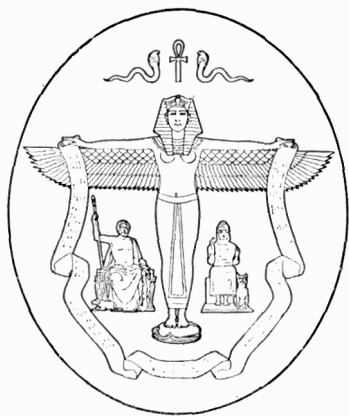




HISTORY  
— OF  
SCOTTISH MEDICINE  
TO 1860

BY  
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## P R E F A C E

THIS volume, dealing with the History of Medicine in Scotland up to 1860, is issued by the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum on the occasion of the inauguration of a Section for History of Medicine at the Meeting of the British Medical Association at Edinburgh in July, 1927.

Several of the Universities, Medical Corporations and large Hospitals have from time to time issued accounts of their individual histories ; but, up to the present, there has been no work dealing with Scottish medicine as a whole, although medicine in Scotland presents characteristic features. I have tried to show the influence which various educational and philanthropic institutions, as well as persons distinguished in Scottish medicine, have exerted upon one another, and on the development of medical knowledge.

Part of the material set down here has been already included in papers contributed to the *Edinburgh Medical Journal* and *British Medical Journal*, or read at the International Congresses of Medical History in London and Geneva.

It is hoped that the book may appeal to the increasing number of persons who, at the present day, take an interest in the history of the medical profession, and that it may also prove valuable to those who wish to make further research in this direction. It has been possible to offer only a limited amount of information in the compass of this small volume, but great care has been taken to give references to other works, which may be consulted by those desiring to pursue the subject.

There are various reasons for ending this section of medical history about the year 1860, which is beyond the memory of most people now alive. The Medical Act of 1858 was then coming into general operation, and had abolished apprenticeship and many of the privileges of the medical corporations ; the University of Aberdeen was formed from the two Colleges of that city

in 1860; and the other provisions of the Scottish Universities Act came into operation about the same time. Finally, the introduction of new surgical principles in relation to Pasteur's earlier discoveries followed a few years after Lister became Professor of Surgery at Glasgow in 1860.

I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to many persons who have helped in the preparation of the book. My gratitude for indicating sources of information is due to Mr. T. H. Graham, Librarian to the Royal College of Physicians at Edinburgh, who has also been good enough to read the proofs; and to Mr. F. C. Nicholson, Librarian of the University of Edinburgh. For reading the chapter dealing with the Aberdeen Medical School, I have to thank Mr. G. M. Fraser, Librarian of the Public Library at Aberdeen, and for reading the chapters on the Glasgow Medical School, Dr. John F. Fergus.

The Panel of the Altar-piece from Trinity Church, Edinburgh, is reproduced by gracious permission of His Majesty the King.

For kindness in providing other illustrations, I must especially thank Mr. T. C. F. Brothie, Superintendent of the Glasgow Art Galleries; Mr. Stanley Cursiter, Keeper of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery; Mr. A. J. H. Edwards, Assistant Keeper of the Scottish National Museum of Antiquities; Mr. Charles B. Boog Watson; the Rt. Hon. Lord Torphichen; Major C. H. Scott Plummer; Fleet-Surgeon W. E. Home, R.N.; Professor G. Lovell Gulland; Mr. D. M. Greig, F.R.C.S.; the Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow; the University of Edinburgh; H.M. Office of Works; the Secretary of St. Andrews University; the Treasurer of Dumfries and Galloway Royal Infirmary; the Town Clerk of the City of Edinburgh; the Librarian of the Scottish National Library; and Messrs. A. and C. Black.

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J. D. C.

25, Manor Place,  
Edinburgh.

*July, 1927.*

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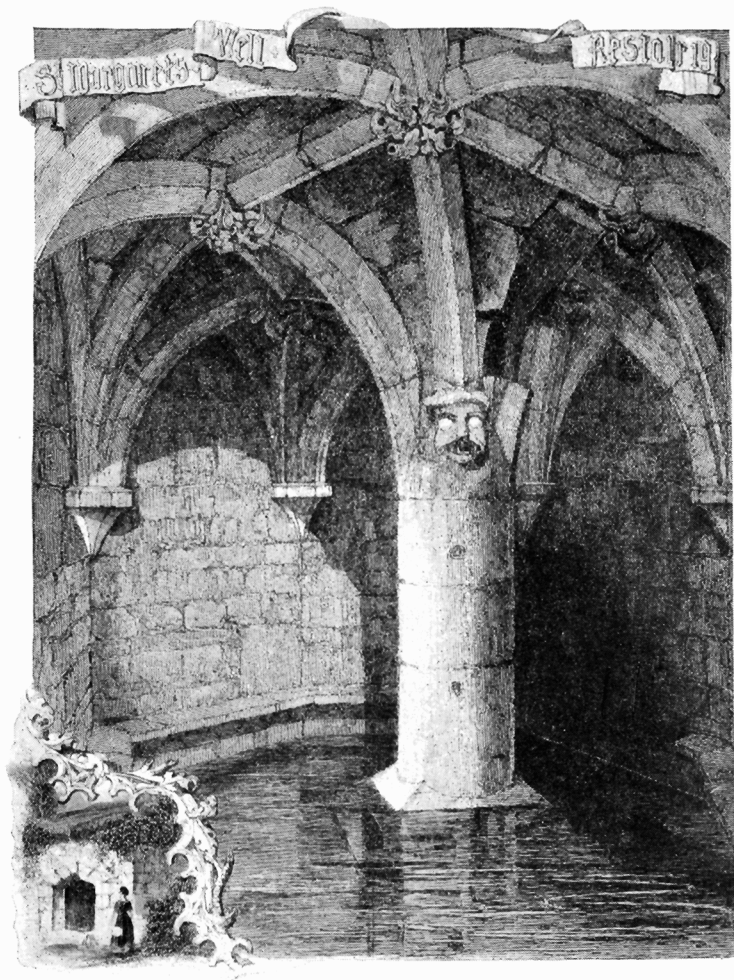
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ST. TRIDUANA'S OR ST. MARGARET'S WELL

The well-house was removed about 1860 from its original site at Restalrig to its present position south of Holyrood, where it covers another sainted spring, known as St. David's or the Rood Well

## EARLY MEDICINE IN SCOTLAND

IN primitive times, when Scotland consisted of a number of isolated lake-villages and hill townships, separated by bog and dense forest, the healing art was presumably no further developed than the practice of such simple remedies and applications as experience would show to be generally useful.

When Christianity was introduced about the 6th century, the more learned of the Culdee missionaries, in addition to a knowledge of Christian doctrine, may have possessed some acquaintance with the medical lore of the ancients, which was to be found among manuscripts in the libraries of the wealthier religious houses of other countries. Legends of the early Saints indicate that some of their influence was due to their powers of healing, although in the popular estimation, these powers are usually credited with a supernatural or miraculous origin.

Numerous wells with miraculous powers of healing were associated with the names of various Saints. Of these, one of the most famous was the Well of St. Triduana, at Restalrig, near Edinburgh. St. Triduana was a recluse of the primitive church, whose tomb after her death became a shrine for pilgrims afflicted with eye diseases. In early life, her beauty had attracted a Pictish chief from whom she fled, and, being pursued by his emissaries, she plucked out her eyes and sent them to him impaled upon a thorn, as they had been the cause of his unwelcome attentions.

For many centuries the Well at Restalrig, afterwards called St. Margaret's Well, was the resort of those who, in the words of Sir David Lindsay, went to "St. Trid well to mend their ene." So hard does tradition die that even now (1927) people with eye disorders frequently come with bottles to collect the water, despite the fact that the ancient well-house has been removed to another spring about a mile distant, close to Holyrood.

Various celebrated amulets were also used for mediæval treatment, chiefly by administering to a sick person water in which the relic had been immersed. St. Columba himself is recorded in Adamnan's 7th century Life of the Saint as having used this method of treatment with a stone that he had blessed.

One of the most celebrated of these charms was the Lee Penny, a small red stone set in a silver coin, said to have been brought from the Holy Land by Sir Simon Lockhart, of Lee, and celebrated as "The Talisman,"

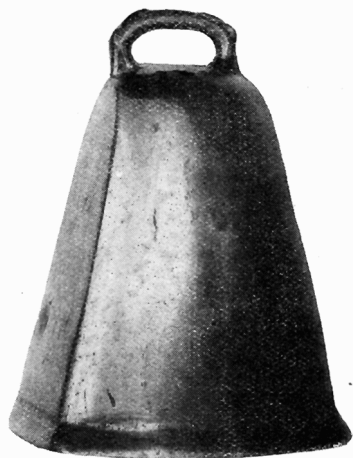
in Sir Walter Scott's novel of that name. This charm was used by drinking of, or bathing with, the water in which it had been dipped three times. Balls of rock crystal, one known as the "stone of the standard," possessed by



THE LEE PENNY

the Chief of the clan Donnachie, another known as the stone of Ardvoirlich, in the possession of the family of that name, and others belonging to the families of Campbell of Glenlyon, Baird of Auchmeddan, and others, have been used in a similar manner from very early times.

At the shrine of St. Fillan (an 8th century abbot and recluse), near Tyndrum, a form of treatment was used, especially for lunacy, which resembled the procedure in the temples of Asklepios. The mentally afflicted person, after being dipped in a sacred pool, was bound and laid on the floor of the church or in a stone coffin overnight, the bronze bell of St. Fillan, a sacred relic, being placed beside him or on his head. If in the morning he was found free from his bonds, recovery from the madness was likely to take place. Those who recovered sometimes related visions that had appeared to them in the night.<sup>1</sup>



THE BELL OF ST. FILLAN  
(Preserved in the Royal Scottish Museum  
of Antiquities)

Some of these magical methods of healing, however, had long antedated Christianity, for Pliny<sup>2</sup> speaks of ceremonies which the wizards and physicians of the Druids practised in Britain. Many of these have doubtless come down in the medical folk-lore still to be found in country places and recorded in the popular medical

<sup>1</sup> Anderson: "Scotland in Early Christian Times," Edinburgh, 1881.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny: "Natural History," Book XXX., para. 4.

works of the 18th century, including the sacrifice of different animals for various maladies, the administration of blood, bile and excrements as remedies, the wearing of coral necklaces, purification by dew and by fire at the feast of Beltane in May, etc.

With the advent of the Norman civilisation, which came to Scotland in the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th centuries under Queen Margaret, and especially David I., schools and religious houses were established and a much greater knowledge of ancient learning, including that of medicine, became available. Intercourse between the north of Scotland and the Baltic countries, and between the southern part of the kingdom and the Low Countries and France, speedily sprang up, and this led to a further diffusion of knowledge and to the introduction of new habits and modes of thought in Scotland.

The 13th century was one of great prosperity in southern Scotland. The Angles of Northumbria had been driven out and peace had reigned in Lothian for 200 years. The Norsemen had been expelled from the Scottish mainland. On the east coast, Berwick, reputed the chief port in Britain before the 14th century, was at the height of its prosperity, and in the west, Glasgow Cathedral, to-day the finest ecclesiastical building in Scotland, was then rising under Bishop Jocelyn's hand. The beautiful Abbeys of Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, Newbattle and Holyrood had been founded as centres of light and learning by David I. during the 12th century. Here, amid the pleasant vales and woods of Tweedside and Lothian, peaceful Norman settlers had introduced art and learning without the strife from which England then suffered under Richard, John and Henry III. To the people in the south and east of Scotland, learning had become a matter of desire, and grammar schools existed in all the towns of any size. An acquaintance with Latin was widespread, and many manuscripts of Greek and Roman learning were accessible in the monasteries. To Scotland came monks from England, France and distant Italy, and many Scotsmen went abroad, bent upon commercial enterprise, the acquisition of learning or the gaining of fame and standing in the martial service of foreign princes.

Each monastery possessed, in addition to its library containing copies or Latin translations of ancient medical books, a physic garden, where simples were cultivated. The kind of herbs used by the monks in preparing remedies may be learned from the list of those grown in the 9th century at the monastery of St. Gall. This celebrated monastery was established at the cell of an Irish hermit of that name who lived in the 7th century. The medicinal plants were rose, bean, savory, costus, hedge mustard, cumin, fennel, lybisticum, lily, sage, rue, gladiola, pennyroyal, mint, rosemary and fenugreek.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Keller: "Bauriss des Klosters St. Gallen vom Jahre 830," Zurich, 1844.

Most of the monasteries also possessed hospitia, situated sometimes at the monastery itself, sometimes on a route used by pilgrims and travellers. In these hospitia, monks specially skilled in medicine cared for sick or wounded travellers, and for persons of the district who required medical attention. An example of such a hospitium in Scotland is still to be seen in the few ruined remains of Soutra Aisle, situated on the road from Edinburgh to Kelso and Dryburgh Abbeys, which was founded by Malcolm IV. in 1164, for the care of travellers and pilgrims proceeding to these shrines.

As an example of a Scot who journeyed to the Continent and attained a reputation as a scholar and a doctor in foreign parts Michael Scot<sup>1</sup> may be mentioned. He was born on the Scottish borders about the year 1175 and died about the year 1232, after his return to his native country. He affords a good example of the learned churchmen who practised medicine at a time when learning of this kind was necessarily restricted to churchmen, because the means of deriving a knowledge of medicine were to be found solely in the libraries of the religious houses, or of princes. During his life abroad, between the years 1200 and 1208, Scot had acted as tutor to Frederick, King of Sicily and later Emperor of Germany, a prince famous for his talents and for his encouragement of learning.



PORTRAIT OF MICHAEL SCOT  
(From Bodleian M.S., "De Physiognomia")

As a marriage present to Frederick, Scot composed for him his "Liber Physiognomiæ," a guide in the knowledge of men, intended to be useful to a pupil about to pass from his charge into the stormy life of European politics.<sup>2</sup> This work aims at giving a description of the character, peculiarities and diseases of men which can be gained from their outward appearances. The subject was an important branch of the knowledge of medical men in the Middle Ages, as is indicated in the Charter of the Edinburgh Surgeons and Barbers, who were expected to know the "nature and complexion of every member humanis bodie, and als thatt he knaw in quhilk member the signe hes domination for the tyme." The book attained a great popularity in manuscript, and, after the introduction of printing, no fewer than 18 editions appeared between 1477 and 1660. Part of the work is influenced by Aristotle's "History of Animals," part is taken from the "Liber ad Mansorem" of Rhazes, but the greater portion is apparently from Scot's own observation. Of the three books, into which it is divided, the first deals with

<sup>1</sup> See Wood Brown : "Life and Legend of Michael Scot," Edinburgh, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> Comrie : "Michael Scot : A 13th century Scientist and Physician," *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, July, 1920.



produce joyfulness, brighten the intellect, improve the vision, sharpen hearing, preserve youth and retard baldness. These pills were composed of aloes, rhubarb and nine fruits and flowers made into a confection, and might fairly be described as excellent after-dinner pills.

Scot had gained even in Italy a reputation as a seer of the future and magician, so that Dante placed him in the Inferno along with other soothsayers as

“ That other, round the loins  
So slender of his shape, was Michael Scot,  
Practised in every slight of magic wile.”<sup>1</sup>

It was natural, therefore, that on his return to the Scottish Lowlands, in his later years, an ignorant peasantry regarded him as a wizard, whose alleged association with the devil is indicated by several striking features of the landscape in the Scottish borders :—

“ A wizard of such dreaded fame,  
That when, in Salamanca’s cave,  
Him listed his magic wand to wave,  
The bells would ring in Notre Dame.”<sup>2</sup>

An important phase of early Scottish medicine is found in the Gaelic medical manuscripts which are preserved in some of the libraries of Ireland and Scotland.<sup>3</sup> The Gaelic medical literature comprises over twenty manuscripts preserved in the Advocates’ (National) Library at Edinburgh, one in the Library of the Scottish Antiquarian Society, one in the Library of the University of Edinburgh, two in the British Museum, and several in private collections. They all possess this feature in common, that their substance is mainly of foreign origin, being translations made from Latin. Several of them are translations of medical treatises from the early Greek physicians and philosophers, and others from compilers of the Arabian school; several of them are taken from authoritative treatises issued from the great mediæval medical schools of Salerno and Montpellier. They were prepared for or by Gaelic physicians attached to the great nobles of the north of Scotland, and the oldest dated manuscript which could be found by Professor Mackinnon<sup>3</sup> bore the date of 1403, although this authority admits that some of the undated translations may be earlier in origin. The greater number, however, date from the 16th century. They include such subjects as an abstract of Galen’s anatomy, anatomical descriptions taken from Galen, Avicenna, Lanfranc and Guy de Chauliac, chapters on wounds, attributed to John of Vigo, and frequent paragraphs devoted to blood-letting, with the veins appropriate to be opened and the proper seasons and days for the operation.

<sup>1</sup> Dante: “Inferno,” XX, 115-117. (Cary’s Translation).

<sup>2</sup> Scott: “Lay of the Last Minstrel,” Canto ii., 13.

<sup>3</sup> Mackinnon: Report, 17th International Congress of Medicine, Section XXIII. London, 1913, p. 401. See also “A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic Medical Manuscripts in the Advocates’ Library, Edinburgh, and elsewhere in Scotland,” by Donald Mackinnon, M.A., Edinburgh, 1912. Also George Mackay, M.D., “Ancient Gaelic Medical Manuscripts,” in *Caledonian Medical Journal*, October, 1904.



The classification of diseases in some of the larger manuscripts is full and elaborate, as well as the remedies prescribed for each disease. Questions of climate, diet, nursing and kindred topics are largely discussed, and in one manuscript a chapter is devoted to the appropriate method of weighing and measuring drugs. Various cases are also included, and several theories believed to influence the health of the individual, such as the elements, the planets and the doctrine of the humours, are subjects of frequent and

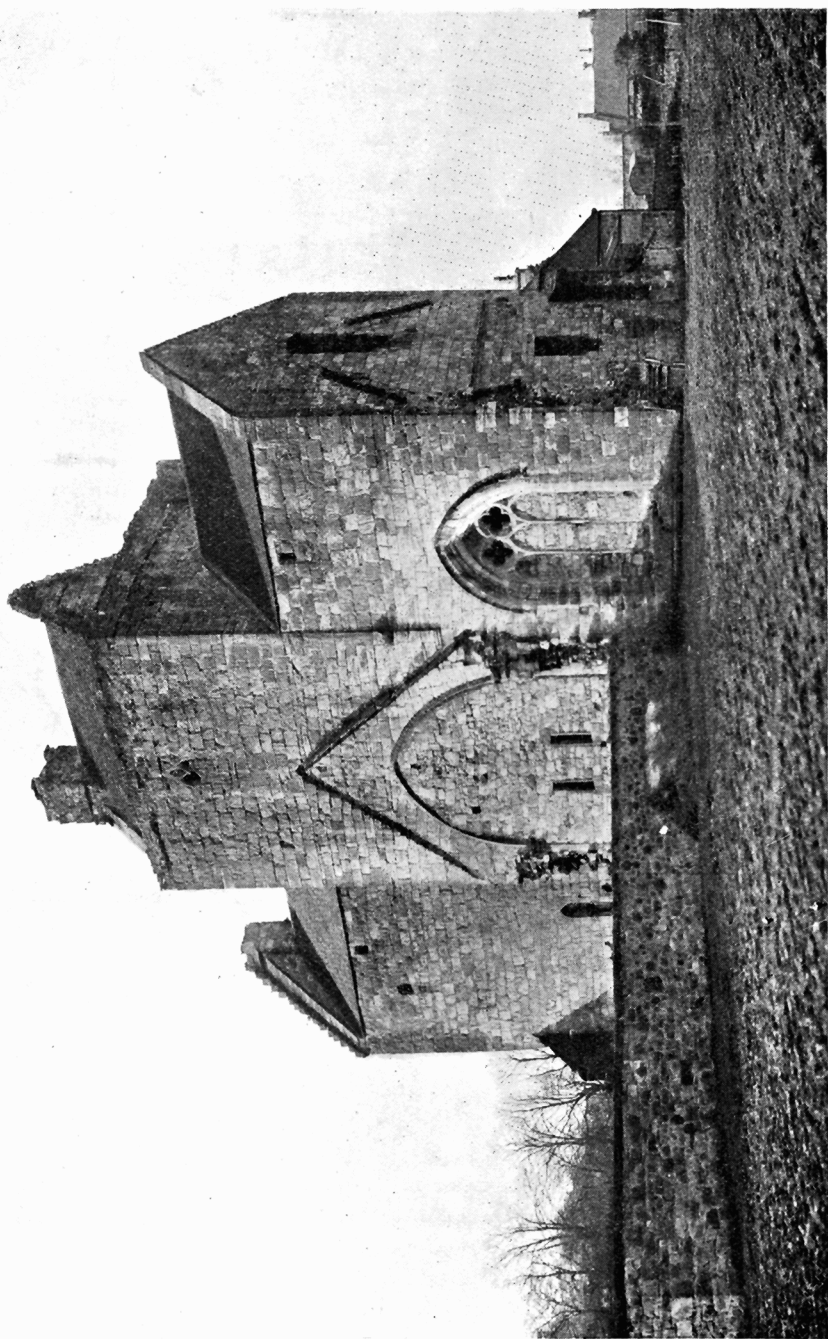


GAELIC MEDICAL MS. OF THE 15TH CENTURY

(Preserved in University of Edinburgh Library)

lengthy exposition and discussion. The margins of the manuscripts are frequently covered with notes, which have probably been added by the possessors of the manuscripts, dealing with the weather during the various months and the foods and drinks most suitable in each.

These manuscripts mainly belonged to two families, who practised medicine in the Highlands of Scotland for several centuries. The first of these bears the name of MacBheathadh, which means the "son of life," a very happy name for a physician. The name later came to be written in Latin, Betonus or Beaton, and in its modern form MacBeth. Several of these physicians were well-known men, such as Fergus McBetha, or Fergus the Fair, who was attached to Donald,



PRIORY OF TORPHICHEN, as it appears at the present day  
(Photo by H. M. Office of Works)

Lord of the Isles, defeated at the battle of Harlaw in 1411. Another settled in Islay in the days of Robert the Bruce, and is said to have obtained so great a reputation that he was summoned to the bedside of the King of Scotland and effected a cure when the court physicians had failed. One of his descendants, Farquhar, who is described as *Medicus Regis*, obtained an important grant of property, in 1386, from Alexander Stewart, the Wolf of Badenoch.

The other hereditary medical family was that of the McConachers of Lorn, of whom there are records as early as 1530. One of these, Duncan McConacher, with the help of friends, made a copy of Bernard Gordon's "Lilium Medicinæ," in 1596-1597, and commenced in 1598 a treatise which was to be an epitome of the teaching of Avicenna. Duncan was the possessor of a copy of a treatise on *materia medica*, preserved in the Advocates' (National) Library, containing references to 312 articles. This is the most complete copy of a treatise, which is repeated several times among the Gaelic medical manuscripts, and upon which the Gaelic physicians placed great value. Other copies of it are to be found in the British Museum, the Advocates' Library, etc.<sup>1</sup> A later descendant, Donald O'Conacher, seems to have been so celebrated as a physician that, in 1639, he was brought for a consultation to the town of Irvine.

An important example of the care which religious institutions exercised over the physical well-being of the community is still to be seen in the Priory of Torphichen, established by the Knights of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, with the consent of David I., in the year 1124.<sup>2</sup> A hospitium had been established at Jerusalem as a pious foundation by the merchants of Amalfi some time before 1048, for the purpose of giving shelter to pilgrims arriving at the Holy City.

With the appearance of the Crusaders at Jerusalem in 1099, the character of the fraternity of serving brothers, spending their lives in devoted attention to the sick and destitute among the pilgrims, changed. They now took the very important step of undertaking in addition to their charitable work, the protection of pilgrims both in Palestine and in their journeys to and from it. This introduced a military element into their duties, and in 1099, under the mastership of Raymond de Puy, their title was changed to that of the Knights Hospitallers of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, whose uniform consisted of a red surcoat with a plain white cross. The cross sometimes takes the form of a Maltese cross and sometimes, as at Torphichen, has a double crosspiece. The Order was made up of three classes—knights of noble birth, who carried arms; priests or chaplains, who performed religious ceremonies; and serving brothers, who attended the sick and relieved the pilgrims.

<sup>1</sup> For accounts of this treatise on *materia medica*, see paper by Sir Norman Moore in Vol. XI. *Bartholomew Hospital Reports*; also extracts by Dr. H. C. Gillies, *Caledonian Medical Journal*, Vol. VIII., pp. 102, 143.

<sup>2</sup> Beatson: "The Knights Hospitallers in Scotland," Glasgow, 1903.

The Order gradually came to hold much property in different countries, and it was divided into national corps, known as provinces or langues. Over every langue, such as that of England, presided a Grand Prior, under whom were placed Preceptors or Commanders, governing the different houses or commanderies in the province. A Preceptory, or Priory, served as a home for aged Knights and as a recruiting station for aspirants to the Order. It is presumable that the Priory at Torphichen was an offshoot of the English langue, which had been established in 1100 A.D. and later developed into a wealthy monastery at Clerkenwell, in London, of which the gate still remains. In a dispute between the Scottish Hospitallers and the Abbot and Canons of Holyrood, between 1210 and 1214, the settlement was sealed by the Chapter of the House of the Hospitallers in London, showing that Scotland was nominally at least under the English langue.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, many of the Scottish recruits served in the various langues of France. The toughness of the young Scottish knights is attested by the fact that one of them, Thomas Elliot, who was hanged at Hexham early in the 14th century, was found to be alive when the body was removed for burial, so that he was granted a free pardon and allowed to depart abroad.<sup>2</sup>

The Priory at Torphichen stands some five miles south of Linlithgow, an important Royal residence of the mediæval Scottish kings, in a hollow among the hills, where it was protected by a surrounding morass from attack. Although at the present day shorn of its outer defences, it still presents a combination of a religious and military edifice.

Here, in the 13th century, the Knights and their followers continued to exercise a beneficent influence over the surrounding district, and here a "Sanctuary," wherein no man might be seized or harmed, extended for one mile in every direction round the building. The grounds of the Preceptory were a Scotch acre in extent, enclosed by a moat, and a portion of them was known as "the Knights' Garden," in which medicinal herbs were cultivated. Donations and land were freely bestowed upon it by several of the Scottish kings, and at one time it is said to have held possessions in eight of the counties of Scotland and to have had a large revenue. The Scottish property of the Knights Templars was transferred to it in 1312 A.D. on the suppression of the latter Order.

The head of the Hospital in Scotland, from 1291 to 1298, was Alexander de Welles, an Englishman, who swore fealty to Edward I., in 1296, and fell at the battle of Falkirk fighting on the English side in July, 1298.<sup>3</sup> Before the battle, the Priory had been used as headquarters by William Wallace, and

<sup>1</sup> "Charters of Holyrood" (Bannatyne Club), p. 36.

<sup>2</sup> Edwards: "Transactions of Scottish Ecclesiological Society," 1906-1909, Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> M'Call: "History of the Parish of Mid-Calder," Edinburgh, 1894, p. 252.

here, in March, 1298, he signed the only charter issued by him as Guardian of the Kingdom of Scotland in the name of King John Balliol.

One of the most distinguished patients to whom help was rendered at the Priory was Edward I. Being severely injured by a kick from his horse on the night before the battle of Falkirk, he was conveyed to Torphichen, and there carefully tended and restored to health. The fact that Edward was conveyed some eight miles for medical treatment is a testimony to the high estimation in which the skill of those at the Preceptory was held, for Edward was accompanied by no less than seven medical men of his own, including a King's physician with two juniors (valetti), a King's surgeon and two assistants (socii) and a simple surgeon. The King's physician and surgeon were of high standing, receiving the pay of Knights (2s. daily).<sup>1</sup> This serves to indicate the important social and military standing of surgeons who accompanied the armies of the 13th century.

A service like that rendered by the Good Lord James Douglas to King Robert Bruce was presumably rendered by a Scottish Knight of the Hospital to James I., whose heart was removed from his body and carried on a pilgrimage to the east. From the Exchequer Rolls of Scotland it appears that, in 1443, a Knight of



SIR JAMES SANDILANDS

Last Preceptor of Torphichen and First Lord Torphichen  
(From a portrait in the possession of the Rt. Hon. Lord Torphichen)

<sup>1</sup> Smart: *British Medical Journal*, 1873, Vol. I.

St. John returned from Rhodes bringing back the heart of King James, which it had not been found possible to deposit in Jerusalem. This Knight received £91 for his travelling expenses.<sup>1</sup>

The age at which a novice might enrol among the Knights of the Hospital was sixteen, and he took up residence in the Preceptory at the age of twenty, after which he underwent three years' of active service and two years' residence in the Preceptory, learning the duties of office. After this, he was appointed Commander of some subsidiary station, and presumably managed the property of the Hospital in some outlying district, and thereafter he was eligible for promotion to a more important position.<sup>2</sup> During the 15th and 16th centuries, the Knights of the Hospital, established first at Rhodes and later at Malta, carried on unceasing warfare with the Turks and the pirates of the Southern Mediterranean shore. Here many of the Scottish Knights took part in the great adventure of this bulwark between the Christian countries and the invading Moslem hosts and fleets.

The last four Preceptors at Torphichen were Sir William Knollis, who was Treasurer of Scotland, Sir George Dundas, Sir Walter Lindsay, and Sir James Sandilands. Of Lindsay, who was Preceptor from 1533 to 1547, at the end of an adventurous life, his contemporary Pitcottie says:—

“ . . . ane nobill and potent lord nameit Schir Walter Lyndsay knycht of Torfeichin and lord of S. Johnne, who was weil besene and practissit in weiris baitht in Itallie and had fouchin oft tymeis against the Turkis in defence of the Christieane men in companie witht the lord of the Rodis (*Rhodes*), and thair he was maid knycht for walliezand (*valiant*) actis and thairefter come in Scotland and seruit our king. . . .”<sup>3</sup>

This sagacious old warrior was in command of the Scottish vanguard at the battle of Haddenrig, near Jedburgh, in 1542, when an English army of 10,000 men was defeated.

Sir James Sandilands, like his father, was a personal friend of John Knox and of the Reformation. Although he had been presented to the Preceptorship of Torphichen by the Pope in 1547, he threw in his lot with the Reformers, and, in 1563, resigned the Preceptorship, when the possessions of the Hospital of St. John in Scotland were made into a temporal barony carrying with them the title of Lord Torphichen, which he assumed. The present Lord Torphichen is descended from him. Those of the brethren of the Hospital who remained attached to the Roman Catholic religion left Scotland with David Seton, who was made Roman Catholic Preceptor, and died in Germany in 1591.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Exchequer Rolls of Scotland,” Vol. V., pp. xlv., 156, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Porter: “The Knights of Malta,” London, 1884, p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> Lindesay: “Historie and Cronicles of Scotland,” Edinburgh, Vol. I., Chap. xxxvi., p. 396.

<sup>4</sup> Bedford and Holbeche: “The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem,” London, 1902, p. 67.