supported by her subjects, who were anxious for her return; and he advised her that her great object ought to be, the preservation of the peace and tranquillity with which Scotland had been lately blessed. Mary gave preference to the councils of her brother, and she was strongly advised, by those Frenchmen who knew Scotland best, to repose her confidence in Lord James, the earl of Argyle, and Maitland of Lethington. She therefore gave her brother the most positive assurances of her intention to confide in his advice, and desired him to return to Scotland, and take care that the peace should in the mean time be preserved. The policy of the advice she received to repose her confidence in men who were the tools of Elizabeth, may well be doubted, when the machinations of that arch intriguer, and the party she commanded in Scotland, are taken into view. Yet, though personally injurious to Mary, it unquestionably tended to perfecting the reformation of religion, an object not probably in the contemplation of the French advisers.

Although the queen mother of France was anxious that Mary should return to Scotland, she was also desirous that the ancient league between the two kingdoms should be renewed; and for that purpose an ambassador arrived in Scotland early in March. The absence of the Lord James Stewart caused the protestant party to delay coming to any arrangement in this matter; but the convention at the same time declared that France had not acted in such a manner as to expect that either they or their posterity would form an alliance with her. During this time, Elizabeth of England was not unobservant of passing events. She sent an embassy of condolence to Mary, and at the same time earnestly requested that the treaty of Edinburgh should be ratified. The answer of Mary to this request, was evasive; it was, she said, a matter of too much importance for her to take into consideration, without the advice of her council. Elizabeth was far from satisfied with this answer, and finally considered it as showing an aversion to sanctioning the treaty. Alarmed least a party might be formed against her in Scotland, under the influence of Mary, she sent an emissary there to preserve her connection with the reformers, and she continued her endeavours with the young queen to obtain her desired ratification.

Her exertions, however, were ineffectual, and Mary sailed for Scotland, where she arrived in the month of August, 1561, without having yielded in any way to the desires of Elizabeth; though not without danger from the machinations of the English queen. Mary had applied to Elizabeth for passports, that she might proceed through England to her own kingdom; but these were in the most decided, and even rude manner, refused. As soon as it was known that Mary was about to sail direct for Scotland, Elizabeth dispatched a fleet into the channel through which it was expected she would pass;

for the avowed purpose of clearing the sea from pirates, but really with the view to intercept Mary, and carry her prisoner to England. The conduct of the lord James Stewart to his sister is more than doubtful, and he has been distinctly charged, and not on light grounds, with advising Elizabeth and her minister, Cecil, to take this step. The accurate Camden states it, and Chalmers refers to the letters of Throckmorton, as affording evidence of this, on his part, treasonable act. Secretary Maitland, the organ of lord James's party in Scotland, also wrote, recommending the measure to the English minister; and, indeed, so well was the intention to intercept the queen known, that when Lady Lennox heard she had escaped the threatened danger, and arrived in safety, she fell down on her knees, and with uplifted hands, rendered thanks to God for her preservation from the English ships.

SECTION XV.

A. D. 1561, TO A. D. 1568.

Reception of Mary on her arrival.—Her conduct to the Reformers.—Attempts made to prevent her exercising her own mode of worship.—Makes a tour through the principal towns in the kingdom.—Insult she receives on her return to Edinburgh.—Provision made for the Reformed Clergy.—Lord James Stewart created Earl of Mar, and afterwards of Murray.—Mary resides in Fife.—Her expedition to the North.—Strange conduct of Chatelard.—His trial and execution at St Andrews.—Queen resides there and at Falkland.—Meeting of Parliament, and its proceedings.—Kingdom visited by famine.—Proposals for the marriage of the Queen.—Intrigues of Elizabeth.—Mary determines to marry Darnley.—Opposed by Elizabeth.—Randolph visits her at St Andrews.—His account of her simple mode of life there.—Mary meets Darnley at Wemyss Castle.—Darnley created Earl of Ross, and afterwards Duke of Albany.—Marriage of the Queen.—Opposition of the Protestant Lords.—They take up arms.—Fly into England.—A plot entered into against the Queen, in which the King engages—Murder of Rizio.—Imprisonment of the Queen.—Flies with Darnley to Dunbar Castle.—Return of Murray and the banished Lords.—They are pardoned, and again taken into favour.—Plots and intrigues still continued.—Birth of a Prince.—Murder of the King.—Mary charged with being in the knowledge of it.—Her marriage with Bothwell proposed by the Protestant Lords.—Marriage takes place.—Unhappy consequences to the Queen.—She delivers herself up at Carberry Hill to the Protestant Lords.—Is imprisoned in Lochleven Castle.—Bothwell flies the kingdom.—Mary is forced to resign the Crown, and appoint a Regency.—The Prince crowned, and Murray assumes the Regency.—Escape of Mary from Lochleven.—Her defeat at Langside.—Flight into England, and imprisonment there.

THE arrival of Mary in her ancient kingdom was hailed with almost universal demonstrations of enthusiastic loyalty and joy; and the first acts of her reign tended to increase the regard with which even the protestant party regarded her. The affability with which she received the leaders of both parties, and the willingness with which she at once consented not to interfere with the religion of her subjects, led all to conceive that the dissensions which had so long prevailed would be extinguished, and that peace and harmony would be once more restored. This hope, however, was but short-lived. While Mary willingly granted the free exercise of their religion to the meanest of her subjects, she claimed the same right to herself; and this it appears was a stretch of courtesy to their sovereign which the preachers of the reformation were by no means willing to concede. The preparations which were made for the performance of the rites of the catholic church, on the first Sabbath after the queen's arrival, were beheld by the people with the utmost indignation; a serious tumult was threatened; and some even went the length of advocating the propriety of putting to death the priest who was to officiate. The firmness and decision of the Lord James Stewart prevented any riot actually taking place, and the ceremony was allowed to be concluded without disturbance, though not without the extreme indignation of the people. The continued mild conduct of the queen, notwithstanding the gross insult she had received in the meditated attempt to prevent her exercising the ceremonies of her own mode of worship, and her renewed professions of having no desire to interfere with that of her subjects, increased her influence among the leaders of the reformation. But this apparently growing influence alarmed the zeal of Knox, and the more violent

of the clergy, who dreaded that the lords who favoured them might be led altogether to abandon the principles they had hitherto supported. Upon the following Sabbath, Knox preached against the celebration of the mass with the greatest vehemence; and in a subsequent audience, he addressed the queen in such a style as caused her to shed tears.

During these occurrences Mary continued to reside at Edinburgh, but she began to think of making a tour through some of the principal towns in her kingdom. Accordingly, on the 11th September, she set out, on horseback, accompanied by her uncle, the Marquis d'Elbeuf, the grand prior, and Mons. d'Amville, the heir of the constable Montmorency, and a train of other nobles and ladies. She rode from Holyrood-house to Linlithgow palace, where she remained two nights, and on the 13th she went to Stirling castle. Here she remained in the palace built by her father, till the 15th, her stay being marked by a riot which took place on the Sabbath, in consequence of an attempt being made to perform mass. "The Earl of Argyle," says Randolph, the English ambassador, in a letter to Cecil, "and the Lord James Stewart, so disturbed the quire, that some, both priests and clerks, left their places with broken heads and bloody ears." "It was a sport alone," continues Randolph, "for some that were there to behold it: others there were that shed a tear or two, and made no more of the matter." Besides the distress which this disturbance must have caused the queen, she narrowly escaped death while at Stirling, in consequence of the curtains of her bed having taken fire.

Leaving Stirling, she went to Leslie house, in Fife, where she spent the night, and next day (the 16th) she proceeded to Perth. Randolph writes to Cecil that the plate, and some other articles, belonging to the Earl of Rothes, disappeared during this short visit, but he does not insinuate who among the queen's followers were supposed to have made free with them. From Perth the queen proceeded to Dundee, and crossing the Tay, she went to St Andrews, where she resided some days, in all probability, in the house of the prior, which was the seat of the Lord James Stewart who was commendator of the priory. Here there seems also to have been a disturbance, in consequence of an attempt to celebrate mass; and Randolph writes to Cecil that he had heard a priest was slain, though he does not believe it. She afterwards visited Falkland, where her father died, and on the 29th of September she returned to Edinburgh.

The return of Mary to her capital, was met by an insult which was offered to her by the magistrates, in a proclamation which they had just issued, charging all monks, friars, priests, nuns, adulterers, fornicators, and all such filthy persons, to remove from the town in twenty-four hours, under the pain of carting, burning on the cheek, and banishment for ever. Mary instantly issued a precept to the town council, to convene, and dismiss the provost and baillies, for issuing such a proclamation without the consent of the government. The council made no attempt to resist the queen's authority, and the magistrates, who had been so earnest for the purity of the good town, were accordingly removed from office. In the meantime Elizabeth had renewed her negotiations for the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh, which Mary continued to

evade, and in these negotiations, the remainder of the year, and the commencement of the next, was chiefly occupied.

The poverty of the reformed preachers rendered them very turbulent, and increasing their dislike to the catholic clergy, who as yet kept possession of all the church lands and benefices, made them ever ready to detest and misrepresent the conduct of the queen, who they conceived was inclined to give an undue preference to the ancient church. It was therefore considered necessary by the council that some means should be adopted for securing a provision for them; and it was agreed that a third of the benefices should be yearly paid to the queen, from which the reformed preachers should be supported. A valuation of the church revenues was therefore ordered; but the clergy, who had little favour for a measure which was to deprive them of a third of their revenues, were in no great hurry to give in their returns. After considerable difficulties had been removed, an arrangement was at length effected; but the council appears to have been very careful not to risk corrupting the morals of the preachers by excessive liberality in the provisions made for them. Many of them had only one hundred merks assigned, which is little more than five pounds, and to none of them was more allotted than three hundred merks.

On the 7th of February, 1562, Mary created the lord James Stewart, earl of Mar, about which time dissensions had began to occur among some of the leaders of the reformation; the earls of Arran and Bothwell mutually accusing each other of attempts to secure and imprison the queen, and to murder her principal ministers. On investigation, the earl of Arran was discovered to be insane, and was sent to Edinburgh Castle. Bothwell, and the commentator of Kilwinning, were imprisoned for a time. During the greater part of these proceedings the queen removed to Fife, and in the retirement of Falkland, and St Andrews, she relieved her mind with the pleasures of the chase.

The year 1562 was chiefly marked by the queen's expedition to the north against the earl of Huntly and the Gordons, to which she had been persuaded by the advice of the earl of Mar. This ambitious man had long had an anxious wish for possession of the earldom of Murray, which had fallen to the crown, and on which the earl of Huntly had some claims. The queen had resisted her brother's demands with regard to it, and he determined to obtain it, sought to do so by involving the earl of Huntly in the pains of rebellion. The queen at length, persuaded by various artifices of the guilt of Huntly, set out for the north on the 11th of August. The particulars of this unhappy expedition, and the results it produced to the Gordons, need not here be detailed; it is sufficient to say, that the earl of Mar obtained possession of the castle of Darnaway, and there assumed, with the queen's consent, the title of earl of Murray, while Huntly was denounced as a rebel, and the subversion of his ancient house determined on. The mad attempt of Huntly to force his way to the queen, that he might answer the charges made against him, was speedily followed by his defeat at Corrachie, and the capture of himself and his two sons by the earl of Murray. Both his sons,

with many other gentlemen of the name of Gordon, were condemned to death; but only one of his sons, Sir John, was executed. Lord Gordon, the earl's eldest son, was shortly afterwards committed to Edinburgh Castle. Mary's return to Edinburgh was followed by an illness which confined her several days.

Shortly after this, Mary was endangered, and much vexed by an accident of rather uncommon occurrence. A Frenchman, of the name of Chatelard, a gentleman, a soldier, a scholar, and a poet, had visited Scotland in the train of Mons. d'Amville, at the time of Mary's arrival from France. After his return to his own country, he had thought proper again to visit Scotland, where he arrived in November, 1562, and as he had letters from several of her friends and relations, he was well received by the queen. He continued at court till the 12th of February, 1562–3, when he was discovered concealed in the queen's bed-chamber, at the time she was about to retire for the night, having his sword and dagger with him. The circumstance was concealed from the queen till the morning, but on learning it, she commanded him to leave the court; and immediately afterwards she left Edinburgh for Dunfermline, where she remained all night. On the 14th she went to Bruntisland, where she slept. Chatelard, notwithstanding the commands of the queen, followed her to Fife, and arrived in Bruntisland the same day. On her retiring to her chamber for the night, Chatelard forced his way in immediately after her, and presented himself before her, for the purpose, as he said, of clearing himself from the imputation made against him for his previous conduct. The queen instantly called out for help, when the earl of Murray, being sent for, came in. Mary, in her agitation, desired Murray to put his dagger in him, but he ordered him into confinement, reserving him to be punished in due course of law. The chancellor, the justice clerk, and other counsellors, were sent for from Edinburgh, and a few days afterwards the wretched man was tried and condemned at St Andrews. On the 22d of February he was executed there, "reading over on the scaffold," says Brantome, "'Ronsard's Hymn on Death,' as the only preparation for the fatal stroke."

During the time of this trial and execution, Mary resided at St Andrews. She had left Bruntisland for Falkland, the day after the occurrence with Chatelard. On the sixteenth she dined at Cupar, and the same evening proceeded to St Andrews, where she remained till the 18th of March. While there she was much grieved at hearing of the assassination of her uncle, the duke of Guise; and to relieve her melancholy she went to Falkland, where she enjoyed the sports of the field for some days, after which, she returned to St Andrews, dining at Cupar both in going and returning. Leaving St Andrews she returned to Falkland on the 3d of April, where, as well as at Lochleven, she spent some time in hunting and hawking. On the 15th of April, 1563, she left Lochleven, and dining at Strathhenry, rode to Falkland. Next day she dined at Newark, and in the evening she proceeded to Cupar where she remained all night. In the afternoon of the 17th she left Cupar for St Andrews, where she continued to reside till the 16th of May. A great part of her train then left her, and

proceeded to Edinburgh, by Kinghorn: she left St Andrews the same day, and slept at Cupar, from whence she proceeded next day to the neighbourhood of Markinch, where she dined. She passed the night at Bruntisland, and in the morning passed to Leith, and from thence came to Edinburgh, after an absence of nearly four months.

The time was now approaching when parliament was to meet, and Mary felt considerable alarm least she should be pressed by the reformers on the subject of her own religion. The preachers of the reformation had continued their exertions for the full and complete establishment of their own views; and notwithstanding the impartiality of her conduct, they had not failed to insinuate that it was only intended to delude the reformers till a favourable opportunity of establishing the ancient faith should be obtained. The leaders of the party, and the great body of the people, looking to the actions of the queen, entertained more favourable ideas of her intentions; while the fears which she had entertained with regard to the parliament about to meet, were soon dissipated by its proceedings. Mary opened parliament, which met on the 26th of May, with a magnificence which had never been previously attempted by any Scottish Sovereign. She appeared crowned, and in her robes of state, the duke of Chatelherault carrying the crown, Argyle the sceptre, and Murray the sword; and she delivered a speech in her native language, with such grace and fascination, that it was listened to with the most profound attention and admiration. Instead of pressing on the queen any request to sanction the proceedings of the parliament which had followed the treaty of Edinburgh, the leaders of the reform party proceeded to pass additional laws in support of the reformed church, as if what had been already done was perfectly legal. Manses were declared to belong to the ministers; churches ordered to be kept in repair; and several laws passed for the punishment of immorality. The most important matter, however, which came before parliament, was the passing an act of oblivion for all offences done against the queen from the commencement of the disturbances in 1558. Parliament finished its business on the 4th of June, after which the queen went to the west country where she spent some months, chiefly occupied in field sports.

Scotland, during this year, was visited by a severe famine, which arose from an unfavourable season; and parliament seems to have considered it necessary to interfere, by passing an act for "eschewing of dearth of vivers and victuals." Knox, in speaking of this famine, mentions the prices of "all things pertaining to the sustentation of man," as being more than three times their usual amount. A boll of wheat, he says, was sold for six pounds scots, a boll of bear for six merks and a half, a boll of meal for four merks, a boll of oats for fifty shilling scots, an ox to draw in the plough twenty merks, and a wedder thirty shillings scots. The reformed clergy, who were far from being pleased at what they considered the too moderate proceedings of the late parliament, did not hesitate to point out this calamity, as distinctly showing the displeasure of God, that the popish worship had not been altogether exterminated. Nor did the rich dresses of the queen, and the ladies who attended her at the opening of parliament escape the animadversion and ill-natured remark of Knox. He declaimed against the display

they had made as a grievous sin, which would in all likelihood bring down the vengeance of heaven, not only on the foolish females who had been guilty of it, but on the whole nation; and he and his coadjutors made many very silly, though ineffectual attempts with parliament, for a law to regulate dresses, and restrain all such enormities. The queen was very justly offended with the whole tenor of Knox's conduct towards her at this time; and even Murray was so irritated, that notwithstanding their long friendship, all intimacy ceased between them for more than a year and a half.

In the month of September Mary returned to Edinburgh, having crossed the Clyde from Argyle into Ayrshire, and proceeded thence to Kirkcudbright and Dumfriesshire. Randolph, the English ambassador, who had been recalled home, now revisited Scotland, and the instructions which he brought with him referred almost entirely to the marriage of Mary. No particular person was at this time pointed out to the queen as worthy of her hand; but he was instructed to hint "that Elizabeth could not but wish, there might be found some noble person of good birth within this our realm, that might be agreeable to our good sister." This proposal seems to have principally occupied the attention of Mary and the ladies who attended her during the duller part of the year 1563; and there was a strong desire to know who the person was likely to be, who was destined by Elizabeth to share the Scottish throne. After a time occupied in political manœuvering, it was at length intimated that the proposed husband was the earl of Leicester, but Mary at once rejected the proposal; and as he was at the time Elizabeth's greatest favourite, it is not likely that she was in earnest in desiring the connection to be formed.

Mary, early in 1564, recalled from England the earl of Lennox, who for twenty years had been exiled from Scotland; and Elizabeth not only at once consented to his return, but solicited Mary to restore him to his estates and honours. Lennox was himself connected with the royal family of Scotland, and had married the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of Archibald, earl of Angus, and the lady Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII. of England, and widow of James IV. Lord Darnley, the son of the earl, and the lady Margaret was therefore nearly related, both to queen Elizabeth and to Mary. There is little reason to doubt, that at this time Mary had secretly resolved, if she found him agreeable to her taste, to settle the discussion as to her marriage, by uniting herself to lord Darnley; and in the meantime she again left Edinburgh for the north, to relieve herself from the importunities of the English ambassador, and a continuation of the proposals of Elizabeth. She returned to Edinburgh in the end of September, and there she received the earl of Lennox with the greatest cordiality. Elizabeth still pretended to continue the proposal of a marriage with her own minion Leicester, a connection which Mary and her advisers still decidedly refused.

In January, 1564–5, Mary passed over to Fife, where she amused herself with her usual sports, sometimes at Falkland, and sometimes at St Andrews. In the month of February she was followed by Randolph to St Andrews, who again attempted to renew the proposal of the marriage with Leicester. Of her manner of life at this time, a very

particular account has been preserved, in a letter from Randolph to his mistress. "Her grace lodged," he says, "in a merchant's house; her train were very few; and there was small repair from any part." She invited Randolph to dine and sup at her table while he remained, so that his opportunities of observation were very particular. After he had continued to attend her for some days, he at length broached the subject he had in charge from his mistress; but Mary appears, with much skill and tact, to have evaded the subject. "I sent for you to be merry," said she to the wily diplomatist, "and to see how like a Bourgeois-wife I live, with my little troop; and you will interrupt our pastime with your great and grave matters. I pray you, Sir, if you be weary here, return home to Edinburgh, and keep your gravity, and great embassade, until the queen come thither; for, I assure you, you shall not get her here, nor I know not myself where she is become; you see neither cloth of estate, nor such appearance, that you may think that there is a queen here; nor, I would not that you should think, that I am she at St Andrews, that I was at Edinburgh." He farther describes her as passing her time in agreeable and lively conversation; and in riding out after dinner. Finding nothing could be made of his residence at St Andrews, Randolph returned to Edinburgh, and about this time the young Lord Darnley also arrived there.

Mary also left St Andrews on the 11th of February, and next day came to Lundy, on the south coast of Fife. On the 13th she rode to Wemyss, then the residence of the earl of Murray; and three days after, Lord Darnley learning where she was, crossed the Forth, and for the first time visited her there. He seems to have been well received by her, and was lodged in the castle. "Her majesty," says Sir James Melville, (Memoirs, p. 111,) "took very well with him, and said, that he was the properest and best proportioned long man that ever she had seen." Darnley remained some days at Wemyss castle, and after visiting his father at Dunkeld, returned to Edinburgh. The queen also left it, and journeying along the coast, she crossed the Firth at Queensferry, and arrived in Edinburgh on the 24th of February. Darnley "haunted the court for some time," as Sir James Melville says, after which he proposed marriage to the queen. She at first pretended to "disrelish" the proposal, and "refused a ring that he had offered her." Yet it is certain she had determined the marriage should take place; and it is equally certain, that in doing so, had he possessed greater prudence and sense, she acted the best part she could have done for Scotland, as it strengthened her claim, and that of her successors, to the throne of England, in the event of Elizabeth's death without issue. The nobility of Scotland at first seemed favourable to the marriage, conceiving that it met with the approbation of Elizabeth, but that intriguing diplomatist had contemplated no such measure, and no sooner did she find it likely to take place, than she used every exertion to prevent it, and letters of recal were sent both to Lennox and to Darnley. Murray, and the rest of the reformed nobility, who, for their own purposes had so long been subservient to England, now also endeavoured to throw every obstacle in their power in the way of the wishes of the queen.

The intrigues of Elizabeth, and her desire to prevent the marriage, was very soon

apparent to Mary, who, with a decision which it would have been well for her she had oftener exercised, determined to exercise her own will and judgment in the matter. When Elizabeth found that preparations for the marriage were proceeding rapidly, she redoubled her exertions to have it put a stop to, but in vain, as Mary saw through, and defeated all her measures. In the midst of these various proceedings, Murray and Argyle appeared at Edinburgh with a body of 5,000 horsemen, ostensibly for the purpose of attending a court to which the earl of Bothwell had been cited; but really, as the queen considered, more to overawe herself, than frighten Bothwell. She therefore ordered the justice clerk to adjourn the court, and expressed her displeasure to Murray very strongly. Mary now obtained from several of the nobility their subscription to a writing consenting to her marriage with Darnley; but others evaded signing it, and among the rest the earl of Murray. On the 15th of May the queen created Darnley a knight, Lord Ardmannah, and earl of Ross, when the Duke of Chatelherault, and the Earls of Murray, Argyle and Glencairn, immediately retired from court, and began to concert measures for creating a civil war in the country. The whole strength of the protestant party was now brought against the queen; and in a meeting of the party held at Edinburgh, articles were presented to be demanded of the queen, not only farther to strengthen and confirm the reformed church, but which went the length of entirely preventing her majesty from exercising her own religion in future, or allowing its worship to take place. Murray's conduct in countenancing such demands, cannot be favourably viewed. It is too apparent that he wished to ensnare his sister, by demanding what he knew she would refuse, and then to hold up that refusal as evidence of her enmity to the protestant faith.

Elizabeth was not slow in lending her advice and sanction to the discontented party who were thus endeavouring to embroil the nation; but the conduct of Mary for the time defeated their designs. When solicited to agree to the petitions of the assembly which had been held at Edinburgh, she evaded the subject, and declined giving any answer till she had consulted her council. The reform party, in the mean time, assembled in arms in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and passed resolutions that they would defend themselves, and elected eight persons to take command of those who were already armed. Mary resisted these criminal proceedings, which could be justified by no plea of necessity, as no real danger threatened the party. She caused the ring-leaders to be apprehended, and inventories of their property to be made; but, on the solicitation of the magistrates, they were pardoned. Mary's conduct was here marked by the greatest mildness; but she was charged with despotism by her opponents, and a desire to rule according to her own will, and against the wishes of the nation. Her mildness, therefore, so far from disarming, emboldened her enemies, and it is distinctly charged against them, that a plot was formed to seize her at the kirk of Beith, on her way from Perth to Callander. Notice of the plot, it is said, was given to her, and she avoided the threatened danger by setting off on an earlier day than was expected by the conspirators.

On the 20th of July, Mary created Darnley duke of Albany, and on the 29th of July they were married in the chapel of Holyrood-house. For many days nothing was heard in Edinburgh but rejoicings and sports; banquet following banquet; and one amusement succeeding another. That Mary at this time enjoyed the good will of the great body of her people, is apparent; for, immediately previous to the marriage, she summoned her barons and people to attend her, and such was the alacrity with which her summons was obeyed, that she in a few days found herself at the head of a body of nobles, gentlemen, and their followers, which the discontented lords were unable to meet. They retired therefore to their castles, where they meditated new treasons, and propagated reports against the queen, and the measures she had adopted. Early in August they assembled their forces, but unable to meet the adherents of the queen, they retired for security into the fastnesses of Argyleshire; and, on the 15th May, held a meeting at Ayr, where they were joined by a number of adherents. The queen and Darnley left Edinburgh with their forces, for the purpose of dispersing the rebels; but in consequence of the conduct of the earl of Morton, Murray's friend, who commanded the queen's army, after much marching and counter-marching, the royal army was marched into Fife, leaving their opponents in the south, without the two armies having ever came near one another. While in that county, Mary imprisoned several gentlemen of the county, who were partisans of the rebels, and obliged others to give security for their good behaviour. The king and queen had no sooner returned to Edinburgh, than they found that the conduct they had pursued had given confidence to the rebels, who were in Dumfriesshire in considerable force. At the head of an army of 18,000 men, they now left Edinburgh, and advanced into Nithsdale, when Murray and his friends, finding they were unable to withstand the force brought against them, fled into England, where they were very kindly received by the officers of the English queen.

These nobles continued to reside in England, under the protection of Elizabeth, while the Scottish queen, irritated at their ingratitude, summoned a Parliament for their trial on the 4th of February, 1565–6, afterwards postponed till the 7th of March. In the mean time, a new conspiracy had been formed for the relief of these nobles, the chiefs of which were Morton, Maitland, Ruthven, and Lindsay; and to this plot the conspirators, working on his youth and weakness, obtained the sanction of the king. They pretended to show him that he was wronged in not receiving the crown-matrimonial, and that he was without voice or influence in the government. When Mary opened the Parliament which had been summoned, she requested her husband to accompany her; but he refused, preferring his amusement to his duty, and showing that he was already estranged from the wife who had heaped honours upon him, and had risked her personal safety, and that of her kingdom, for his sake.

The plot which had been formed so secretly, that nothing of its existence was known to the queen, led, in the first instance, to the murder of her secretary, Rizzio, which took place on the evening of the 9th of March, two days after the opening of Parliament. What was intended to be gained by this savage deed, so barbarously com-

mitted in the very chamber and presence of the queen, it is not easy to say; but it is probable that one object was, the farther estrangement of Mary from her weak and faithless husband, who sanctioned this gross outrage by his presence. During the night, and the following day, the queen was detained a close prisoner by the conspirators; and the king issued a proclamation commanding the lords of parliament, who had assembled, to leave Edinburgh immediately. In the evening Murray and his expatriated friends arrived, having received the sanction of the king for doing so. Next day he and his associates, with the conspirators, met to consider what farther measures should be adopted, when it was agreed to commit the queen to Stirling Castle until she should in parliament approve what they had done; establish the reformed religion, and give the crown-matrimonial to the king, who had been so ungrateful for what he had already received. Mary, notwithstanding the just cause of indignation she had with her husband, used every endeavour, with the assistance of her ladies, to get Darnley to return to his duty; and he was thus induced to promise to those he associated himself with, that he would keep the queen safe, until she should agree to the arrangements they had made. By this means he cleared the palace of the conspirators, after which, through her persuasion, they fled together to Dunbar, where they were joined by the Archbishop of St Andrews, and a number of the loyal nobility, with their followers.

Mary was now too powerful for the conspirators, who found it their interest to endeavour to regain her favour. The earl of Glencairn and Rothes were allowed an audience, and graciously pardoned, in accordance with her usual mild policy; but Murray and Argyle were pardoned only on condition of retiring to the country of the latter. Morton, Ruthven, and Lindsay, fled into England; Maitland, her secretary, who had long betrayed her councils, also absconded; and even Knox, getting alarmed, hid himself in Ayrshire from her dreaded anger. After a few days Mary returned to Edinburgh, accompanied by a numerous retinue; and before a year had expired, the greater portion of the conspirators received her pardon, and were again more or less received into favour. Only two persons, of mean condition, were executed for the conspiracy. Having reconciled the greater part of the nobility to herself, Mary now employed herself in endeavouring to reconcile many of them to each other. Notwithstanding this, however, the intrigues of her enemies were still carried on; and Elizabeth, through her emissaries, continued to extend and encourage their proceedings. Mary now retired to Edinburgh Castle for greater safety, and there, on the 19th of June, was delivered of a son, afterwards James VI., to the great joy of the nation, and the extreme grief of her rival and enemy, Elizabeth, who was unable to conceal her chagrin when she first heard the news. The young prince was nursed by Margaret Little, wife of Alexander Gray, burgess of Edinburgh; and, in February, 1566–7, she and her husband had a grant for their joint lives of the one-half of the lands of Kingsbarns, in Fife. In July thereafter, Margaret Houston, and her son, Thomas Beveridge, received a grant for their lives of two chalders and four bolls of bear from the Newton

of Falkland, "for her good service to the queen at the birth of the prince of this realm."

The whole occurrences of Mary's reign from this period till the murder of the king in February following are well known; and have been the subject of much discussion and animadversion. Her participation in the murder of her husband has been affirmed by one party, and denied by others. With the reformers, the murder was committed by her instigation, to make way for the earl of Bothwell whom they alledge to have been her paramour: with her friends, the murder is said to have been planned by Murray and his friends, and executed by Bothwell; while to serve the objects of Murray, the blame was cunningly attempted to be thrown upon the queen. The different views as to the origin and cause of this atrocious deed, are still matters of dispute, and are not likely ever to be farther developed than they now are. This is not the proper place to renew the discussion, and it is not our intention, whatever may be our conviction to offer any opinion upon it.

Whither Mary was cognizant of the murder of her husband or not, it was not long till the charge was made use of against her; while Murray continued for a time to act in public affairs with Bothwell, who was generally believed to be the murderer. In the month of April a parliament met, at which Mary was present. The greatest portion of the acts which it past were restorations of forfeitures, and confirmations of rights, so that the object of the reform party at this time seems to have been to conciliate. An act was passed which shows that Mary, however, determined to have liberty of conscience for herself, did not object to the right of her subjects to worship God in the manner which to them seemed most proper. By this law all foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters was renounced; toleration was given to all to worship God in their own way; and by a third clause additional privileges were promised to be granted. After the rising of this parliament, at which Bothwell was present, Morton and Maitland, solicited and obtained from several lords of Murray's faction, and from eight bishops a declaration in writing, avowing their belief of Bothwell's innocence, and recommending him as a proper husband for the queen. It is alledged that the queen had previously consented to this marriage; but her defenders deny this, and aver the writings she was alledged to have signed, to have been a forgery of the secretary Maitland. Such a proposal, however, excited the greatest indignation throughout the country.

The seizure of the queens person by Bothwell, and her detention till she agreed to marry him, is the next incident in this sad drama. Even this circumstance has given rise to disputes between the accusers and defenders of Mary: the one party alledge that the seizure of her person was done by collusion, and with her own consent; while the other as strenuously deny the accusation, and charge Murray's party with looking on without attempting a movement in her favour, or drawing a sword in her defence. The doom of Mary was now sealed. She married Bothwell whither from choice, or as

being in her opinion, the least of the evils with which she was surrounded; and her enemies were not slow in taking advantage of it to her injury. The marriage took place on the 15th of May, 1567, and was the forerunner of years of grief and misery to the unhappy queen.

No sooner had the marriage taken place, than the very nobles who had subscribed the document affirming the innocence of Bothwell, openly denounced him as the murderer, and held forth the queen's marriage with him as evidence of her participation in the crime. Between the 20th and 26th of May, the partisans of Murray held a secret meeting at Stirling, at which it was resolved to dethrone the queen, and place her son upon the throne. Forces were speedily assembled; and the queen, with Bothwell, retired to Borthwick castle. The insurgents surrounded the castle, expecting to get possession of the queen's person; but she and Bothwell made their escape in disguise and fled to Dunbar. Here she issued proclamations calling on her subjects to arm in her defence; and in a few days she was at the head of two thousand men. With these she marched upon Edinburgh, and on the 14th of June halted at Gladsmoor; and next day she took a position on Carberryhill. At this place she was met by the insurgents under the earls of Morton and Athol. Through the medium of Kirkaldy of Grange, an arrangement was entered into, by which it was agreed that Bothwell as being suspected of Darnley's murder should pass off the field; while the queen should come over to the insurgents, use the council of her nobles, and they, in return, would honour, serve, and obey her as their sovereign.

Bothwell departed from the field according to this agreement; and the queen, with Grange, went over to the adverse army. The promises of Grange, though fully sanctioned by the insurgent nobles, were speedily violated, and the queen at once found she was a prisoner. She was brought to Edinburgh amidst the greatest indignities, and there lodged in the provost's house, instead of the palace. In the morning the indignities were renewed, and the lowest of the rabble were allowed to insult her in the grossest manner. The craftsmen and more respectable citizens formed the resolution of rescuing her from her enemies; but they were deluded by the nobles, who again promised that she should be restored to liberty and to the exercise of her power. She was removed in the course of the day to Holyrood, and in the evening she was sent a prisoner to Lochleven Castle, the residence of William Douglas, the brother uterine of Murray, and the presumptive heir of Morton. She was conveyed to her place of confinement by the Lords Ruthven and Lindsay, of the Byres, under an armed escort, and placed under the surveillance of the brother of Murray. On the 18th of June, they seized all her plate, jewels, and other moveables; and caused the whole of her plate to be coined into money: on the same day the earl of Glencairn, with his servants, broke into her chapel at Holyrood, and destroyed the altar, images, pictures, and ornaments, with which it was decorated; and on the 24th she was forced to resign the crown in favour of her infant son, and to nominate a regency for the government of the kingdom. In this arrangement, which was not obtained

without many threats from the stern lord Lindsay, and many tears on the part of the unhappy queen, the interests of the earl of Murray were not forgotten. He was appointed regent of the kingdom, so long the object of his guilty ambition.

Until this was accomplished, the insurgent nobles had taken the government of the kingdom on themselves, under the name of the lords of the secret council; but they now proclaimed the regency, and appointed the 29th of July for the coronation of the young prince. Although the punishment of the murderers of the late king was one of the ostensible reasons for the acts of violence they had committed, and Bothwell was generally believed to have been the principal in that horrid affair, no exertion was made to apprehend him till he had had ample time to make his escape. The probability is that he knew too much of their own connection with it, and that the party did not wish he should be taken. He fled first to Orkney, where he was followed by Kirkaldy, of Grange, with two ships under his command; and from thence he fled to Denmark, where he was thrown into prison. He remained a prisoner for ten years, when he died in a state of insanity and wretched misery.

James was crowned at Stirling in terms of the proclamation, the envoy of queen Elizabeth sanctioning the transaction with his presence; and an envoy was dispatched to Murray, then in London, on his return from France, where he had been sojourning since shortly after the king's death, offering him the regency of the kingdom, in terms of the writing forced from the imprisoned queen. Murray accepted the office, and returning immediately to Scotland, was inaugurated in the office, and publicly proclaimed ruler of the kingdom. Shortly previous, he with others of the confederated lords had visited the queen at Lochleven Castle, when she had a conversation with them altogether, and afterwards with Murray alone. This meeting seems to have given little consolation to the disquieted mind of the poor prisoner. The conversation of Murray was cold and dark; nor would he disclose to her what his opinions of her were, whether good or bad; nor what it was intended should be done with her. When he left her the first night, he intimated that she had little to look for, but on the mercy of God, thus obscurely hinting that it was the intention of some she should be put to death. Next morning he indeed assured her of her life; but, he declared he had it not in his power to give her liberty. Mary felt severely the harshness of their conduct towards her, and she expressed herself accordingly: "My lords," said she, at parting, "you have had experience of my severity, and of the end of it; I pray you, also let me find, that you have learned of me, to make an end of yours, or, at least, that you can make it final." Her severity to them had been heaping favours upon them; and, on Murray in particular, she had conferred lands and wealth, far beyond what her means authorised her to do.

On the 15th of December, the first parliament under the regency met, with all the usual pomp, at Edinburgh, and by the laws which it enacted, the protestant reformation may be considered to have been finally established. The laws which had been previously made against popery, were all renewed; an act was passed regarding the admission of

ministers, and for the preservation of lay patronages; and an equally important enactment was made, recognizing the right of the church of Scotland, which they had thus established to the tiends, for the support of its clergy. It was further enacted by this parliament, that no one should be eligible for the office of a judge, procurator, notary, or member of any court, who did not profess the reformed religion; and all teachers of youth were subjected to the examination of the superintendents and visitors of the church. From this memorable parliament, the protestant religion may be considered to have been established in Scotland.

Mary, who still remained a prisoner in Lochleven Castle, effected her escape on the 2d of May, 1568, and fled to Hamilton, where she was joined by a large body of adherents, when in a few days she had an army of 6,000 men under her command. She marched from Hamilton on the 13th of May, with the intention of entering Dumbarton Castle; but she was met by the army of the regent at Langside, a village two miles south of Glasgow, where her army was totally defeated. Seeing the fate of the battle, the queen left the field, attended by Lord Herries, and fled with precipitation into Galloway; nor did she stop till she had reached the Abbey of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright, a distance of sixty miles from the scene of her defeat. Here she formed the unhappy resolution of retiring to England, and throwing herself on the mercy of Elizabeth. This resolution she speedily carried into effect, notwithstanding the strenuous objections of Lord Herries, and the few friends who were with her. Her arrival in England was followed by her imprisonment, and the unhappy queen continued a prisoner for a period of nineteen years, when her miseries were terminated with her life upon the scaffold.

SECTION XIV.

A. D. 1568, TO A. D. 1603.

Minority of James VI.—Regency of Earl of Murray.—His death.—Earl of Lennox appointed Regent.—Duke of Chatelherault, Archbishop of St Andrews, and others attainted.—Dumbarton castle taken.—Archbishop of St Andrews executed.—Edinburgh castle defended by Kirkcaldy of Grange.—Attack on the King's party at Stirling and death of Lennox.—The Earl of Marr appointed Regent.—Atrocities committed by both parties at this time.—Death of the Earl of Marr.—The Earl of Morton appointed Regent.—Castle of Edinburgh capitulates.—Kirkcaldy executed.—Conduct of the regent Morton.—Loses his popularity and resigns.—James VI. governs with a council.—Morton again interferes with the government.—Is imprisoned and afterwards executed.—Favourites of James, their interference with the government.—Creates discontent.—Raid of Ruthven and banishment of the favourites.—Lords engaged in the Raid banished and afterwards restored.—Feebleness of the exertions made by James to save his mother's life.—James comes of age, and attempts to reconcile his nobles.—Law passed introducing members for the counties into parliament.—James desirous of marrying a Princess of Denmark, but opposed by Elizabeth.—Princess Ann prevented by a storm coming to Scotland.—James' voyage to Denmark.—Return of the King and Queen, and her coronation.—State of Scotland at this time.—Conduct of the Earl of Bothwell.—Death of the Earl of Huntly.—Popish nobles obliged to leave Scotland.—Disturbances occasioned by their attempts to be restored.—Decided conduct of James.—Return of the Popish lords.—Attention of James directed to his prospect of succession to the English crown.—Gowrie conspiracy.—Colony from Fife attempted to be planted in the island of Lewis.—Failure of the scheme.—Concluding observations.

The minority of James VI. was, as had been usual in Scotland, marked by misrule on the part of the different regents who succeeded each other; and by intrigues and turbulence on the part of the nobility and their followers. The regent Murray, whatever may be thought of the means by which he had attained his power, was unquestionably both from his abilities, and his energy of character, the person best fitted of any in the kingdom for the office. The vigour of his government, would in time have brought the distracted elements of society into something like order; and the improvements of civilization might have begun to succeed the anarchy and confusion which had so long prevailed: but his harshness to individuals neutralized the effects which his other qualities might have produced; and finally raised up against him an irritated and vindictive enemy, whose revenge could only be satisfied by his death. The regent had gifted the estates of Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, to one of his supporters, and this individual with an indecent haste, and inexcusable harshness, instantly took possession of the lands, and turned the wife of Hamilton from the house at night, in consequence of which she was driven into insanity. Hamilton determined on revenge, and passing over the actor of the atrocity he looked to Murray as its original cause. In the beginning of the year 1570, an opportunity occurred for executing his purpose; and he shot the regent as he rode through the streets of Linlithgow. Thus perished within three years of his accepting the office, the regent Murray, and with him any hopes of bringing into order and subordination a kingdom which had so long been the arena of strife and bloodshed.

Mary had still a strong party in Scotland, who received the news of the death of the

regent with the most indecent triumph. Scot of Buccleugh, and his followers, warm partizans of Mary, invaded the English borders the very following day, and ravaged them with great barbarity. Elizabeth instantly invaded Scotland, and her army joining with the enemies of the queen, enabled them to overcome their opponents, and to choose a regent of their own party. The Earl of Lennox was chosen to the office, and began his administration with great vigour. He prevented the meeting of a parliament summoned by the friends of Mary to meet at Linlithgow; dispersed a body of troops raised by Huntly; removed Maitland of Lethington from his office of secretary; and procured parliament to attaint him, the duke of Chatelherault, the Archbishop of St Andrews, the Earl of Huntly, and other supporters of Mary, as traitors. The castle of Dumbarton, one of the strongest in the kingdom, which had hitherto held out for Mary, was taken by stratagem in the beginning of 1571; and Verac the French ambassador, and Hamilton the Archbishop of St Andrew were made prisoners. The ambassador was politely treated, but the unfortunate Archbishop was carried to Stirling, where he was charged with the murder of the king. No proof of this fact could be brought against him, but as his distruction was determined on, his attainder in parliament was brought forward, and four days after his being made prisoner he was executed on a gallows; a mean end, "from which," says a celebrated historian, "the high offices which he had enjoyed both in church and state ought to have exempted him."*

During this period Kirkcaldy of Grange had strengthened himself in Edinburgh castle, and had received both money and provisions from France. The Hamiltons and other friends of Mary resorted to him, and his force at length became so considerable that he was enabled to overawe the city of Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which were strongly inclined to the king's party. He suggested a decisive blow at the enemies of the queen, which had nearly proved successful. The leaders of that party had met at Stirling for the purpose of holding a parliament, but their deliberations were rather disagreeably interrupted, by the entrance into the town one morning of 400 chosen men led by lord Huntly, and lord Claud Hamilton. The royalist nobles were surrounded in their houses before they were aware, and an attack made upon them, which they bravely resisted, till the earl of Mar coming to their assistance with soldiers from the castle, the assailants were defeated, and obliged to make a very hurried retreat. Notwithstanding the unexpected nature of this attack none of the royal party suffered, but the regent Lennox. Kirkcaldy who planned this enterprise and who would have produced a very different result, had he been allowed to command it, had particularly recommended that nobleman to the care of Sir David Spence; but notwithstanding all the exertions Sir David could use, the regent was slain, and Sir David was also killed in consequence of his generous efforts in defence of his enemy.

* The following distich was addressed to the tree which served as a gallows for the Archbishop:

	Imitated.
"Vive diu, felix arbor, semper que vireto,	"Hail, happy tree! may verdure ever crown
"Frondibus, ut nobis talia poma feras."	Thy boughs, while peneile fruit like this they won.

The earl of Mar, an honest and patriotic nobleman, who had hitherto had the charge of the young king's education, was now chosen regent. Civil war during 1572 continued to rage with unexampled ferocity, no quarter was given in the field, and numbers of prisoners were put to death in cold blood. The earl of Morton, the leader of the royal army, blockading Edinburgh, the inhabitants of which from fear of the castle, still commanded by Kirkcaldy, had been obliged in appearance to act in favour of the queen, reduced them to the greatest misery from scarcity of provisions. A truce, however, which was entered into for two months, soon relieved them, and restored plenty to the inhabitants, and to the garrison, who had also begun to feel the effect of the blockade. Attempts were now made by England to pacificate Scotland, but with little effect at the time, for just as the negotiations were going on, a large party, conveying necessaries to the castle were set upon by the followers of Morton, and every man of them either slain or executed; whilst almost at the same instant fifty six of the royal party were hanged beneath the walls of Edinburgh castle. The horror of such scenes, and his inability to prevent them, or to produce any union of parties, completely weighed down the spirit and health of the regent. He sank, under the load of grief with which he was overwhelmed, and the earl of Morton became the fourth regent who had exercised the office, within the short period of five years. Before the close of this year 1572, John Knox the great apostle of the reformation in Scotland died at the age of seventy five.

The state of anarchy to which the country was now reduced required a firm and energetic mind such as Morton possessed, to bring it into order; and although his own turbulent disposition had in no little degree helped to produce the evil, he no sooner found himself at the summit of his ambition, than he became desirous to enjoy his pre-eminence in quiet. In order to bring about the agreement he so much desired, Morton began to treat seperately with two divisions of Mary's party. Chatelherault, Huntly, and Sir Adam Gordon, at once entered into his proposals, and consented to acknowledge him as regent, on condition that all the laws attainting the partisans of the queen should be repealed. But the party headed by Kircaldy of Grange and Maitland of Lethington, although thus deserted by such powerful leaders, refused to trust the promises of Morton or to listen to his offers. They continued to hold the castle, and overawe the city of Edinburgh, trusting to the promises of succour from France, whence they had already received a small supply. The queen of England however had no will that the first fortress in the kingdom should be allowed to remain longer in possession of the friends of Mary, she therefore sent a strong body of troops, well appointed with artillery, under Sir William Drury to reduce it. During one month, the garrison held out against a spirited and resolute attack with the most determined bravery; but the supply of water failing, the garrison mutinied, and forced their undaunted leader to surrender. Kirkcaldy delivered himself up to the English commander, who at first treated him kindly, until by the orders of Elizabeth, he delivered him over to Morton. The regent who dreaded the honesty and energy of this gallant soldiers character, caused him and his brother James to be executed on a gallows in the market place of Edinburgh. Lord Hume and the other officers of

the garrison left the country, and served abroad, while Maitland anticipating the doom he had to expect, put an end to his life by swallowing poison.

Morton now (1574) possessed unlimited authority, and was freed by death from the most powerful competitors for the office he held, the duke of Chatelherault, and the earl of Argyle. He continued with a strong hand to repress the disorders with which the land was overrun; and by the most vigorous exertions he restored order, and the due administration of justice throughout the kingdom. But as his security increased, his naturally avaricious disposition began to unfold itself, and he turned every thing to his own profit. He debased the coin, oppressed the church he had so long professed to support, encouraged monopolies, and showed his administration venal in every branch. The tide of his prosperity at length began to ebb; and the nobility, many of whom detested him, eagerly sought his ruin. To the young king, who had (1577) attained his twelfth year, they looked for protection. Athol, Argyle, and the Hamiltons, obtaining admission to his presence made him acquainted with the unjust rigour of Morton's government, and the desire of the nation for a change. The king was prevailed upon to summon a council, and the nobles took care that none but those who hated the regent should be summoned.

A better period could hardly have been chosen, by the discontented lords, for their attempt against Morton, than that which they selected. The people were disgusted with his avarice, the clergy detested him for his oppression of their body, and the queen of England was too busy in protecting the United States of Holland against the Spaniards, to be able to spare any force sufficient to assist him. He soon saw through the designs of his enemies, and his vigorous mind at once perceived the necessity there was for his appearing to yield, that he might return to power with greater force. He accordingly resigned the regency in favour of the youthful monarch, who with great solemnity before the inhabitants of Edinburgh took upon himself the supreme government, granting to Morton a full approval of his services, and an indemnity for all offences. A council of twelve persons was appointed to assist the king with their advice. The new advisers of the king had determined to make an attack on the vast property of the late regent, but James who feared him as much as he hated him interfered in his favour, and he retired to his castle in Loch Leven, popularly called the lion's den, from whence he watched the progress of events. Nor did he require to remain long in retirement. A new turn of affairs was at hand; Glamis, the chancellor, was killed by the Crawfords in one of the ordinary feudal brawls of the time, and Athol a reputed papist was appointed to the office. The protestants became alarmed, and soon remarked that the king was entirely surrounded by Roman catholics. They hated the late regent, but they hated the catholic party still worse. They looked to Morton as their former leader, and the tide of popular favour now ran as strongly towards him as it had lately done against him.

All these movements had been observed by Morton in his retirement, and he conceived the time was now come for action. Issuing from the castle of Loch Leven, he prevailed on the Earl of Mar to deprive Alexander Erskine, his uncle, a determined enemy of Morton, of the custody both of the king's person and of Stirling castle. Having accomplished this

object, he on the 14th of April 1578, took possession of the castle, became once more arbiter of the privy council, and was even in some degree favoured by the youthful king. Athol and Argyle instantly flew to arms, and at the head of 7000 men marched to deliver, as they said, the king from imprisonment. Morton raised 5000 border men who waited without fear the approach of his enemies. A civil war seemed again about to rage, but Sir Robert Bowes, the English ambassador, having interfered proved a successful negotiator. A peace was settled and confirmed by a convention of noblemen: Morton without the title, retained the power of regent, and James like the rest of the kingdom became obedient to his sway. Having regained the power of oppressing, Morton soon began to exercise it. The house of Hamilton, against which he had a determined enmity, felt the full force of his resentment. The lords John and Claud Hamilton were driven into exile on the grounds of their having been concerned in the murders of the regents Murray and Lennox, and their eldest brother, the unfortunate Arran, who had been confined as a lunatic since the failure of his attempt to gain the hand of the Scottish queen, was included in the proscription, and his estates forfeited.

The strange and absurd habits of attachment which James throughout his whole life, exhibited for favourites began about this time to make its appearance, in the persons of two young men, who at once gained his affections and guided his steps. The one of these, Esme Stuart, lord D'Aubigny, his near relation, and whom he created duke of Lennox, was of amiable manners, and mild character, but very unfit for the intrigues of a court. The rival favourite, captain Stuart, son of the lord Ochiltree, was of a totally different character, and possessed every vice which could render him odious to the nation. He was rash, unprincipled, and ambitious; and despised the restraints of religion, morality or honour; yet for a long period he gained a complete ascendency over the inexperienced monarch. These favourites, however, much they might dislike each other, joined cordially in their desire of ruining the earl of Morton, who again began to foresee that he would be obliged to yield to superior force. The clergy and the protestant party had again deserted him, and he found he had no resource left, but in the interference of Elizabeth in his favour. The English ambassador, used every exertion to save him, but the rashness of the young favourites of James, braved the resentments of Elizabeth, and despised her interference. He was now accused by Stuart of the murder of Henry Darnley, found guilty, and executed on the 2d of June, 1581, exhibiting more greatness of character during his adversity and at his death, than he had ever done during his prosperity. Morton during his career had accumulated great wealth, but to such a degree had his enemies plundered him, during the time he was in prison, that he was forced to borrow twenty shillings on the scaffold, to distribute among the poor.

No sooner had the nation been freed from the ambition of Morton, than both the government and the country were thrown into confusion by a quarrel between the two favourites of the king. Stuart who was guardian of the lunatic earl of Arran, was allowed by the king to possess himself both of the title and estate of that unhappy nobleman. A wife he afterwards obtained, by means still more disreputable. To endeavour to regain

their characters which their conduct had forfeited, this disgraceful pair became fanatics in religion; and in order to gain the favour of the more violent of the presbyterian clergy, opposed episcopacy. Lennox the other favourite was the avowed protector of the bishops, and by his counsels he encouraged in the king, that strong tendency which he ever afterwards exhibited towards a regulated hierarchy. The more powerful barons again became discontented; they feared the result of the measures which the king appeared to be adopting, and which they considered were advised by his favourites. They consulted together without distinction of party, and determined on a remedy for their grievances. The raid of Ruthven, which occurred in August, 1582, was the result of these deliberations. James had been allured to Ruthven castle by his desire to enjoy the sports of the field; and he was surprised at beholding one morning a long train of his nobles enter his bed room, who after lecturing to him on the faults of his minions, firmly demanded that they should both be dismissed from his person. James, with reluctance, consented to their demand. Arran, violent and fierce as usual, attempted to brave the associated peers, but was seized and sent prisoner to Stirling castle. The milder Lennox, after some delay, departed through England for France, where, however, he never arrived, having died of grief on the way.

The convention of estates on their meeting, declared that the lords concerned in the raid had done the state good service, and the general assembly of the church concurred in this declaration. James apparently acquiesced in this opinion, and the people were induced to hope that he was sincere in his acquiescence; but a few short months saw another of those ministerial revolutions, which the unsettled state of the country had made so common. In the month of January, 1583, James was by contrivance of Colonel Stuart, commander of the body guard, delivered from the honourable sort of confinement in which the raid of Ruthven had placed him, and the establishment of a new administration was the immediate result. Argyle, Huntly, and a few others now possessed the favour of the king, and the earl of Gowry, on making submission, was forgiven for his share in the "raid;" while Angus, Glencairn, and the rest of the lords concerned in it, were exiled or imprisoned. England interfered in favour of these lords, but without effect; for the violent and malicious Arran, now liberated from prison, and re-instated in his power and place in the royal favour, had hardened the heart of James, against all applications in their favour. These noblemen, however, were too powerful to remain contented in exile. They intrigued both with church and court for their restoration. Their old associate, the earl of Gowry, was soon gained over, and the preachers all joined their cause. Many of these went such lengths in their declamations on the subject, that James was roused against them, and some of the fiercest were driven from their pulpits. Gowry, who was suspected of treasonable designs, was seized at Dundee, and executed on the 4th of May, 1584; and the banished lords, Angus, Mar, Glamis, and others, who having returned, had surprised and taking Stirling castle, were forced hurriedly to leave it, and again take shelter in England.

The profligate Arran was now supreme lord of Scotland, but his fall in its turn was not distant. In the meantime he had a full opportunity of gratifying his avarice, and his

revenge, by the ruin of the banished lords, and the forfeiture of his estates. As lieutenant general of Scotland, he held the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and as he had reached the summit of power, so had he of profligacy. The catalogue of his oppressions is odious, and he became so universally detested that the favour of the king alone upheld him. Elizabeth who cordially hated him, formed the plot for his destruction, and directed the actors. The ambassador she then had in Scotland, had become from his skill in field-sports a great favourite with James. The master of Gray, also a favourite who had been introduced to the king by Arran, and others were employed by Elizabeth gradually to weaken the regard of James for his unprincipled favourite. A border quarrel, in which an English knight was killed, hastened the explosion, which was already near at hand. Elizabeth demanded satisfaction for the inroad which had been committed, and on the persuasion of the master of Gray and his associates, Kerr of Fernherst, the warden of the border, and Arran the lieutenant general were thrown into prison. The banished lords instantly returned, and were met by their numerous dependents in arms. The king was surrounded and taken at Stirling, but treated with great moderation, and the lords of the "raid" were again the directors of his counsils. Having themselves suffered by adversity they acted with moderation. Arran alone felt their vengeance: he was stripped of the estates and titles which he had usurped, reduced to his original denomination of captain James Stuart, proclaimed an enemy to his country, and allowed quietly to drop into that insignificance and obscurity, from which he ought never to have been allowed to emerge. Parliament and the king agreed to all the measures proposed by the banished lords, ratified their pardons and restored their estates, James good-naturedly owning that "he never did like the violence of Stuart."

The year 1587, was marked by the execution of queen Mary at Fotheringhay castle in England, a melancholy end to her unfortunate life, which James for the previous two or three years, had made some feeble attempts to prevent. As his ambassador to Elizabeth to intercede for his mother, he sent Archibald Douglas, one who had been engaged in the murder of king Henry, and was the bitterest enemy she ever knew. The master of Gray who succeeded him, was equally little interested in her cause, and is indeed supposed to have hastened her death by stating to Elizabeth the apathy of James, as to what her fate might be. At first when he heard of his mother's death, James breathed nothing but threats of revenge, and of war with England; but cooler counsils intervened, and James who now looked keenly forward to the throne of that kingdom, was soon pacified, accepted the excuses of Elizabeth, laying the blame, as she desired, on her secretary Davidson. It is not improbable that the politic generosity of Elizabeth, in sending him frequent presents of dogs, horses, and books written on subjects in which he delighted, greatly contributed to soften James in his anger for his mother's death.

On the 19th of June, this year, James came of age, and the use to which he put the festivities which took place on the occasion did him the highest honour. He had taken great pains to settle the contentions which had arisen, and grown into deadly feuds between many of the nobler houses in Scotland; and he succeeded in forming at least a

temporary reconciliation. He confirmed this happy event by a splendid entertainment given at Holyrood house, and went at the head of his nobility to the market cross of Edinburgh, each one holding by the hand the individual who had been his personal enemy. Arrived there, they found a collation of wine and fruit laid out; they drank each other's healths, and then departed in apparent, but unhappily not very durable friendship. Another object which James effected this year, is worthy of particular notice, as showing his good intentions at any rate towards his country. By the law of Scotland, all the tenants of the crown, the lesser as well as the greater barons, were entitled to attend and vote in parliament. From the expence which it incurred, the lesser barons had long neglected to use this privilege, and few except the greater barons appeared in Parliament. James I. had perceived the injury this had caused to the country, by throwing the whole power of making the laws into the hands of the nobility; and in 1427, he had procured a law to be passed authorising the lesser barons to meet, and appoint two commissioners for each county to represent them in parliament. After the death of James I. this law had been totally disregarded, and the ancient practice had been continued. James VI. obtained this law to be revived by parliament, though not without the determined opposition of many of the nobles. They were shocked at the innovation, which, they foresaw would gradually annihilate the illegal power they had hitherto possessed; but they could not prevent the regulation being passed, as James could at any time have overpowered them, by summoning his whole tenants to vote.

No sooner had James come of age, than he became desirous of entering into marriage with a daughter of the king of Denmark; and Elizabeth of England no sooner heard this, than she began as sedulously to counteract it, as she had done in the case of his mother. She persuaded the king of Denmark that James was not in earnest in his proposal, and he had in consequence given his eldest daughter to the duke of Brunswick; Anne his youngest daughter however was still unmarried, and to her the royal addresses were transferred. Elizabeth now engaged the whole Scottish council to oppose the match; but this was also fruitless, for James with a cunning and presence of mind, which he often evinced when his favourite objects were likely to be thwarted, found means to incite the populace of Edinburgh, to rise and threaten destruction to the cabinet ministers, if they did not send for the princess Anne. In consequence of this riot, the earl Marshall, was sent to Denmark at the head of a splendid embassy. The marriage articles were soon agreed to, and the fair Dane set sail for Scotland. James made great preparations for her reception, and waited her arrival with all the impatience of a lover. News were brought, however, that a violent tempest had arisen, and the fleet had been driven into Norway in such a condition, that there was little chance of its being in a state to sail before the spring.

James felt the unexpected disappointment, and immediately exhibited a promptitude and decision very unlike his usual conduct. He instantly caused some ships to be fitted out, and without communicating his intention to any of his council sailed in person, attended by the chancellor, several noblemen, and a train of 300 persons in quest of his bride. It is very probable that James doubted the cause of the princess' non-arrival, and

that he suspected it had been produced by some new intrigue of Elizabeth, of whose desire that he should not marry he was perfectly aware. His own anxiety to be married showed his regard to the welfare of his kingdom. He was, now that his mother was dead, the last person in whom the crowns of England and Scotland could be united; the Earl of Arran, the next heir to the Scotch throne, was a lunatic, and a disputed succession, in case of his death, might again involve the nation in all the horrors of a civil war. James arrived in safety, the marriage was shortly after celebrated, and the king and his young wife spent some months at the court of Denmark in feasting and amusement. He then returned with the queen to Scotland, where they arrived on the first of May, 1590, and were received by their subjects with every possible demonstration of joy. The ceremony of the queen's coronation was conducted with great magnificence, "and so low," says Dr Robertson, "had the order of bishops fallen in the opinion of the public, that none of them were present on that occasion. Mr Robert Bruce, a presbyterian minister of great reputation, set the crown on the queen's head, administered the sacred unction, and performed the other sacred ceremonies." The probability is that James, who had always a leaning to episcopacy, felt it necessary, after his long absence, to cultivate the presbyterian clergy. The pouring of oil, and the other ceremonies, which might have had a popish look when administered by a bishop, was deprived of this noxious appearance in the hands of Mr Bruce. The indignities offered to his mother on her arrival from France were no doubt present to the view of James, and he wished to avoid giving offence.

James having with difficulty collected money for the purpose, now returned the hospitality he had received from the court of Denmark, and festivities for a time ensued. The ease and mildness of his temper however, although it might have been admired in private, was most injurious to good government. The criminal code for years had been little respected, each man revenging himself when in his power, and the nobility banding together and supporting each other in murder and rapine. Witchcraft however was a crime which did not escape the royal eye; and while assassinations were perpetrated with impunity, and property was unsafe, the fancied enormity of having intercourse with Satan was punished with imprisonment, torture, and death. The witches of Fife and the Lothians were particularly obnoxious, from their supposed opposition to the king's marriage. Agnes Thompson confessed before the king and council that she went to sea with two hundred other witches, each in a sieve or riddle, and that they landed at North Berwick kirk, where the devil christened a black cat, which was the cause that the king's ship coming from Denmark had a contrary wind; and Agnes, with many others, some even above the ordinary rank of life, were put to death on such absurd statements. Amid these puerile labours, in which he busied himself, while he allowed the more important legal questions to be neglected, James did not forget the conduct of the reformed clergy during his absence from the kingdom. They had during that period exerted themselves as far as in their power to

preserve the public peace, and James in consequence became much reconciled towards them. In presence of an assembly of the church, which met in August, 1590, he made high enconiums on the discipline as well as doctrine of the church, promised to adhere to both, and allowed the assembly to frame such acts as gradually abolished all the remains of episcopal jurisdiction, and prepared the way for the full establishment of the presbyterian church on its present model.

Among the most notorious of the turbulent nobles at this time was Francis Stuart, a grandson of James V., a minion of James, whom he had created earl of Bothwell. He among others fell under the charge of witchcraft, and while all his other crimes had been overlooked, he on this account lost all the royal favour, and became an object of horror in the king's sight. Having been committed to prison he broke out, and gaining entrance by a secret passage to the inner court of Holyrood house, he with his followers attacked the palace. The king fled for safety to a tower of some strength, and the citizens of Edinburgh assembling to his succour, Bothwell had some difficulty in making his escape, which however he did and retired to the north. The king immediately granted letters of fire and sword against him and his followers to the earl of Huntly, who took advantage of them to gratify his own private revenge, and probably not without also gratifying the secret desire of the king. The character of queen Anne had by this time begun to develope itself not greatly to her advantage; and among other things observable, she was proud of her personal appearance, and not altogether inattentive to those who admired her. James seems to have been suspicious of the attention paid to the queen by the earl of Murray, the heir of the late regent, a young nobleman of great promise, and who was popularly styled the "Bonny" Earl of Murray. Under the pretence that he was suspected of having aided Bothwell in his attempt upon the palace, Huntly who was the enemy of Murray, surrounded his house of Dunnibrissle in the month of February, 1592, and set it on fire. Some of the followers of Murray were put to death, and others yielded. The unfortunate earl himself fled toward the shore, intending to cross the Forth in a boat; but he was overtaken by a determined assassin, Gordon of Buckie, who wounded him desperately in the face. The earl had just strength left to say with a last effort of expiring vanity, "ye have spoiled a better face than your own," when he died.

For some years the peace of Scotland was disturbed by repeated rebellious attempts on the part of some of those nobles who still adhered to popery, until at length in 1594, the most turbulent with the earl of Bothwell were forced to leave the kingdom. There seemed then to be reason to hope that tranquillity would be restored; but private feuds had been so long allowed to prevail with impunity, that it was beyond the power of James to restrain them. The Highlands and western isles in particular were the continual scenes of the most deliberate and barbarous murders; while on the borders of England, the state of matters were if possible still worse. In 1596, the popish lords, who left the kingdom, again became the source of discord, by using

every means to be allowed to return to Scotland, and to regain their estates. James was not unwilling to agree to this; but on his hinting at such an intention, the clergy of Edinburgh took fire, and by their addresses excited the violent resentment of the people. The Lord Lindsay, and other hot-headed zealots, assembled tumultuously in the streets, surrounded the tolbooth, while the king was attending a sitting of the court of session, and by their violent and disrespectful behaviour obliged him for safety to leave the city, and retire to Linlithgow. During his retirement, James appears to have determined to rescue the crown from that extreme subordination, in which the reformed clergy had hitherto held it. He sent an order to the magistrates of Edinburgh to arrest the most insolent of the preachers; and at the same time desired all well affected persons to leave the disloyal city. He then assembled a convention, and laying before them the provocation he had received, he not only obtained the late disturbance to be styled treason, but had such laws passed as were considered necessary for the support of the civil power. By these, all ministers of the church were ordered to subscribe a declaration of obedience to the royal authority; magistrates might seize and imprison seditious preachers; no ecclesiastical court of judicature might meet unless by the king's direction; and an alteration was made in the mode of electing the magistrates of Edinburgh, which took the power from the popular party, and subjected the whole to the approbation of the king. This decided conduct completely humbled the seditious preachers, and their hot-headed hearers, and established the authority of James. The pardon of the popish earls followed as a matter of course, but they were obliged to make some concessions to the church, and to find very high security for their good behaviour.

For some years, the chief object of James' attention was the succession to the English crown; and as Elizabeth advanced in years his anxiety on the subject continued to increase. To secure his peaceable accession at the death of that princess, was the ruling principle which guided all his actions. He privately cultivated the popish party in his own kingdom, whilst he outwardly patronized the protestant; he endeavoured and not without success to form a party in England favourable to his views; and even went the length in 1599, when Elizabeth's health began to break down, of sending to obtain the silent consent of all the protestant courts in Europe to his succession to the English throne. Whilst James was thus employed in deplomatic endeavours to strengthen his right to succeed Elizabeth, and at a time when all parties concurred in promoting his interest, when the church had ceased to interfere with the exercise of his authority, and when the feuds among the nobility were gradually subsiding, an incident occurred, which has never properly been explained, and which had nearly deprived the king of his life, and involved the whole island in civil war. This was what has been called the Gowry conspiracy, the principal actors in which, were the earl of Gowry, and his brother Alexander Ruthven, sons of that earl of Gowry, who was put to death in 1584 for treason. It has been very generally

disputed whether any plot existed against the king. The clergy at the time expressed more than doubts upon the subject; and did not hesitate to charge James with a plot against the Ruthvens. What motive the young men could have to destroy the king, has been a question often asked; and it has been equally often said that if a plot existed on their part, it was one of the worst constructed upon record. That the motive is obscure, and that the plot was ill-arranged and worse executed, is no evidence that an attempt against the king's life was not made. The grandfather of these brothers was one of the murderers of Rizzio, and their father had been executed for his treasons. The earl was of royal descent, was the favourite of the clergy and the protestant party, and besides gratifying his revenge for his father's death, might have some vague hope of attaining the crown,—ill-imagined as was the plot which he attempted to execute. That there was a plot on James' part to murder them is incredible. All his life he trembled at the sight of a sword; and it requires a wide stretch of credulity to suppose that one of his character would have risked his person within the house, and amid the followers of a powerful and very popular nobleman, of whom and of whose race he had plotted the destruction. He could have found many ways of getting rid of an obnoxious noble, more consonant to his own habits, than the one adopted, if we could suppose the plot was on his side.

James himself published a narrative of the circumstances which occurred, and the following account is the substance of his statements. On the 5th of August, 1600, he was at his palace of Falkland, enjoying his favourite amusement of hunting. At an early hour in the morning he had mounted, with his suite, and was proceeding in search of game, when he met Alexander Ruthven, who with great confusion and earnestness informed him, that he had seized a suspicious fellow, who had under his cloak a large pot full of money, and that he had detained him for his Majesty's examination. To one so needy as James always was, money was an irresistible bait, besides that he conceived the person to be an agent of the pope or the king of Spain. Though not altogether satisfied, he was persuaded by his informer to ride without any attendants to the earl of Gowry's house at Perth, where the bearer of the treasure was alleged to be kept in custody. They entered the castle by a private way, and ascended a dark staircase to a small obscure room, where they found a man standing, armed at all points. Ruthven now suddenly altered his behaviour, and told the king that as he had slain his father, he must now die to expiate the offence. James reasoned with him, defended his conduct, and so far staggered his opponent, that he left the room; but he soon returned, denouncing death to the king, and endeavouring to tie his hands, held a dagger at his breast. The armed man who had been reasoned by the king into an agony of terror, stood trembling by, when James exerting his utmost strength overpowered Ruthven, and gained a window, whence he called to his attendants, who forced their way in, relieved the king, and put both the earl of Gowry and his brother to death.

Such was the tale told by the king, but it met with slow and unwilling belief. The Ruthvens are represented as talented and learned young men, of popular and engaging manners. The earl was looked upon as rising to be the head of the popular party, and was beloved by all, especially by the clergy, who cordially disliked James for his exertions to curb the unconstitutional power which they had assumed. With great difficulty the clergy were persuaded to publish from their pulpits the king's narrative of the plot; and at length all acquiesced except Robert Bruce, who had been honoured with officiating at the coronation of the queen. That sturdy and implacable demagogue, in spite of all the king's arguments, absolutely refused his belief, and was banished into England by James for his scepticism. Parliament was more courtly in its powers of belief, and immediately proceeded to attaint and forfeit the estates of the Ruthvens; declaring the name to be infamous, and appointing an annual day of thanksgiving to be held for the king's escape.

In the year 1602, James saw the approach of the termination of his residence in the kingdom of his ancestors; and he appears to have been desirous of leaving behind him some testimony of his affection which might endure. He saw the advantage which would be derived from introducing the sources of trade and commerce into the isle; but his power in these distant regions was very little; and his well-intentioned plans were utterly ineffectual. In order to found a colony in the isle of Lewis, which might prove the nucleus of his intended improvements, he planted a very efficient one there, drawn principally from Fifeshire, the inhabitants of which were at that time the most industrious in husbandry, and the most skilful fishermen in Scotland. The colonists were headed by Sir James Anstruther, and other gentlemen of that county who were incited to join in it principally with the view to the improvement of the northern fisheries, a most valuable, though then and long after, neglected branch of Scottish industry.

They landed at Stornaway, then under the command of Murdoch Macleod, a powerful and ferocious chief. His people unable to withstand the colonists, at first yielded to them; and they with inconsiderate haste proceeded to expel Macleod from his possessions. He however burning with revenge, put to sea with a fleet of small vessels called *berlings*, peculiar to these islands, and soon found an opportunity of surprising one of the colonial ships, which a calm had prevented landing its passengers. Macleod on gaining possession of it inhumanly hanged the whole persons on board, with the exception of the laird of Balcomie, a gentleman of Fife, and he was for some time subjected to a very rigorous confinement, but ultimately ransomed, and died at Orkney. Shortly afterwards Murdoch Macleod was seized by his brother Neil, who betrayed him for a reward to the government, and he was in consequence hanged at St Andrews. That portion of the colony which had obtained a landing, were in the meantime surrounded and harassed by the natives under a third brother Norman Macleod, and the greater portion of them were either starved to death, or slain in battle. The remaining portion, at length harassed and broken

in spirit with their sufferings, yielded themselves prisoners. James whose policy was ever vacilating and unsteady, instead of revenging the insult which had been offered to his crown, bought the freedom of the greater portion of the few survivors, with a promise that the inhabitants of the isle of Lewis should not be again molested, but be allowed in future to remain quietly in their savage state.

Elizabeth of England died on the 24th of March, 1603, and James attained the object he had so long looked forward to. He ascended the English throne not only without opposition, but with the approbation of all parties; and thus the way was prepared for the subsequent union of the kingdoms, which has proved so beneficial to both, but though not immediately, yet in the end more especially to Scotland.

We have now brought down our historical sketch, from the earliest period of which there is any record or tradition, to the union of the crowns. In doing this, we have marked the changes of the people who have inhabited Fife, and in the more early times the progress of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures. In the course of this we have been often obliged to mark the history of the county by the history of Scotland; but we have as far as possible selected those historical occurrences, which had a reference more immediately to the county. During the progress of our narrative, we have had occasion to speak of the comparatively high state of advancement, to which Scotland generally, but especially the county of Fife, and other portions of the eastern coast, had attained during the reign of James IV.; and to point out how soon after his death this prosperity began to retrograde and decrease. Under that public-spirited and energetic prince, Scotland attained a height of prosperity, which it never afterwards attained while a separate kingdom; and its subsequent decline seems to have long continued, nor did it ever again exhibit the same energies towards advancement in commerce and trade, till towards the latter portion of the last century. Since that period, however, the increase of the kingdom in wealth, and its progress in civilization, have been as remarkable as her industrious exertions, and her display of talent and genius have been conspicuous.

The numerous ancient towns and villages throughout the county of Fife, distinctly show what it had been in early times; but the dilapidated state in which many of them have long remained, and the unfrequented and nearly ruined harbours on many parts of her sea-coasts, too plainly exhibit the decay of trade and commerce which has taken place. It is only necessary, however, to examine the present state of the county, which the subsequent portion of this work will clearly show, to perceive the great advancement, which during little more than the last half century, the exertions of her inhabitants have produced in agriculture, manufactures, trade, and commerce.

The causes of the long decline in the prosperity of Scotland, which began with the

death of James IV. were many and various; and would certainly have been fatal to the farther improvement of a nation much more advanced in the accumulation of wealth, and the formation of industrious habits, than Scotland can be supposed to have been at that early period. The long minorities with which the reigns of so many of her sovereigns, previous to the period of which we speak, had commenced, and the struggles of her powerful and turbulent nobility for power, had, as has been repeatedly mentioned, rendered her progress slow, though inefficient altogether to paralyze the energies of her people. Subsequent to this period, the same causes continued to prevail. The death of James IV. left the nation again exposed to a minority, his son being only a year and-a-half old when he succeeded to his father's crown; the successor of James V., the unfortunate Mary, was still younger when her father died; and James VI. was crowned when yet an infant, during the lifetime of his mother, who was driven into exile by a powerful and ambitious party of her subjects. These three long minorities, and the ever renewed struggles of the nobles, were, in such a country as Scotland, of themselves sufficient, to not only prevent any hope of improvement, but even to throw it back into greater barbarism. A new element of discord, however, arose,—the Reformation,—which, although when perfected, was to prove an incalculable blessing to after ages, certainly tended during its progress to increase the miseries of the people, and to add to the divisions of an already too much divided nation.

In the events of the Reformation, Fife, as has been shown, had its full share. St Andrews had been the great site of the Catholic power in Scotland; the wealth of many districts of the county were drawn to it; and of this a large portion must have been spent within the county. The destruction of the religious houses, and the distribution of the revenues of the church, must have been therefore severely felt at the time; while the long protracted struggle between the church and her opponents, of which Fife was too often the scene, with the change of the proprietory of all the church lands, must have unsettled the habits and retarded the industry of the inhabitants.

Before the country had time to recover from the effects of these events, the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, and the removal of the court to London, by weakening the connection with France, and causing the nobility and gentry to reside much in London, gave a new blow to the prosperity of Scotland, and more especially to Fife, and the rest of the eastern coast. The rebellion against Charles gave rise to a protracted struggle, during the continuance of which, neither trade, manufactures, nor agriculture, could flourish. In the dissensions thus created, the inhabitants of Fife took an active part, and had their own share of the calamities which ensued. The fatal battle of Kilsyth was most injurious to the county. "Three regiments from Fife" says Dr Adamson, in his notes to Sibbald's History "perished almost to a man. Most of the principal traders, and shipmasters, with their seamen,

besides a multitude of the people of all classes, were engaged in that most disastrous enterprise." The tyranny of Charles II., and James VII., and their attempt to force episcopacy on the Scottish nation, created an accumulation of misery in Fife as well as in other counties of Scotland, which must have prevented the possibility of any attempt to improve commerce, or encourage manufactures.

The revolution of 1688 might have been expected to produce a favourable change, yet it did not do so. A long continued and severe famine quickly followed and exhausted almost every resource the country possessed. The imposition of duties ruined the trade with England in malt; and the same cause destroyed the trade which had been carried on in salt. The ruins of malt-barns and steeps, and of salt-pans, show the extent of the injury these impositions of the government produced. The jealousy of the merchants of England, and the favour shown them by the government of William III., was an additional injury, and an additional preventative to Scotch exertion. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, this jealousy had a most ruinous effect on an already nearly ruined country; for to that jealousy, must in a great measure be attributed the utter failure of the Darien expedition. To this splendid conception of founding a colony at the isthmus of Darien, Scotland looked for a source of wealth, and the means of restoring her ruined fortunes. Every family of respectability in Fife and in the other midland and southern counties of Scotland were involved in this ill-fated adventure, and its total failure spread misery and dismay throughout the land.

Such were some of the causes, which after the death of James IV., not only prevented any farther increase to the prosperity Scotland had enjoyed during his reign; but which may be said until comparatively recent times by gradual degrees to have almost entirely annihilated the trade and commerce of Fife and the eastern coast; whilst in the west country they retarded and kept back the rising commercial efforts of the people, and for a length of time rendered the prospect of success in any branch of industry apparently hopeless.

HISTORY

OF

THE COUNTY OF FIFE.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

THE COUNTY.*

I. TOPOGRAPHY.

The county of Fife forms the eastern portion of the central district of Scotland, being nearly in the middle of the great basin, of which the primitive mountain ranges of the Lammermuirs on the south, and the Grampians on the north, constitute the boundaries. Its form is peninsular, being enclosed on three sides by sea,—by the German ocean on the east, by the Friths of Tay and Forth on the north and south; and on the west it is bounded by the shires of Perth, Clackmannan, and Kinross, the last of which it almost encloses, except on the west and north-west, where it joins Perthshire. The western boundary, the line of which is very irregular, is about twenty-three miles from its extreme point on the Tay to the corresponding southern point on the Forth. The county gradually contracts to the eastward, and finally terminates in a narrow projecting headland at Fifeness, which runs out into the German ocean, and where a beacon has been erected for the protection of coasting vessels. The greatest length from east to west, along the shore of the Forth, is forty-one miles; about the centre, in the same direction, from St Andrews to Loch Leven, it is twenty-three and a half miles; the northern range from Ferry-Port-on-Craig to the small stream at Mugdrum which falls into the Tay, is eighteen miles. Its breadth across the centre, from Balambreich point on the north, to Leven on the south is fourteen miles. The southern coast is, for the most part, indented by small rocky bays, with corresponding projecting headlands, but along the banks of the Tay, the grounds slope

* We are indebted for this masterly and scientific Article on the Topography, Geology, and Botany of the County to the Rev. Mr Anderson, of Newburgh, whose extensive researches particularly in this county, and great general knowledge of the interesting Science of Geology, are so well known. It is but justice to that gentleman to say, that on being requested to supply it, he consented, with a kindness only equalled by the talented manner in which it has been executed.

gently towards the beach, and are generally cultivated to the river's edge. Along the north-eastern shore, towards St Andrews, it presents one large plain, terminating in a flat beach of sand, containing a considerable number of broken shells. The shore in this direction, and generally onwards to Kingsbarns and Crail, becomes extremely rocky, the outcrop of the sandstone running in the form of long narrow dykes into the sea, and rising into considerable mural cliffs towards the land. Within the area thus described, there are included of land, 467 square miles, of lakes, 3 miles. According to the General Report of Scotland, published about twenty years ago, the number of cultivated acres imperial, was 209,226, and of uncultivated, 89,664—total, 300,800. The county lies betwixt 56° 2′,and 56° 27′ N. Lat., and betwixt 2° 20′, and 3° 12′,W. Lon.

The general surface of the county partakes more of the gentle, undulating outline of the middle districts of England, than of those bolder and more striking aspects of nature which for the most part characterize the scenery of Caledonia. The Ochils, which skirt its northern boundary, and the Lomonds, which run nearly parallel to them, divide the county into three well-defined subordinate districts, which as will be afterwards described, correspond to three equally marked subordinate geognostic formations. These two ranges of hills, which attain their greatest elevation towards the west, are separated by the intervening and finely wooded valley of Stratheden, in the centre of which the county town of Cupar is beautifully situated. The ground, on the south of the Lomonds, stretches out in a broad uneven surface towards the Forth; eastwards, there rises an elevated table-land, which forms what is characteristically termed the Muirs of Fife; but which gradually merges in the rich and extensive plains, locally designated the East Neuk, comprising an extent of several parishes. The Ochils consist of a chain of Trap-hills, extending through a course of upwards of fifty miles, gently rising on the south bank of the Tay above Ferry-port-on-Craig, to about four hundred feet, and attaining at the western extremity, in Bencleugh and Dalmyatt, an elevation of nearly three thousand feet above the level of the sea. The saddle-shape, the round-back, and the conical peak, are severally developed in the course of this range; but only in a few instances, as Craig-sparrow, Clatchart, and Craig-in-Crune do the hills present an abrupt, precipitous front; so that, for the most part, they are either cultivated to the summit, or covered with a rich carpeting of excellent pasturage. Towards the south-eastern district, they break up into several parallel ridges, or small mountain arms, some of them are completely detached, which, with extensive tracts of fertile corn fields intervening, form an extremely pleasing and diversified contour of country. The whole is intersected by innumerable valleys, some of which form lateral passes into the adjacent plains of Stratheden and Strathearn, and one of them, commencing near the eastern shore, traverses the county as far as Newburgh, in a line almost parallel with the principal chain; when, after a contracted course, varying from a few hundred yards to half a mile in breadth, it opens suddenly upon the extensive basin in which the lake of Lindores is contained. Here, even before the erection of the magnificent mansion of Inchrye, and the neat cottage of Lindores,

with the pleasure grounds of both sloping into the lake, and tastefully ornamented with trees, the tourist has found, that "in this small spot nature has crowded together all that can delight the eye, and elevate the imagination." A little to the westward, on the verge of Strathearn, and near to the celebrated cross of Macduff, the poet still more glowingly describes the prospect:—

> ——————————You do gaze—
> Strangers are wont to do so—on the prospect.
> Yon is the Tay, rolled down from Highland hills,
> That rests his waves, after so rude a race,
> In the fair plains of Gowrie.—Further westward,
> Proud Stirling rises.—Yonder to the east
> Dundee, the gift of God, and fair Montrose,
> And still more northward, lie the ancient towers
> Of Edzell. *Scott's Macduff's Cross.*

Besides the Tay and Forth, which traverse the confines of the county, there are three rivers of comparatively small dimensions, but of considerable mercantile importance, which flow through the district. These are the Eden, which takes its rise near the western extremity of the shire, in the parish of Strathmiglo, and, after a course of about eighteen miles through the entire extent of the valley, falls into the sea at the Guard Bridge near the bay of St Andrews; the Leven, which issues from the Loch of the same name, and runs along the southern escarpment of the Lomonds; and the Orr, which rises in the south-west corner of the county, and joins the Leven a few miles to the north of Largo Bay, into which they pour their united waters. The portion of the county traversed by the Orr is neither fertile nor interesting; but the vale that is irrigated by the Leven is extremely picturesque: the windings, which are short, abrupt, and frequent, expose unexpectedly to the traveller's eye scattered cottages along the sides of the river, Bleachfields, Mansion Houses, Villages, and Coal Works, giving to the whole an extremely lively and animated outline. In addition to these, there are several streams, but which, from the shortness of their course, and the small quantity of water they discharge into the sea, do not seem entitled to any particular notice. The Lochs connected with the county are, Loch Fitty, Loch Gelly, Loch Leven, Loch Mill, the Black Loch, Lindores, and Kilconquhar, all of which are well stocked with pike and perch, some of them with excellent trout; and generally they are frequented with various species of wild fowl, while their banks are adorned with innumerable tribes of the flowering aquatic plants.

Perhaps, however, the most interesting feature, as connected with the general contour and surface of the county are the Lomonds, and which, in giving a description of Fife, it would be improper in this place altogether to omit. The eye of the painter Wilkie has often rested with delight upon their blue outline—"mine own blue Lomonds," he calls them, and seen from every spot and corner of the shire, towering majestically above all the surrounding heights, they unquestionably form a grand and interesting object. This ridge consists of an elevated table land, about four miles in length, com-

pletely insulated from the neighbouring hills, and has a gentle and gradual slope towards the south, but on the north the acclivity is precipitous and rocky, and springs immediately from the valley of Stratheden to the height of eight or nine hundred feet. Two lofty conical peaks surmount both extremities of the ridge, rising, one of them to the additional height of six, and the other to about eight hundred feet—thus making what is termed the East Law 1466, and the West Law 1721 feet above the level of the sea. Overlooking the whole county, and the two noble rivers by which it is almost encompassed, with the German Ocean to the east, the towers of Stirling and "the lofty Ben-Lomond" to the west, the rugged, serrated outline of the Grampians to the north, and the extensive plains of the Lothians, begirt by the Pentlands and Lammermuirs to the south —the prospect from either summit may vie with any in the kingdom, presenting at once to the eye whatever is necessary to form the beautiful, the picturesque, or the sublime. Some of the objects in the immediate vicinity give additional interest to the scene; the palace of Falkland, which lies at the base of the East Peak, is still a place of considerable attraction, and presents no mean specimen of the architectural taste of other days: Loch Leven washes the sloping defiles of the other, where, in the middle of the deep blue lake, may still be observed the ruins of the castle in which the unfortunate Mary Stuart was imprisoned by her subjects.

II. GEOLOGY.

The county of Fife, from the one extremity to the other, is exclusively connected with the independent coal formation of Werner, and in his view of the science of geology the associated strata belong, one and all of them, to the flœtz class of rocks. According to the more prevailing notions of recent times, and in conformity with which the terms are less connected with theoretic views, they may be characterized by the appellation of the Medial or Carboniferous order. The term "Medial" denotes the position of the strata as forming part of the general structure of the earth, and serves to convey the information that the whole strata of the county occupy neither the highest nor the lowest, but a mean place among the rocky formations of which the earth's crust is composed. Thus, as compared with the south-eastern counties of England, the lime and sandstones associated with the coal metals in Fife are inferior to the chalk, the Oolite, and Lias formations, which have either never existed in this part of the island, or, though forming hills of thousands of feet in height, have with every vestige been swept away amidst the great convulsions of nature.

The term "Carboniferous," as applied to this series of rocks, denotes the abundance of animal and vegetable life which flourished during the era in which they were deposited, and the remains of which are now so wonderfully incorporated with them. The

orders immediately above and below the coal formation exhibit comparatively few traces of organic forms; while some of the intermediate members, on the contrary, display them in such profusion as to be composed in nearly two-thirds of their contents of these remains. This is remarkably the case with one of the beds of limestone at Innertiel and Kingsbarns, the upper bed of shale in the Cults quarries, the sandstone of the Lomonds; and what, in the estimation of many, is the whole of our coal deposit but a consolidated mass of decayed vegetables? The chemical argument in support of the vegetable origin of coal has been fully and ably stated by the late Dr M'Culloch, in the second volume of the Geological Transactions; while from the infinite number of trunks, leaves, stems, and even the pericarps of plants, evidence is afforded of the existence of a rich and prolific flora, whence to supply the matter out of which this useful deposit was originally formed.

The rocks connected with the coal formation in Fife—proceeding in the descending series—are sandstone, slate clay, bituminous shale, clay-ironstone, coal, limestone, yellow sandstone, limestone, and old red sandstone. Irregularly mixed up with these, the various members of the Trap family are also to be found throughout the length and breadth of the district. According to well-established and now universally admitted theoretic views, the former class of rocks is regarded as of *aqueous* and the latter of *igneous* origin. We shall proceed in our description in the reverse order, from the lowest to the highest of the series, which will lead us gradually from the north towards the south, according to the line of dip which in nearly all the strata is to the south-east.

I. The *Old Red Sandstone* rocks of Fifeshire are of comparatively limited extent, and are almost exclusively confined to its northern division. There are three varieties of this deposit, the grey, the conglomerate red, and the yellow spotted red, which are clearly distinguishable from one another by their order of superposition, colour, texture, and organic contents. The conglomerate red is usually the coarsest in texture, and though in many places close-grained, yet it so frequently assumes a brecciated aspect as to merit the distinction of a conglomerate. The grey variety occupies the lowest position. Proceeding along the south bank of the Tay from east to west, it first appears at Wormit Bay, cropping out from the bed of the river, and ranging westward through the parish of Balmerino, till it attains an elevation at Norman's Law of about 600 feet. It is generally much inclined, dipping to the south-east, at an angle which varies from 22° to 32°. The red conglomerate occurs at Birkhill, in connection with an amygdaloidal Trap, and thence to the westward skirts the northern slope of the Ochils. It also occupies the eastern portion of the valley of Stratheden, from Dairsie to the Guard Bridge. The grey deposit is finer grained, more compact in its texture than the red, and contains considerably more mica, which causes it to exfoliate in thin plates. The yellow spotted variety crops out in a small ravine at Abernethy on the confines of Perthshire, at Strathmiglo, and likewise at Dura Den. This is softer than either of the two former, probably from its containing a greater quantity of oxide of iron, which its

deeper tinge also seems to indicate, but it is much valued as a building stone, and takes on a very fine polish. The direction of all these beds is westerly, and the dip with little change of inclination is to the south-east, with the exception of those which occur at Parkhill near Newburgh, and at Abernethy, where in both cases, by the intrusion of the igneous rocks, the dip is altered, in the former to the south-west, and in the latter to the north-west.

Each of these deposits is characterized by a distinct and peculiar class of *organic fossil remains*. The grey variety contains the culms leaves, and pericarps of aquatic plants, apparently belonging, according to Dr Fleming, to an extinct species of the genus sparganium or juncus. These may be observed, in the greatest abundance, at Wormit Bay, by splitting up those portions of the rock which have a natural tendency to divide into thin laminæ, and are similar to the vegetable organisms which are found at Newtyle, Carmylie, Murthly, and several other localities in Perthshire—thus identifying the deposit with the grey sandstones which traverse Strathmore and Strathearn. The next division of the series is characterized exclusively by the remains of fossil fish, the scales, teeth, and bones of the *Gyrolepis Giganteus* of Agassiz. The quarries of Parkhill and Dairsie are full of these curious relics, some of the scales being of the dimensions of two inches in length, by an inch and a half in breadth. They are identically the same with those which occur at Clashbennie in Perthshire, and, in both districts, the beds in which they occur hold the same relative position in the series. The spots which are found in the variegated sandstone are generally admitted also to have been occasioned by the presence of some animal matter, but of what order or class it is impossible with certainty to determine. In the centre of the figure, which is always spherical, a dark coloured nucleus may be detected, and from this the colouring matter, under the influence of some chemical action, is supposed to have emanated. Portions of scales, and minute bones may likewise be detected in the centre of these spots. Of this class I have one specimen from Parkhill, and in Clashbennie they have lately been found in the greatest abundance.

Proceeding in the ascending series, the next rock which occurs in Fife is a *limestone*, and like the sandstones now described, it is exclusively confined to the northern division of the county. It may be seen at Craigfoodie, Parkhill, and Newton near Auchtermuchty, where it caps the very summit of the Ochils. This bed is entirely destitute of organic remains. It is highly indurated, and of a crystalline, concretionary structure, except at Newton, where it assumes the appearance of *cornstone*, or a calcareous breccia, containing nodules of chart and jasper. At Parkhill it is conformable with the Old Red Sandstone on which it rests, and in several of the localities already noticed in Perthshire, it is associated, in a similar manner, with that rock. The thickness of this deposit is very inconsiderable, and it is but little prized for either building or agricultural purposes. It is separated from the sandstone by thin beds of brown and greenish-red marl, which are traversed by veins of crystallized carbonate of lime. The limestone, however, is much more limited than the sandstone, and may be

considered as occurring rather in detached, insulated masses, than in anything like extended, continuous beds.

The *Yellow Sandstone* forms the next interesting feature in the district, and, from recent discoveries which have been made in it of organic fossil remains, will henceforth furnish matter of deep speculation to the theoretic geologist, and, indeed, is every way worthy of his attention and research. It occupies the valley of Stratheden in the district of which Cupar forms the centre, and thence rises to the height of five or six hundred feet, on the ridge of hills which skirt the valley on the south. It also ascends considerably on the northern slope, but is there more broken and disturbed by the greater masses of Trap which prevail in that quarter. At Cupar Muir quarry, the colour of the sandstone is greyish yellow, often iron-shot, here and there exhibiting a reddish tinge. Some of the beds have a coarse texture, like *millstone grit*, and occasionally pass into a conglomerate; but more usually they are of a finer texture, having thick hard beds which are extensively used in building. Subordinate to these are thin, micaceous, flaggy beds, which pass into a kind of shale or marl, some of which are red, others green or variegated, and similar to those noticed above as underlying the limestone deposit. Drumdryan and Dura consist of the same; and, upon close inspection, the whole deposit appears to be a kind of granular aggregate of silex, with an argillaceous basis of a yellowish colour, and of considerable but variable hardness. At Dura the red marl beds are about four feet thick, numerous and well defined.

Some very interesting appearances and sections of the yellow sandstone, along with strata of the coal field may be observed in Dura Den, a beautiful serpentine valley, which intersects the range of hills from south to north, through which a considerable stream flows, joining the Eden at Dairsie church. No lover of the picturesque when he stands by the ruins of the castle, in the immediate vicinity of the ancient church,—the former famed in Scottish history during the contending claims of Bruce and Baliol, and the latter intimately connected with the celebrated Archbishop Spottiswoode—can fail to be delighted with the prospect before him. It is a picture in itself of the most pleasing and enchanting variety. But here the geologist also will join in admiration of the scene, and whether he looks to the east or to the west, in his walk through the valley, will be struck with the forms and interesting appearances around him. The nature of the materials—their position and relation to each other—the inclination of the strata—their dip, dislocation, and disturbance through the agency of the igneous rocks which here occur in mass as well as in veins of greenstone—are all calculated to arrest his attention, and to furnish him with striking examples of some of the most interesting points in geology.

We have here the alternating beds of sandstone, clay, and shale, which occur in the lower parts of the coal formation, and which, as will be afterwards noticed, are repeated in some instances nearly an hundred times. A disturbing vein of greenstone Trap occurs about the middle of the valley, and the effects of its intrusion among the stratified beds are discernable in their inclination. On the north of the vein they dip to

the south-west at an angle of 26°, immediately on the south a bed of sandstone is tossed into a vertical position; the beds from this point resume a more natural position, dipping at an angle of only six or eight degrees to the north-west. The induration produced by contact with the trappean rocks is also strikingly displayed here, the fused material resting immediately upon the sedementary deposit. Higher up the ravine, other members of the coal formation may be observed cropping out on the west side of the rivulet, and lying nearly in a horizontal position. An example of a bend in the strata occurs in this place, a little to the north of the mill.

Returning to the yellow sandstone, at the northern extremity of the ravine which ranges westward to Drumdryan, and which is inferior to all these beds, we find organic remains similar many of them to those noticed in the old red sandstone, and others which seem peculiar to itself, at least they have not yet been discovered in the inferior beds. Drumdryan affords, in the greatest abundance, the scales of the Gyrolepis Giganteus, and of equally large dimensions with those occurring at Dairsie and Parkhill. They are much fresher, however, in the former than in the latter localities, the enamel being entire, and the whole scale possessed of a whitish pink tinge, as beautiful and perfect as when it rested on the living animal. They occur also at Bogle Hill and Hospital Mill quarries in the parish of Cults. Besides the scales, there are innumerable small bones, teeth, and other relics, which probably belong to the *Sauroids*. At Dura quarry, similar organisms have been detected, and, in addition to these, several entire fossil fishes in excavating a water course for a new mill, have been exhumed from their slumber of ages. Externally these creatures have undergone but little change in their form, colour, or scaly covering; being still as perfect in their organic structure, even to the minute silken fin, as when they sported in the waters of a distant primeval age, and now starting up as the *living* witnesses of the mighty revolutions to which this terraqueous globe has so frequently been subjected. The substance of the body, however, and every trace or vestige of internal organization have entirely disappeared, and the material of the rock has been substituted in their place,—the enamel of the scales being less soluble than the more calcareous material of which the bones are composed. Only two orders of fishes, according to M. Agassiz, are possessed of plates of enamel so as to protect them, namely, the *Placoidians*, and the *Ganoidians;* and the families connected with these all belong to the older formations. The system of classification established by this celebrated naturalist is founded entirely on the character of the scales, and so sure and constant is this test, that he has been able to determine by this means alone the genera, and even species of many hundreds of extinct fossil animals. *

* "All Ganoidian fishes, of every formation, prior to the chalk, were inclosed in a similar cuirass, composed of bony scales, covered with enamel, and extending from the head to the rays of the tails. M. Agassiz has ascertained nearly 200 fossil species that had this kind of armour. The use of such an universal covering of thick bony and enamelled scales, surrounding like a cuirass the entire bodies of so many species of fishes, in all formations anterior to the cretaceous deposits, may have been to defend their bodies against waters that were warmer,

In addition to these, another class of most interesting fossil relics has just been detected in the Dura sandstone. These obviously belong to the insect race, of the Coleopterous order, and resemble in many particulars the family of *Curculionidæ*, of which the diamond beetle is an example of the existing race, but of the most insignificant dimensions as compared with the Dura fossils. They are extremely abundant in this deposit, one slab which now lies before me, containing on its surface of less than two feet square, fourteen almost entire figures of these animals. "It is very interesting and important, to have discovered in the coal formation," says Buckland, "fossil remains, which establish the existence of the great Insectivorous Class *Arachnidans*, at this early period. It is no less important to have found also in the same formation the remains of insects, which may have formed their prey. Had neither of these discoveries been made, the abundance of land plants would have implied the probable abundance of insects, and this probability would have involved also that of the contemporaneous existence of Arachnidans, to control their undue increase. All these probabilities are now reduced to certainty, and we are thus enabled to fill up what has hitherto appeared a blank in the history of animal life, from those very distant times when the Carboniferous strata were deposited. The Estuary, or fresh-water formation of those strata of the Carboniferous series which contain shells of *Unio*, in Coalbrook-dale, and in other coal basins, renders the presence of insects and Arachnidans in such strata, easy of explanation; they may have been drifted from adjacent lands, by the same torrents that transported the terrestrial vegetables which have produced the beds of coal." *

Specimens of five or six genera of fossil fishes have been found by me in the Dura sandstone. The accompanying plate of fossil remains gives the figures of three. Fig. 1. is eight inches in length, three in breadth, and about an inch and a half in thickness. The fossil still retains, complete on all sides, the envelope of scales; the scales are nearly circular, deeply striated on the upper side, and the largest are about three quarters of an inch in diameter. Some of the scales found in the deposit are nearly three inches in length, and two inches in breadth. A mutilated specimen in my possession measures eight inches and a half across the upper part of the head: the caudal fin rises five inches in height, while the body gradually contracts towards the extremity to the small dimensions of half an inch in diameter. The scales are the same as those which occur in the old red conglomerate, and in the absence of any good specimen, and with little more than a few scales in his possession, M. Agassiz (Liv. v. Vol. 2. Tab. 19, of his Poissons Fossiles) has assigned to the fish the provisional name of the Gyrolepis Giganteus. "Mes recherches," says this eminently distinguished naturalist, "sur ce genre ne m'ont point encore conduit à un resultat définitif. Partout je n'ai trouvé que des fragmens détachés, des écailles incohérentes et meme rarement entières;

or subject to more sudden changes of temperature, than could be endured by fishes whose skin was protected only by such thin, and often disconnected coverings, as the membranous and horny scales of most modern fishes."—*Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise*, Vol. i. p. 282.

* Bridgewater Treatise, Vol. i. p. 410.

en sorte que les caractères particuliers de ce genre ne sont point encore établis d'une maniére satisfaisante." He describes three species, whose remains have been found only in the *tertiary* formations and Muschelkalk, and which he denominates, 1. Gyrolepis Albertii. 2. G. Tenuistriatus. 3. G. Maximus. And to these he has added a fourth in consequence of the magnitude of the scales, viz. G. Giganteus, of which he says—"je ne connais non plus encore du *G. Giganteus* que des écailles détachées." The fossils of Dura, then, may be considered as the most perfect specimens of the genus, as well as of this particular species (of which they are the only entire ones) that have as yet fallen under the notice of the geologist.

Fig. 2. represents a scale of the G. Giganteus. It measures about three inches in length, two inches in breadth, and is about the sixth part of an inch in thickness. Another specimen of a fish, not figured, is about thirteen inches in length; the scales are rhomboidal, and covered with a thick coating of enamel. It bears some resemblance to the *Amblypterus*, one of the fossil fishes peculiar to the carboniferous strata; but in some essential particulars it differs considerably from the description of that genus as given by M. Agassiz.

Fig. 3. bears a strong affinity in the form and arrangement of the scales to the *Osteolepis Macrolepidotus*, as represented in the work of the same author. But here also, there is a want of complete identity; and we are therefore disposed to consider both specimens belonging to genera which have not been described.

Fig. 4. represents a head, which bears a considerable likeness to the genus *Polypterus*, of which no fossil remains have hitherto been found: the nostrils, like those in that animal, are in front of the anterior angle of the eye. Two teeth project from the lower jaw towards the upper; there are also visible traces of two strong canine teeth.

I have obtained two specimens of *Coprolites*, about five inches in length, and an inch in breadth, which would seem to indicate the presence of animal remains in this deposit of much greater dimensions than any of those which have as yet been detected belonging to fishes of predaceous habits. This conjecture is confirmed by the tooth represented in Fig. 5. presenting the appearance of a hollow cone, which in conjunction with the longitudinal striæ towards the base, are characters of the teeth of the Sauroid fishes. The enamel is still perfect. Fragments of bones are very numerous.

The fossil insects are represented in Fig. 6. They are about three inches in length. The legs are all imperfect, and in none of the specimens is there the least trace of either the *elytra* or the *antennæ*. What is also remarkable, the number of legs are limited to two in every one of the specimens in my possession, amounting to impressions of twenty animals. The eyes are distinctly marked and project considerably from the surface. One of the specimens presents the first two portions of the legs, the *coxa* and *trochanter*, the former of which is deeply serrated on the upper edge.

Such are some of the interesting facts connected with the lower sandstones of Fife. Taken together, they would seem to lead to the conclusion that the rocks which contain the interesting relics which have been so imperfectly described belong to the same

series of strata. The organic remains establish a decided connection betwixt the yellow sandstone and the old red conglomerate, while the coleopterous insects which occur in the former serve to show that this deposit has also an affinity to the coal formation. No trace of vegetable matter has been detected either at Drumdryan or Dura, and a distinction may therefore be warranted as to the yellow sandstone *below*, and that which occurs alternating with and *above* the coal metals, the latter of which abounds exclusively in vegetable fossils. We consider then, the northern division of the county as presenting rocks of the transition class, or at least of an intermediate group, betwixt this and the carboniferous formation, of which the yellow sandstone containing the fossil *animal remains* is the connecting link. The beds now described are all inferior to the coal metals, and, with the exception of the yellow sandstone, are a continuation of the series which characterize the deposits in Strathearn, the Carse of Gowrie, and Strathmore.

II. The rock which succeeds to these, in the ascending order of superposition, is the *mountain limestone*, so called from the superior elevation to which it attains, often forming hills of considerable height, and generally considered as the lowest member of the carboniferous group of strata. It is also distinguished by the name of the *encrinal* limestone, from the abundance of the fossil remains of a small molluscous animal termed *encrinite*, which it contains, and, indeed, of which in many of its beds it almost wholly consists, united by a calcareous cement. This deposit, as it occurs in Fife, forms a kind of crescent around the out-crop of the coal field, ranging from the south-west extremity of the county at Broomhall, the seat of the earl of Elgin, and passing through the parish of Cleish towards the Lomonds, where it attains an elevation of eleven hundred feet above the level of the sea. Its course towards the east is by Forther, Cults, Ceres, Ladadda, Mount Melville, and after a considerable interruption here, it next emerges at Randerston in the parish of Kingsbarns, on the south-east confines of the county. Between the bounding line now traced, and the Frith of Forth on the south, this limestone may be considered as occupying much of the intermediate district, although it has only been brought to the surface, and rendered available for practical purposes, in a few localities along the southern shore. These are at Sea-field, Tyrie, Innertiel, Raith, Chapel, and Pittenweem.

Besides this bed, which is properly termed the *carboniferous*, there is another of more limited extent, included among the coal strata, and which for the sake of distinction, has been termed the upper Limestone. It contains few organic remains, except very minute petrifactions of *en trochi*,—is of an inferior quality,—and has been sparingly used for either building or agricultural purposes. Small portions of iron-pyrites are imbedded in it, and the mass is generally much intersected by veins of calcareous spar. It occurs at Radernie, Lathockar, and Balcarres. Along with the upper limestone, there are alternating beds of sandstone, shale, and coal, the former corresponding in many respects with the *Millstone grit* of the English geologists; the coal beds are all very thin, and of a very indifferent quality. Considered in a general

point of view, the series is intermediate in character and composition, as it is in position, between the true coal metals which are above, and the carboniferous limestone beneath, forming the connecting link between them.

The Mountain limestone beds have all a westerly range, being conformable in this respect with the series which they overlie; but their dip and inclination are in every possible gradation, from an angle of a few degrees to an almost vertical position, and upheaved, in many places at the shortest intervening distances, from a south-east to a north-west position. The prevailing colour of the deposit is grey, which passes, on the one hand, into greyish-white and yellow, and, on the other, into greyish-blue and black. Its purest beds contain about 95 per cent. of calcareous matter. The Randerston rock is very hard and close in the texture, and for many years was much used as ornamental slabs for chimney-pieces, the coralline and encrinitic fossil figures giving them a pleasing diversity of shade and colour. The whole deposit abounds in organic remains, the *encrinites* and *corallites* being in the greatest profusion; *trilobites* and *orthoceratites* are also found in it; which serve to connect it more closely with the older rocks of the transition class, than with the more recent deposits of the Oolitic, and Lias limestones of England.

Figures 8 and 9 represent two of the most common orders of fossil remains which occur in this deposit. The former is a *producta*, and the latter an *encrinite;* and wherever this limestone exists, in whatever part of the globe, it is found to possess various species of these in the greatest abundance.

From Pettycur to Inverkeithing, the stratified rocks are much intersected and disturbed by those of an igneous origin, and here the student in geology may have boundless scope in which to exercise his imagination as to the ancient condition of things along this interesting coast. The limestone, shale, and sandstone, abound with organic remains, many of which are peculiar to this district. At Innerteil, a few miles to the eastward, the limestone contains exclusively the conchiferous organisms which are usually found in this deposit; but here the scales, bones, and entire forms of fishes are met with in the greatest abundance, also small microscopic *entomostraca*. Innumerable quantities of coprolites are likewise found, varying from the size of a peppercorn to an inch in diameter. These occur chiefly in the shale beds, and in the limestone, although more sparingly. Vegetable impressions are also common to the group,—*equisetums*, *calamites*, *cyclopteres*, and *lepidostrobus variabilis* and *ornatus*,—and which are abundantly distributed throughout the calcareous deposit. There are three distinct genera of fossil fishes, several entire impressions of which have been found, viz., *Palæoniscus*, *Eurynotus*, and *Osteolepis*.

Dr Hibbert considers the limestone on this part of the coast to be a fresh-water deposit, of the same characters and epoch as that which he has described in his interesting paper on Burdie-house. With the exception of the *Megalichthys*, the fossil remains of the one are similar to those which occur in the other. M. Agassiz, in his "Poissons Fossiles," has figured and described several of the fishes which were obtained from the Fife beds, and referred them, by mistake, to those of Burdie-house. The

specimens from which the figures were taken, were shown me by Professor Jameson, and were collected by himself in the locality. The quality of these limestones is highly bituminous, in consequence of the great abundance of vegetable matter which they contain; and from this circumstance it is that they are both referred to a fresh-water origin, as well as from the absence of the usual remains which are characteristic of the mountain limestone.

There would thus appear to be four distinct beds of limestone in Fife. 1. The bed which occurs among the old red sandstone group, and which is entirely destitute of organic remains. 2. The true mountain or carboniferous limestone, characterized by its well marked class of organisms. 3. Hard, compact, slaty beds, which alternate with the members of the coal measures, and which contain few organic remains. 4. The bituminous, or fresh-water limestone, characterized by vegetable remains, coprolites, and fishes.

III. The *coal-measures* ought next to be considered by the student in geology in the order of deposition. These consist of a series of beds of shale, slate-clay, sandstone, and clay-ironstone, besides the more useful mineral itself, and from which the group derives its most essential and characteristic qualities. The beds of which the series is composed are of very disproportionate thickness, varying from thin seams of a few inches, to nearly two hundred feet, and alternating almost indefinitely with each other. The coal-metals are chiefly distinguished by the proportion of bitumen which they yield. Two varieties occur, the common or caking coal, which yields about 40 per cent. of bitumen, and emits a considerable quantity of smoke in burning, and the parrot or cannel coal, which affords about 20 per cent. of bitumen: the former has a splintery imperfect, conchoidal fracture, and swells in burning; the latter burns with a bright flame, and, generally, during the operation of combustion, decrepitates, and flies into small angular fragments. It is now almost universally employed in the manufacture of gas, and brings, in consequence of its comparative scarceness and the great consumption of that new element of light, much higher prices than any other species of coal. The beds of shale are usually the thinnest of the series, and for the most part form both the roof and the floor of the coal-metals Its colour is bluish or smoke-grey, sometimes yellow in consequence of a mixture of iron-ochre, and is much used in the manufacture of earthenware, bricks, and tiles. The iron-stone occurs in beds, and sometimes in nodules in the strata of the shale, which latter are termed by mineralogists *septaria;* and along with these there are often found galena and iron-pyrites, which are regularly crystallized and disseminated in the beds both of coal and of shale. The sandstones intermixed with the coal-metals vary much in hardness as well as in colour; being sometimes composed entirely of coarse, gritty, siliceous particles, and at other times of a fine argillaceous sand, passing from a white, yellow, ochreous, to a flesh-red colour. The white variety is generally of a compact, close-grained texture, and is most esteemed for architectural purposes.

The north out-crop of the *coal-measures* is towards the Lomonds, Cults, and Drum-

carro hills, no portion of the useful mineral having been found beyond this range; but towards the south and west districts of the shire it is most abundantly distributed, sometimes in basins of inconsiderable extent, and in other localities in outstretching continuous beds of indefinite dimensions.

Beginning at the west of Fife, and preceding eastwards, the following coal works are at present in operation, viz.:—at Torry, Blair, Elgin, Wellwood, Protis, Hallbeath, Crossgates, Fordel, Donibristle, Dundonald, Keltie, Beath, Rashes, Lochgelly, Kippledrae, Cluny, Dunnikier, Dysart, Orr-Bridge, Balbirnie, Rothesfield, Wemyss, Drumochy, Lundin Mill, Grange, Rires, Balcarres, St Monance, Pittenweem, Kellie, Gilmerton, Largoward, Bungs, Fallfield, Lathockar, Cairlhurlie, Teasess, Ceres, Drumcarro, Kilmux, Carriston, Clatto, and Burnturk. At these different coal fields, there are 62 pits open, and upwards of 2,500 men and boys employed.

The extent of surface occupied by the coal metals varies from six to about nine miles in breadth; from Torry to Pittenweem, the south-eastern point of the basin, is thirty-five miles; and from Blairadam to Drumcarro, along the line of the northern out-crop, is twenty-two miles. There is thus an area of rather more than 200 square miles included within the coal-field of Fife.

Beds of parrot or cannel coal occur generally in the upper series of the coal deposits, at Torry, Dysart, Fall-field, Clatto, Teasess, Burnturk, and Kippledrae. At the latter locality there are two seams, separated by a thin layer of shale, and whose average thickness is about five feet. It is the thickest deposit of the kind in the island of Great Britain which has as yet been met with.

Besides the parrot, a vertical section of a coal basin frequently exhibits upwards of twenty different seams of the black or common coal used for domestic purposes. These seams vary from a foot to twenty feet in thickness. In the Ceres basin there are seventeen beds, one of which is sixteen feet and upwards, and others varying from two feet and a half to six feet thick. At Largoward there are eight seams, the thickest of which is about thirteen feet. The St Monance and Pittenweem basins, forming the eastern out-crop (of the coal-field,) contain only three seams, the principal of which is six feet thick. In the western division of the coal field the same variety is exhibited, both in the number and thickness of the beds. The Fordel colliery has four workable seams, one of which is six feet three inches, another four feet, another five feet eight inches, and the main splint bed is four feet nine inches in thickness. "The coal field of this parish extends two miles north and south, and one mile east and west, and forms the basin or trough of the coal fields in the neighbourhood. For, upon drawing a line in a north-eastern direction, from the point at which coal is first found to the extremity of the parish, it appears that the coal and its accompanying strata uniformly rise to the east as well as to the west of that line. To the east it rises rapidly, and throws out the crop of the upper coals before it goes out of the parish; the under ones are found on the verge of the Aberdour parish. At every dike or dislocation of the strata northwards, the coals are thrown further east, until the same coals in quality, though not the

same in number, or thickness, are found to extend into Loch Gelly parish, and so on eastwards, throughout the whole of that coal country. To the westward of this line, the same takes place, but not so rapidly; and this forms the most interesting and valuable coal field in the western district of Fife."*

The following section exhibits the order of superposition of the different alternating strata that usually occur in a coal district, and will give the reader a better idea of the manner in which the several beds are associated, piled as they are above each other, like the different courses of mason work in our buildings, than any mere general observations possibly can. It will likewise serve, with very little change in the several beds of which it consists, as an illustration of the order of their distribution and arrangement in every coal-field, not only in the county of Fife, but throughout the island. Good sections of some of the inferior members of the series may be seen at St Andrews, the north-east limit of the coal metals, and at the west Lomond, which emerges immediately on their north-west extremity; also at Kirkaldy, Dysart, Wemyss, and generally along the shore from Kincraig Hill eastwards to Crail; and, in the latter localities, the student will have an opportunity of observing the manner in which the igneous rocks are intruded amongst the sedementary deposits—changing their position, increasing the dip, and altering their mineral qualities. The following is taken from Mr Landale's Geology of the East of Fife coal-field, (Quarterly Journal of Agriculture 33.)

"ASCENDING SECTION OF STRATA CONNECTED WITH THE DRUMOCHY COALS."

	Yards.	*Feet.*	*Inches.*
Tar Coal,	0	1	10
Shale,	33	1	0
Coal,	0	3	0
Yellow Sandstone,	46	2	0
Shale, with Shistose Sandstone,	26	0	0
Black Splint Coal,	0	1	6
Red Sandstone,	3	1	0
Shale, with Balls of Ironstone,	16	2	0
Fire-clay, with Ironstone Balls,	7	1	0
Coal,	0	2	0
Shale, and thin Bands of Ironstone,	8	1	0
Coal,	0	1	8
Shale, Slate-clay, and Ironstone,	8	0	0
Coal,	0	1	6
Shale, Slate-clay, and Nodules of Ironstone,	10	2	0
Coal,	0	5	0
Shale, Slate-clay, and Sandstone, with Ironstone,	5	2	0
Sandstone and Shale in thin beds,	8	0	0
Coal,	0	1	0
Shale,	0	1	0
Sandstone,	16	2	0

* Parish of Dalgetty. New Statistical Account.

Yellow Sandstone,	42	0	0
Open textured Quartzose Sandstone,	18	2	0
Sandstone,	9	1	0
Shale and Slate-clay of a pink colour,	30	0	0
Ochre-yellow,	1	0	6
Shale of a porphyritic structure, red and white spots	83	1	0
Shale of a lake red colour,	43	1	0
Hard red Quartzose Sandstone, being the protecting ridge of Largo pier,	28	0	0
Grey Sandstone,	5	2	0
Yellow Sandstone,	33	1	0
Alternations of Shale, Slate-clay, Bituminous Shale, Sandstone, and Septaria,	50	0	0
Hard brown Sandstone	10	1	0
Shale, Slate-clay, and Ironstone Balls,	16	2	0
Black Bituminous Shale,	2	0	0
Variegated Shale, with amygdaloidal pink and white spots,	16	2	0
Slate-clay,	10	0	0
Shale,	16	1	0
Compact dark red Sandstone, with spots of greenish coloured Shale,	16	2	0
Reddish Shale, with some Shistose Sandstone,	78	1	0
Soft Red Sandstone,	50	0	0
Porphyritic red and white Sandstone,	183	0	0
Dark red Sandstone,	45	0	0

The whole of this group of rocks is intersected by innumerable veins or dykes, locally termed *faults* and *troubles*, which generally traverse them at right angles, occasioning much inconvenience often to the miner, but the means at the same time, directly as it were, employed by a wise and beneficent providence, for bringing the coal-metals nearer to the surface, and producing such limitation and inclinations in the different seams as to prevent floodings and other accidents which would otherwise frequently and necessarily occur. "A minute attention to faults and dykes," says Mr Landale, "is absolutely necessary to obtain a correct view of the structure of a country. Suppose, for instance, that a geologist were to examine the rocks on the east coast from Wemyss to Drumochy—where a great sameness of mineral character prevails—and not observe the faults, he would be very apt to conclude, from the dip and line of bearing, that he had passed over a bed of immense thickness, whereas, in fact, he had passed over the same bed three times." The horizontal strata are thus broken up into smaller inclined sections, ascending one above another like the steps of a stair, and causing one edge-line to appear at the surface, while the other is plunged to considerable depths beneath. These dykes, as will be afterwards noticed, are sometimes composed of clay, others consist of the debris of the surrounding beds confusedly mixed together, and in many cases they consist entirely of basalt or greenstone, when the coal along the line of contact is charred or deprived of its bituminous qualities, and the sandstone, shale, and limestone, each of them more or less indurated.

The organic remains through the series are very numerously distributed, consisting chiefly of the stems and leaves of succulent vegetables, impressions of ferns, and

jointed trunks of arundinaceous plants. The common caking coal, the parrot, and the splint, all exhibit the fine reticulation of the original vegetable texture, as well as the cellular structure of the monocotyledonous plants which abounded at that period. It is a curious circumstance, also, with regard to this fossil, that all its varieties indiscriminately assume the crystalline and unerystalline form, so as to contain specimens of both structures within the compass of a square inch. From this fact, as also from the exact similarity of position which they occupy in the mine, it has been inferred that the differences in different varieties of coal are to be ascribed to original differences in the vegetables from which they were produced. *Stigmari* and other vegetable impressions are abundant in the parrot coal of Kippledrae. In a shale ironstone on which the coal-deposit rests there, leaves of plants are likewise found, of a dark yellowish colour, flexible, and but little altered either in texture or substance. Here also *terebratulæ* and other shells are numerous.

In the shale, organic fossils are very abundant, some of them, even to the most delicate parts of the plant, being as entire and beautiful in their outline as they were in their living state. Impressions of cones, as well as of ferns, are found in nodules of clay-ironstone; and in each of these deposits bivalve shells, like those of the fresh-water mussel, occur in the greatest abundance. The sandstone contains impressions of plants, the cast of a cane-like vegetable, the trunks and larger branches of trees, sometimes of the same materials with the rocky matrix, and at other times wholly siliceous, covered with a thin carbonaceous coating of jet or coal. Some of the stems are jointed, both laterally and longitudinally striated, and terminating in a conical point, the base in each joint appearing in the upper part to have been surrounded with a whorl of leaves. There are other stems again which are surrounded with verrucate impressions, or depressed areolæ, with a small jet-like rising in the middle, having a central speck; and in other instances the impressions left on the surface, and spirally surrounding the stem, resemble scales. The interior of the stem or branch usually presents, in a particular class of specimens, the stigmaria, a central groove running parallel to the axis of the stem, and which is filled with a cylindrical-like form resembling the pith. In one specimen which I found at Rothesfield, this contained portion is longitudinally striated, and hangs loose in the groove, as if it had shrunk in the transition from the vegetable to the petrified state. These plants resemble the arborescent *euphorbiæ* and the *cacti*, to which the generic name of *Calamites* has been applied. The leafy impressions belong to the *equisetaceæ* and *felices* orders. Also portions supposed to belong to the *coniferæ*. The known species of living plants or vegetables are more than fifty thousand: the number of fossil plants as yet described is only about five hundred, of which nearly three hundred belong to the different members of the coal formation alone.

Some of these impressions are represented in the plate. Fig. 10. represents a portion of the *Lepidodendron obovatum;* portions of this plant are very common in the coal-field, "and portions have been met with," says Lindley, in the Fossil Flora, "in

the roofs of mines, from 20 to 45 feet long, and as much as four feet and a half in diameter." It is easily known by its characteristic areolæ, of which the apex is rounded, the base tapering, the central ridge even and undivided, and the scar at the very apex of the areolæ terminated by a nearly circular outline.

Fig. 11. represents the *Sphenopteris affinis* found in the shale near Wemyss. This beautiful species of fern occurs also in the limestone which ranges west from Pettycur, and very abundantly in the lime quarries of Burdie-house and Gilmerton, near Edinburgh, where it is associated with finely preserved remains of other ferns; also with *lepidodendra*, *lepidostrobi*, *stigmariæ*, &c.

Fig. 12, 13, 14. are representations of different species of stigmariæ; the last of which presents the internal eccentric woody axis or pith common to the genus. This is perhaps the most common of the fossil vegetables of the coal formation, is found in every member of the series, but abounds chiefly in the sandstones, of which every quarry affords examples. It has been described by various authors under the name of *phytolithus verrucosus*, and has occasioned much controversy as to the class of vegetables to which it belongs. M. Adolphe Brongniart refers it to the family of Aroideæ. Count Sternberg considers it as allied to the euphorbiaceæ, and cacti, in which he is followed by Lindley and Hutton, who regard it as dicotyledonous, whose leaves were succulent and cylindrical; and is described by them as "a prostrate land plant, the branches of which radiated regularly from a common centre, and, finally, became forked." The only existing genera of plants, besides the euphorbiæ and cacti, which seem to bear an affinity to the extinct race of stigmariæ, are the *stapelias* of the Cape of Good Hope, and the *carallumas* of India, both of which have a trailing habit, and have succulent propensities.

Fig. 15. is a portion of a tree found in Rothesfield quarry, and belongs to the family of *Sigillaria Pachyderma*. It is about four feet in length, and three and a half in diameter. The bark is nearly wasted away, and the portion which remains is converted into coaly matter. The internal woody structure is completely obliterated; the whole mass being an aggregation of crystals of quartz, felspar, and mica, varying from the size of a small grain to that of a garden pea. The external longitudinal flutings, which are characteristic marks of this fossil, are also very indistinct. M. Brongniart considers the sigillaria a species of tree fern, which, in the primeval world, attained to a gigantic stature; but others regard it as more allied, like the stigmaria, to the euphorbiæ and cacti. "That these plants have been hollow and of little substance, is proved by their extreme thinness when horizontal, and by their being frequently composed, when upright, entirely of sandstone, within the outer coating of coal. This is often of a nature different from the rock in which they are imbedded, and also frequently contains impressions of ferns and other plants; and the internal layers of sandstone, when separated, instead of being horizontal, present a dished appearance."

Fig. 16. is a *calamites cannæformis*, a fossil plant which is found in every coal-field on the surface of the globe.

The series of rocks which constitute the coal formation, unquestionably the most interesting as well as valuable, in every point of view, of all the rocky masses which compose the earth's crust, has obviously been formed under the same, or at least nearly similar conditions. Calcareous, argillaceous, siliceous, and carbonaceous matter, (the whole or a part of which was in a state of solution,) originally formed the elements out of which the group was gradually and successively produced. The calcareous seems to have subsided first; the origin of which remains one of those hidden mysteries on which all the speculations of geologists have not thrown any certain or satisfactory light to him who looks only to the secondary causes of things. The carbonaceous matter appears next to have abounded, but more or less at first mixed with the other earths, and afterwards it seems to have prevailed over all the rest, originating, undoubtedly, in those huge vegetable bodies which Nature so prolifically produced in her young and primeval state. The tranquil condition of the ocean, estuary, or lake in which the deposition took place, during the whole period of the formation, may be inferred from the perfect preservation of the numerous delicate fossil organic remains found throughout the series—the purity of the coal metals—the entire absence of conglomerates which indicate a disturbed state in the elements by which the materials were conveyed—while the repeated alternations and successive depositions of the clay, shale, and sand, denote certain intervals of change and repose. In the limestone, the presence of countless multitudes of unbroken corallines, and of fragile shells, having their most delicate spines still attached and undisturbed, shows that the animals which formed them lived and died upon or near the spot where these remains are found.

While we never can ascertain the *precise* condition of the earth, the relative position of land and water, the state of the atmosphere, the temperature which prevailed either generally over the globe, or partially in particular countries, and various other causes which must have been in operation, during the epoch of the coal formation, we are not altogether destitute of analogies by which to guide us, however imperfectly, in our researches into the circumstances and agencies which were mainly concerned in the production of coal and its associated strata. The partial filling up of lakes and estuaries may enable us to obtain some idea of the manner in which the deposition of the several beds took place. Here, in many recent instances and in almost every district, we find beds of clay, sand, and gravel, succeeding each other, along with plants, leaves, trunks, and branches of trees; and all transported by the agency of the same power. These beds often alternate with each other, forming repetitions of the same series, and sometimes containing, indiscriminately, marine and fresh-water productions; and thus affording us in miniature, and perhaps in embryo, a coal-field produced by causes now in action, and during a comparatively short period of time. We have only to suppose a like order of causes to have operated on a larger scale, and for a longer period, in order to account for the various phenomena of the coal formation. The various strata are conformable in their dip, and line of bearing; and after their consolidation, at least their deposition, they seem to have all been effected by the same disturbing influences. In reference to the

coal formation of Fife, it may be worthy of notice to remark, that the dip of the strata is generally toward the south-east, at an angle of 20°; while, on the opposite side of the Forth, the dip is towards the north-east, at an angle of 22°. Thus in the one case, they rise towards the primitive range of the Grampians, and, in the other, towards the Lammermuirs, also of primitive origin: and, in both cases, the beds rapidly increase in their inclination, in proportion, as they approach the centre of the Frith. Here, then, whether estuary, lake, or sea, the original materials have been drifted from higher lands in the neighbourhood, now probably forming the bed of the Atlantic; and, extensive as the range is, the basin into which they were conveyed, stretching from the Lammermuirs to the Grampians, and including the principal coal-fields in Scotland, is still of comparatively limited dimensions, when we consider the vast scale upon which nature sometimes carries on her operations.

There is, in the several members of the series which we have been considering, much to excite our wonder, and to call forth our gratitude and praise. Coal, limestone, and iron, are three of the most valuable products which the earth yields, and brought into such close proximity with one another, they are all of them rendered more available for the different purposes to which they are applied. The coal serves to reduce the iron ore to a metallic state, the limestone assists as a flux, in separating the metal from the earths with which it is united, and the iron, when reduced to form, becomes the chief instrument by which they are severally brought to the surface, and distributed amongst the abodes of man. "My fire now burns with fuel, and my lamp is shining with the light of gas, derived from coal that has been buried for countless ages in the deep and dark recesses of the earth. We prepare our food, and maintain our forges, furnaces, and the power of our steam-engines, with the remains of plants of ancient form and extinct species, which were swept from the earth ere the formation of the transition strata was completed. Our instruments of cutlery, the tools of our mechanics, and the countless machines which we construct, by the infinitely varied applications of iron, are derived from ore, for the most part coeval with, or more ancient than the fuel, by the aid of which we reduce it to its metallic state, and apply it to innumerable uses in the economy of human life. Thus, from the wreck of forests that waved upon the surface of the primeval lands, and from ferrugenous mud that was lodged at the bottom of the primeval waters, we derive our chief supplies of coal and iron; those two fundamental elements of art and industry, which contribute more than any other mineral production of the earth, to increase the riches, and multiply the comforts, and ameliorate the condition of mankind." *

IV.—Having considered the position, character, mineral, and organic contents of the two series of stratified rocks, which occur in the county, we now proceed to describe the unstratified, or what may be termed the ancient volcanic rocks of Fife. These are the Trap or Whinstone family, which maintain no determinate position, as their origin may lead us to infer, but which are to be found in every locality throughout the district, and

* Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise on Geology.

which occupy indiscriminately every situation in the valley, along the mountain-side, by the sea-shore, and exclusively the loftiest elevations. They differ greatly in respect of appearance and composition, and vary so much in their external characters that, although, from other circumstances attending them, it is impossible to doubt their common origin*; there are varieties which if taken separately would, without previous acquaintance with them, be judged of very different ages, since even some of the proximate rocks appear to possess as little mineralogical affinity as lime and coal, or indeed any two of the most dissimilar beds of the stratified order. They consist of 1. Amygdaloid. 2. Claystone Marl. 3. Tufa. 4. Basaltic Clinkstone. 5. Greenstone. 6. Basalt. 7. Claystone Porphyry. 8. Felspar Porphyry. 9. Compact Felspar.

The geological character of these rocks is their independence with respect to the rocks with which they are associated, and their intrusion, if we may so call it, among a regular system of sedementary deposits. They constitute a class of rocks which have evidently been formed under different circumstances from any of the stratified beds—running generally in high ridges, or mountain-chains—and seldom or never conformable with the rocks among which they are placed. All other rocks have a certain fixed or determinate position, so much so, that wherever we find one of the members of a series, whether belonging to the primitive transition, secondary, or tertiary formations, we can generally tell the rock upon which it rests, and the one which it underlies. These rocks, on the contrary, are found in all positions, insinuating themselves, not only between different rocks, but between the strata, or even laminæ of one and the same rock, filling up rents and fissures, and like a cement poured from above, overlying and binding the whole into one mass. They contain no organic remains; and the entire want of these organisms in the class under consideration, while abounding in all the rocks through which they pass, or in other ways stand connected with, is urged by geologists as a proof that the matter of these rocks has not only been forced up from below, but has been in a state of fusion, whereby all organic forms have been obliterated and destroyed. Travellers in describing the hills of Auvergne in France, and various volcanic districts in Italy, which have lately so much attracted the attention of the learned, speak of the resemblance between them and the trap hills in this country, as so exact, as unequivocally to belong to one and the same class of rocks. In point of form and general outline, there is no difference, in substance and texture they are they same ; they contain the same imbedded crystals ; and they assume in various places, the same basaltic and columnar structure. These and other circumstances—such as veins emanating from a central mass—the alteration and disruption of the stratified beds which they traverse—their composition, consisting, often entirely of the debris and fragments of the rocks of the district—have all led to the conclusion that our trap or whinstones, are all of igneous or volcanic origin, and that the hills around us, to which we are indebted for much beautiful scenery, now the abodes of quietness and peace, once glowed with volcanic fire, and were actually molten with subterranean heat.

It would be impossible, in this short sketch, to notice all the interesting features and

appearances which are exhibited among these rocks, or even to attempt a description of their relative position, and other characteristic differences as they occur within the limits of the county. Time was, when geologists of a certain school amused themselves with fancies about the stratified and unstratified portions of the trap family, and assigned to each supposed bed its exact order of superposition. Divest the mind of theoretic prepossessions, and every such line of succession or order in a connected series must vanish as "the baseless fabric of a vision."

Basalt occupies almost exclusively the southern boundary of the shire, along the shores of the Forth, where at Queensferry, Pettycur, Orchil near Auchtertool, Kincraig Hill, Earls-ferry point, and several other localities to the eastward, it exhibits beautiful specimens of the columnar structure, consisting of small, sometimes of larger pentagonal masses jointed into one another with the most perfect symmetry and order. This rock is darker, closer grained, and considerably harder than any of the other members of the trappean family. *Clinkstone* generally forms the cap or highest portion of the Ochil ridge, but by no means uniformily so. Thus at Lucklaw, and the Mount Hill near Cupar, compact flesh red felspar occupies the summit; the base of the former consists of a yellow coloured felspar porphyry; it is very hard and susceptible of a fine polish. The Lomonds are capped with *greenstone* and *amygdaloid*. Largolaw is composed of a greyish-black compact basaltic clinkstone, likewise Hall Hill Craig, and Craighall rock. Between Kincraig and Earls-ferry point, in a small bay of not more than a mile in extent the whole series of trappean rocks may be observed, arranged in no systematic order, and scarcely distinguishable at their lines of junction from each other. In like manner, at Wormit bay, on the opposite coast, they occur in the same closely associated and indiscriminate order, flesh-red felspar and amygdaloid containing beautiful agates, being the most predominant in the group. Here the trap may be seen in immediate contact with the grey-sandstone, intruding itself between its beds, and so interlaced with it as to exhibit sections of an inch in thickness completely detached from the parent mass of sandstone. At Parkhill there is an example of a slip or subsidence of several conterminous beds of claystone, greenstone, and clayslate, a rock which very much resembles the grey sandstone of Wormit, and contains the same vegetable impressions, but which has been considerably altered by its junction with the igneous rocks. The claystone marl rests at Newburgh upon greenstone, containing a few grains of mica, and to the south of Abernethy, it may be observed overlying masses of clinkstone, trap, tuff, and amygdaloid. The county is partly intersected on the west by the valley of Glen Farg, which opens into Strathearn; here the prevailing rocks are claystone, highly indurated and of a variegated yellow and brownish-red colour; and amygdaloid, which is extremely vesicular, containing cavities from an inch to a quarter of an inch in diameter, and which are filled with green earth, chalcedony, calcareous spar, analcime, quartz, and zeolites. Veins of carbonate of barytes, and carbonate of lina traverse the hills here in every direction, varying from an inch to several feet in thickness, and exhibiting beautiful specimens of crystallization.

The *Claystone Porphyry* is of a mixed flesh-red and ochreous colour, and has the appearance of coarse fire-brick, suggesting the idea of having been subjected to the action of a strong heat. It contains crystals of glassy felspar and veins of carbonate of lime. Copper seems also to be disseminated through the rock, as appears from the green spots on its surface, which are caused, in all probability, by the oxidation of the metal. The claystone porphyry is quarried near Balvaird Castle, on the western extremity of the shire, and may be traced at various intermediate localities towards the eastern boundary of the Ochils. It crops out in Auchtermuchty Hill behind Newton; at Lumbenny, on the old road, which leads to Pitcairly, and likewise to the east of Cross Macduff, at Myre-cairney, and at various places between Wormit Bay and Newport.

The *Greenstone* is one of the most valuable and compact members of the Trap family of rocks. It is of a granular texture, and generally of a green colour, of which there are two principal kinds, one composed of hornblende and felspar, and another of augite and felspar. The augite and hornblende are both of a dark-blackish green, and, as they are usually the predominating ingredients, give the prevailing colour to the rock. The felspar is generally of a whitish or flesh-red colour. This rock is essentially concretionary in its structure, and, in a state of decay or decomposition, it breaks up into round masses, which exfoliate like the coatings of an union. Sometimes the whole mass is arranged into balls or globular concretions, from a few inches to several feet in diameter. When reduced to *rotten-rock*, or an earthy state, it is invariably of a yellowish-brown colour, occasioned by the oxidation of the iron which exists in it in considerable abundance. Throughout the district which extends from Port-on-Craigs to Newburgh, greenstone frequently occurs: at the latter place, it passes into a beautiful compact amygdaloid, whose cavities are filled with calcareous spar and quartz of the purest white: this section of the rock may be seen in the quarry lately opened at Gordons-brae. It occurs very abundantly in the parish of Ceres and towards the shores of the Forth, chiefly in the form of veins and small saddle-shaped hills. It generally occupies the lowest position in the series of Trap rocks, traverses the coal-district in every direction, and in all probability constituted the last irruption of the igneous formation.

The *Clinkstone* is a prevailing rock, of a dark-greenish or ash-grey colour, and when struck with a hammer, it gives a ringing metallic sound. It generally decomposes by splitting up into thin beds or laminæ, and assumes a clayish or dirty white appearance. It is usually columnar, and rests upon basalt, into which it insensibly passes; but without any difficulty, it may be distinguished from the basalt, both by the more regular and prismatic form which the columns of the latter assume, and the darker colour of the basaltic rock. It assumes the columnar structure at Clatchart and Craig-in-crune among the Ochils, where the columns are extremely long and not unfrequently several yards in thickness: also, at Balgriggy in the parish of Auchterderran, and at Falfield, Largo-Law, and Balcarras Craig.

The *Tufa* rock may be observed in almost every locality, and occupying almost

every position in the series. One remarkable bed of tufaceous Trap traverses the county, from one shore to the other, towards its eastern division, and which would be well worthy of a longer and separate notice. It consists of shale, coal, sandstone, ironstone, clinkstone, basalt, and limestone, varying from portions of half an inch to a foot in diameter, and which are all imbedded in a paste of claystone. Sachur point near Elie, and the curious formation called the *Rock and Spindle* near St Andrews are composed of these; including, in fact, all the members of the coal-field, which the bed traverses, and out of which it derives its materials. The mass to which these terms have been applied, and which is represented in the plate, is nearly fifty feet in height; and, what is not a little remarkable, the basaltic concretions which are exhibited in the former locality, likewise accompany the formation in this quarter. The prisms here are not indeed so large, but they are equally well defined as those at Elie. They occur towards the base in the form of five or six sided pyramids, of five or six feet in length, about a foot in diameter, and meeting at an apex give to the mass a circular stellate appearance. The basalt contains crystals of agate, olivine, and glassy felspar, and gradually passes into the tufa with which it has originally, in all probability, been completely enveloped.

The prevailing rocks in the immediate vicinity of this interesting formation are sandstone and shale, the out-crop of the coal-field. A vein of greenstone trap may be observed in connection with the tufa, and which may be traced for miles to the westward, being hollowed out, in various places, in a trough-like form for road metal. The sedementary deposits, in this district, are all very much disturbed, being twisted and bent into every possible shape, and inclined at almost every angle. The sandstone at one place has been thrown into a vertical position, where a portion projects to the height of nearly sixty feet, known by the name of the Maiden, and being completely isolated, forms an interesting feature in the group of rocks along the shore.

Amygdaloid exists in the greatest abundance amongst the Ochils, being a coarse conglomerate trap which consists of a basis of claystone, binding together various substances. These are green earth, calcareous spar, quartz, chalcedony, and agate. The green earth, or chlorite, occurs in nodules small and almond shaped, and not unfrequently it may be observed, as a thin coating, investing the crystals both of calcareous spar and agate. Alternating zones of felspar, quartz, and chalcedony sometimes appear in the same nodule; amethystine quartz also occurs, the crystals often being about an inch in length; heliotrope is more sparingly diffused than any of the other substances, but it may likewise be noticed as an ingredient in the rock. The formation is traversed, in many places, by innumerable thin veins of quartz and calcareous spar, which give it a variegated net-like appearance, and more rarely veins of sulphate of barytes, chert, and agate may be traced. This rock stretches almost continuously from Ferry-port-on-Craig to Birkhill, along the south bank of the Tay: Glenduckie-hill and several of the ridges to the south are composed of amygdaloid. The agates which occur in it, especially those of Glenduckie and the Scurr-hill in the parish of Balmerino, have been

long prized by the lapidaries, and constitute an article of considerable traffic between them and the amateurs of the district. The rock sometimes passes into an *amygdaloidal tufa*, containing portions of nearly all the varieties of trap, from half an inch to a foot in diameter; some of the imbedded pieces are angular and sharp, and others rounded. The whole mass strongly suggests the idea of a current of liquid lava which, as it proceeded in its fiery course, embraced the various substances which lay in its way, whether earthy or concrete, and by its excessive temperature altered and modified their composition. Such specimens of the formation may be seen, at various places, in the ridge which intervenes between Auchtermuchty and Abernethy, and likewise along the slopes and in the small valleys which occur between the former place and the hills behind Cupar. Dr M'Culloch, in his interesting paper on the hill of Kinnoul, which chiefly consists of amygdaloid, states that the vesicular character of this rock has been produced in the process of cooling, and that the substances now filling the cavities have been introduced since the induration of the mass from a state of lava.

Veins constitute an interesting feature in the class of rocks under consideration. These are very numerous in this county, and are to be found in almost every district. They consist, for the most part, of basalt and greenstone; and may be described as dykes which traverse the strata of the coal-field, extending often for several miles, and penetrating to a depth in very few instances ascertained. They are almost invariably accompanied by a depression of the stratified beds on one side of their line, or an elevation of them on the other; so that the very same force which has thus rent the rocks asunder and diffused the molten materials of the vein through the fissures, has caused one side of the fractured mass to rise, or the other to sink. A greenstone vein traverses the Ochils from Norman's Law westwards: another may be observed, lower down, at Parkhill, on which the sandstone and limestone repose, and by which they have been thrown into a south-west dip: another stretches from the east to the west Lomond, where it may be seen at the western side broken up into large jointed tabular masses, and occasioning considerable disturbance among the stratified beds. To the south of the Lomonds, veins of basalt and greenstone are so numerous as to render it unnecessary to specify them, producing no little havoc and disturbance among the combustible materials as well as limestones with which they are in contact. There are other veins, in addition to those which have been noticed, composed of clinkstone porphyry, containing vesicular cavities which are filled with siliceous spar and other crystals, and which generally intersect the strata at right angles to the former, running in a south and north direction. One of these occurs in the parish of Flisk, which will serve, among others, to exemplify the distinction now referred to, both as to the direction and the materials of which the two classes of veins are composed.

Besides the veins of whinstone, the coal strata are intersected by *faults or fractures*, the fissures of which are usually filled with clay and debris of the surrounding rocks. These may be considered as so many excellent mechanical contrivances, by means of which the useful mineral has been rendered accessible to man. Had they not existed,

the pits must have speedily filled with water, or been accumulated in such quantities as to have exceeded all power of machinery in effecting the drainage of a mine; whereas by the simple arrangement of a system of *faults*, the continuous beds of shale and sandstone, that alternate with the coal, are broken up into limited sections, and the water admitted only in manageable quantities. The component strata are thus divided into insulated masses, rising one above another in the form of a stair, and inclined at a considerable angle to the horizon; so that while each section is separated from its next adjacent mass, by a dam of clay impenetrable by water, the limited extent which it occupies, and the inclined position into which it has been thrown, serve to render the operations of the miner comparatively easy, as well as greatly to diminish the expenses of the proprietor.

"If we suppose," (says Buckland,) "a thick sheet of ice to be broken into fragments of irregular area, and these fragments again united, after receiving a slight degree of irregular inclination to the plane of the original sheet, the re-united fragments of the ice will represent the appearance of the component portions of the broken masses, or sheets of coal measures. The intervening portions of more recent ice, by which they are held together, represent the clay and rubbish that fill the faults, and form the partition walls that insulate these adjacent portions of strata, which were originally formed, like the sheet of ice, in one continuous plane. Thus, each sheet or inclined table of coal measures, is inclosed by a system of more or less vertical walls of broken clay, derived from its argillaceous shale beds, at the moment in which the fracture and dislocation took place; and hence have resulted those joints and separations, which, though they occasionally interrupt at inconvenient positions, and cut off suddenly the progress of the collier, and often shatter these portions of the strata that are in immediate contact with them, yet are in the main his greatest safeguard, and are indeed essential to his operations." These *faults* are, accordingly, by the arrangements of a wise and benevolent Providence, found to prevail more or less in every coal-field throughout the county. They also, along with the veins, afford proof of the once distributed condition of the surface, when at an unknown, remote period the county was still buried beneath the primeval waters, and, by the throes and convulsions occasioned by the bursting forth of the streams of liquid lava, the strata were elevated from the bottom of the sea or lake, in which their materials were accumulated, to the plains and valleys in which they are now rendered subservient to the comfort and improvement of man.

V. *The Modern Strata.* These form an interesting division of every geological description, serving to show the last changes which causes now in action have produced, and are still producing upon the surface of our planet, and thus assist us in determining the manner in which the more ancient revolutions have been effected. We can do little more than notice them in this place. They consist of alluvium, sand-drift, peat-moss, detritus; silt, lacustrine, and marine; diluvium, lacustrine, and marine; and volcanic deposits.

The first of the class is but sparingly distributed throughout the county, and the last, we need scarcely say, does not exist; although the *petrifying* springs near Burntisland may be considered as furnishing on a small scale an example of the manner in which extensive deposits, both of a calcareous and argillaceous nature, are produced by the thermal waters in Iceland, Italy, and other volcanic districts. *Alluvium* is confined almost to the north-west section of the county and the valley of Stratheden, and at a few places along the banks of the Leven and Orr. *Sand-drift* is the residuum of granitic or sandstone rocks, and portions of comminuted shells; the accumulation and direction depend on the winds and tides. The district intervening between Ferry-port-on-Craig and St Andrews furnishes the only example, in the county, of this deposit, which, although considerable in extent, does not attain in any part of the line an elevation of more than forty to fifty feet. *Peat-Moss* exists in greater abundance, and occupies generally the highest table-land in the district. Brunshiels towards the east and Mossmorran (i. e. the Bog-moss), situated in the south-western division, are the most extensive. Mossmorran is about 1200 acres in extent, and in some places about 25 feet in depth. It abounds with adders, some of which are three feet in length. The ancient forests of Caledonia have been supposed to furnish the original materials of which these deposits are composed. They are unquestionably of vegetable origin, and in almost every moss the organic structure may be traced from the surface to the greatest depth. Ligneous plants chiefly compose the lower beds, and aquatics prevail in the higher. The plants which enter into the composition of moss, and by which in an incredibly short space of time a bed may be renovated, are the conferva, erica, lemna, byssus, equisetum, the sphagna, and other mosses, and various aquatic grasses, rushes, and reeds. *Detritus* exists in every locality, flanking the acclivities of hills, and consisting of those fragments of rock, of greater and smaller dimensions, which are detached from the mountain mass by the action of frost, rain, and heat, and out of which all soils are ultimately formed.

The *Diluvium* has been produced by the bursting of extensive lakes, or the sudden overflowings of rivers, and consists of detritus and large fragments of rocks which have been torn up and confusedly mixed together. The materials, as might be expected, from such violent and extraordinary causes, are extremely various; the sand and gravel generally predominate in the mass, and the boulder stones which occur in it, often of enormous dimensions, are as large at the top as at the bottom of the bed—circumstances which are clearly indicative of the violent action of the transporting cause. In Stratheden there are extensive accumulations of this deposit. From the church of Collessie to the river Eden, and through a range of several miles to the east and west, the bottom of the valley is filled to an unknown depth with the debris of the old red sandstone, generally consisting of small gravelly fragments. The high table land at Mugdrum, near Newburgh, is composed entirely of diluvium, as well as the sloping ground on which the town stands. The valley, which commences at the rock of Clatchart, and stretches eastwards, is filled with the same, and to the combined

action of the currents which swept along the northern and southern acclivities of the Ochils—through the valleys of Stratheden, Lindores, and the Tay—we would be disposed to ascribe those vast accumulations of sand and gravel which occur on the western confines of the parishes of Leuchars and Fogan. These are chiefly composed of the debris of the old red sandstone, along with portions of the primitive rocks, and from their perfect parallelism, and extreme evenness of surface, as well as great height by which they are raised above all surrounding existing influences, the mind is irresistibly led back to a condition of things when the German Ocean existed as a lake, and stood at a higher level, and occasioned the appearances in question. The boulders or large water-worn fragments of the primitive rocks, which are to be found so abundantly in every locality, on the tops as well as acclivities of the hills, are referable to the same order of causes.

The *Lacustrine* and *Marine Silt* deposits derive their origin from the detritus of lakes and rivers, which are in a state of comparative stillness, the fine particles which they hold in suspension being gradually and slowly deposited. An example of this may be seen at Cupar brick-work, where several beds of sand and clay, of varying thickness and colour, alternate repeatedly with each other. The *carses* of the Forth and Tay, in which are several alternating beds of sand, clay, gravel, and peat, derive their origin from a similar cause, operating on a more extensive scale. The county furnishes two interesting examples of sub-marine forests, which are both situated in this deposit, the one at Largo Bay, and the other at Flisk. They are placed within the limits of the tide, and are covered at high water to the depth of nearly ten feet. They consist of the roots of trees, imbedded in a peat-moss, which rests upon a bed of clay of unknown depth. The roots, and in some instances, the stumps of trees, with the root-branches attached, are regularly arranged, in a growing position, on the surface of the respective beds, and whatever may have been their original elevation above the tide-level, little doubt can be entertained of their being still in their birth-place, and connected with their parent soil.

Similar deposits occur in other parts of the island, at Mounts Bay in Cornwall, in Lincolnshire, and in Orkney, and they are frequently to be met with, in similar situations, on the continent. Various hypotheses have been adopted in order to account for them. According to the views of many, it has been maintained that the sea has risen about ten feet, and inundated the surface on which these forests once grew; while, according to others, it has been argued that the ground has sunk or slipped down, carrying the trees along with it to their present position. The force of subsidence by the sudden action of earthquakes, has also been resorted to, but not very generally maintained. The coast of Lincolnshire received the attention of Professor Playfair, and in order to explain the peculiar appearances which there presented themselves, he had recourse to some of the assumptions implied in the Huttonian theory of the Earth. Dr Fleming carefully inspected the submarine forests at Flisk and Largo, and rejecting the explanations of Borlase, Correa de Serra, and Playfair, proposes the following solution

of these interesting phenomena. "If we suppose," he says, "a lake situate near the sea shore, and having its outlet elevated a few feet above the rise of the tide, we have the first condition requisite for the production of a submarine forest. If we now suppose that, by means of mud carried in by the rivulets, and the growth of aquatic plants, this lake has become a marsh, and a stratum of vegetable matter formed on the surface, of sufficient density to support trees, we arrive at the second condition which is requisite. Suppose a marsh in this condition to have the level of its outlet lowered, or rather to have its sea-ward barrier removed, what consequences would follow? The extremities of the strata now exposed to the sea, would at every ebb-tide be left dry, to a depth equal to the fall of the tide. Much water, formerly prevented from escaping by the altitude of the outlet, would now ooze out from the moist beds, and the subsiding force would act more powerfully in the absence of the water which filled every pore. All the strata above low water mark would thus collapse, and the surface of the marsh, instead of remaining at its original height, would sink below the level of the sea. In consequence of this drainage, produced by the ebbing of the tide on those marshes, the original barriers of which have been destroyed, there is no difficulty in accounting for the depression of the surface of a marsh, many feet lower than its original level, nor in explaining the fact that Neptune now triumphs where Silvanus reigned, and that the sprightly Nereids now occupy the dwellings of their sister Naids."

The whole of Dr Fleming's papers "On the Modern Strata," published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in Thomson's Annals of Philosophy, and in the Edinburgh Philosophical Journal, are extremely valuable, and ought to be carefully considered by the student in geology, that, by proceeding from the *distinct* to the *obscure*, and from the newly-formed to the more ancient deposits, he may qualify himself for illustrating, with a greater chance of success, the various changes which the crust of the globe has undergone. The solution proposed above, receives a striking corroboration from the fact, that there are not one only, but two distinct strata of peat, which traverse at different levels the lower basins of the Tay and the Earn. The lowest stratum at Flisk, and as far up as Newburgh, is on a level with the bed of the river, and the upper one, which was discovered at the latter locality, in excavating the foundations of the gas work, is about forty feet above tide-mark. The peat, in both cases, contains the relics of the leaves, stems, and roots of various plants, of the natural orders of equisetaceæ, gramineæ, and cyperaceæ, mixed with roots, leaves, and branches of the birch, hazel, and alder. It is also much mixed with clay, iron, and sand, and while most of the vegetable remains are soft and possessed of their original fibrous texture, their are others of them so impregnated with iron, as to strike fire with flint; in fact, are converted into a substance resembling iron-pyrites. Large trunks of black jetty oak, are likewise found in the deposits. They are covered with a thick bed of blueish clay, which on both banks of the Tay, attains an elevation of about fifty feet above the level of the tide, and which may be traced, along with the peat, as far up as the bridge of Almond.

Thus, in the modern strata, we have exhibited a series of deposits which resemble in many particulars, the qualities, order, and arrangement of the more ancient sedementary rocks. In the lacustrine formation alone, the following beds were detected, in digging a well at Newburgh, and which may occur, in the same order of superposition, in other localities throughout the county. 1. A bed of clay about five feet thick. 2. A bed of peat two feet in thickness. 3. Under the peat, is a deposit of two and a half feet thick of extremely fine sand, of a light blue colour, and very unctious in its character. 4. To this succeeds a bed of gravel. And, 5. The lowest bed of the series, and the depth of which is unknown, is a plastic clay, or *till*, containing boulders of the secondary rocks, mixed up with the debris of the old red sandstone, and the whole mass deeply dinged with a dark-red colour. Were these beds to be indurated, by subterrannean heat, or by the transmission of heated volcanic matter, the formation would exhibit, on a small scale, a series of rocks similar in quality and texture to those of which the carboniferous strata, from the red conglomerate upwards, are composed.

It would be useless here to enter upon the many speculative points which are involved in the geology of Fifeshire, in relation to the age of the several deposits, the convulsive movements to which they have been subjected, the direction of these movements, and the probable duration of the periods which elapsed between the changes which are indicated by their fossil, vegetable, and animal contents. The organic remains which occur in the lower series of deposits differ very materially from those which are detected in the higher members, both in character and number; and what condition of things contributed to the existence and accumulation, and subsequent consolidation of the vegetable matter of which the coal metals are wholly composed, we have no certain means of determining.

The sedementary strata belong to two distinct series or classes of rocks, that of the old red sandstone formation, which occupies the lowest situation, and that of the carboniferous formation which extends from the mountain limestone to the highest members of the coal measures. These were originally deposited in an extensive lake or estuary, and comparatively still water; which occasionally, however, was exposed to considerable agitation, as the conglomerate beds clearly establish, consisting as they do of rolled fragments of quartz and other primitive rocks which have been carried from a distance. The scales and other relics of the fossil fishes are chiefly confined to such parts of the red and yellow sandstones as show a brecciated character, from which it may be inferred that these inhabitants of the primeval waters, had suffered in the convulsions to which the surface of the earth was then exposed. During the deposition of the mountain limestone, the sea prevailed for a considerable time over the district, and from the alternations in the higher beds of the coal series of marine and fresh-water productions, there are indicated a succession of overflowings and depressions of the ocean wave. From the lowest to the highest of the whole series, in both

deposits, there is a general conformity in the direction and bearing of the strata, and likewise in their dip and inclination; so that during the whole period that was occupied in their deposition, none of the igneous rocks had as yet burst from below, or been injected amongst them. To those who are accustomed to look to final causes, nothing can more clearly prove the manifestations of design and of wise and benevolent contrivance than those previous accumulations of the sedementary strata beneath the coal metals. Had these rocks not existed, it is quite obvious that the combustible material must have been brought into immediate contact with the intensely heated mass of trap, and consequently must have been deprived of nearly the whole of its bituminous qualities, while the expansive force below, meeting with less resistance from the absence of such a weight and depth of rock, must have produced such disruptions and dislocations among the coal beds, as to have greatly impeded, or to have rendered absolutely impossible the operations of the miner in bringing them to the surface. By the existing arrangement both these evils have been avoided. The coal metals are protected by a barrier of rock on both sides, so that the fire could not consume them, nor the floods wash them away; the sandstone and shale serving the double purpose of a safe roofing to the mine, and a means of easy access to the inclosed treasure.

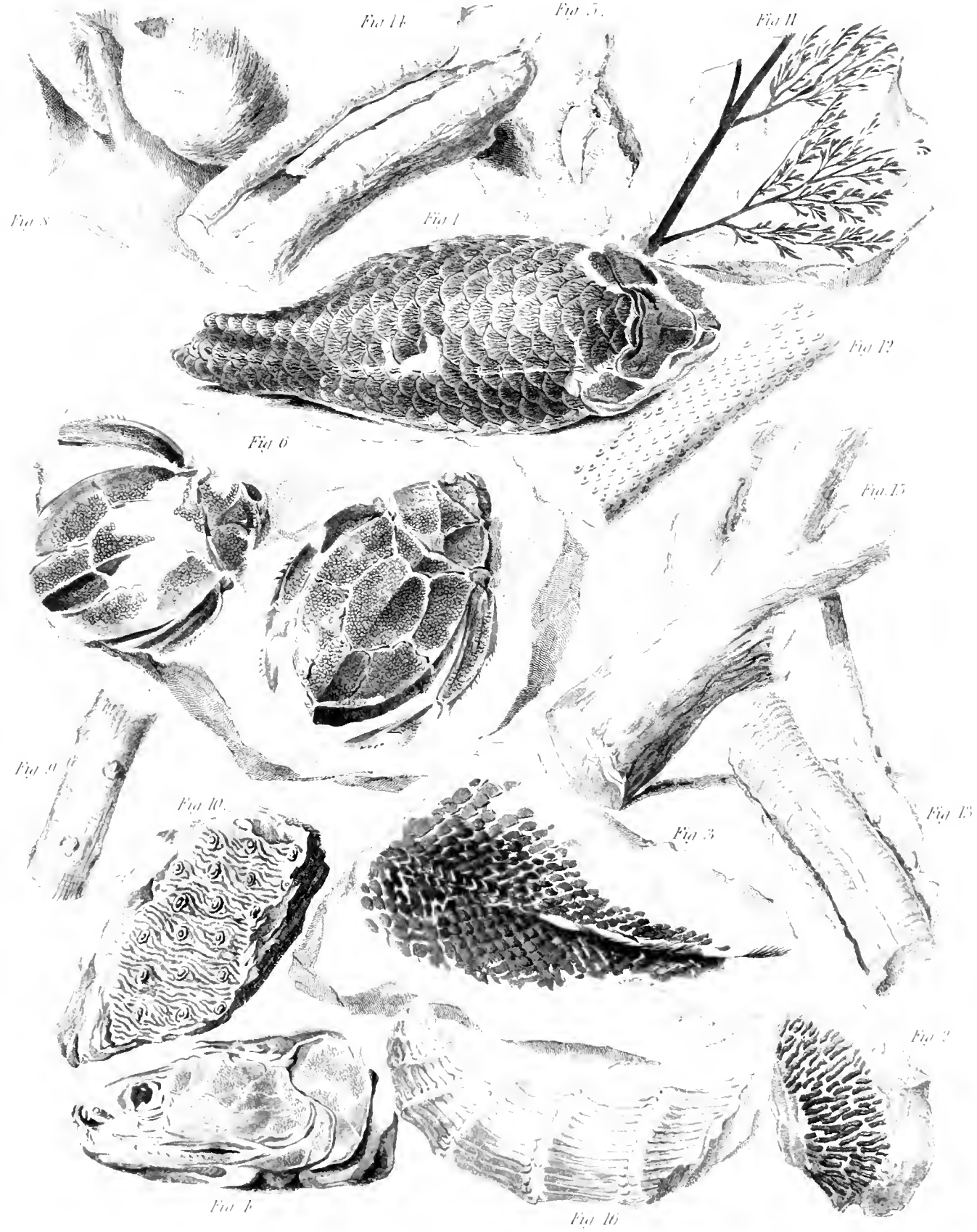
Respecting the exact age of the trap or epoch of irruption of the igneous rocks, we have no means of conjecturing; the only thing we can certainly determine, in this respect, is the limit of their antiquity. These rocks are unquestionably of later origin than any of the stratified deposits which they traverse, and which, as is remarkable, throughout the whole course of the mountain limestone, along its northern out-crop, they have been the instruments or levers of elevating so far above their original position. The disturbances and alterations produced among the coal metals tend to establish the same conclusion.

Various currents have swept over the whole surface of Fife, and we think, there is conclusive evidence at least of two. These are indicated by the character of the transported materials, consisting on the one hand, of large blocks of granite and other primitive rocks, and, on the other hand, of the debris chiefly of the old red sandstone. The former are found on the tops of the highest hills as well as in the valleys; the latter is almost exclusively confined to the valleys and lower grounds: thus showing, in the one case, that the agency which transported the huge masses of primitive rock, and elevated them above the hills, must have been greater than what sufficed to tear up the softer arenaceous beds, and accumulate their wreck in the hollow places of the district. The direction of the currents has manifestly been from the north-west to the south-east, pointing towards the quarter in which rocks similar in character to the boulders and other diluvian materials are all to be found in *situ*. The valleys, for the most part, follow the direction of the mountain ranges, and have nearly all of them been produced by the elevation of the strata, during the epoch of the trap irruption; although at the same time it may be admitted that they have been considerably modified by the action of the currents which have left such traces of their power.

TABLE OF FOSSIL ORGANIC REMAINS IN THE COUNTY OF FIFE.

Rocks.	*Localities.*
1. Grey Sandstone.	
Gramineous Vegetable Impressions,	Wormit Bay.
Carpothilites, or Compressed Berries,	Parkhill.
2. Red Conglomerate.	
Scales and teeth of Gyrolepis giganteus,	Parkhill.
	Birkhill.
	Dairsie.
3. Yellow Sandstone.	Glen-farg.
Fossil Fishes, Gyrolepis giganteus,	
Various extinct genera of the orders of Placoidians and Ganoidians not described. Insects, not described.	Dura Den.
Scales, Teeth, and Bones,	Drumdryan.
	Bogle Hill.
	Hospital Mill.
4. Mountain Limestone.	
Radiaria,	
——— Cyathocrinites planus,	Innertiel.
——— ——— tuberculatus,	
——— ——— rugosus,	
——— ——— quinquangularis,	
——— Platycrinites lævis,	Lime-kilns, Cults, Forther.
——— ——— rugosus,	
——— Poteriocrinites tenuis,	
——— Rhodocrinites verus,	
Producta Pocillum,	
——— Martini,	
——— spinosus,	
——— punctatus,	
Spinifer fimbriatus,	Cults.
——— cuspidatus,	
——— exaratus,	
——— glaber,	
——— attenuatus,	
Terebratula bovidens,	
——— Lapillus,	
Pholadonga elongata,	
Unio petrosus,	
—— Mytilus,	
Belemnites, Orthoceratites, Ammonites,	Forther.
Coralines and Madrepores,	
Microscopic shells.	Lomonds.

FOSSIL ORGANIC REMAINS IN THE OLD RED SANDSTONE AND CARBONIFEROUS FORMATIONS OF FIFE.



5. Bituminous Limestone.

Fossil Fishes, viz.	
Palæoniscus,	
Eurynotus,	Pettycur.
Osteolepis,	
Coprolites, teeth, bones, and scales,	
Plants, viz.:	Kilrenny.
Equisetums, Calamites, Filices, and Lycopodites.	Crail.

While these pages have been passing through the press, I have been successful in finding the fresh-water or bituminous limestone, in the south-eastern extremity of the county. I first met with it in the parish of Kilrenny on the shore, and likewise to the eastward about a mile, in the parish of Crail. It is wrought inland in both parishes, at Corn-Ceres, and Sypsies. Here it lies in small trough-shaped basins, and is much disturbed by underlying dykes, which traverse in every direction the whole of this district Along the shore the deposit is about six feet thick, and dips to the south-east at an angle of 20°. It rests upon a thin bed of coal, of about one foot and a half in thickness. Scales, coprolites, and vegetable impressions are in the greatest profusion; and no doubt can be entertained, from its mineralogical characters, as well as its organic contents, of its being a portion of the interesting deposit which ranges westwards from Pettycur, containing the remains noticed above.

6. Coal Measures.

Sphenopteris bifida,	
——— affinis,	
——— dilatata,	
——— adiantoides,	Wemyss.
——— multifida,	
——— crenata,	Knock-niddy.
——— caudata,	
——— linearis,	
——— gracilis,	
——— fragilis,	St Andrews.
——— crithmifolia,	
Pecopteris Mantelli,	
——— adiantoides,	Dysart.
——— blechnoides,	
——— æqualis,	Wemyss.
——— acuta,	
——— dentata,	
——— repanda,	
——— laciniata,	
——— heterophylla,	
Neuropteris acuminata,	
——— gigantea,	Dysart.
——— angustifolia,	
——— oblongata,	
——— cordata,	
——— Loshii,	Rothesfield
Calamites ramosus,	
——— dubius,	
——— cannæformis,	Kettle.
——— nodosus,	
———approximatus,	Knock-niddy.

Calamites Mougeoti,	
——— cruciatus,	St Andrews.
Lepidodendron gracile,	Elie.
——— elegans,	
——— Sternbergii,	Knock-niddy.
——— selaginoides,	
——— obovatum,	Lomonds.
——— dilatatum,	
——— acerosum.	
Sphenophyllum erosum,	
——— crassum,	Kirkaldy.
——— truncatum,	
——— pusillum,	Torry.
——— dentatum,	
——— Schlotheimii,	Kettle.
Stigmaria ficoides,	
——— tuberculosa,	Crail.
——— gigantea,	
Sigillaria Organum,	Kippledrae.
——— reniformis,	
——— approximata,	Rothesfield.
——— alternans,	
——— oculata,	Kilrenny.
——— orbicularis,	
——— elongata,	
——— pachyderma,	
Asterophyllites equisetiformis,	Dysart.
——— hippuroides,	
——— longifolia,	
——— tenuifolia,	
——— galioides,	
——— diffusa,	
——— elegans,	
Annularia brevifolia,	
——— radiata,	
Lepidostrobus variabilis,	Pettycur.
——— ornatus,	Kilrenny.
Cyclopteres,	Crail.
Cyperites,	

III. BOTANY.

This interesting department of natural history is intimately connected with the mineralogical character of any district; and the following lists of plants have been drawn up with a view to the connection which subsists between the qualities of the soil and its vegetation. The soil, which results from the decomposition of rocks, forms, as it were, the food out of which plants derive their nourishment, and as the vegetable tribes are possessed of migratory habits as well as the animal—induced by the action of the winds, the direction of the streams and rivers, and the flight of birds—the seeds which are thus transported to particular districts will become productive or otherwise, according to the nature of the soil into which they are accidentally thrown. Some will speedily perish, from an excess or a deficiency of certain earthy or metallic ingredients. Others will become permanently located in the district where they have found a soil congenial to their nature; while, again, many will be affected by the general temperature or climate of the particular *habitat* where their lot has fallen.

Influenced by these and other causes, the Flora of a country will be necessarily subject to considerable changes; just as we find in the successive deposits which we have been surveying, different classes of fossil remains peculiar to each. "The identity of certain strata," says Lindley, in his Fossil Flora, "in which few vegetable remains are now to be discovered—the probable condition of the atmosphere at the most remote periods—what gradual changes that climate may have undergone since living things first began to exist—whether there has been, from the commencement, a progressive development of their organization—all these are questions which it is either the peculiar province of the botanist to determine, or which his inquiries must, at least, tend very much to elucidate." Considerations of this kind are never altogether to be lost sight of, even with regard to existing races of vegetables. Many plants are now indigenous to Fife, which at no very remote era would be regarded as exotics, while others are now confined to particular localities which were once more generally as well as more abundantly diffused.

While the following lists, therefore, are constructed upon this principle, they are not to be considered as presenting the entire Flora of any one of the districts. Many of the plants are common to them all, and such are selected, under each, as are either peculiar to the particular district, or which are found more exclusively to abound in it. The *habitat* of some of the rarer kinds is also given.

I. Plants which prevail along the northern division of the county. The soil is, for the most part, a deep black loam, and a strong ferruginous clay or *till*. In the vicinity of Newburgh it consists of a rich alluvial deposit of clay. The whole rests upon the old red sandstone and Trap of the Ochils. Viz.—Fedia olitoria (Naughton ruins.)

Lycopus europæus, Pinguicula vulgaris (Ormiston near Newburgh.) Iris Pseudacorus, Eriophorum capitatum, Erythræa pulchella. (This beautiful plant grows abundantly at Mugdrum, but is rare in other localities.) Briza media (Black-cairn.) Dipsacus sylvestris and pilosus (the latter grows on the glebe at Newburgh.) Asperula odorata, Potamogeton lanceolatum, Parietaria officinalis (Lindores Abbey.) Myosotis palustris, Menyanthes trifoliata (Lindores loch.) Primula veris, Verbascum Lychnitis. (This beautiful but rare species grows at Denmill on the walls of the old garden.) Linum catharticum, Gentiana campestris, Cynoglossum officinale (Lindores Abbey.) Allium ursinum, Cicuta virosa, Dianthus deltoides (Monimail.) Pyrola media, abundant; and the rarer species, P. rotundifolia, grow in Inchrye woods. Stellaria holostea, Galanthus nivalis, Lythrum Salicaria (Mugdrum.) Reseda Luteola and lutea, Agrimonia Eupatorium (Birkhill.) Glyceria fluitans (Black loch.) Hyoscyamus niger (very rare, Lindores Abbey.) Hyacinthus non-scriptus (Clatchart.) Geum rivale; Papaver dubium and Rhæas, very common; P. somniferum, only once observed near Lindores Abbey. Nymphæa alba (Black loch, very abundant.) Pedicularis palustris, Bartsia Odontites, Geranium columbinum (Birkhill.) Genista anglica (near Newburgh at Dovensden.) Nuphar lutea (Loch mill.) Vicia lutea, sativa and lathyroides, Lactuca virosa, Gnaphalium supinum and gallicum, Scrophularia nodosa and vernalis, Oxalis acetosella (Norman's Law.) Mercurialis perennis, Chelidonum majus, Sparganium simplex (Black loch.) Littorella lacustris (do.) Corylus Avellana, Anthoxanthum odoratum (Newburgh muir.) Of Musci the following genera are abundant:—Bryum, Bartramia, Grimmia, Hypnum, Polytrichum. Of Filices—Scolopendrium vulgare, Adiantum Capillus-veneris, Blechnum boreale, Aspidium Lonchitis, filix mas and fœmina. Fungi—the Phallus fœtidus (near Newburgh.)

II. Plants which prevail throughout the valley of Strathcden. The soil in the western division is light and gravelly, towards the centre much of it consists entirely of gravel, fine sand, and reclaimed marsh; towards the eastern extremity it is either black loam or a reddish plastic clay. The yellow sandstone is the prevailing rock in the district, with a few patches of the old red. Viz.:—Veronica (several species common.) V. hirsuta (Melville woods.) V. Anagallis, Cladium Mariscus (Tentsmuirs.) Scirpus sylvaticus (Edens muir.) Valeriana rubra and officinalis (near Cupar on the banks of the Eden.) Iris Pseudacorus, Eriophorum polystachion, Alopecurus geniculatus, var. (Lawfield.) Poa nemoralis (Edens muir.) Phleum pratense, Milium effusum (Urquhart, near the west Lomond.) Festuca duriuscula (Tentsmuirs.) Lolium temulentum, Scabiosa arvensis (smooth variety grows on Ballomill. Not met with in England.) Potamogeton pusillum (Pitlessie Bridge.) Bromus secalinus, Solanum Dulcamara, Conium maculatum (near Darsie church.) Sambucus Ebulus (Edens head.) Drosera rotundifolia, Luzula congesta (Ramornie.) Sium latifolium (Leuchars.) Scandix Pecten Berberis vulgaris (Edens head.) Rumex sanguineus, and acutus (the latter used by the common people as a vulnerary.) Calluna vulgaris, Spiræa filipendula (Collessie.) Ranunculus Flammula, and auricomus (Monimail.) Galeopsis

versicolor, Stachys sylvatica and arvensis, Scutellaria galericulata (near Cupar.) Cardamine pratensis, impatiens, and hirsuta (near Falkland.) Anthyllis vulneraria, Cichorium Intybus (near Daftmill.) Senecio lividus and sylvaticus, Orchis bifolia, latifolia, and conopsea (Edens muir.) Carex (several species. The C. arenaria grows near Ramornie.) Geranium, several species, G. pusillum grows near Leuchars abundantly, and G. rotundifolium at Kettle; Poterium Sanguisorba.

III. Plants which abound in the Lomond ridge, Cults hills, and eastwards to St Andrews. This line of country forms the out-crop of the coal-field, and the soil is chiefly composed of the debris of the various rocks of the carboniferous series. A good deal of it consists of a stiff clay, which contains a large proportion of arenaceous and bituminous matter, viz:—Azalea procumbens (E. Lomonds.) Ervum hirsutum, Circæa Lutetiana (Masby-den.) Scabiosa arvensis (smooth variety, Cults hills.) Campanula rotundifolia, Hedera Helix, Vinca minor, Conium maculatum, Hydrocotyle vulgaris, Narthecium ossifragum (Knock-niddy quarry.) Gentiana campestris, Convolvulus sepium (Dura Den.) Saxifraga granulata, Epilobium montanum (Cults quarries.) Chrysosplenium oppositifolium (Dura Den.) Erica tetralix, Vaccinium Vitis-idaea, Briza media, Silene inflata, Lychnis flos-cuculi, L. viscaria (Dura Den.) Agrostemma Githago, Paris quadrifolia, Spergula arvensis and nodosa, Prunus spinosa, Mespilus oxyacantha (the parasitic fungus, Æcidium, grows abundantly on this plant.) Rosa tomentosa and spinosissima, R. scabriuscula (very common.) Ranunculus acris (very common.) Trollius europæus, Ajuga reptans, Glechoma hederacea, Lamium incisum and amplexicaule, Prunella vulgaris, Bartsia Odontites, Rhinanthus Crista-galli and major, Euphrasia officinalis, Antirrhinum Linaria, Digitalis purpurea, Erodium cicutarium, Anthyllis vulneraria, Ornithogalum luteum (Forret-den.) Trifolium medium (Lime quarries, Cults.) Lotus corniculatus, Hypochœris radicata, Tussilago Farfara and Petasites (very common, Dura Den.) Orchis mascula, viridis, latifolia, maculata and conopsea, Habenaria bifolia. Salix, of almost every species, abounds in the district, Malaxis paludosa (St Andrews.) Polypodium vulgare and Dryopteris, Pteris aquilina and crispa (W. Lomond.) Botrychium Lunaria, Ophioglossum vulgatum. (Cults lime quarries, very rare.) Equisetum sylvaticum, fluviatile, palustre, limosum. Phallus fœtidus (Crawford Priory woods.)

IV. Plants which prevail in the southern division of the county. The soil is extremely various, and rests wholly upon the rocks of the coal formation. Where the greenstone trap predominates, there is generally a rich black loam, and this may be considered as the general character of the soil along the coast, from the one extremity to the other. More inland, the debris of the sandstone, mixed with the alternating beds of clay and shaly matter, produces a stiff and inferior quality of soil, viz:—Hippuris vulgaris, Salicornia herbacea, Eleocharis pauciflora, Brachypodium sylvaticum, Polypogon monspeliense, Setaria viridis, Festuca myurus, Bromus secalinus, Symphytum officinale and tuberosum, Campanula rapunculoides (Raith.) Ligusticum scoticum, Drosera rotundifolia (Bogie.) Helosciadium inundatum (Inverkeithing.) Torilis nodosa, Triglochin

palustre (Inverkeithing.) Tulipa sylvestris, Acer campestre, Adoxa moschatellina, Scleranthus annuus, Potentilla reptans, Thalictrum flavum, majus and minus (Queensferry.) Marrubium vulgare (Burntisland.) Ballota nigra, Orobanche rubra (Kirkaldy.) Lepidium latifolium (Wemyss castle.) Camelina sativa, Imperatoria Ostruthium (Camilla ruins.) Saxifraga umbrosa, Viola odorata (Auchtertool linn.) Hesperis matronalis, Anemone nemorosa (Bogie.) Geranium pyrenaicum and columbinum (Dunnikier.) Lavatera arborea (Inverkeithing.) Ononis ramosissima (Aberdour.) Oxytropis uralensis, Arabis hispida (Kilconquhar.) Ervum tetraspermum, Onopordum Acanthium (Wemyss.) Astragalus glycyphyllos (Queensferry.) Centaurea Scabiosa (Largo.) Melilotus officinalis and leucantha, Cichorium Intybus (Lochgelly.) Tragopogon pratensis (Auchterderran.) Artemisia Absinthium, Aster Tripolium, Pyrethrum Parthenium, Matricaria Chamomilla (Carnbee.) Poterium Sanguisorba (Dunfermline.) Senecio viscosus (Leven.) Epipactis palustris (Anstruther.) Euphorbia paralia and portlandica.

V. Plants which grow on the rocks and sandy beaches around the shores of the county, viz:—Salvia Verbenaca (Dysart, very rare.) Scirpus pauciflorus and maritimus, Agrostis canina and vulgaris, Arundo Phragmites, Poa decumbens, Festuca duriuscula, Avena pubescens, Hordeum maritimum, Triticum loliaceum, Galium verum, Sagina maritima, Salsola Kali, Apium Petroselinum (Crail.) Chenopodium maritimum, Lithospermum maritimum (St Andrews.) Glaux maritima, Beta maritima (Kirkaldy.) Eryngium maritimum (Largo.) Rumex maritimus, Juncus glaucus, Statice Armeria (Crail.) Alisma Plantago, Arenaria maritima (Burntisland.) Sedum dasyphyllum (Fifeness.) Cakile maritima (Pettycur.) Cochlearia anglica, Brassica oleracea (Inch-Keith.) Artemisia maritima, Senecio aquaticus, Carex arenaria and extensa, Atriplex littoralis (Dysart.) Among the Algæ or marine plants the following may be noticed as common along the rocky shores—Ulva fistulosa, Chordaria viridis and rotunda, Laminaria esculenta and ligulata, Delesseria sinuosa, alata and laciniata, Sphærococcus plicatus. Halymenia palmata: this is the Dulse which is so frequently brought to the market for sale, and which is an extremely wholesome as well as beautiful plant.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS.

I. Anciently the county was of much greater extent than it now is. Under the names of Fife and Forthric, or Forthrif, the whole tract of land lying between the rivers and firths of Forth and Tay, appears to have been comprehended; including besides what now constitutes the county, Monteith, the lordship of Strathearn, Clackmannanshire, the shire of Kinross, and that portion of Perthshire which borders on the Forth. From the great extent and value of this district, and from its forming so important a portion of the Pictish dominions, it unquestionably received, at an early period, its popular appellation of "the Kingdom of Fife;" a name still fondly cherished by its sons, especially those to whom distance renders still more dear the place of their nativity. At different periods the extent of "the ancient kingdom" was diminished; and so early as 1426, the district of Kinross was formed into a distinct county. In the time of Buchanan, who wrote towards the end of the following century, the county seems to have been reduced nearly to its present dimensions. "The rest of the country," says he, speaking of this district, "the ambition of man has divided into several stewartries, as the stewartry of Clackmannan, of Culross, and of Kinross." A farther dismemberment, however, took place in 1685, when the parishes of Portmoak, Cleish, and Tullibole, were disjoined from Fife, and, with some lands separated from Perthshire, incorporated with the shire of Kinross.

The origin of the name of Fife, or its derivation, has never been satisfactorily given. Sibbald* says, "The Monks write, that it was called Fife from Fifus Duffus, a nobleman, who did eminent service in war;" but he obviously puts no faith in this monkish tradition. The existence of Fifus Duffus is as apocryphal as the tradition of his bestowing his name on his lands. The late Rev. Dr Adamson, the learned editor of the last edition of Sibbald's History of Fife, seems to think it likely that the name was given to the district "from one of its most striking natural productions. Fifa, in the Scandinavian dialects," he says, "is the cotton grass, *lanugo palustris*, a plant that must have been very common in a country full of lakes and marshes, and which still abounds in the remaining undrained spots."† It is very doubtful, however, if, at the time the name of Fife originated, the cotton grass was so plentiful a production as it afterwards became. The destruction of the ancient forests with which the district was covered, originated, in a great measure, those mosses and marshes in which this grass is found; but, whatever may be in this, it is certain that the name existed long before any dia-

* History of Fife, p. 11. † Ibid Note p. 12.

lect of Scandinavian, or rather of Teutonic origin, prevailed in the country. The name is unquestionably of Celtic origin, and its source is only to be sought for in some of the dialects of that ancient tongue.

In hazarding a conjecture on this doubtful, and certainly rather unimportant matter, the writer is perfectly well aware that he lays himself open to the sneer of the sceptic in etymology; but, nevertheless, he cannot refrain from giving his opinion on the subject. Chalmers,* in discussing the question as to the Gothic or Celtic origin of the Pictish people, in which he so clearly demonstrates that they were Celts, says, that this people, who were the descendants of the ancient Caledonians, received their distinctive appellation from their relative position beyond the wall, to the more civilized Britons of the Roman province. They dwelt without the Roman wall, and roamed at large, free from the bondage, as they were deprived of the advantages which arose from communication with those masters of the civilized world. From these circumstances they were called Peithi, which was naturally latinized into Picti, by the peculiarity of Roman pronunciation. Peithi, in the ancient British speech, signifies *those that are out*, or *exposed;* the *people of the open country;* the *people of the waste*, or *desert;* also those who scout, who lay waste.† Those who are aware that the *P* in the ancient Celtic, changed in the oblique cases into *Ph* with the sound of *F*, will not doubt that greater changes in orthography have taken place than the softening of Peithi into Fife; and that the name of the kingdom of Fife is nothing more than a softening of the name of the ancient kingdom of the Peithi, or of the Picts. The word Forthric, or Forthrife, is of more obvious derivation. Forthric means the district on the Forth; and it is certain that the portion of the ancient county named Forthric was that which lay along the northern shore of that noble estuary.‡

Sir Robert Sibbald says, that "in the ancient language of the Picts," the county was called Ross, "which signifieth a peninsula;"§ but the only evidence he gives of this is what he calls "the vestiges" of it which he says "remaineth yet to this day in the name Kinross, in the old language Kean-Ross, the head of the peninsula, and the mountainous part; and Culross, the back or lowest part of it; and Muck-Ross, in the east part where the snout of it is now called Fifeness." There is not, however, any direct evidence, nor is there the smallest probability that the county ever was named Ross. The names Kinross, Culross, and Muckross, in all likelihood arose from local circumstances peculiar to each, without any reference to the form or name of the county generally; and Muckross, which means the swine's point, evidently refers to the *cursus apri*, or boar's chace, part of the gift of Ungus II. to the priests of St Andrews, and which stretched from Fifeness to the neighbourhood of that city. It is rather curious here to observe how far adherence to an erroneous theory will blind the most learned men to

* Caledonia, Vol. I. p. 203. † Owen's Dictionary.

‡ Forth is the Pictish Porth, a haven or harbour, the *P*, as in Fife, being softened into *Ph* or F.

§ History of Fife, p. 3.

the admission of the most obvious and apparent facts. Sir Robert Sibbald believed in the Scandinavian or Gothic origin of the Picts, and yet he says, that in the ancient language of that people the county was called Ross, and refers to the other names already quoted as also belonging to that language. These names are all Celtic, and clearly demonstrate the origin of the Pictish people to have been Celtic.

II. The civil and military government of the county is, as in the other Scottish counties, vested in the lord-lieutenant as the representative of the Sovereign, and his court of deputy-lieutenants. The following is a list of the lords-lieutenants of the county since the passing of the Militia Act in 1802:—

The Right Honourable the Earl of Crawford.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Morton.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Kellie.
The Right Honourable the Earl of Rosslyn.
Robert Ferguson, Esq. of Raith, M.P.

The court of lieutenancy meet annually at Cupar, in the month of July, and the commissioners of supply in the month of April. For the more easy despatch of county business, and the regulation of the police, the county has been conventionally divided into four districts—those of Cupar, St Andrews, Kirkaldy, and Dunfermline; and the transactions of these local meetings are reported to the general meetings held at Cupar.

After the passing of the Militia Act in 1802, the county of Fife furnished a regiment of militia, consisting of 484 men. The regiment was embodied in the following year. Since the peace, although the men have been regularly ballotted for, the regiment has not been called out, and the staff alone is kept up. The regiment was commanded successively by the lords-lieutenants until the Earl of Rosslyn resigned the colonelcy, and appointed J. J. Hope, Esq. He was succeeded by James Lindsay, Esq. of Balcarras, who is at present colonel of the regiment.

At the commencement of this war in 1803, the county also furnished five regiments of volunteer infantry, viz:—1st, the Cupar regiment; 2d, the St Andrews regiment; 3rd, the Eastern district regiment; 4th, the Kirkaldy regiment; and 5th, the Dunfermline regiment; besides a corps of artillery at North Queensferry, and a regiment of horse, the Royal Fifeshire Yeomanry, which had existed previously. In 1808, when the local militia act was passed, the whole of these volunteer corps, with the exception of the yeomanry cavalry, transferred their services to that force; and were among the first, if not the very first, to do so. They were formed into three regiments of local militia. The 1st, or Cupar regiment, consisting of 800 men; the 2nd, or St Andrews and Eastern district regiments united, of 720; the 3rd, or Kirkaldy and Dunfermline regiments united, of 1000; and the Queensferry artillery, of 104 men. The yeomanry cavalry consisted of 280 men, forming altogether a local defence of 2904 men. These were all disbanded at the last peace, with the exception of the yeomanry,

which were afterwards disbanded. The yeomanry cavalry having been again embodied, the county still furnishes a body of them, consisting of six troops raised in its different districts—one at Dunfermline, one at Kirkaldy, one at Cupar, one for Stratheden, one for St Andrews, and one for Colinsburgh. These met yearly at Cupar for eight days' training. The late general Balfour of Balbirnie for some time commanded them. They are now under the command of the earl of Rothes.

During the war which preceded the short peace of 1802, the county, in conjunction with the counties of Stirling, Clackmannan, and Kinross, furnished a regiment of militia, which was embodied in 1798, under the command of his grace the duke of Montrose. And besides these exertions for the internal defence of Great Britain, Fife has always furnished a fair share of men for the support of the regular army.

It appears, however, that in the seventeenth century Fife was ordered to furnish a greater number of men than it was in 1802, and much greater than was ordered to be furnished by counties which stood higher in population at the latter period. By Act of Parliament XI., Sess. 2, of the 3d Parliament of Charles I., 27th February, 1645, which appointed every shire and burgh in Scotland to maintain a certain number of men, at a fixed monthly rate amounting to six shillings Scots (sixpence sterling) per day, Fife was ordained to furnish 738 men—a higher number than any county in Scotland, excepting Perthshire. Besides this county force, the burghs were ordered to furnish 1039, making altogether 1777 men furnished by the county.* Lanarkshire at that time only furnished 598, and the city of Glasgow 100. In 1802, when Fife was appointed to furnish 484 men, Lanarkshire furnished 751.

In the month of February, 1651, we are told by Lamond, in his Diary, that two regiments of horse were levied in the shire of Fife, one of them commanded by the earl of Rothes, the other by the earl of Balcarras; also two regiments of foot, one under command of the earl of Crawford, and the other under the earl of Kelly. This, says Lamont, was the fourth levy of troops which had been made in Scotland within a year, in all of which Fife had borne its share. These troops formed part of the army which accompanied Charles II. into England after his coronation at Scone, and which was defeated at Worcester in September following.

III. The sheriff-depute is judge ordinary of the county, and has two substitutes; one of whom holds courts at Cupar, the county town, and the other at Dunfermline. Formerly there was only one sheriff-substitute, and the courts were held at Cupar for the whole county; but the great distance of Dunfermline, and its importance as a manufacturing town, led to the division of the county into two districts, the eastern and

* As showing the comparative state of the Fife burghs with the present time, we give the number of men each was ordered to furnish:—Anstruther, easter, 31; Anstruther, wester, 6; Bruntisland, 16; Crail, 24; Cupar, 24; Dunfermline, 12; Dysart, 30; Inverkeithing, 10; Kilrenny, 3; Kinghorn, 14; Kirkaldy, 46; Pittenweem, 15; St Andrews, 60.

western, and the appointment of a substitute for each. Sir Robert Sibbald has preserved a list of the early sheriffs of the county, which we have inserted, with the addition of one, all we have been able to add to it.

King William, David de Wemys.
King Alexander II. an. 15 of his reign, Ingelramus de Balfour.
An. 1239, David de Wemys. William, earl of Ross, justiciary north of the Forth, granted a precept to David Weyms, commanding him to pay the eighth part of the amerciaments imposed on the justice air of Cupar, to the abbot and convent of Dunfermline (Chart. Dunf.)
An. 1289, Hugo de Lochor.
An. 1292, Constantinus de Lochor.
King John Baliol, Johannes de Valloniis (Vallange.)
An. 1304, Constantinus de Lochor.
King Robert I. David de Barclay.
An. 1314, Michael de Balfour.
King David II., of his reign an. 15, Johannes de Balfour.
About an. 1360, David de Wemys. He witnessed a charter, 1351, to the monastery of Inchcolm, in which he is styled vicecomes de Fife.
An. 1396, Dominus Georgius Lesly de Lesly, super Leven.
An. 1424 and 1439, John Lumisdean of Glengirnock.
An. 1449, Robert Levingston of Drumry.
An. 1464 and 1465, Alexander Kennedy,
An. 1504, Andrew Lundin of Balgony.

Up to this period, we are told by Sir Robert Sibbald, that the sheriff held his court on the Moot Hill at Cupar, and that its place of meeting was now changed for the tolbooth of the county town.

About 1514, the laird of Balgony is appointed sheriff for five years.

An. 1517, Patrick Lord Lindsay of the Byres, and John Master of Lindsay of Pitcruvie, are joint sheriffs. An inquisition of the value of the county was taken before them, which, as well as another valuation called the new extent, will be given as an Appendix.

30 May, 1524, the same Patrick Lord Lindsay gets the sheriffship heritably, and is sheriff an. 1530. He appointed for his depute, William Meldrum, Esquire of Cleish and Binns, whose memory has been preserved in the poetry of his friend, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Sir David had no doubt often met with Meldrum at Struthers, the residence of the Lord Lindsay; and probably for the amusement of his lordship, wrote after the death of the sheriff-substitute, "The historie of ane nobil and valzeand squyer, William Meldrum, umquhyle laird of Cleische and Binnis."

James IV. granted a charter of the office of sheriff of the county, to George, earl of Rothes, in free farm, for payment of a penny silver. This charter was dated at Haddington, 1st June, 1489.* From that period, the office of sheriff remained with the noble family of Rothes till the act of Parliament in 1747, abolishing heritable jurisdic-

* Carta per Jac. IV. regem, Georgio comiti de Rothes, de officio vice-comitatis de Fyf, &c. in albam firmam, pro solutione unius denarii argenti, &c.—*Sibbald, p.* 239.

tions, and vesting the office of sheriff in the crown. On that occasion, the earl of Rothes claimed and obtained £6268, 16s. as the value of the office of which he had been deprived. Since this change in the office took place, the following gentlemen have filled the office of sheriff-depute:—

1748, The Hon. James Leslie of Milndeans.
1761, James Dalgleish, Esq. of Scotscraig.
1780, Claud Irvine Boswell, Esq. of Balmuto. *
1799, Neil Fergusson, Esq. of Piteullo,
1803, David Monypenny, Esq. of Pitmilly. †
1811, John Anstruther, Esq. of Ardit.
1819, Andrew Clephane, Esq. of Little Balgonie.

The jurisdiction of the sheriff, though not so great as it at one time was, is still very extensive, both in civil and criminal matters. He is competent to judge in all questions arising from contracts or other personal obligations to the highest amount; and, indeed, in most other actions, excepting those involving right of property in heritable subjects. His criminal jurisdiction extends to certain capital crimes, as theft, and even murder, though it be one of the pleas of the crown. In the higher crimes his authority is never now exerted, except in the preparation of cases for trial before the Court of Justiciary. He is also competent to most questions of public police, and has a cumulative jurisdiction with the justices of the peace, in all riots and breaches of the peace, and with magistrates of burghs, within burgh. The ordinary sheriff courts are held at Cupar and Dunfermline once a-week during session, and at stated intervals during vacation. By a late Act of Parliament, the sheriffs in Scotland were authorised to judge summarily in small debts not exceeding £100 Scots (£8, 6s. 8d. sterling) for which purpose courts are held on the first and third Tuesday of each month during session, and the first Tuesday of each month during vacation; and by a still more recent Act, the Sheriff is authorised to hold circuits through the county for the decision of such small debts, for which purpose courts are held on certain fixed days at St Andrews, Kirkaldy, Colinsburgh, Auchtermuchty, and Newburgh.

The justices of the peace hold courts of petty sessions at stated intervals, or when business requires it; and quarter-sessions where appeals are heard from the petty session four times in the year, in the months of March, May, August, and October. They also hold courts under the Small Debt Act, for the recovery of sums under £5 sterling; and for public convenience, the county is divided into districts, courts being held at Cupar, Auchtermuchty, St Andrews, Anstruther and Colinsburgh, Kirkaldy, and Dunfermline.

The commissary of the commissariot of Fife also holds his courts at Cupar; but the jurisdiction of this officer is now exceedingly reduced from what it once was. His powers now extend only to decerning executors to those who die intestate, to the

* Afterwards a judge in the Court of Session, under the title of Lord Balmuto.
† Afterwards a judge in the Court of Session, under the title of Lord Pitmilly.

receiving and recording the stamped inventories of the personal and moveable estates of persons deceasing, and to the confirming of testaments. The commissary courts in Scotland originated in the powers of the Catholic episcopacy: the bishop's official sitting as a civil judge in different districts of his diocese. At the abolition of episcopacy in 1560, ratified by act 1567, c. 2, the course of justice in consistorial matters was for a time suspended. To obviate this, Queen Mary appointed commissaries for the various districts of the country, and established a new commissary court at Edinburgh, consisting of four judges, with powers to review the decisions of the inferior commissaries. St Andrews was the seat of one of these inferior commissaries. His territory extended over several shires, and his jurisdiction, besides those matters still judged in by the commissary of Fife, included actions of scandal and defamation, of aliment to wives and natural children, of adherence between husband and wife, and of small debts under £3, 6s. 8d. sterling. The court was also competent to record for preservation or execution, bonds, bills, deeds of settlement, and all contracts and deeds containing a clause of registration to that effect. By an Act of Parliament passed some few years ago, the inferior commissary courts were abolished, and the greater portion of the jurisdiction transferred to the judge ordinary. By the same act, each shire was erected into a separate commissariot, and the jurisdiction which it at present possesses conferred upon the new court. The sheriffs in each county were appointed commissaries of the commissariot.

The county contains eighteen royal burghs, the magistrates of which possess, within the bounds of their several royalties, a civil jurisdiction much the same as that of the judge ordinary of the shire. Their criminal jurisdiction, however, is more limited, extending only to petty thefts, assaults, or riots within burgh. The magistrates, with the town council, have also the administration of the property, and the direction of the general affairs of the burgh. There are, besides, several burghs of barony, the bailies of which possess a very limited civil jurisdiction, and have the power of punishing assaults, batteries, and such like crimes committed within the barony.

From the short account now given of the various courts of law in Fife, it will be seen that law is literally brought to each man's door, and that there is every facility afforded to the lieges for the redress of grievances of every description: but, numerous as the courts of law are, and from the unexampled number of royal burghs in the county, there are more courts than in any other county in Scotland, courts were still more numerous previous to the abolition of heritable jurisdictions. Among the more important of these courts, were that of the steward of the stewardry of Fife, held heritably by the duke of Athole, and in compensation for which he claimed and obtained the sum of £1200 sterling at its abolition; that of the bailie of the regality of Dunfermline, for which the marquis of Tweedale received £2672, 7s. sterling; that of the bailie of the regality of St Andrews, for which the earl of Crawford received £3000 sterling;* that of the regality of Aberdour, for which the earl of Morton received

* For the office of bailie of that portion of the regality of St Andrews which was on the south side of the Forth, the earl of Hopeton obtained £1400 sterling.

£93, 2s. sterling; that of the regality of Pittenweem, for which Sir John Anstruther of Anstruther obtained £202, 15s. 3d. sterling; that of the regality of Lindores, for which Antonia Barclay of Collerny, and Mr Harry Barclay, her husband, obtained £215 sterling;* and the regality of Balmerinoch, which is not valued, as it was forfeited to the crown by the accession of Lord Balmerinoch to the rebellion in 1745. It is obvious, therefore, that in ancient times the inhabitants of Fife were well provided with courts of law, whatever they may have been with regard to the administration of justice.

IV. The county is represented in Parliament by one member. Previous to the Reform Bill he was elected by the freeholders, or those holding lands of the Crown of a certain valuation. The number of these on the roll at any time seldom much exceeded two hundred. By the Reform Bill the number of electors for the knight of the shire has been immensely increased, the present constituency being 2855. For convenience at elections, the county has been divided into different districts, and the polling places for these districts are Cupar, St Andrews, Crail, Auchtermuchty, Kirkaldy, and Dunfermline. Before the Union, in 1707, this county sent four members to the Scottish Parliament.†

Two complete sets of royal burghs also send a member for each to Parliament. By the Reform Bill, Cupar, St Andrews, easter and wester Anstruther, Pittenweem, Kilrenny, and Crail, elect one member; Kirkaldy, Dysart, Kinghorn, and Bruntisland, elect another; and Dunfermline and Inverkeithing are conjoined with the Stirling district of burghs in the election of a third. The total constituency of these burghs, independent of that for the county, is 1940. The county therefore has its fair share in the representation of Scotland in the British Parliament.

Before the Union, however, Fife had a much larger share in the appointment of the members of the Scottish Parliament. The thirteen royal burghs above-named, which are now represented by three members, then sent each a separate commissioner to Parliament; so that, including the four knights of the shire, Fife was represented by seventeen members.‡ No other county of Scotland was represented to the same extent. Forfarshire, which had the largest share after Fife, sent nine members to Parliament; Dumfries-shire, eight; Lanarkshire, seven; Ayrshire, six; Edinburghshire, six; the

* For a portion of this once extensive regality, situated north of the Tay, Sir Arthur Forbes, of Craigrevar, obtained £400 sterling.

† The members for the county, who sat in the Scottish Parliament of 1703, were Sir William Anstruther of Anstruther, David Bethune of Balfour, Major Balfour of Dunbog, and Robert Douglas, Esq. of Strathendry.

‡ The following are the names of the gentlemen who sat in the same Parliament for the Fife burghs:—Cupar, Bruce of Bunzion; St Andrews, John Watson of Aithernie; Dunfermline, Sir James Halket of Pitferran; Inverkeithing, James Spittle of Leuchat; Burntisland, Sir John Erskine of Alva; Kinghorn, James Melville of Hallhill; Dysart, David Christie; Pittenweem, George Smith of Gibleston; Anstruther, wester, Sir Robert Anstruther; Anstruther, easter, Sir John Anstruther; Kilrenny, Mr James Bethune of Balfour; Crail, George Monerief of Sauchop; from what reason does not appear, but the name of the member for Kirkaldy is left blank.

county of Caithness only two; and the large county of Sutherland only three members. Besides the royal burghs which returned commissioners, Fife had five other royal burghs, Falkland, Auchtermuchty, Newburgh, Earlsferry, and St Monance, which never exercised their privilege; and it has not been restored to any of them by the Reform Bill. Besides the large share which Fife possessed in the appointment of the commons portion of the great council of the Scottish nation, no other county was represented to the same extent by the hereditary portion of that body. In the Scottish Parliament, before the Union, twenty-four noblemen, more or less connected with the county, were entitled to take their seat.

V. The county contains sixty-one parishes, distributed as follows into four presbyteries, and which together form the provincial synod of Fife:—

Cupar Presbytery.
Cupar
Kettle
Balmerino
Dunbog
5 Logie
Newburgh
Abdie
Strathmiglo
Moonzie
10 Ceres
Cult
Kilmany
Flisk
Criech
15 Monimail
Collessie
Auchtermuchty
Dairsie
Falkland

St Andrews Presbytery.
20 St Andrews
St Leonards
Leuchars
Cameron
Ferry Port-on-Craig
25 Forgan or St Fillans
Abercromby or St Monance
Anstruther, Easter
Anstruther, Wester
Pittenweem
30 Kilrenny
Elie
Crail
Kingsbarns
Kemback
35 Denino
Kilconquhar
Carnbee
Largo
Newburn

Kirkaldy Presbytery.
40 Kirkaldy
Bruntisland
Kennoway
Markinch
Sconie or Leven
45 Leslie
Kinglassie
Dysart
Kinghorn
Auchtertool
50 Auchterderran
Abbotshall
Wemyss
Ballingray

Dunfermline Presbytery.
Dunfermline
55 Saline
Dalgetty
Beath
Carnock
Torryburn
Aberdour
61 Inverkeithing

Besides these sixty-one parishes, a portion of the parish of Abernethy, and part of the parish of Arngask, are in the shire of Fife, though in the presbytery of Perth. The presbytery of Kirkaldy includes, besides the parishes in Fife, the parish of Portmoak, which is in Kinross-shire. The presbytery of Dunfermline includes three parishes in Kinross-shire—Cleish, Orwell, and Kinross, and the parish of Culross, which is in Perthshire. The several presbyteries meet regularly at their respective seats of Cupar, St Andrews, Kirkaldy, and Dunfermline; and the synod meets alternately at Cupar and Kirkaldy, and occasionally at St Andrews and Dunfermline.

Sibbald has preserved the following list of the parishes in Fife, as they were previous to the Reformation. The list would appear to have been drawn up in the reign of William the Lion.

Anno undecimo Regis Willielmi.

In the Deanry of Fothrife.
Ecclesia de Clackmannan*
De Muckard*
Karnock
Torry
Dunfermling
Innerkeithing
Kinghorn
Kircaldie
Dysart
Weems
Methkil
Cleish*
Kinross*
Portmoke*
Auchterdiran cum capella
Kinglassie
Markinch
Wester Kingorn or Bruntisland
Auchtermuchty
Arngosk†
Forther
Quilt
Lathrisk cum capella

In the Deanry of Fife.
Ecclesia de Carale
Killrimy
Anstruther
Abercrumby
Kelly
Kilconquhar cum capella
Newburn
Largo
Scoony
Kennoway
Siras
Tarvet
Kembak
Dinnino
St Andrews

Arch-Deanry of St Andrews.
Leuchars cum capella
Forgund
Logy-Murdo
Kilmany
Flisk cum capella
Lundoris
Cullessie
Monymeal
Creich cum capella
Dunbog
Cupar
Moonsy
Darsy

Of these fifty-one parishes, three are not within the modern bounds of the county. It appears, therefore, that the county, which is now divided into sixty-one parishes, was only divided into forty-eight during Catholic times. It will afterwards be seen, from our parochial accounts, that, besides the extended opportunity for religious instruction afforded by government and the landed proprietors in thus erecting new parishes, in all the larger or more populous parishes new chapels have been built, and that some of these have been erected into separate parishes, *quo ad sacra*.

VI. As Fife is remarkable for the number of its royal burghs, its burghs of barony, and its populous villages, so is it also for the number of its landed proprietors. This seems to have attracted the notice of Pennant, the tourist, who is quite enthusiastic in his description of the county. "Permit me," says he, "to take a review of the peninsula of Fife, a county so populous, that, excepting the environs of London, scarcely one in South Britain can vie with it: fertile in soil, abundant in cattle, happy in collieries, in ironstone, in lime and freestone; blest in manufactures; the property remarkably well divided; none exceedingly powerful to distress, and often depopulate a county; most of the for-

* Not now within the county. † Only a small portion of this parish now in county.

tunes of a useful mediocrity. The number of towns is, perhaps, unparalleled in an equal tract of coast; for the whole shore, from Crail to Culross, about forty English miles, is one continued chain of towns and villages."* Such is the account given of Fife by a celebrated English tourist sixty-six years ago; and so far as regards the number of the landed proprietors, the division of the property, and the number of the towns and villages, it is still applicable. But if Pennant so much admired the agriculture and the manufactures of that period, how much more would his admiration be increased could he perceive the state of improvement to which they have now attained?

The lands are held by the proprietors under different tenures. The larger properties are held blanch of the crown, as are many of the smaller properties, though they often are held of a subject superior. The smallest class of proprietors generally hold their properties from a subject superior for payment of a yearly feu duty, and are in consequence styled feuars. Within the royal burghs property is held, as elsewhere in Scotland, by burgage tenure. The valued rent of the county is £363,464, 13s. 4d. Scots,* proportioned among the different districts in the following manner:—

Cupar, . . .	£ 93,535, 13s. 4d. Scots.
St Andrews, . . .	126,013, 10s.
Kirkaldy, . . .	87,664, 16s. 8d.
Dunfermline, . . .	56,250, 13s. 4d.

The annual value of real property in the county in 1815, according to the last return for the property tax, was £405,770 sterling. Taking this at twenty years' purchase as the average for the whole, the value of the heritable property in the county at that time would be, according to this return, £8,115,400.

VII. The population of Fife appears to be upon the increase, though not so rapid as in some other parts of Scotland. In 1801 the total population was 93,743; in 1811 it was 101,272; in 1821, 114,550; and in 1831, 128,800. The rate of increase during these periods was 8 per cent. for the first, 13 per cent. for the second, and 12 per cent. for the third. If we take a medium between the first and last of these rates, say 10 per cent. as the increase since 1831, we may consider the population at present as amounting to 141,680; but this is probably too much for the general average throughout the county, as although it may have been much greater in some places, in other parishes the population may be considered as almost stationary.

The following summary of the returns to the government census, in 1831, may be interesting to the statist, as well as to the general reader:—

* Tour in Scotland, 1772, Part II. p. 212. † £30,282, 1s. 1½d., sterling.

CUPAR DISTRICT.

Males 20 years of age, 7321; Total Males, 14,289; Females, 15,903; Total Persons, 30,192.

Families chiefly employed in agriculture, 1511; in trade, manufactures, &c. 3562; all others, 1799; Total Families, 6872.

Persons occupying land employing Labourers, 238; occupying land not employing Labourers, 235; Labourers employed in agriculture, 1420.

Persons employed in manufactures or in making manufacturing machinery, 2313, in retail trade, or in handicraft as Master or Workman, 1823.

Capitalists, Bankers, Professional and other Educated Men, 265.

Labourers employed in labour not agricultural, 579.

Other Males 20 years of age, excepting Servants, 308.

Male Servants 20 years of age, 90; under 20 years of age, 14; Female Servants, 1005.

Houses inhabited, 5387; uninhabited, 138; building, 45.

ST ANDREWS DISTRICT.

Males 20 years of age, 6418; Total Males, 13,172; Females, 15,709; Total Persons, 28,881.

Families chiefly employed in agriculture, 1460; in trade, manufactures, &c. 2128; all other Familis; not comprised in preceding classes, 3167; Total Families, 6755.

Persons occupying land, employing Labourers, 289; Occupiers not employing Labourers, 196; Labourers employed in agriculture, 1329.

Persons employed in manufactures, or in making manufacturing machinery, 600.

Persons employed in retail trade, or in handicraft, as Master or Workman, 1776.

Capitalists, Bankers, Professional and other Educated Men, 310.

Labourers employed in labour not agricultural, 1381.

Other Males 20 years of age, excepting Servants, 469.

Male Servants 20 years of age, 68; under 20 years, 21; Female Servants, 1089.

Houses inhabited, 5196; uninhabited, 131; building, 44.

DUNFERMLINE DISTRICT.

Males 20 years of age, 6479; total, Males, 13,681; Females, 14,325; total, Persons, 28,006.

Families chiefly employed in agriculture, 563; in trade, manufactures, &c., 3051; all other Families, 2299. Total Families, 5913.

Persons occupying land employing Labourers, 186; Occupiers not employing Labourers, 50; Labourers employed in agriculture, 585.

Persons employed in manufactures, or in making manufacturing machinery, 2270.

Persons employed in retail trade, or in handicraft, as Master or Workman, 1435.

Capitalists, Bankers, Professional or other Educated Men, 336.

Labourers employed in labour not agricultural, 1210.

Other Males 20 years of age, except Servants, 369.

Male Servants 20 years of age, 38; under 20 years, 39; Female Servants, 770.

Houses inhabited, 4175; uninhabited, 161; building, 34.

KIRKALDY DISTRICT.

Males 20 years of age, 9549; Total Males, 19,639; Females, 22,121; Total Persons, 41,760.

Families chiefly employed in agriculture, 1098; Families chiefly employed in trade, manufactures and handicraft, 5166; All other Families, 3060; Total Families, 9324.

Persons occupying land employing Labourers, 275; Occupiers not employing Labourers, 132; Labourers employed in agriculture, 1100.

Persons employed in manufactures or in making manufacturing machinery, 2546.

Persons employed in retail trade, or in handicraft, as Master or Workman, 2654.

Capitalists, Bankers, Professional and other educated Men, 450.

Labourers employed in labour not agricultural, 1805.

Other Males 20 years of age, excepting servants, 508.

Male Servants 20 years of age, 79; under 20 years, 16; Female Servants, 1182.

Houses inhabited, 5954; uninhabited, 269; building, 34.

VIII. The progress of agriculture in Fife has been very great since the end of the eighteenth century. About four-fifths of the county is considered as arable land; and it is at present under the management of intelligent, active, and judicious agriculturists. Indeed, the agriculture of the county is behind no other, and far in advance of that of many of the counties of Scotland. Previous to 1790, the farmers generally lived in low smoky houses, badly lighted, and having no other divisions but those made by the large wooden bedsteads, which formed what was called a but and a ben. The offices were then also, as was to be expected, mean and deficient in the extreme. The farmers of that period wanted, in many instances, the capital, as they were deficient in the intelligence and energy to engage in and effect profitable improvements. All this, however, is now happily altered. The agriculturists of the present day are, with little exception, all capitalists; and, from their more enlarged education and higher intelligence, are enabled to adopt every improvement in the management of their land, and to take advantage of every new market which the general improvement of modern times has opened up to them. The farm houses are now all of a superior description, and the farm offices are, many of them, models for convenience. Drainage has been conducted in Fife on a very extensive scale, and the appearance of the county has, in consequence, been greatly improved, while its productions have been increased and benefited in quality. Several pretty extensive lochs and marshes, which were formerly profitless to the proprietor, have been completely drained, and the ground they occupied put under tillage. Furrow draining, where thought necessary, has been adopted, and is in many instances still extending with great advantage. The old breed of horses, which was small and unsightly, and ill fitted for either draught or saddle, has almost entirely disappeared; and the breed of horses now used for agricultural purposes will vie, either in power or appearance, with those used in any county in Scotland.

The Fife breed of cattle has long been celebrated both for feeding and for the dairy.

But it is to be regretted, that injudicious crossing has, in many instances, injured instead of improving this excellent breed of cattle. The evil, however, has been ascertained, and exertions are making to encourage the cultivation of the pure native breed. The increased cultivation of turnips has greatly increased the feeding of sheep, which are generally allowed to eat off the crop, to the advantage of the land, and the profit of the agriculturist. Wheat and barley are extensively cultivated, as also oats. Pease, beans, and potatoes are also extensively grown. One great advantage possessed by the Fife agriculturists over those of the more inland counties, is, that there is not a farm in the county ten miles distant from a seaport. They have therefore the important benefit of water carriage, and are enabled, with ease, to send their produce to Edinburgh, Glasgow, or London. The introduction of steam navigation has also been a great improvement, as it has greatly facilitated and rendered more certain their communication with the London market.

The size of the farms is very various, and ranges from 50 to 500 acres. The lands, with the exception of grass parks within gentlemen's enclosures, are all let on lease, usually for nineteen years. The rents, where paid in money, are various, rising from one pound to five pounds, and in some few localities higher; but in many instances now, a grain rent is paid, regulated by the fiar prices of the county, which are fixed yearly by the Sheriff. It is to be regretted that thorn hedges are not so prevalent for inclosure, as in some other counties, stone walls being more extensively used, and being preferred for this purpose, though neither possessing the beauty nor affording the warmth of the other. Farm-yard dung is an important manure; and a straw yard is considered as a most valuable appendage to a farm-yard. But bone dust is coming into general use, and mills for grinding the bones have been erected in different parts of the county. Lime is judiciously used, and is found in various localities throughout the county. Several of the thrashing mills on the larger farms are driven by steam, and many of them by water power; but of these, as of agriculture generally, a more particular account will be found in the local descriptions.

Swine are fed to a considerable extent, not only by the farmers, but by the villagers, and of late years they are purchased by dealers or agents, slaughtered, and sent by steam to the London market. Rabbits are in many places protected, and their skins yield a considerable revenue. The quantity of pigeons is quite unexampled elsewhere. It has been calculated that the county of Fife contains nearly three hundred dove-cotes. This may be accounted for by the great number of proprietors in the county who have each erected a dove-cote near his mansion.

The principal manufacture in Fife has long been that of linen, which, from small beginnings, has gradually increased to its present great importance. Many mills have been erected, and these are still increasing, for the spinning of tow and flax into different qualities of yarn. The cloths woven are of various kinds: sail-cloth, bed-ticking, brown linen, dowlas, duck, checks, shirting, and table linen. The damask

manufacture of Dunfermline is probably unequalled in the world, for the beauty of its design, and the skill with which it is executed. The cotton manufacture has never been an object of the expenditure of capital in the county; but many workmen are employed in this manufacture for Glasgow houses. Iron founding and the making of machinery is carried on in different places. Salt is still manufactured in the county, though not to the extent it formerly was. The tanning of leather is also carried on in two or three localities. Bricks and tiles are made for local use; and earthenware and china manufactured to some extent. Coach building is likewise carried on. There are breweries in almost every village for the manufacture of beer, and at some of these strong ale of good quality is made. There are three pretty extensive distilleries, which afford the farmer a ready market for his barley. Ship-building also forms a part of the manufacture of the county.

IX. Before concluding this general summary of the county of Fife, we conceive it necessary to embody, in this work, the opinion of Mr Hill, the commissioner for inspecting prisons in Scotland, on the state of crime in the shire. "There is," he says, "but little crime at present in Fifeshire, and much less than formerly. The most common offences at this time are assaults, and other disturbances of the peace, and petty thefts. These offences are committed chiefly by young persons between the age of 12 and 30, most of whom are inhabitants of the county. It is observed, that there are but few regular farm servants among the offenders. The most serious offences are committed by vagrants and other strangers. Almost all the assaults arise from drunkenness; and this, including the desire to obtain the means of indulgence in drunkenness, is the cause of many of the thefts. Such of the parents of the criminals as are known, are most of them of bad character, or are at least neglectful of their children. In the western district it was stated, that many of the young thieves are orphans, and that, as a class, the criminals there are inferior to others in education and intelligence. Among the offences that have become less common than formerly, are housebreaking, forgery, and child-murder. On the other hand, there have been some violent disturbances at the elections lately, which did not occur formerly."

The law commissioners were so much struck with the paucity of crime in Fife-shire, that they applied to the sheriff for information on the subject, and this led to an application to the sheriff-substitute of the eastern division (Mr Jamieson), for an account of the preventive police, which had been organized under his direction. This police was established at the time of the cholera, and, in the first instance, extended to the Cupar district only. Its object was to rid the place of vagrants, in order to prevent the introduction of the cholera, and it worked so efficiently, that between 300 and 400 vagrants were either removed or prevented from entering in the course of one month. The inhabitants of the other parts of the county, desirous of partaking in the advantages of these arrangements, applied to Mr Jamieson for

his assistance, and, at their request, he organised a preventive police for the whole county, and this has continued in operation ever since. There are in all about 20 men, including the superintendent, and the total cost is rather more than £600 sterling a-year, which sum is paid from the county rates. Mr Jamieson considers the present force insufficient for the full development of the plan, but it has been calculated that even on its present footing, the police effects a saving to the county of as much as £10,000 sterling a-year, estimating the cost of each vagrant, in his alternate character of a beggar and a thief, at one shilling a-day only. In confirmation of the general belief that much of the crime is committed by vagrants, it may be stated that, with every diminution of the number of vagrants in Fifeshire, there has been a reduction in the amount of crime.

END OF VOL. I.

GLASGOW:—PRINTED BY GEORGE BROOKMAN

DATE DUE

	201-6503		Printed in USA