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RAISING DRAGON.

WHEN Bruce killed Comyn in February 1306, there speedily followed the mission to Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, to suppress the Scottish insurrection. Barbour (bk. ii. line 205) states that Edward's instructions to him were to 'byrn and slay and raiss dragoun.' The last phrase has occasioned difficulty. Barbour has been fortunate in his editors; could he have guessed that his great work would be sponsored to the nineteenth century by Jamieson and Skeat, it might have helped him to die happy. Yet not even in their monumental editions are we furnished with a full and final explanation of the unique locution to 'raise dragon' which has been glossed variously as meaning (1) military execution; (2) to harry; (3) to act tyrannously, and (4) to play the devil. For this last rendering a passage in the *Song of Roland* (line 1641) is invoked with the purpose of showing that there the dragon was the devil's standard raised by a pagan host. This contention, however, is not tenable, as 'dragon' in the line in question, as elsewhere throughout the great French romance (lines 3266, 3330, 3550), means no more than the standard of King Marsile and his Mohammedan army. M. Léon Gautier, in his glossary to the *Chanson*, says simply that it was the standard of the pagans; and this quite accords with Ducange's proofs that the word in that general sense of standard or ensign was familiar to Europe at large. A very explicit drawing of such a dragon, an image, not a flag, carried by a horseman, has been found in an eighth-century ms. (Woodward's *Heraldry*, 1896, vol. i. plate ii.) The dragon borne in ecclesiastical processions to denote the devil or symbolise heresy obviously was a very different thing from the military ensign, and the two must not be confounded. It is, of course, not in the least likely that so many sections of Christendom would march to battle following an image of the devil. It may be asserted, therefore, that the true sense of the phrase in Barbour is still in some respects to seek. It will have to be sought in English history, for the dragon banner was once well known there.

The dragon, as a military sign like the more familiar eagle, is supposed

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to have been introduced into the Roman army after contact with the Dacians and Scythians who employed it. Amongst the Saxons also we have the warrant of Widukind (i. ch. 11) for believing that the dragon figure was a sacred ensign. According to Vegetius (bk. ii. ch. 13), the Roman legion as a whole had its eagle while the component cohorts had their dragons. St. Chrysostom, in the beginning of the fifth century, describes the golden dragon as an imperial emblem embroidered on the robes of Arcadius (Gibbon, ch. xxxii.). The golden dragon makes its debut in mythical English history early, like that long-lived and powerful allegory of Merlin and the battle between the red dragon and the white—between the Celt and the Saxon. Utherpendragon is declared by Geoffrey of Monmouth (viii. ch. 17) to have taken his name from the golden image of a dragon which he bore as his war ensign. Hence no doubt romance, wearing the mask of history (*R. of Brunne*, R. S., line 13345), described King Arthur's banner in kindred terms—

‘the dragon
That Arthur bar for gonfanoun.’

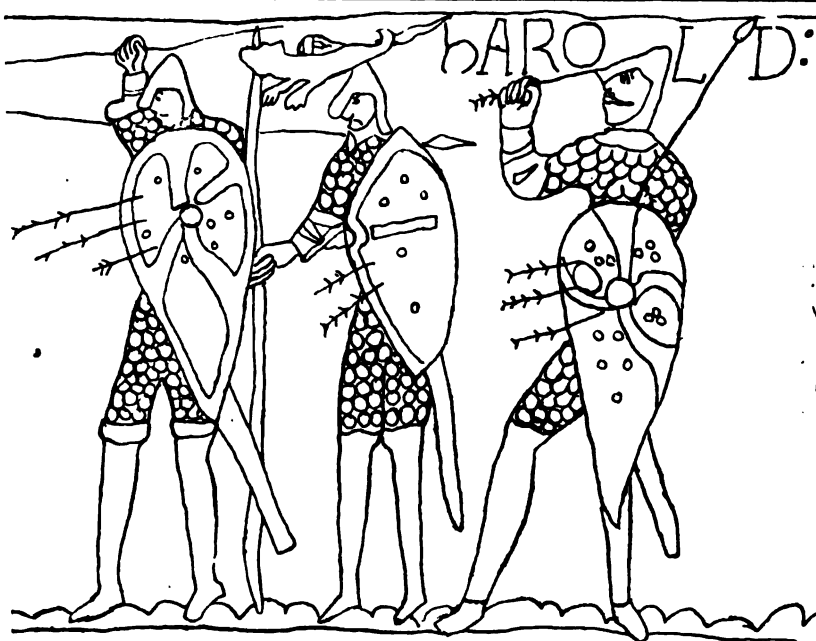
There is less doubt about the verity of Henry of Huntingdon's allegations in his history, (1) under the year 752, that the standard of the kings of Wessex was a golden dragon, and (2) under the year 1016, that the king's station in battle was between the standard and the dragon (*Monumenta Hist. Brit.* i. 728, 756).

Emblems of royalty have many indications of their origin in a worship of brute force to which the ethical concept subsequently applied was really foreign, and not always a very appropriate afterthought. The eagle and the lion, the most famous of all these symbols, are fundamentally types of ruthless strength. The dragon, a very exorbitant reptile indeed in the sense of heraldry, was of the same category, and even apart from his imperial associations, was quite worthy to rank with them. The middle ages, exploiting and expanding Pliny, Solinus, and Isidore, assigned him many strange attributes (*Bartholomaeus Anglicus*, ed. 1488, xviii., ch. 37; Jaques de Vitry, *Historia Orientalis*, ch. 89, Neckam, etc.). A gliding serpent without feet (unlike the griffin), he was by some authorities reckoned the largest of all animated things; great and terrible was the fighting virtue of his tongue and of his tail; his raging and unslakable heat and thirst were not quenched by the blood of a whole elephant. He therefore had a fit enough place as a cognisance for mediæval royalty, less given to rule by love than fear.

The chronicles are practically unanimous that at the battle of Hastings there was only one English standard, although there is mention of minor banners. William of Malmesbury says King Harold's vexillum was a figure of a fighting-man. The Bayeux tapestry, on the other hand, represents a dragon figure. Mr. Freeman (perhaps to some extent influenced by the already cited statement of Henry of Huntingdon) combined the two accounts, and accepted both, inferring that the fighting-man was a personal ensign, and the dragon national. It may well be doubted, however, whether Harold had more than one. The day of heraldry was not yet; and the distinction between the standard of a king and of his kingdom—the personal and the national—is scarcely likely to have been fully developed by that time. In any case the outstanding fact is that the tapestry shows Harold fighting and falling beneath the dragon, carried

closely in front of him by his vexillifer. Thus, although hereditary royal and national, it was none the less in the strictest sense a personal ensign too.

One gleam of light on the subject which Scotland has to offer is from the battle of the Standard. There it will be remembered the king of England was not present, but the king of Scotland was. The English standard, which we know was not a dragon, is styled the royal standard by Ailred. King David's royal vexillum, on the other hand, was 'a figured image of a dragon.' Ailred (*Decem Scriptores*, 339, 346) tells how the repulsed and fugitive Scots knew when they saw it that their king had not fallen but was retreating. That this dragon therefore was quite as



HAROLD'S DRAGON ENSIGN AT HASTINGS (BAYEUX TAPESTRY).

much a personal as a royal and national standard is to be deduced from the single authority known for its existence.

In the Crusades, whilst heraldry was still embryonic, we are told (*Itinerarium Ricardi*, v. ch. 48) of pennoncelles with golden flying dragons upon them. Hoveden (ed. R. S., iii. 129) distinguishes between the royal standard (*signum*) of King Richard and his dragon, the hereditary honour and office of bearing which were in 1191 the subject of dispute. Ducange suggests that the dragon of Richard was his standard as Duke of Normandy, and cites from an old French register a tenure of barony by the service of carrying 'le Dragon du Duc.' He also cites (*voce Draco*) an interesting passage from Gervase of Tilbury, who records that he had himself seen Richard's dragon displayed, and that it had a golden head.

So far, however, there is no indication that the hoisting of the dragon involved any particular threat of uncompromising severity. At least twice in Merlin's prophecies, as reported by Geoffrey of Monmouth, the dragon—the monster itself, that is, not the mere image of it—connotes extermination (bk. vii. chaps. 3 and 4, ed. Caxton Soc., pp. 120, 127). This signification passed to the banner. In the thirteenth century that sense obtained for a time, and the chroniclers tell of the dragon as a menace of death, a denial of pardon to a rebellious enemy. Their agreement demonstrates a contemporary understanding that it was a gage of hostility too deep and bitter to admit of quarter or reconciliation, that in short the dragon must have blood.

To the dragon of Henry III. history has allotted a most important, though not particularly tragic rôle. In 1244 Henry directed a dragon to be made of red silk embroidered with gold, his tongue to look like fire and as if in constant motion, and his eyes to be of jewels appropriate (Bentley's *Excerpta Historica*, p. 404, Woodward and Burnett, 1st ed. 291). The Welsh, who had given serious trouble in 1229, had risen again, and the dragon was for their benefit. The king marched into Wales in 1245 with a great army, believing that he would very soon subjugate the Principality. 'He was so greatly moved with wrath,' says Hemingburgh (i. 301), 'that he hoisted the dragon standard and commanded his forces to march for the death of the Welshmen.' But neither he nor his dragon quite effected the purpose in view. Again Matthew of Paris (*Chronica Majora*, R.S. v. 648), adopting an allusive phrase to moralise two meanings in one word, states that King Henry, in 1257, after marching to Chester, 'unfurled his royal banner like a dragon (*quasi draconem*) which knew not how to spare, and threatened Wales with general extermination.' During the barons' war (see Blaauw, ed. 1871, pp. 190, 191), the dragon was turned against Englishmen, fulfilling, albeit by anticipation, the poetical prediction that one day they would be 'seized in the dragon's mouth' (Bower's *Scotichronicon*, ii. 309). It was displayed by the king on the march to Northampton in 1264 (*Annales Monastici*, R.S. iii. 229). In the subsequent advance towards Lewes, and at Lewes, it was still flying. Langtoft (ed. R.S. ii. 142), has the simple phrase unglossed *Le dragon est levé*, while his translator (R. of Brunne in Hearne's *Langtoft*, i. 217), says—

'The kyng schewed forth his scheld, his dragon fulle austere.'

According to the *Flores Historiarum*, and two slightly divergent chronicles by Rishanger (*Flores*, R.S., year 1264, ii. 495. Rishanger, R.S. 26, Rishanger, *Camden Soc.* 32, Rishanger in Wats's *M. Paris*, 995), in the differences of which a cause of confusion has been the impossibility of distinguishing in the manuscripts between the words *indicium* and *judicium*, the dragon was either a symbol, or a sentence, of death. Probably the best reading and most authoritative text is that of the last edition of the *Flores*, to the effect that the king's army was 'ensigned with the royal standard, which they call the dragon—holding out an inexorable sentence of death.' The Rishanger variants omit the inexorable, and leave it an open question whether we are not to read instead of a sentence, a symbol or message of death, but add that the dragon was carried in front of the king. John of Oxenede (R.S. 223, also in Rishanger, *Camden Soc.* 131) similarly says: 'The king's banners advance following the dragon, which,

when it is seen in the army is the signal of slaughter to the uttermost.' As matters turned out, the defeat of Lewes deprived the signal of its terror. 'O dolor draconis!' was the unsympathetic apostrophe of Oxenede, who was not on the side of the dragon. Neither was Langtoft, who metonymically puts the fact rather neatly in saying that Simon de Montfort cast down the dragon—*le dragoun avalait*.

It was certainly an unlucky emblem for Henry III., this 'dragon full austere,' and after his time it is seldom mentioned as in use. The *Flores* repeats Matthew of Paris's observation (*Chron. Maj.* i. 228), that it was still the custom of the kings of England in their warlike expeditions to have the dragon carried in front of them for a vexillum. Historically it seldom had the chance of proving itself as cruel as the chroniclers painted it. Indeed the present writer is unaware of its being associated with any great victory except that of Crecy in 1346. A very interesting chronicle of distinctly military spirit (*Galfridus le Baker de Swinbroke*, Caxton Soc. 164, 165), describes the standard of Edward III. as a 'banner in which a dragon was depicted clad in his (*i.e.* Edward's) arms, and which therefore was styled the dragon, signifying that the pride of the lion and the gentleness of the lilies had been laid aside and had been transformed into the cruelty of the dragon.' This explanation of a curious example of the heraldic 'single supporter,' is given as contrast and sequel to a note on the Oriflamme, purporting that when that renowned gonfanon of France was displayed no man might under pain of death take a prisoner under assurance of quarter.¹

The possible inaccuracy of these ancient and weighty comments on the dragon and his significance is, for present objects, of quite secondary moment. The material point is, that in the middle of the fourteenth century, and later, there was still prevalent the conception (vouched as existing, by contemporary proofs, nearly a hundred years before) that the dragon banner was a token of hostility more deadly than the ordinary conditions of feudal and chivalric warfare countenanced. Its display in every example adduced was against subjects in revolt, however supposititious, as at Crecy, the claim of sovereignty might be. The explanation common to so many chroniclers of the period manifestly offers to Barbour's words a gloss capable of historical test. What then were Aymer de Valence's instructions about the Scottish enemy, and what was actually done? The instructions were tolerably distinct and firm. In June 1306, King Edward wrote to Valence to put to death all enemies and rebels, and to reserve only prisoners of consequence till Edward himself could decide their fate (*Bain's Calendar*, ii. 1790, compare 1782,

¹ Most probably this statement of Geoffrey Baker about the historic French banner is to be reckoned as more popular than critical: still it does appear fairly clear that just as from the end of the eleventh century the Oriflamme was never (except once—at Agincourt) raised in battle in the absence of the French King as banner-bearer of St. Denis; so the royal dragon of the kings of England would seem never to be recorded as displayed in any battle where the monarch was not himself in the field. At least the present writer has found no instance. Note the chronicler's remark that the dragon was carried in front of the king—just as it is shown in the tapestry picture of Harold's death. The author of the *Song of Roland* supposed the Oriflamme to have been the banner of ecclesiastical Rome. 'St. Peter's it was, so then it had the Roman name' (*Saint Pierre fut, si aveit nom Romaine*, line 3094). St. Peter may have been somehow associated with the English dragon too: at all events, that of Henry III. was originally placed in the church of St. Peter at Westminster (*Excerpta Historica*, 404).

1786, 1787). Barbour tells (ii. 455) that when news of prisoners came, Edward was blithe,

‘And for dispyte bad draw and hing.’

Hemingburgh, too (ii. 250), speaks of the king’s special order (compare Bain’s *Calendar*, ii. 1811) under which, in that fierce autumn of 1306, so many Scotsmen, gentle and simple, died cruelly by traitors’ deaths on the scaffold. ‘The comission to the judges was to pass sentence of death, not to try the prisoners, who were not to be allowed to answer. ‘Sum thai hangyt,’ says Barbour (ii. 467), ‘sum thai drew.’ Although Valence did not in fact raise the dragon, his entire work answered closely to the hypothetical consequences of the display of that austere and inexorable symbol as illustrated by old opinions dealt with in this essayette.

BARON MUNCHAUSEN’S MINERALOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN SCOTLAND.

RUDOLPHE ERIC RASPE was born at Hanover in 1737. Librarian at first of the library of his native town, he was afterwards appointed Professor of Archæology in the Caroline College and Curator of the Cabinet of Antiquities of Coins and Medals at Hesse-Cassel. For these positions of distinction he seems to have been peculiarly suited. He could write and speak well in Latin, French, and English, as well as his native German, and wrote several learned works on mineralogy and geology in these languages. He reviewed Ossian’s *Poems* and Percy’s *Reliques*, translating portions of these works; and was author of a poem having chivalry for its theme and entitled *Herman und Gunilde*. A communication of his in Latin on Fossil Teeth, read before the Royal Society of London in 1769, procured his election as an honorary member of that learned society. Having, it is alleged, appropriated to his own use money realised on the fraudulent sale of the coins belonging to the Museum, he left Germany. He next appears in London about 1775, where we find him a year later publishing a book on extinct German volcanoes. In 1781 he published a transcript of a ms. by a German monk of the eleventh century in which it appeared that the use of oil colours had been known long before Van Eyck, to whom Vasari had incorrectly attributed the invention. Raspe’s discovery was much appreciated by Horace Walpole, at whose expense the book was published, and about this time he received employment as overseer at Dalcoath Mines in Cornwall where he probably spent some six or seven years. It was while in Cornwall that Raspe wrote and published the trivial work that has rendered him more famous than all his learned treatises. This was *Baron Munchausen’s Narrative of His Marvellous Travels and Campaigns*. It was first published in 1785, and at once attained immense popularity. It was translated into German two years later by Bürger, to whom its authorship has often been attributed. Raspe was first definitely stated to be the author in 1824, by Karl von Reinhard, the friend of Bürger and editor of his works.

We have said that Raspe probably remained in Cornwall till about 1788. We know for certain that during the summer and autumn of the following year, if not for a longer period, he honoured Scotland with a

visit on mineralogical discoveries bent. Most of the time during which he was resident in Scotland appears to have been spent either in Edinburgh or with Sir John Sinclair at Ulbster. In the *Scots Magazine* of October 1789 there appeared the following grandiloquent account of some of these discoveries :—

‘AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND.

‘Mr. Raspe, the German mineralogist, after having examined the greater part of the Western Highlands and Islands, has at last begun his survey of Caithness. He has been successful in discovering mines of copper, lead, iron, cobalt, manganese, etc., and he will probably publish an account of these discoveries. It must give the greatest satisfaction to every friend to the prosperity of the Highlands, to understand that the marble of Tirie, belonging to the Duke of Argyll, the lead in the property of Lord Breadalbine, and the iron on the estate of Glengarry, are likely to turn out of great value and importance. From Sutherland he has brought specimens of the finest clay, and there is reason to hope that this country [county] will yet make a figure as a mining district, there being every symptom of coal, and a very promising vein of heavy spar mixed with lead having been discovered. On the whole, it is believed that the tour of this ingenious traveller will turn out of great public, as well as private utility, and will do credit to those who have promoted it.’

Who contributed this paragraph to the *Scots Magazine*? It can readily be understood that at the close of the eighteenth century the periodicals of Scotland did not enjoy the advantages of the modern system of newspaper reporting or correspondence. The monthly magazines of that period partly fulfilled the functions of the newspaper and relied for the news they contained on any voluntary correspondent whom circumstances had placed in possession of some curious or interesting item of news. Stirred by different motives, some correspondents would send their communications to their favourite periodical with the laudable desire of imparting to others what they had themselves learned; others possibly might feel impelled to write while suffering from an innocent attack of *cacoethes scribendi*. [See articles by the present writer in *Scots Magazine*, February and December 1896.]

It is evident the writer of the paragraph under review was no mere local scribbler, but one not only cognisant of Raspe’s visit to the Highlands, but also acquainted with his visit further north. While composed with terseness, it is so complete and comprehensive a report of the famous geological excursion, that we are possibly justified in concluding that Raspe wrote it himself. Sir John Sinclair could have done so, as he would have been in possession of the facts from his visitor, but as the concluding sentence implies praise to Sir John, at whose expense it would almost appear the western tour was undertaken, the report must have been written by another, and who more likely than his guest, the ingenious and imaginative author of *Baron Munchausen*. It may also, if necessary, be borne in mind that at this time Sir John Sinclair was engaged in writing on the Geology of Caithness for the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, so there was no necessity for him to write to the *Scots Magazine* on the same subject.

If we are right in our surmise regarding the parentage of the paragraph we have quoted, the author was actuated by neither of the motives

which we have attributed to ordinary correspondents. The somewhat lofty style of the writer is not unlike that of the general tone of *Munchausen*. It is amusing to observe the easy grace with which the mineral wealth is distributed with a generous hand amongst the great landowners of the west and north of Scotland. The Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Breadalbane, the Duke of Sutherland, the laird of Glengarry, and the philanthropic agriculturalist of Ulbster has each a tempting bait dangled before his eyes. The latter, Sir John Sinclair, had probably been already hooked and landed. What these landowners were expected to do, was to employ the enterprising German mineralogist to work the minerals for all they were worth. Raspe lived a hundred years before his time. In 1898 his talents would be employed to full advantage in the interests of some mighty gold syndicate as prospecting mineralogist in South Africa, Westralia, or Klondyke. However modestly Raspe may have issued *Munchausen* from the press, it must be confessed that we have in the *Scots Magazine* episode as excellent an example of the art of blowing one's own trumpet as any ever practised by a modern novelist. This different line of conduct in Raspe does not militate against our theory. Raspe's avowed profession was that of a dealer in facts, not fancies. It would not have enhanced his professional reputation that he should have been identified with the author of *Munchausen*. He might reasonably have thought, in the words of his own Baron, 'the little regard which this impudent knave has to veracity, makes me sometimes apprehensive that my real facts may fall under suspicion by being found in company with his confounded inventions.' To show the position which this versatile man occupied in contemporary estimation in respect of his acknowledged writings, it may be mentioned that his name appears in the catalogue of five hundred celebrated authors of Great Britain, which was published in London in 1788.

We obtain some additional information relating to Raspe's mineralogical discoveries in Scotland from the work entitled *An Economical History of the Hebrides and Highlands of Scotland*, written by Dr. John Walker, Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh, and published at Edinburgh in 1808. In the second volume he writes: 'In the Island of Icolumb-kill there is a white saline marble, sometimes veined with black, and sometimes containing veins of a greenish mica. A large altar table which formerly existed in the ancient abbey, upon the island, was formed of this marble. A quarry upon it [the island, not the altar] was opened some years ago by Mr. Raspe, a German miner, and some pieces of it brought to Edinburgh, which were much esteemed.' Walker has also something to say of the marble of Tiree, which he claims to have discovered, and states to be of very uncommon variety, of a 'carnation colour, and the concretions are of a green crystallised schorl.' A block of it was taken to Edinburgh, from which a table was formed for the Duke of Argyll, and placed in Holyrood Palace. From this account it would appear that Raspe did not deal entirely in fiction, but he exaggerated the truth until it became in effect as prejudicial as an untruth. A poor vein of a mineral is for practical mining purposes equivalent to no vein at all.

Raspe exaggerated the finds he himself made, or others had reported. Thus, as we shall afterwards see, where Sir John Sinclair's miners found a vein of ore three inches thick, Raspe had found one of three feet!

In 1787, Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster had discovered indications of the presence of some mineral deposits on his estate at the Hill of Skinnet, four miles from Thurso. In tracing the course of a burn, there was found a small vein of yellow mundick about three inches in breadth, and at a greater depth some white mundick was discovered. Sir John referred these discoveries to some Cornish miners, who told him the mundick itself was of little value, but was a good indicator of the near presence of other minerals of greater value. 'White mundick,' according to their proverbial philosophy, 'was a good horseman and always rode on a good load.' In 1790, Sir John wrote to a lead company in London, but failed to get it interested in the problematical discoveries of Caithness. The reference to the Cornish miners rouses our curiosity to know what connection, if any, the quondam overseer of Dalcoath mines may have had with them.¹

In the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, we find the following allusion to the subject of the discoveries: 'Mr. Raspe, a German mineralogist, having come into the country of Caithness last autumn [this was written in 1790], was employed by Sir John Sinclair to make trials in the same place; and not far from the mundick, he discovered a regular vein of heavy spar, mixed with lead and crystals, three feet in breadth, and very near the spot where the mundick was found. No further progress was made than merely to ascertain the size of the vein, and the nature of the metal which it contained.'

No mention is made of these supposed discoveries in the *Memoirs* of Sir John Sinclair, written by his son. Miss Catherine Sinclair, however, states that she had often heard her father relate the story of the imposition, but never with the slightest tinge of bitterness. Although the acute mineralogist wheedled Sir John out of a considerable sum for the discovery of minerals which it was suspected had been previously procured from Cornwall and placed where afterwards found, it was considered by the Sinclair family that they had been amply compensated by the amusement which their intelligent and facetious guest had given them. From this we may assume that one phase of Raspe's character may possibly have been indicated in the Preface to his romance when he describes Munchausen as one who, when the conversation threatened to become argumentative, directed the talk into the more peaceable channel of humorous story-telling. 'The Baron was,' he says, 'a man of great original humour; and having found that prejudiced minds cannot be reasoned into common sense, and that bold assertors are very apt to bully and speak their audience out of it, he never argues with either of them, but adroitly turns the conversation upon indifferent topics, and then tells a story of his travels, campaigns, and sporting adventures in a manner peculiar to himself, and well calculated to awaken and shame the common sense of those who have lost sight of it by prejudice or habit.'

¹ Raspe may have been introduced to Sir John Sinclair by Dr. Watson, Bishop of Llandaff, and Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge. In an 'Essay on the Rise and Progress of Chemistry,' Watson quotes a statement made by Raspe in the preface to his translation of Born's *Travels in Hungary*, etc., regarding the cobalt ores of Hesse. Watson was an intimate friend of Sinclair, and it is not unlikely he was also acquainted with Raspe. Baron Born, several of whose works Raspe translated, was the most distinguished mineralogist then living, and, curiously enough, was not unlike his English translator in being celebrated as a humorist, his *Natural History of Monks*, and other humorous works, enjoying a wide popularity throughout Europe.

This seems to have been the manner in which Raspe comported himself while amusing his hosts at Thurso Castle.

In *The Antiquary*, Sir Walter Scott makes Sir Arthur Wardour stand for Sir John Sinclair, and Herman Dousterswivel for Raspe. In the novel too many of Reginald Scott's beliefs in astrology and witchcraft are attributed to the Dutchman for it to be anything like a true portrait of Raspe; the latter, besides, spoke good English, and not the broken jargon put into the mouth of Dousterswivel; but nearly thirty years had intervened between the explorations at Caithness and the writing of *The Antiquary*.

Either before or after his visit to Thurso, Raspe was employed by James Tassie of Edinburgh, in cataloguing his unique collection of casts and impressions from ancient and modern gems. A preliminary conspectus of the arrangement and classification of the collection was first issued, and was followed in 1791 (but dated from Edinburgh 16th April 1790), by a 'Descriptive Catalogue,' in which over fifteen thousand casts of ancient and modern engraved gems, etc., were described in French and English. Mr. Seccombe, one of Munchausen's editors, says Raspe went north in 1791 after his work for Tassie was finished, but we have seen from the contemporary accounts in the *Scots Magazine* and the *Statistical Account*, that he was at Thurso Castle in 1789.

The last we hear of Raspe is that he received an appointment as manager of mines at Muckross in Ireland, and died there from an attack of scarlet fever in 1794.

G. W. NIVEN.

THE MOVING WOOD: A POSTSCRIPT.

By far the most stirring parallel to the Macbeth incident is older than any yet cited (*supra*, pp. 49-56). Appearing in the chronicle of Aimoin, a monk of Fleury-sur-Loire, who is believed to have died in 1008, it relates to an event still earlier by nearly half a millennium—the battle of Droissy, near Soissons, in 593 (Bouquet's *Recueil*, iii. 107; *L'Art de vérifier les dates*, 8vo, ed. 1818, v. 394). On the death of Gontran, Childebert II. attempted to wrest the sceptre from his child-cousin Clotaire II., king of Soissons, and son of Frédégunde. Childebert's army was under the command of two generals, Wintrio, Duke of Champagne, and Gundoldal. Landeric was the commander for the dauntless Frédégunde, who, carrying her boy in her arms, rode at the head of her troops until contact with the enemy was imminent.

Meanwhile Wintrio and Gundoldal lay encamped. One morning at early dawn a sentinel in their host detected something unusual just outside the lines, and drew a comrade's attention to the fact. 'What is that wood,' he said, 'which I see now? Last night there was none, scarce even the smallest scrub.' His comrade was incredulous, and rallied him on his powers of imagination; surely the wine of the night before was in his head still, or he would have remembered that the horses of the army were at pasture in the wood. 'Why!' said he, 'do you not hear the tinkling of the bells hanging from their necks?' Aimoin reminds us that the use of such bells was an old custom to facilitate the recovery of the animals if they strayed.

The first sentinel, however, had the truer instinct. The wood had not

been there the night before, neither had the bells. Landeric had determined to effect a surprise. He had lopped off a branch from a tree in the wood through which his line of march lay; next he had fastened a bell to his horse's neck. The whole army, obeying his order, had done the like, and now, as the first streak of morning light rose on the horizon, they stood with their boughs for ambush, in readiness to storm the slumbering camp of Wintrio.

Whilst the two sentinels were yet discussing, the branches were thrown down; what had seemed a dense wood was in a moment revealed as an arrayed battalion flashing with the sheen of arms. The attack was instant and overpowering. Wintrio himself barely managed to escape by the swiftness of his steed. Frédégunde took full advantage of her victory, and the aggressive Childebert never recovered from the effects of the disaster.

A friend of mine, whose learning and penetration are only slowly getting to be known, as they deserve, in this country—Dr. Alexander Tille—has directed my attention to the late Professor's Karl Simrock's *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* for certain minor German analogues. Professor Simrock says (p. 584) that in the old folk-tale, when the May king returned from the wood, he and his whole company were clad in green, and so hidden under green branches that it seemed as though the whole wood came walking. And in the legend of König Grunewald (King Greenwood), his daughter, terrified by the approach of the enemy under cover of green boughs, cried to him to yield for the green wood was come walking:—

Vater, gebt euch gefangen;
Der grüne Wald kommt gegangen.

(See Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen*, i. 148; also Wolfgang Menzel's *Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung*, i. 164.)

King Grunewald, Professor Simrock assures us, was a winter giant whose reign came to an end when the May festival began, ushered in by the walking greenwood. Dr. Tille points out in the Droissy narrative the singular conjunction of the names Gundoald and Wintrio with the greenwood stratagem. To him it suggests, by the affinity of names and parity of circumstances, a possible relationship with the nature-myth—if it indeed be a nature-myth—of the winter-king Grunewald vanquished by the actual 'grüne Wald' of summer. The problem may be left to the folklorists, but for their assistance it is worth mentioning that in England of the fourteenth century both 'summer king' and 'greenwood king' were known terms, if not specific personalities of romance. English writers said in scorn that Robert the Bruce's queen had told him he was but a 'kyng of somere' (*Political Songs*, Camden Soc., pp. 215, 380), a *rex aestivalis* who would probably never be (*hyemalis*) a winter one (*Flores Historiarum*, year 1306); monarch only with his queen like boy and girl in their game of summer-time (Hemingburgh, ii. 250). Again, in 1308, Edward II. in an unpopular tourneying match took the name of Greenwood King—*Rex de viridi bosco* (*Chron. Edward I. and II., R.S., Annales Paulini*, p. 264)—a title which supplied a caustic annalist with a fine chance to point a sentence with a sarcasm about the green tree being quickly turned into dead wood.

Although the French legend of Droissy was not at first common property amongst the chroniclers of France, it was yet known in more forms than one before the end of the 13th century (*Bouquet*, iii. 256), and likely

enough might have some currency in Scotland through the French alliances resulting from the wars with the three Edwards. It would not be surprising, therefore, if its influence could be shown to have contributed something to our tale of Birnam Wood.

G. N.

THE INSIGNIA OF THE BARONETS.

THE cognisance of a member of any of the orders of the baronetage, save the Scottish order, consists merely of an honourable augmentation surmounting his coat of arms. This augmentation is a canton of the Royal Arms of Ulster, viz. :—*Argent, a hand gules*. The hand is generally, but not unanimously, said to be a sinister hand. In practice the 'canton,' which contains the Ulster coat, is not always the sub-ordinary of that name. Thus in Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, it is always smaller than the sub-ordinary, and is generally in the form of an escutcheon. It is also treated to some extent as a charge, or a mark of difference, and is placed in different parts of the shield, according to circumstances. Sir William Abdy, who somehow is always out of his alphabetical place in Burke's annual, has his Ulster escutcheon there in the middle chief. The Rev. Sir David Hunter Blair carries his in the dexter chief, Sir Hervey Bathurst bears his in the sinister chief, and in Sir George Baker's case, it is on the field of his coat of arms, immediately under the centre of his chief. In all these cases the 'canton' is bounded on at least one of its edges by one of the bounding lines of the coat which it surmounts, or, as in Sir George Baker's case, by the bounding line of an honourable ordinary. In this respect it resembles the canton in its treatment, but where, as in Sir Hugh Beavor's shield, it is placed in the fess point, as if it were an escutcheon of pretence on a small scale, it is an inescutcheon, surrounded by the shield on all sides, and in no respect a canton.

On the institution of the Scottish or Nova Scotia Order of baronets, the arms of Nova Scotia were assigned as the badge of membership of the Order. In the Charter under the Great Seal of Scotland, 25th May 1625, to Sir Robert Gordon, the premier baronet of the Order, King Charles grants him, firstly, a part of the region of Nova Scotia, and proceeds that he has created an order of baronets of which he makes Sir Robert the first, and that 'dicti baronetti gererent vel in paludamentis vulgo lie cantoun in thair coat of airmis, vel in scutis, thair scutcheonis pro suo arbitrio, arma Nove Scotie.' These provisions are repeated in all the earliest creations of baronets, and afterwards, when omitted, they are referred to.

The language of the charter is unintelligible. The terms of the Royal Signature on which it proceeded are, however, clear—'The said Sir Robert and his saids aires male sall and may have and beare for ever heirafter ather in ane canton in their coat of armes or in ane inskutcheon at their election the arms of the said countrie of New England which ar—' (*Regr of Signatures*, vol. 46). All the early Signatures and charters have a blank here; the arms of Nova Scotia had apparently not been decided on. What is remarkable in the terms of the Great Seal charter is not that in a matter of heraldry the clerk should talk nonsense, but that its language

—the Latin of it being taken alone—should import a clearly defined grant, but one totally different in kind from that contemplated in the Signature. That the baronets 'gererent arma Nove Scotie vel in paludamentis vel in scutis,' means that in their option they may place the badge of their knight-hood on their mantle or on their shield. It is spoken like a herald, and is a much more sensible grant than that in the Signature. The suggestion is, perhaps, admissible that when the Latin charter was in draft, the terms of this clause were altered for heraldic reasons, but that the alteration was stultified by the addition of the gloss in the vernacular taken from the original Signature.

Nisbet, and an entry in the Lyon Register, made probably about 1678, supply the blazon of the Nova Scotia arms omitted in the Great Seal Register, which in Nisbet's words is—'Argent, a cross of St. Andrew azure (the badge of Scotland counterchanged), charged with an escutcheon of the royal arms supported on the dexter by the royal unicorn, and on the sinister by a savage or wild man, proper, and for the crest a bunch of laurel, and a thistle issuing from two hands conjoined, the one being armed, the other naked, with this motto—'Munit haec altera vincit.'

'The badge so trimmed with supporters, crest and motto,' adds Nisbet, 'I have never met with on any paintings; neither can I conceive how it could be carried in a baronet's shield of arms with these exterior ornaments, either by way of inescutcheon or canton. However, these exterior ornaments were soon taken away, for in the year 1629, after Nova Scotia was sold to the French, his Majesty was pleased to authorise and allow the baronets, and their heirs-male, to wear and carry about their necks in all time coming an orange tannie silk ribbon, whereat hung a scutcheon argent, a saltier azur, and thereon an inescutcheon of Scotland, with an imperial crown above the escutcheon, and encircled with the motto "FAX MENTIS HONESTAE GLORIA." The wearing of which badge about the neck was never much used, but carried by way of canton or escutcheon in their armorial bearings without the motto, of which I have given some examples in plate 8, Fig. 20, etc., by way of canton, dexter, and sinister; also by way of an inescutcheon. There's this difference to be observed, when the badge of Nova Scotia is placed in a canton, and when on an inescutcheon; in the first, the inescutcheon of Scotland is ensigned with the imperial crown, whereas the canton cannot be ensigned by reason of its position; in the last, the escutcheon which contains is ensigned with the imperial crown, and not the inescutcheon contained' (Nisbet, i. 191).

The terms of the royal letter were: 'We authorise and allow the said Lewetennent [Sir William Alexander] and Baronettis and every one of them and their heirs male to wear and carry about their necks in all time coming, ane orange tauney silk ribbane, whairon shall hing pendant in a scutchion argent, a saltoire azeuer, thairon ane inescutcheine of the arms of Scotland, with an imperiall croune above the scutchone, and incircled with this motto: FAX MENTIS HONESTAE GLORIA, which cognoissance our said present Lieuetennent shall deliver now to them from us, . . . and we ordain that from tyme to tyme as occasione of granting and renewing their patents or their heirs succeeding to the said dignitie shall offer, that the said powars to them to carie the said ribbone and cognoissance shalbe tharein particularlie granted and inserted.'—17 November 1629. This letter was forthwith embodied in an Act of the Privy Council, which appears to subsist still as an enactment con-

ferring on each possessor of the dignity of a Scots baronetcy the right to the distinction of wearing that badge as a personal decoration.

The accompanying plate bears full-size representations of two of these badges belonging to Sir William Liston Foulis, Baronet, who has kindly allowed them to be photographed for the illustration of the present article. They are of gold richly enamelled in the proper heraldic colours; the oval on which stands the motto is enamelled blue: the letters are of gold. The ribbons are of watered silk, the older ribbon—on the smaller badge—is now at least more tawny than orange. Neither Nisbet nor the original letter of 1629 gives the tincture of the oval on which the motto is placed. In Watson Gordon's portrait in the Parliament House, Edinburgh, of Sir James Wellwood Moncreiff (Lord Moncreiff), the oval is gold. It is gold in the last two instances in which it appears in the Lyon Register, viz. in the arms of Sir John Sinclair of Dunbeath, 1886, and Sir Walter Hamilton Dalrymple, 1889, but the general practice in the Lyon Office has been to make it blue. Etherington Martyn, in his *Heraldic ms.* (Adv. Lib.), anno 1794, makes the oval of Carr of Etal's badge green. It is probably owing to a freak of the enameller that the ornamental curls at each upper corner of the silver, or rather white, shield in the smaller Foulis badge are green.

There is a long discussion of the same subject of the distinctive marks for baronet's shields in the so-called second volume of Nisbet which appeared in 1742. He is made (p. 124) to denounce the heralds for placing on baronets' coats of arms badges which fell short of the full arms of Nova Scotia, thereby depriving the bearers of part of their rightful honours. He is further made to argue that the badge on the shield was intended in 1629 to be superseded by the ribbon and pendant badge which were then conferred on the members of the Order as a personal decoration, and which, like the collars of the knightly Orders, should be hung round the bearer's shield of arms. He puts the crown on the gold, and not the silver, shield of the badge. The passage is certainly none of Nisbet's. But it has its importance because at the time of its publication, and for that part of it for a hundred and fifty years afterwards, it was accepted as Nisbet's.¹ There is no indication either in the King's letter of 1629 (November 17), or in the Act of the Scots Privy Council which followed on it, nor any suggestion in Nisbet's first volume, nor in his *ms.* on Exterior Ornaments (preserved in the Lyon Office), which is the foundation of the chapter alluded to in the volume of 1742, that the personal decoration was intended to be added to the baronet's armorial ensigns, or to supersede a badge on his shield. It was after the baronets received the right to the decoration that Sir William Alexander, the Hereditary Lieutenant of Nova Scotia, and now Viscount Stirling, was granted the right to place the badge in an inescutcheon on his shield (15th March 1632). When nearly three years later (28th January 1635), the king granted him, by this time an Earl, the right to bear the Nova Scotia arms on a quarter instead of in an inescutcheon, the express purpose of the grant was to distinguish the Lieutenant from the rank and file of the Order. (The letters containing

¹ For the exposure of the fraud of this second volume, see the Introduction by Mr. Andrew Ross, to Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates*, edited by Ross and Grant. 4to (Edinburgh), 1892. The passage in the print, which is cited above, does not appear in Nisbet's *ms.* which is preserved in the Lyon Office.



BARONET'S RIBBONS AND BADGES, BELONGING TO SIR WILLIAM LISTON FOULIS, BARONET

these grants may be seen in the Nova Scotia volume edited by David Laing for the Bannatyne Club, 1867.) Still volume ii. of the *System of Heraldry* was supposed to be Nisbet's, and its influence may be detected among the variations in the practice of the heralds in the distinguishing of the arms of the baronets, as in other heraldic matters.

It is difficult to defend the practice of placing the crown on one shield when the inescutcheon was used, and on the other when the arms were placed in a canton. In the painting of Viscount Stirling's arms, formerly in volume S. 9. A. in Lyon Office, now in the folio volume there, *Arms of Scottish Peers*, the inescutcheon is adopted, according to the grant of 1632, but in it the crown is on the gold shield of Scotland. In MS. 21 the inescutcheon is represented on a larger scale—properly so, and with no crown at all. In both these cases the MSS. date from about 1638, the arms are attributed to the Earl of Stirling, and are ensigned with an Earl's coronet. The inescutcheon appears also on the Alexander arms, still over the porch of the main door in Argyle's Lodgings in Stirling. I have not seen an exemplification of the Earl's coat, with the quarter, granted him in 1635.

In the earliest volume of the Lyon Register, the verbal blazon of the arms of Sir Alexander Abercrombie of Birkenbog, who matriculated in 1678, runs, '*Argent, a chevron gules, betwixt three boars' heads erased azure, with the badge of Nova Scotia as being Baronet.*' In the painting of these arms on the margin of the page, the 'badge' is in the form of an inescutcheon placed on the fess point of the shield, and is crowned with the crown imperial. The inescutcheon bears *argent* a saltire *azure*, and in its turn is surmounted by an inescutcheon of the Royal Arms of Scotland, viz. : on a lion rampant *gules*, armed and langued *azure*, within a double tressure flory counter-flory of the second. The badge on Sir Alexander's shield is thus heraldically the same as Sir William Foulis's jewels, figured above, save that it has no motto round it. This volume of the Lyon Register consists of a collection of verbal blazons of arms arranged according to their bearers' surnames—roughly alphabetically, and the first entry under each letter is accompanied by a painting of the arms, executed apparently of the same date, on the margin. It thus happens that we have a painting of the Abercrombie Arms, and in the same way we have a painting—by the same hand, of the arms of Sir Henry Wardlaw of Pitreavie. In this case the badge is the same. In these official paintings the crown ensigns the silver and not the golden shield. The date of these paintings may be said to be 1678, but the volume in which they occur was still in use in Nisbet's time, and still so when the volumes of his system successively appeared—1722, 1742. In the entry, well down under the letter G., of the arms of the Hon. Sir James Gordon of Invergordon, Baronet, whose matriculation is dated in 1756, there is, in a style apparently of the period, one of the few paintings in this volume of the Register, which are not among those already alluded to. 'Nisbet's' second volume version of the badge is adopted in this case, so far that the crown on the badge ensigns the gold and not the silver shield, but the supporters and crest which it mentions, and which it says it is highly improper to omit, are still omitted. After this date, however, the practice of the Lyon Office alters further, and the 1742 contention is given effect to, viz. that the inescutcheon should be altogether omitted and the ribbon and badge, the personal decoration, hung round the shield. This

is done in the following representative cases: in 1808, in the case of Ramsay of Balmain; in 1842, for Forbes of Craigievar; and in 1850, for Dick-Cunningham. In these cases the heraldry of the badges has reverted to that exemplified in our illustrations, but in 1865, in the case of Forbes of Pitsligo, and in 1880, in Fergusson of Kilkerran's, the crown is again transferred to the inner inescutcheon.

Nisbet, in his first volume, plate No. 8, gives examples of baronets' coats of arms, in which so far as the engraver has permitted him, he observes the rules of the blazon which he gives in the text of his book, and with them agree the plates recently discovered in the Lockhart repositories, and published for the first time by Messrs. Ross and Grant. In both books the coat of Ogilvie of Barras appears with Nova Scotia arms in a canton in the sinister chief with the golden inescutcheon crowned. In the arms of Seton of Pitmeddan, given in the *Heraldic Plates*, the Nova Scotia ensign is in an inescutcheon with the crown on the silver shield. In both books, Fleming of Ferme's coat carries an inescutcheon in which the engraver has succeeded, if possible, in making the crown ensign both shields. Etherington Martyn's *Heraldic Ms.* (Adv. Lib.), anno 1794, places an inescutcheon with the crown on the silver shield, in the dexter chief, in Dick of Braid's arms, and omits the badge from the shield and substitutes a ribbon and jewel pendant below the shield in the case of Carr of Etal.

After so long a disquisition, it is scarcely necessary to advert to recent works on Heraldry save to remark that Edmonstone accepts both Nisbet's first volume, and his so-called second which is inconsistent with the first; Seton accepts both the Nisbets, and Edmonstone also; Cussans, blundering Nisbet's descriptions of two different things, adds supporters, crest, and a wrong motto to the pendant badge or jewel, which he says 'was suspended to the necks of the Baronets of the Province by an orange ribbon.' Clark changes the silver shield of the pendant jewel to gold, and crowns the inescutcheon of Scotland. Burke (*Peerage and Baronetage*) acquiesces in the statement of the Nisbet of 1742 that the inescutcheon and canton were superseded in 1629, and in practice omits them, but does not substitute the ribbon and jewel. Boutell (Aveling's ed.) says that all baronets carry the badge of Ulster, 'and generally upon a small shield of pretence.'

According to practice, the shields and crown have been borrowed from the pendant badge, and placed as an inescutcheon on the shield, or, with the crown transformed from the silver to the gold shield, been used as the bearings of a canton. This practice was not contemplated at first, and it is open to question whether it is defensible. When the original grant of a badge was made the arms of Nova Scotia were evidently not yet fixed, but the arms contemplated, in the Royal Signature, at any rate, were such as might be placed, like the Ulster badge already familiar to every one, on either an inescutcheon or a canton. Had the inclusion of exterior ornaments been contemplated, a tincture or metal for the field of the canton or the inescutcheon which were to contain the achievement must have been granted. The crown, which was afterwards included in the grant of the pendant badge was, according to the Lyon Register, and Nisbet, no part of the original Nova Scotia arms. This is borne out by the arms prescribed by the king in 1628 to be used on the seal of the office of the Admiralty of that country—'The said seale having a shippe with

all her ornaments and apparelling, the mayne sail onlie displayed with the arms of New Scotland bearing a saltoire with ane scutcheon of the ancient armes of Scotland, and upon the head of the said shippe careing ane unicorne sittand, and ane savage man standing upon the sterne both bearing St. Andrew Croce' (Nova Scotia volume, *ut sup.* p. 42). This being a blazon for a seal, the tinctures are not given for the sail and saltire. The first-mentioned painting of Viscount Stirling's arms with the badge in an inescutcheon, in the large folio ms. in Lyon Office, would be interesting were it official and contemporary, which it probably is not. Still it proves nothing, as it was painted after the invention of the pendant, and its adoption as the badge to be placed on the shield. Beside it also stands MS. No. 21, also mentioned above, which has no crown on or in the badge. This MS. 21 may stand alone in thus adding no crown to the inescutcheon, but if an instance can yet be found of a Nova Scotia canton or inescutcheon of a date prior to 17th November 1629, it may reasonably be expected to be simply—*argent* a saltire *azure*, on an inescutcheon the royal arms of Scotland, *viz. or*, a lion rampant *gules*, langued and armed *azure*, within a bordure of the second. ED.

A MUNICIPAL RELIC OF OLD STIRLING.

At the January meeting of the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society Mr. W. B. Cook exhibited a bell-shaped weight of the sixteenth century, with an inscription relating to a Provost of Stirling. It formed part of a small collection of curios which had belonged to a Renfrewshire gentleman, and was sold by auction in Glasgow in 1889, but beyond this nothing is known of its history. It is now preserved in the Kelvingrove Museum. It is made of bronze, is $6\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, $3\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter, and 16 in. in circumference at its widest part. The iron ring attached to it is made of $\frac{7}{8}$ in. metal, and is $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter. The inscription, which is in raised Gothic letters, runs round the weight in three rings, divided by a projecting line, a simple ornament in the first ring, and a *fleur-de-lis* in the other two rings marking where the inscription begins and ends. There is also a *fleur-de-lis* between the last two words of the inscription, which reads as follows:—

John cragingelt of yat ilk me edding
 maid quhē he bes prouest of sribiling
 anno dñi m d l iiii : in : habes | coqhren.

This is all simple enough as far as the date—the last word of the first line is supposed to stand for 'commanding'—but the last three words form a puzzle of which no satisfactory solution has yet been suggested. The last word seems to read *coqhren*, and may be an old spelling of Cochran, the name of the founder who cast the weight. Mr. Cook has failed to find any such name among the sixteenth-century bellfounders of the Low Countries. Then it is suggested that the colon after *in* implies a contraction, and that we should read *jn.*, meaning 'John,' and *habes*, or 'Hawes,' as John's surname, this John Hawes being the maker of the weight, and the mysterious final word the name of the town in which he lived. There is not, however, any place resembling 'Coqhren' in the map of the Netherlands.

The weight itself furnishes another problem. What was it, and what was it used for? It weighs exactly 20 lbs. 3½ oz. avoirdupois. The label attached to it in the Kelvingrove Museum describes it as the Stirling tron stone, but what was the weight of the Stirling tron stone? There is nothing to guide us in this matter, because notwithstanding the laws dealing with weights and measures, every burgh in Scotland seems to have



THE CRAGINGELT WEIGHT.

been a law unto itself, and no two tron stones were alike. In Provost Cragingelt's time, hay and tallow were two articles that were sold in Stirling by the stone, but was it the tron stone or the Lanark stone? The Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs show that in 1552 the Commissioners resolved that the whole burghs of the kingdom should receive their measures from the standards following, viz. the stone weight of Lanark, the pint of Stirling, the firiot of Linlithgow, and the ell of Edinburgh, and the Commissioners for these towns were ordered to attend a meeting to be held a few months later and produce the standard measures.

The Commissioner for Stirling was Provost Cragingelt, who was present at this meeting, and he attended the following meeting and produced the Stirling 'stope.' The Commissioner for Edinburgh produced the elnward, but neither the Lanark stone nor the Linlithgow firloot were forthcoming. It is possible that Provost Cragingelt at this time ordered a duplicate of the Lanark stone to be cast for Stirling—unfortunately, the Council Records for 1553 are lost, and there is no extant notice of the matter—but the difficulty is that the weight in question cannot be assimilated to the Lanark stone, if it be the case that the latter weighed 16 lbs. of 7620 imperial grains. And if it be the Lanark stone, then it cannot be the tron stone, for they are quite different in weight.

NOTE ON A LETTER OF THE EARL OF MAR, 1715.

THE following letter from the Earl of Mar to Lord Kilsyth is in the possession of Alexander Thomson, Esq., Trinity Grove, Edinburgh, by whose kind permission it is now printed, for, it is believed, the first time. It is an interesting addition to the documents of the '15.

The letter is dated from the camp at Perth, October 13th, 1715. By that time Mar had been nearly a month at Perth, and was building up his 'unenviable renown for inactivity'—to use Mr. Hill Burton's phrase. His army was ill-paid and was getting out of hand, and there was no appearance of the expected succours from France. The Master of Sinclair, in his ill-natured *Memoirs*, tells us how the time passed. 'Mar,' he says, 'after coming into Perth, did nothing all this while but write; and as if all had depended on his writing, nobody moved in any one thing; there was not a word spoke of fortifieing the town, nor the least care taken for sending of powder to any place; we did not want gunsmiths, and yet none of them was employed in mending our old armes. Whoever spoke of those things, which I did often, was giving himself airs; for we lived very well, and as long as meat, drink, and monie was not wanting, what was the need of anie more; most of us were goeing home everie day for our diversion, and to get a fresh supplie of the readie. In that we followed strictlie the rule of the gospel, for we never thought of to-morrow.'

Mar certainly was a bad general, and certainly stayed far too long at Perth. Still, apart from any question of waiting for French aid, it was necessary that he should stay there for some time to gather his forces. The letter now printed expresses his own view as to this. When it was written his force amounted to some 12,000 men. His counsel to Lord Kilsyth with reference to the latter's tenants reminds one of his own famous letter to 'Black Jock,' John Forbes of Inverernan, Baron Bailie of Kildrummie. 'Let my own tenants in Kildrummy know,' he wrote, 'that if they come not forth with their best arms, that I will send a party immediately to burn what they shall miss taking from them. And they may believe this not only a threat, but by all that's sacred, I'll put it in execution, let my loss be what it will, that it may be an example to others.'

Lord Kilsyth, to whom the letter is addressed, was the third Viscount, who married Claverhouse's widow. He was attainted for his share in the '15, and died in Rome in 1733. Lord Strathallan, William Drummond of Machany, who succeeded his cousin in the peerage, was taken prisoner

at Sheriffmuir, but no proceedings were taken against him. He was one of the well-known leaders of the rising of 1745, and was killed at Culloden.

W. K. D.

LETTER, THE EARL OF MAR TO VISCOUNT KILSYTH.

MY LORD,—By advices just received from Lord Strathallan I have got news that will make all right from Bampff, and we can now proceed with more diligence than has been done formerly. But befor doing anything you will know that we have not got so many together as we would have liked, and befor His Majesty comes I would like to have double the quantity of Men under Arms, as he will bring with him a good many Implements and we must have men for them. I do ask you to make all your tenants rise to a man as I have done and give them no mercy should they refuse, and you will soon have a goodly number because the idle fellows know not what is either due to their King or their Chief, and some examples will be made to hasten the rest. My humble services I place at your command and those gentlemen with you who deserve the highest praise. I long exceedingly to hear from you, and hope you will find a way of sending safe, but I have no fear as the country is quite open to all our men. I wait in the meantime for General Gordon who has been kept back by some things, but I doubt not you will see him and put him in Mind of my Anxiety to have as many as he can get with him. Wishing, My Lord, all success, I am with all esteem,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
MAR.

From the Camp at Perth, October 13, 1715.

Addressed—To my Lord Viscount Kilsyth.

With all speed.

A BOOK-PLATE (*EX LIBRIS*) STAMPED ON A TITLE-PAGE.

THE following description of a book-plate (*ex libris*) may be interesting. It is found in a folio volume entitled 'The whole Proceeding upon the Arraignment, Tryal, Conviction, and Attainder of Christopher Layer, Esq. for High Treason, 1722.' The book is a large-paper copy, and is in a handsome contemporary binding of red morocco, prettily gold-tooled with a border formed of *fleurs-de-lis* and scroll-work, and a large diamond openwork design in the centre.

It is peculiar in one respect. Instead of being printed on a separate sheet and pasted inside the cover, or, as is sometimes the case, on the back of the title, it has been impressed direct from the copper upon the back of the title-page, and this must of course have been done before the book was bound. The plate-mark is $5 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. The plate, which is heraldic, consists of a shield with supporters, helmet, and crest. The shield bears *argent* two chevronels *sable*, a label of three points *azure*. Above an esquire's helmet is the crest—a lion's head issuing out of a ducal coronet, the supporters are two lions rampant regardant, addorsed, or, in other words, in the rather stultifying attitude of leaving the shield to support itself. The compartment on which they stand is a sort of pedestal, resting on scroll-work. Immediately underneath the shield is a ribbon bearing a motto in something like Russian characters. Underneath is a

draped sheet suspended from the tracery bearing the legend: 'Abel Ketelby of the Middle Temple, Esq', F.R.S., MDCCXXI.' Burke's *General Armorial* gives Ketelby the arms and crest but omits the supporters and all mention of a motto.

G. P. J.

BROTHERS WITH THE SAME CHRISTIAN NAME.

THE parental selection at the present day of the 'Christian' name which is to be bestowed on a child at baptism is influenced in different cases by different considerations, but distinctiveness is always one of them. In mediæval times, however, and, indeed well on in the seventeenth century, there are frequent cases of brothers alive at the same time and bearing the same Christian name, and, after the introduction of hereditary surnames, the same Christian and surnames. Whether these cases indicate the name of the patron saint of the family, or the saint at whose festival the child was born, might be made the subject of a not altogether useless inquiry. That the bearers of the identical names must have been distinguished by personal soubriquets afterwards conferred on them is obvious. These surnames were of course common wherever a distinguishing mark was needed—thus, for an example of the commonest form in which this has occurred among ourselves in the seventeenth century, we find Hugh Fraser in Leadclune, ancestor of the present baronet, has a son of the same name. The father is called Huchon More and the son Huchon Oig.

In a Diploma de Petri d'Elphinstone, Anno 1610 (a copy of it is in the Register House, and a transcript in the Adv. Lib.: MSS. 34, 6, 3), we find it stated as if it were a fact of ordinary occurrence that, about 1450, John de Elphinstone, son of John de Elphinstone, and his wife, a niece of the Earl of Eglinton, had a younger brother John 'item cognomine,' and that this second brother had three sons, John, William, and John, 'quem nostri vulgari appellationem ad majoris natu distinctionem, Jockum nuncuparunt.' A correspondent¹ affirms in the *Scottish Antiquary* of January last, that such an occurrence of two brothers of the same Christian name shows the illegitimacy of either of them; and he cites Riddell the great Antiquary and lawyer in support of this opinion. But the opinion is untenable. We do not at present recollect any passage in Riddell's works which convicts him of ever having held the opinion, but an easy test may be applied to that authority by referring to the words he uses in discussing the case of the Earldom of Caithness, where both parties admitted that there were two half-brothers called William, sons of the Chancellor Earl. Here Riddell says (*Peerage Law*, p. 608) the 'Comitatus of Caithness was constituted [by Royal Charter dated December 7th 1476] in the person of William Sinclair, youngest son of William, Earl of Orkney and Caithness,—the first Earl Caithness of his line, in exclusion of his two elder brothers,' and he adds in a footnote, 'these were William senior who was mainly disinherited, . . . and Sir Oliver.' Thus Riddell here accepts the fact of the two legitimate half-brothers of the same name, co-existing with each other, and as he

¹ The correspondent alluded to, in an argument to show that the first Earl of Huntly's two sons named Alexander were not both legitimate, adduces as a fact that the second Earl did not succeed to the title of Lord Gordon. If the fact is conclusive of anything, it may be worth while to consult the Hist. Com. Report, xii. App. Part viii. pp. 88. 89. etc.

accepts it without observation, he does not appear to have thought it anomalous.

Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet, who was Lyon King at Arms from 1568 till 1591, was a younger brother, on the father's side at least, if not brother-german, of the greater Sir David Lindsay of the Mount (Laing's Memoir prefaced to his edition of Lindsay of the Mount's *Poetical Works*, p. ix.; Seton's *Heraldry*, p. 482). George Elphinstone, grandson of the already mentioned John, the elder brother of Jock, had two sons, both named George. The second of these is described in the *Register of Acts and Decrees*, 8th June 1586 (vol. 105, f. 62), as 'umquhill George Elphinston of Blythiswode, heritor of the few maill efter specifiet, quha was brother and air of umquhill George Elphinstone of Blythiswode.' The younger brother is a witness to a discharge to the elder on 30th May 1563, where they are merely described as 'George Elphinstone, elder,' and 'George Elphinstone, younger.' On the same day the younger brother is witness to a bond by his elder brother, who here styles him in the testing clause 'George Elphinstone my brother' (*Register of Deeds*, vol. vi., 30th May 1563). In the *Acts and Decrees* (vol. 91), 11th January 1582, we find an action brought against Walter Lawson, burges of Aberdeen, for payment of the thirds of the goods which pertained to 'umquhile David M'Kellan, indweller in Glasgow, brother and heir of umquhile David M'Kellan quha deceist in Deuchland.' In the *Register of Deeds* (vol. xxiii. f. 396), 18th August 1585, we learn that 'David Donald, burges of Glasgow, Johne Donald, and Johne Donald his brother germene,' purchase 'all and haill the equall halff of ane bark callit the Williame, with ankeris, saillis, maistis, towis, cordage,' etc. John Hamilton of Muirhouse, Apothecary in Edinburgh, had two sons, half-brothers, both called John. John the father had married, first; Christian Wright, and in 1645 their son John inherited Muirhouse under an entail by which, failing himself, the estate passed in succession to his brothers James, Thomas, Alexander, Henry, and John. This second John was a son of his father's second marriage—with Catherine Brown. (*Edinburgh Register of Sasine (Part)*, vol. xxxiii., 18th March 1645.) Were it necessary we might cite parallel cases on the Continent; how, for example, John, Duke of Brittany, who died in 1341, was brother of John, Count of Montfort (Guigot's *History of France*, ch. xx. vol. ii. p. 79), and many other instances could be obtained, with comparatively little trouble, from our own Records.

Ed.

BLAW OR BLOW FAMILY

(*Vol. viii. p. 64.*)

AMONG a number of manuscripts purchased at a sale by auction in London a year or two ago were the following:—

1574 (18th Nov.). Sasine of Andrew Gibson, burges of Culross, and Isobelle Suderland, his spouse, in annual rent of 10 merks from the lands of Castlehill on precept granted by James Blaw of Castlehill. Present—John Blaw of Westkirk, jun.; Alexander Suderland, son of Patrick Suderland, and Cuthbert Lindsay, servitor to the said Patrick.

1582 (21st April). Sasine of James Blaw of Castlehill, jun., and Cristine Schorthouse (daughter of James Schorthouse, burges of Dunfermline), his spouse, in half the lands of Castlehill, on resignation to

Alexander, commendator of Culross, superior, by James Blaw of Castlehill, sen., in implement of marriage contract.

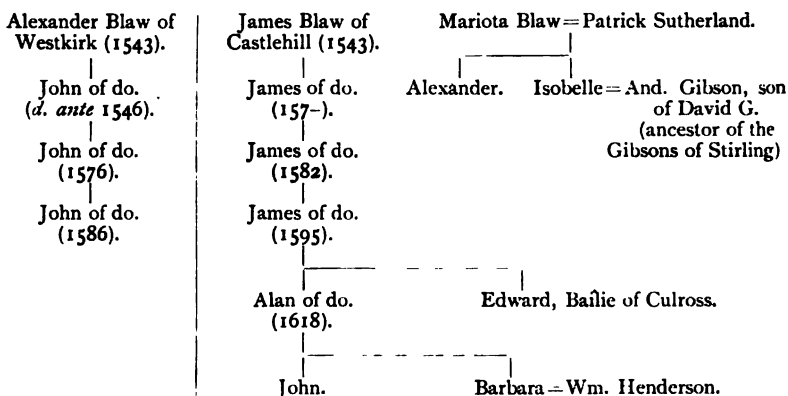
1593 (23rd March). Sasine of Jonet Evison, one of the four daughters of the deceased Duncan Evison, in one-fourth of his property in Culross. Inquest for service as heiress held before John Blaw and Robert Master-ton, bailies of Culross. Among witnesses to sasine, John Blaw of Westkirk, probably same as Bailie John Blaw.

1595 (9th Oct.). Sasine of James Blaw, in tenement in Culross, as heir of his father James Blaw of Castlehill. Among witnesses, James Blaw and Robert Blaw, bailies of Culross.

1618 (26th Feb.). Sasine of Alan Blaw, son of the deceased James Blaw of Castlehill. Edward Blaw, one of the bailies of Culross mentioned in deed. Among witnesses, Robert Blaw, burghess of Culross.

1665 (2nd Aug.). Charter granted by William Henderson, son of Thomas Henderson, in [illegible] hills, in favour of Barbara Blaw, daughter of Alan Blaw of Castlehill, his future spouse, of tenement of houses and two acres of land lying in Nether Hawhill, in the barony of Clackmannan, in liferent, in implement of marriage contract.

From the above and the Register of the Great Seal, I have compiled the following pedigree, supplementary to that given by Mr. Hallen at the reference cited:—



B.

THE MACCULLOCHS OF GLASTULLICH.

THE decay and extinction of families of gentle blood has, in no part of the North, been more complete than in Ross-shire, and among the aristocracy of the Earldom of Ross there was no name more respected than that of Macculloch, whose original designation was of 'Plaidis.' Seven generations were so designated until John Macculloch, Provost of Tain, having acquired the lands of Kindeace from the Munroes of Culnald, in 1621, changed his style to that 'of Kindeace.'

A genealogy of the family was included in the 'Earls of Ross and their Descendants,' contributed by the late Mr. Nevile Reid, to *The Scottish Antiquary* (see vol. viii. ROSS INDEX), but unfortunately many

errors inadvertently crept into that account, and it is so incomplete that some of those interested have suggested that I might give the accurate pedigree. Than my lamented friend, Mr. Nevile Reid, there could be none more careful, but unfortunately he did not live to see the completion of his great work, and, living so much at his palace at Salerno, he was unable personally to consult such records as would enable him to rectify mistakes in the genealogy.¹

I. JOHN MACCULLOCH, son of Andrew Macculloch, seventh of Plaids, by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander Ross of Tarrel, was, as we have already noted, 1st of Kindeace, which he acquired from Andrew Munro, of Culnald, in 1621, and in 1625 he granted part of the lands to his second son Andrew. Six years later he conveyed the remainder of these lands to his eldest son, Thomas. According to *Reid*, he married Janet, daughter of John Ross of Muldarg, but in the *Kalender of Fern* is reference on 7th December 1639, to Margaret Ross, wife of John Macculloch of Kindeace, said to be daughter of 'Walter Ross of Morangie'; while the *Chronicle of the Earls of Ross* makes her daughter of 'Thomas Ross Walterson.' By his wife he had:—

1. Thomas (*see below*);
2. Andrew, 1st of Glastullich;

3. Charles, a Surgeon, who married and had a daughter, Anna, who married William Urquhart of Braelangwell—the sasine following on contract of marriage being dated 25th February 1693.

II. THOMAS MACCULLOCH, second of Kindeace. He married Isobel, daughter of James Davidson, Provost of Dundee. After Macculloch's death she married Rev. Hector Munro of Edderton. By her Macculloch had:—

1. James, afterwards third of Kindeace;
 2. David, who succeeded as fourth of Kindeace;
 3. Alexander, of whom we lose trace after 9th April 1658, when his brother gave him the easter half of Kindeace;
 4. Robert, a merchant in Copenhagen, d. *s.p.*;
- (1) Janet married Malcolm Ross of Knockan, to whom David, fourth of Kindeace, conveyed his lands as below;
- (2) Abigail, married Thomas Ross, bailie of Tain.

III. JAMES, third of Kindeace, was served heir to his grandfather John, 21st December 1648, and for many years was on the Commission of Supply for Ross. He married, contract dated in 1651, Christian (daughter of Colonel John Munro of Obsdale), who afterwards married David Ross of Pitcalnie. She had a liferent of the lands of Kindeace. James was succeeded by:—

IV. DAVID, his younger brother, who was served heir 1st October 1652.

He had:—

V. DAVID, younger of Kindeace, and Janet, married to Wm. Ross, Lachlanson. In the time of these last two lairds the whole property passed into the hands of Malcolm Ross, who became styled 'of Kindeace.' The succession in the Macculloch family opened to:—

VI. ANDREW, first of Glastullich, second son of John, 1st of Kindeace. This Andrew was Provost of Tain, and had sasine of Glastullich on 20th

¹ The substance of the following pedigree I have already contributed to the *North Star* of 16th December 1897.—D. M. R.

June 1650. He took an active part in politics, and represented Tain in Parliament for a number of years. He married, first, Anna, daughter of Rev. James Ferne, minister of Fraserburgh, by whom he had:—

1. John, styled 'eldest son of first marriage' in sasine dated 1st May 1668, and styled 'son and heir of deceased Andrew' on 16th June 1681;

2. Mr. Andrew, brother of John, so styled in sasine dated 25th October 1694.

(1) Margaret, married Hugh Rose of Newton, Nairnshire; on 22nd October 1667 they had sasine of the land of Arturlies;

(2) Isabel, married (contract dated 30th June 1660), Rev. William Ross of Edderton, her tocher being 2500 merks. She married, secondly, Hugh Ross, writer, Inverness, to whom she brought a dower of 5000 merks.

Andrew married, secondly, Isabel Dunbar, and on 26th May 1651, they had sasine of the lands of Meikle Dallas, in the barony of Westray. He had by her:—

1. Hugh, afterwards of Glastullich;

2. Charles; 3. James.

(1) Barbara, married Andrew Macculloch, burghess of Tain, their contract of marriage being dated 4th March 1681.

VII. HUGH MACCULLOCH, second of Glastullich, succeeded as 'eldest son and heir of the second marriage,' to the exclusion of his elder half-brothers. On 29th July 1668, he had sasine on bond of provision by his father. He was twice married, but had no issue by his first wife, whose name is as yet unknown. He married, secondly, Helen, daughter of David Dunbar of Dunphail. Their contract of marriage is dated 3rd July, 1678. He died before 1703, leaving:—

VIII. DAVID, third of Glastullich. He recovered the lands of Glastullich, which were appraised from him by Hugh Ross of Braelangwell. In his contract of marriage with Christain, second daughter of Rorie Macleod of Cambuscarrie, dated at Inverchassly, 30th July 1706, the lady's uncle, Æneas Macleod of Cadboll, became bound to pay as tocher the sum of 3000 merks. Macculloch also became obliged, before the following July, to establish a sufficient title in his own person to the lands of Bellamukie, Glastullich, and others, and grant a formal and valid disposition and life-rent provision of five chaldern of victual to said Christian Macleod, his future spouse, and, on the other part, Macleod of Cadboll obliged himself to pay to Macculloch the tocher at Lammas 1707, about a month after the aforesaid life provision was perfected. It appears that Macculloch could not clear off the encumbrances on his property, and he was obliged to apply to Macleod to hand over 2000 merks of the tocher. Macleod agreed to this, and wrote to George Munro of Newmore, who had not yet paid the 3000 merks, which was the tocher of his sister, Christian Macleod's mother. Munro paid on Glastullich's behalf 2000 merks to George Mackenzie, Bellamukie, whose receipt is dated 3rd February 1707. Mackenzie's claims against Glastullich still amounted to 4500 merks, and Macculloch, being thus involved, tried to get the remaining portion of the tocher from Cadboll, who, notwithstanding the terms of the contract, declared that he was not responsible, and that Macculloch should seek relief from Newmore, who was his wife's near relative. The matter ended in a litigation of thirty years' duration. By his wife, Christian Macleod, he had issue:—

1. Hugh, styled eldest son in 1724, but dead before 1735;
2. Roderick of Glastullich;
3. Walter, born 19th October 1718. Upon 18th December 1735, his father granted a bond of provision in his favour of 1000 merks, payable on attaining his majority.
4. George, born 28th May 1720. On same date he had a similar bond to above. By his will, dated 15th November 1742, he disposed all his effects to his younger brother, David.
5. David, born 22nd October 1721. He had a bond of provision on same date as his brothers. By his will, dated 9th July 1744, he left all his effects to his brother Walter.
6. Angus;

(1) Peggy, eldest daughter; (2) Christian, married David Gray of Newton; (3) Helen, married William Ross, merchant, Fortrose; (4) Mary, married Rev. Hugh Rose, of Creich and Tain; (5) Elizabeth.

IX. Captain RODERICK MACCULLOCH, fourth of Glastullich, succeeded his father. He was a captain in Cromartie's Regiment, and was taken prisoner in Sutherland. He was a man of gigantic appearance, towering head and shoulders above his fellows. His appearance among the rebels as they were marched to their imprisonment in London attracted the attention of a court lady, who, as he passed, unfeelingly called out, 'You tall Scotch rebel, you'll be hanged, sir!' To which salute Macculloch replied with a courtly bow and smile, 'There's deil a doubt o' that, madam.' His bold and manly bearing, and nonchalant reply made such an impression that the lady straightway sought out the Duke of Newcastle, and begged permission to interview a 'giant rebel.' She was refused access, but so persistently did she seek to carry her point that on every occasion she approached the King or his Ministers she begged the life of her giant friend—whose name seems to have been unknown to her. At length, wearied out with her importunity, the King threatened to send her to the Tower, and in an autograph letter, still extant, ordered the Commandant to let her have access, and have the Scottish officers paraded before her. She identified her tall friend, and very soon afterwards Macculloch was set free with a full pardon. What the subsequent fate of the lady we know not. The estate of Glastullich was forfeited, but fortunately through the bonds granted to his brothers, Walter, George, and David, it was preserved to the family through the exertions of Walter, who, although living in India, brought an action of recovery against the King's Advocate, and was successful. Roderick Macculloch married, 1st, in 1752, Margaret, daughter of Gustavus Munro of Culrain. She died in 1756, aged 25, leaving a son, Gustavus, who, in 1757, was served as her heir—but he seems to have died young. In 1766 Roderick made a demand for possession of his wife's effects, and when her trunks were opened they were found to contain a blue cloth riding habit trimmed with gold lace with a white satin waistcoat, a blue cloth skirt, and a scarlet riding great cloak with brass buttons. He married, secondly, Jean, eldest daughter of David Ross of Inverchassly, by whom he had:—

1. David Macculloch, last of Glastullich;
- (1) Helen, married Captain Thomas Rose of Bindale, and had Lieutenants Alexander, William, and Roderick (?) of the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, and three daughters—Isobel, Helen, and Margaret.

X. DAVID, last of Glastullich, a captain in the army. He married Katherine Lawson of Leith, on the 23rd April 1795, and had:—

1. Margaret, born 28th September 1795;
2. Mary; she married, as second wife, 29th October 1819, William Baillie Rose of Rhynie (youngest son of Rev. Hugh Rose and Mary Macculloch), and had:—David Macculloch Rose, late of Rarichie, Lieut-General William Rose, Hugh Rose, Helen, and Catherine married to Rev. John Baldwin.

David of Glastullich died on 5th November 1802, and on 15th of the same month the Commissary Depute of Ross granted power to James Rose, Depute-Clerk of Session, Edinburgh, and William Baillie Rose of Rhynie, his brother, to act as guardians to the children. From an inventory made in November 1802, it appears there were among the deceased's effects—20 pair of breeches and pantaloons, 4 coats, 11 waist-coats, 2 dressing-gowns, a sword and scabbard.

D. M. R.

WILLIAM ERSKINE, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW

(*Vol. xii. pp. 62, 123.*)

THERE can be no doubt as to the parentage of Sir William Erskine. Craufurd in his *Peerage* (p. 301, Note *d*) says:—‘I have seen a charter in the Publick Rolls to this James Erskine of the lands of Little Sauchy and Katharine Stirling, his spouse, and to their Heirs. They had issue, James Erskine of Balgony, and Mr. William, who got the Parsonage of Campsay upon the Reformation in *Commendam*: he was afterwards promoted to the Commendatory of Paisley, anno 1579, and after that in 1587 made Titular Bishop of Glasgow, though all the while he was a Laick: he afterwards was knighted by King James vi., and left a daughter Janet, married to Sir William Alexander of Menstry, first Earl of Stirling.’ Mr. Erskine Scott, in his volume, *The Erskine-Halcro Genealogy* (Table I.), makes William the third son of James Erskine of Little Sauchie, and gives his mother's name as Christian Stirling. The extract from the MS. Calendar of the Register of Deeds furnished to Mr. Hallen by Mr. Maitland Thomson proves that William was the second son. Craufurd is wrong in naming the elder (or eldest) son James instead of Robert.

Sir William Erskine's wife was apparently a cousin of his own. Her name was Joanna Erskine, and in an inscription on a mural tablet erected to her memory and that of her husband by their son-in-law, Lord Stirling, she is described as ‘*illustri et communi Æreskinorum familia orta.*’ Their remains were transferred to the Craigengelt Aisle of Stirling Parish Church when it was acquired as a burial-place by the Earl of Stirling. This aisle was taken down in 1818, and a few years ago I identified some broken pieces of a tombstone in the possession of the present proprietors of the ground on which the aisle was built, as part of the mural tablet above referred to. The entire inscription is printed in Rogers' *House of Alexander*, vol. i. p. 186, and from it Mr. Hallen will see that Lady Stirling was the only daughter of Sir William Erskine. In the same work (p. 38, note) it is stated on the authority of *The Spottiswoode Miscellany* (vol. i. p. 104, note) that Alexander Erskine, son of Sir William Erskine, held some office about the Court, and that his grandson, Sir James Erskine obtained

a grant of lands in Ulster, but the authority cited bears that Sir James Erskine was the eleventh son of Alexander, second son of John, Earl of Mar, and he could not therefore be a descendant of Sir W. Erskine. I have not discovered any evidence that the Archbishop left a son. B.

A FORGOTTEN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF
BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

LOWNDES, who has been followed by other bibliographers, and also by the late Mrs. Oliphant in her recently published *Life of William Blackwood*, says of the *Scots Magazine*: 'This and the preceding periodical were driven out of the field soon after the appearance of *Blackwood's Magazine*,'—1817. By the sequestration of Archibald Constable and Company, John Ballantyne and Company, and Sir Walter Scott, the copyrights of certain works and periodicals became the property of their creditors, and constituted the principal assets to be realised. The more important periodicals whose copyrights were thus suddenly offered for sale were the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Scots Magazine*, published by Constable, and the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal*, published by Ballantyne. The sale of Scott's copyrights took place on 19th December 1827, but the periodicals were disposed of immediately after sequestration. It is matter of history that the *Review* was purchased by Adam Black. Lockhart says the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* was continued to James Ballantyne upon a moderate salary by the creditors, but this is not in strict accordance with the terms of an advertisement that appeared in the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 22nd July 1826, which states that 'The proprietors of the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* intimate that it has been purchased by the person who conducted it for the last nine years.' This person was, of course, James Ballantyne. Did the *Scots Magazine* obtain a purchaser? That a flourishing magazine with such a long and historical record should be allowed to sink into oblivion at a time that may be called the Augustine age of literature in Edinburgh seems highly improbable. William Blackwood had long been desirous of publishing and editing a periodical. In 1806, when the *Edinburgh Weekly Journal* was first purchased by Ballantyne for £1850, Blackwood and Provost Brown of Aberdeen had jointly offered £20 less. In 1817 Blackwood commenced the publication of his magazine, whose success was fully assured long before 1826. Can it be imagined that Blackwood would purchase the copyright of the *Scots Magazine*? The result of a search, however, revealed the curious fact that the copyright had been purchased by William Blackwood on 12th July 1826. The price paid does not transpire, but probably Messrs. Blackwood and Sons may refer to their business books and let the amount be known. In the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* of 27th July 1826 appeared the following advertisement:—'*Edinburgh Magazine*: a New Series of the *Scots Magazine*. The Trustee upon the Sequestered Estate of Messrs. Archibald Constable and Coy. begs to inform the subscribers to the above Work that the Publication of it is now discontinued, the copyright having been purchased by Mr. Blackwood—Edinburgh, 12th July 1826.'

This remarkable purchase must have been effected for no other reason

than the suppression of the *Scots Magazine*, and possibly he may have attempted to obtain the copyright of the *Edinburgh Review* also. By this diplomatic transaction the triumph of William Blackwood over the rival with whom he had waged a warfare for nearly ten years was complete, but no signs of jubilation appear to have escaped him; and it is doubtful if even his henchmen Lockhart, Hogg, and Wilson were aware of the episode. That it was unknown to the late Mrs. Oliphant may be assumed from the error she commits of consigning the *Scots Magazine* to extinction from other causes 'soon after' the appearance of *Blackwood's Magazine*.

G. W. NIVEN.

GREENOCK.

THE RECORDS OF AN ANTI-BURGHHER CONGREGATION.

DUNNIKIER FREE CHURCH has a longer history behind it than most Free Churches. The congregation originated in 1747, the year when the Secession was divided by the Burgess Oath controversy into two Synods, Burgher and Anti-burgher. Dunnikier congregation was the Anti-burgher section of the Kirkcaldy Seceders. It has maintained a continuous existence down to the present time, and in 1852 it joined the Free Church.

Mr. Fairweather, the present incumbent of the church, has compiled an excellent sketch of its history.¹ Naturally the book is of a kind which appeals to a somewhat limited audience. It has, however, an element of general historical interest in the numerous excerpts which it contains from the Kirk-session Records of the old Anti-burgher congregation. These present a vivid picture of Seceder life in a country town a hundred years ago. The Session exercised inquisitorial control over the minutest details of life. The grosser offences, drunkenness and the like, of course receive no mercy. 'Promiscuous dancing' is sternly dealt with. Above all, anything like defection from the testimony is watched with sleepless vigilance. 'Promiscuous hearing,' swearing the Burgess Oath, 'giving countenance' to the Commissary Court at St. Andrews, 'which has a mixed jurisdiction of civil and ecclesiastic joined together, and has its origin in Episcopacy,' are all noted as matters of discipline. On October 24, 1748, John Nicolson acknowledges his sin in being married by a minister of the Established Church, with the further iniquity of 'having a penny wedding.' Perhaps the climax is reached in the following entry, *circa* 1755 (Mr. Fairweather is a little casual about his dates): 'It was reported to the Session that John Collier had *witnessed his brother's being married by a Burgher minister*, and just now offered himself voluntarily to the Session. He was called in, compeared, and was interrogate why he did so? Answered he did it in his simplicity. Was interrogate 2^{do} if he saw the evil of it as in some measure giving up his profession? Answered he did. Being interrogate 3^{tio} if he resolved in the strength of grace not to do the like afterwards? Answered in the affirmative. He being removed, the Session considering his affair agreed that he be rebuked and admonished before the Session.'

It is not attractive, that old Seceder world. Most people nowadays,

¹ *Memorials of Dunnikier Church, Kirkcaldy; with an Historical Introduction.* Edited by Rev. William Fairweather, M.A., 1897.

even among its modern representatives, would find its doctrines absurd, its discipline of conduct intolerable. It stood sulkily aloof from the public life of the country. It looked with glum hostility on art, on letters, on all that gives grace and charm to life. But beyond doubt it was a fine school of the sterner virtues (which after all are the important ones), and it developed many of the qualities which have made modern Scotland what she is. One may not share Mr. Fairweather's view that 'cold, colourless imbecility' was the characteristic of the church of Reid and Robertson, or the reverence with which he describes the old Kirkcaldy Anti-burghers as 'those covenanted saints.' But one may cordially indorse his opinion that 'amid whatever limitations of defect it carried on its work, the Secession Church did yeoman service to Christianity in Scotland.'

IRISH TEXTS SOCIETY.

It is proposed to found an Irish Texts Society for the purpose of publishing texts in the Irish language, accompanied by introductions, English translations, and brief notes.

The active co-operation of numerous Irish scholars, among whom may be named Dr. Douglas Hyde, Standish Hayes O'Grady, Tomás ó Flannghaile, and Mr. David Comyn has been secured, and an arrangement has been made with the firm of David Nutt, of 270 and 271 Strand, London, for the publication of the Society's volumes.

There are two classes of readers to whom the Society especially appeals for support; first, the large and increasing number of those who are taking an interest in the language of their native country; and secondly, those who, as philologists, archæologists, etc., are concerned with the scientific aspect of Irish literature. To the former, the publication of Modern texts (1600 A.D. to the present day) is of immediate necessity; to the second, the Middle-Irish texts have a more especial value. As yet only a small part of this great literature, in either of its periods, has been made generally accessible.

With the object of appealing to the first class of students, it is proposed to give the larger place in the Society's scheme to works of the modern class, and the first volume will contain a collection of romantic tales, edited with translation, by Dr. Douglas Hyde.

While directing immediate attention to modern tracts, the Society by no means overlooks the importance of the earlier texts, and it has in view the publication of many of the more important of those that are as yet unedited.

THE LATE SIR WILLIAM FRASER, K.C.B., LL.D.

By Sir William Fraser's death, on Sunday 13th March, Scotland has lost one of its most eminent genealogists and record scholars. Sir William was born in Kincardineshire in 1816; admitted a Solicitor before the Supreme Courts in 1851; Deputy-Keeper of the Sasines, 1852-1880; Deputy-Keeper of the Records, 1880-1892; LL.D. Edinburgh, 1882;

C.B., 1885 ; K.C.B., 1887 ; Reporter for Scotland for some years to the Historical Commission.

In his private capacity he wrote a large number of family histories, a list of which is here added :—

- The Stirlings of Keir, and their Family Papers. 1 vol., 1858.
- Memorials of the Montgomeries, Earls of Eglinton. 2 vols., 1859.
- Memoirs of the Maxwells of Pollok. 2 vols., 1863.
- The Maxwell, Herries, and Nithsdale Muniments, 1865.
- The Poilok-Maxwell Baronetcy, 1866.
- History of the Carnegies, Earls of Southesk, and their Kindred. 2 vols., 1867.
- The Red Book of Grandtully. 2 vols., 1868.
- The Chiefs of Colquhoun, and their Country. 2 vols., 1869.
- The Book of Caerlavrock ; Memoirs of the Maxwells, Earls of Nithsdale, Lords Maxwell and Herries. 2 vols., 1873.
- The Chartulary of Colquhoun, 1873.
- The Lennox. 2 vols., 1874.
- The Chartulary of Pollok-Maxwell, 1875.
- The Earls of Cromarty, their Kindred, Country, and Correspondence. 2 vols., 1876.
- The Scotts of Buccleuch. 2 vols., 1878.
- The Red Book of Menteith. 2 vols., 1880.
- The Chiefs of Grant. 3 vols., 1883.
- The Douglas Book. 4 vols., 1885.
- Memorials of the Family of Wemyss of Wemyss. 3 vols., 1888.
- The Earls of Haddington. 2 vols., 1889.
- The Melvilles, Earls of Melville ; and the Leslies, Earls of Leven. 3 vols., 1890.
- The Sutherland Book. 3 vols., 1892.
- The Annandale Book. 2 vols., 1894.
- The Elphinstone Book, the last proof of which he is believed to have corrected very shortly before his death. 2 vols., 1898.

These form an imposing and tolerably uniform series of important quartos. How far the Memoirs, which form large parts of them, will stand the test of time remains in some measure to be seen, but they contain many hitherto unprinted charters, and much other valuable information which was previously buried in private charter-chests, and for access to which in these volumes, both antiquaries and historians must ever be thankful.

In addition to these family records, Sir William in 1874 edited the *Registrum Monasterii S. Marie de Cambuskenneth*, at the request of the Marquis of Bute, by whom the book was presented to the members of the Grampian Club.

All Sir William Fraser's works were of private and limited issue.

QUERIES.

ST. SPALDING.—In an obligation dated 7th June 1544, one of the terms of payment is St. Spalding's Day, 6th July. Is anything known of this saint? His name is not mentioned in Bishop Forbes' *Kalendars*. The 6th July was St. Palladius Day. B.

GRAY FAMILY.—I shall be glad to receive information as to the names of the son and grandson of William Gray of Balbunno and Lauriston, who was grandson of Patrick, Lord Gray, who died 1609. (I have omitted to note the number of the Lord as I doubt the accuracy of the existing rotation expressed in the *Peerages*.) The William named died before 1663, I think *circa* 1662, and was succeeded in Balbunno by his great-grandson Andrew Gray designed of Balbunno. Spec. Service (Perth) 11 February 1663. There is another service in the Record of Retours in connection with this William, wherein his eldest son James was served heir to his father, William, in the contiguous property of Lauriston 5 June 1663. This latter person is frequently mentioned *inter alia* in the records of the period in connection with his brother Andrew of Bullion, his father, also designed of Bullion, son of Lord Gray, and his uncle Patrick, the infamous Master of Gray of history. Burke, in his *Landed Gentry*, mentions this family in connection with a daughter and a younger son Charles, but the parochial registers of the parish of Liff, Benvie, and Invergowrie, show that Andrew of Balbunno had other sons and daughters besides those enumerated by Sir Bernard, viz. :—

Helen, bapt. Nov^r 6, 1669.

John, bapt. Feb. 28, 1673.

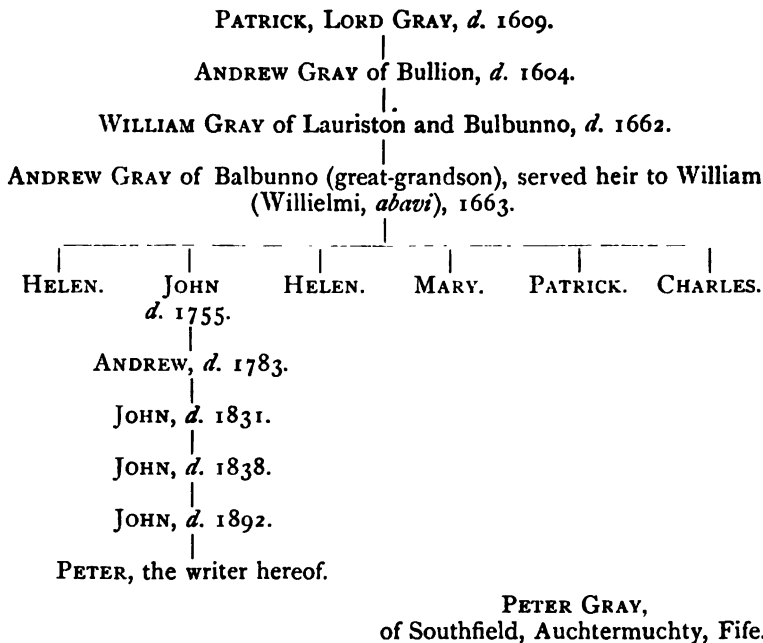
Helen, bapt. June 14, 1675.

Mary, bapt. May 16, 1677.

Patrick, bapt. March 22, 1679.

Charles, bapt. Sept. 20, 1681.

The following is the descent :—



HON. JOHN JOHNSTONE.—I have consulted Sir William Fraser's Book of the Johnstones for some information about John Johnstone, brother
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to William, first Marquis of Annandale, but though one might reasonably expect to gain, in this way, some information regarding him, I can find very little. He was born in 1665, and in 1702 had a grant from his brother of the £10 lands of Stapleton in Dumfriesshire. These lands reverted to his brother's estate on the death of John Johnstone without lawful issue.

I cannot find the date of his death nor that of his will, but he was alive in 1715, in which year he secretly aided the Jacobite rising, as I read elsewhere.

Perhaps some of your readers can tell me when he died, if he was ever married, and whether he left issue.

F. A. J.

LONDON.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL (Lord Ormelie), eldest son of the first Earl of Breadalbane. We find Lord Saltoun (in his own book) objecting to John, a young brother of Duncan, using the titles while Duncan had a son alive. That son was believed to have been baptized, married, and died in the Parish of Aberdour (near Fraserburgh).

Is it true that he, Lord Ormelie, travelled about in disguise, and signed himself a *traveller*, a *caird*?

Can you tell me when and where he died? I will feel grateful for any information regarding him.

G.

JOHN GRAHAM OF KILBRIDE (see vol. xi. p. 108, vol. xii. pp. 33, 36, 129).—Is it certain that the second John, son of Malise, was legitimate? Why are he and his brother Walter described as 'sones carnall' in the renunciation of 25th February 1494? (*Notes on the Priory of Inschmahome*, by the Rev. William Macgregor, Stirling, p. 71.—*Notes and Queries*, 2nd January 1897, p. 9.) Is there any deed in existence in which they are called lawful sons? The charter to Walter of the Lake of Lochton, etc., 8th December 1485 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.*), describe him as 'son' only.

John Graham of Kilbride was certainly alive 19th October 1478, when he appears as baillie for Malise (Inst. of Sasine produced from Montrose Charter Chest, 21st July 1871. Printed in *Minutes of Evidence, House of Lords, Airth Peerage Case*, p. 39).

The Act of Council, 22nd June 1492, contains two erasures, the second of which applies to the word 'apperand' after 'Alex' Grahame' and before 'are.' Two errors having been made in the entry and erased, it is not an unlikely supposition that a third, the words 'and are' after 'Johne Grahame ye sone' also occurred, and was forgotten to be erased by the writer. (A facsimile of the entry showing the erasures is printed in the *Airth Minutes of Evidence*, p. 22.) R. BARCLAY ALLARDICE.

ROLLAND—Arms, a fess chequy *or* and *vert*, between three crescents *or*, two and one, on a field *sable*. Rouland 1528 as in Stodart's *Scottish Arms*, plate 96, from Sir James Balfour's mss. Any information as to ownership would oblige.

W. B.

REPLIES.

TUSTIMAS.—Your correspondent gives the day of the Fair of Tustimas as the fourth Tuesday of November O.S. Against the 28th November on the Dunfermline Kalendar (see Forbes's *Kalendar*) is marked 'Natale sancti Sosthenis discipuli apostolorum . . .' I have not found this saint in the Kalendar of Ferne (*Forbes*, p. 67) a Kalendar more likely, I should suppose, to be observed in Caithness, and against the identification of Tusti with Sosthenes it may be urged that the fair being fixed according to the Old Style would apparently fall at the date of the New Statistical Account, twelve days later than its date according to the Church Kalendar. This would transfer it into the first week of December, New Style, or thereabout. If, however, as is probable, the fair was named before the introduction of the New Style, it would probably have retained its name though its date ceased to tally with the Kalendar of the Church. The feast of St. Thomas, whose name seems quite as likely to have been buried in this peculiar word, does not arrive till 21st December. J.

DUMBARTON PROTOCOL BOOKS.—My experience is the same as that of A. W. G. B. In the *Red Book of Menteith* (vol. i. p. 523) Sir W. Fraser gives an extract from the 'Protocol Book of John Graham, 1520-1542,' which book is stated in a note to be in the Town Clerk's Office, Stirling. It is not there, however, and I am told it may have been lent out to Sir W. Fraser. If this be the case, the obvious inference is that by some oversight it has not been returned, and the Dumbarton Protocol Books may be in the same position. The respective Town Clerks should be asked to see that the registers for which they are responsible are duly replaced. B.

DONOTE.—I find I have transcribed this name Donoce, but queried it with a (?). I suspect it is a clerical error for Dorote (Dorothy). B.

JOHN GRAHAM OF KILLEARN, 1716.—The Justice of Peace Court-Book for Stirlingshire, 1689-1720, shows that on 5th June, 1688, John Graham of Killearn accepted office as J.P. This would indicate his recent succession to the estate. John Graham, yr. of Killearn, is in list of subscribers to Mackenzie's *Lives*, 1722. B.

HOUSTON OF CREICH.—'Spernit Humum' may find an answer to his query (see p. 42) in Mr. D. Murray Rose's communications to the *Scottish Antiquary*, iv. 140-2, and vi. 94-6. Other references to Houstons will be found in ii. 150, iii. 63, 159, iv. 93, 136, and v. 189. Ed.

JOHN GRAHAM OF KILBRIDE.—In a letter by Mr. Walter M. Graham Easton, in your January issue, he says:—'John of Kilbride was beneath the sod, drowned, or witched away, etc., before 19th April 1471, when his brother Patrick of Gartrenich (father of second Earl) was son and heir of his father.'

In an entry in *Stirling Sasine Register*, dated 23rd October 1476. 'Malise, Earl of Menteith, sound in mind and body, for good deeds done to him by his dearest spouse, Lady Jonet, Countess of Menteith, gave and bestowed' (certain family plate and personal jewels) *for her lifetime*, and 'same day bestowed (the fee of) the foresaid jewells on John

Graham, his SON NATURAL, for his good deeds and services,' also giving him sasine of a carucate of land called '*Le Akyr*,' in the barony of Port and shire of Perth.

While not conversant with the dispute, or having read anything but Mr. Easton's letter, this appears to settle one point in that controversy, viz. that Malise, first Earl of Menteith, *had an illegitimate son, John Graham.*

In a Stirling protocol book a *Patrick* of Menteith is a disputer with his mother, *Elene Lochaw*, in January 1479-80, and interdict is applied for against her selling her own annual rents and tenements in Stirling, he being 'her son and apparent heir,' for her subsistence. He offers her board and lodging in John Menteith of Rathow's house. J. S. F.

MACGREGOR OF GLENGYLE (see vol. xii. p. 136).—Mr. Easton might refer to Burke for 1849 (vol. iii. Suppt. p. 214, 215) where the pedigree is given with considerable fulness down to the time of the late laird, James, twelfth from Dugald Ciar Mòr, who died on 26th January 1897, aged 79 years, and with whom the direct line terminated. In a memorandum I have on the family, I find this James noted as being the great-grandson of Gregor Glune Dhu (1688-1777), whereas, according to Burke, he was great-great-grandson. The discrepancy I have not yet elucidated.

J. I.

12th February 1898.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Early Fortifications of Scotland: Motes, Camps, and Forts (The Rhind Lectures for 1894), by David Christison, M.D., F.R.C.P.E., Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. William Blackwood and Sons. 1898. Fcap. quarto, pp. xxii + 386, 379 plans and illustrations, and 3 maps. Price 21s. net.

IF genius be the 'faculty for taking infinite pains,' we see no reason against placing this book in the category of its products.

Thirteen summers of well-directed personal investigation in the field, succeeded, during the winters, by equally concentrated and discriminating research into charters, maps, and books, have given Dr. Christison a claim to be considered something more than a first essayist in a department of archæology, which, as he himself admits, is 'so extensive and, from its very nature, necessarily so vague.'

To zeal and untiring patience in ascertaining primal sources for his statements the author brings the added charm of a clear and graceful literary style. The Lectures of 1894 were good; this volume is better. It runs to 386 pages, contains over 130 illustrations reproduced from careful pen and ink drawings by zinco-photography (many of them full-page), a complete bibliography of the subject, a copious index, and three large maps showing the distribution of the structures examined. The maps, so far as we notice, are the only defective part of the book; and that, not as maps, but as paper, being in that respect too flimsy for use.

That there have been many other observers, who from time to time have described British Forts, is evident from the fact that the Bibliography names over 130 separate papers, the results in which Dr. Christison has,

however, for the first time collated, sifted, and re-arranged for the purpose of this volume. But, with the exception of Miss Maclagan's *Hill-Forts*, Sir W. Chambers' *Peeblesshire Accounts*, Rev. J. K. Hewison's work on *Bute*, Mr. F. R. Coles' *Survey of the Stewartry*, and Mr. John Smith's *Survey of Ayrshire*, no large section of the country has been examined. Dr. Christison has 'pioneered' the rest of Scotland in this branch of antiquarian lore. One point of great importance, let us add, this volume gives effect to: the more exact and truthful contour of the structures shown in these illustrations, as compared with the older style (*à la Grose e.g.*) when hasty sketch-views were worked up at home and the very angles of a mote or fort compressed to suit the page! Throughout the book, truthfulness, in verbal description as well as in drawings, is prominent. As a double record, appealing, thus, to both optical and mental perception, this work is a body of facts, unobtainable elsewhere.

It is natural that Dr. Christison should mainly apply himself to the structural features of the Early Fortifications. That he could also appreciate the archaeological evidence of relics obtained in these structures would also doubtless be certain—if only their secrets had been revealed by excavation. With great justice does the author enter a protest against the too prevalent ambition for exploring in foreign countries to the neglect of our own.

Starting, in part I. with a definition of the term 'mote,' Dr. Christison leads up with a brief review of notices of several in England, Wales, and Ireland, to an account of Scottish Motes, their very unequal distribution, centred chiefly in Kirkcudbrightshire, etc. That they were the immediate precursors of the Norman Castles is the general conclusion upon their probable period. Detailed descriptions follow, culminating with that of the Mote of Urr, 'probably one of the finest specimens in any country.' A chapter, etymologically valuable, on such words as *Burgh*, *Birren*, *Burrian*, with four tables showing their occurrence in districts, concludes this section. The Second Part, on Rectilinear Works, contains an examination into General Roy's theories regarding Roman Camps, a technical description of Birrens and Ardoch (copiously illustrated), of so-called Roman Camps in Clydesdale, Strathearn, and East Perth, and of other rectangular works not called Roman, with a chapter and tables on the occurrence of *Chesters* as a place-name.

By far the greater portion of the book is devoted to the Forts proper: 'the despised works of one of the few races that succeeded in keeping at bay the proud conquerors of the world.'

Their comital distribution, the nature of their sites, their elevation, their constructive materials, the question of vitrification, their ground plans, and all their minor features are most carefully and exhaustively examined. The difficult topic of their characteristics in different districts is then treated of. Burghead has a brief notice, the Caterthuns a very full one, and the remarkable Fort on Culter Water called Cow Castle, has due attention drawn to its peculiarities.

The Chesters near Drem, Kaimes Hill, or Dalmahoy, Edinshall, and Addistonlee near Hawick are among the best illustrated of all the Forts. Chapters XI. and XII. treat of the relation of place names to the Forts in which it will be matter of surprise to most readers to find so many Rottenrows in addition to the one in Hyde Park. Lists of all the important roots, as *e.g.* Car, Dun, Rath, Lis, etc., are given. In a summary

of the relics hitherto obtained in Forts while under excavation, there is but the one admission to make, that, with the exception of Dùnbuie, not one has been excavated in an exhaustive manner; and in short the results in this direction are as yet too meagre to permit of any sound conclusions upon the period of their use. Some observations upon enclosures not fortified and upon Hill-Terraces, such as those at Romanno, and a concluding chapter giving general results bring to a close this volume, which, by its style, its scientific method, and its thoroughness, should recommend itself to all who cherish a true interest in gaining light upon one of the little studied phases of the ancient national life.

The History of Scotland from Agricola's Invasion to the extinction of the last Jacobite Insurrection, by John Hill Burton. New edition in eight volumes. Blackwood and Sons. 1897. 8vo, vol. vi. pp. x+426, vol. vii. pp. x+469, vol. viii. pp. x+556+100 (index). Price 3s. 6d. each.

VOLUME VI., the first of the three volumes noted above, begins with a retrospect of the period between 1603 and 1615—a period, the treatment of which had been commenced in the last chapters of vol. v. Tytler accompanies King James the Sixth to London, sees him ascend the English throne, and there leaves him, and retraces his steps to Scotland. At our last sight of the historian, as we close his book, he is standing in the middle of the road by Seton Castle in a fit of gloomy sentimentalism, pointing to a stone where King James, on his way south, sat while the funeral of a representative of ancient Scottish nobility passed out of sight in its sad procession to the place of graves. It was an omen or it was nothing. In Burton, on the other hand, Scotland still continues to have a history. Careless of the sentiment of the thing, he narrates how King Jamie played the part of King of England, how he invented the word 'Great Britain,' how his son, Prince Henry, tried to teach the English the game of golf, and how hungry Scots flocked over the Border southward. Burton may not be always accurate, and may be at times too sparing of his dates to make it easy to check him. Partisans may convict him here and there of wrong conclusions, but they do not convict him of being a partisan. His language is often strong, but never violent. As he leads us on through the times of Covenanting struggles, details the intrigues which procured the union of the kingdoms, and marshals the elements which produced the Jacobite risings and their defeat, he displays a panorama of Scottish history which is full of picturesque incident and illustrations of the times, and the main features of which remain indelible in the memory of his reader. The index to the history, which occupies a hundred pages at the end of volume viii., is a very material addition to the value of the work as a book of reference.

The Highlands of Scotland in 1750. From Manuscript 104, The King's Library, British Museum, with an Introduction by Andrew Lang. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1898. 8vo, pp. xlvi+169. Price 5s.

THE latter half of the eighteenth century is in some ways the most interesting and the most critical period of Scottish history. During those fifty years the history of old Scotland—the impoverished, turbulent Scotland

of the fighting clans and the heritable jurisdictions—came to an end; the Union was for the first time got into working order; and the history of modern industrial and agricultural Scotland began. The ms. which Mr. Lang has edited is a valuable addition to our materials for the history of the transition.

The ms., which is anonymous, is conjectured by Mr. Lang to be the work of one Bruce, a Government official, who in 1749 was employed to survey the forfeited and other estates in the Highlands. The author gives in considerable detail an account of his travels between the Pentland Firth and the Point of Ardnamurchan, thence back to Inverness, then round the East Coast, and across to Argyllshire. He adds 'some General Observations concerning the Late Rebellion and the Dispositions of the People of Scotland,' and makes some suggestions as to 'the most likely means to Civilise the Barbarous Highlanders and improve their Country.' Of course he sees everything from an English, Whig, and Protestant point of view, for which due allowance has to be made. Still, he gives us much valuable information as to the condition of the people, and not a few interesting scraps of clan history and tradition. Like other Lowland observers, he saw little of the 'good old times which tradition beholds in the distance behind Culloden.' His picture of the golden patriarchal age of the Highlands contains plenty of tyrannical and grasping chiefs, and of poverty-stricken people, whose numbers far exceeded the means of subsistence, and who lived in ignorance, dirt, and destitution, on cattle-theft and blackmail. At the same time, he notes many changes for the better. For example, the M'Raes in Kintail 'within these twenty years were little better than Heathens in their Principles, and almost as unclean as Hottentots in their way of Living; but whilst Seaforth's Estate was in the Hands of the Government, about the year 1726, a Large Parish here, where there had been no Minister for many years (nor would they suffer any of the Established Clergy) was divided into two, and Ministers and Schools were planted in them, which has made a Surprizing Alteration in the People, even in point of Common Civility, Decency, and Cleanliness.'

Naturally Bruce's estimate of the character of different clans depended a good deal on their political colour. Thus the M'Kays, who 'of old were reckoned the most Barbarous and Wicked of all the Clans,' are described as being 'the most religious of all the Tribes that dwell among the mountains, South or North. . . . The M'Kays abhor Thieving.' (Lord Reay was a good Whig.) The Monroes, again, are 'well affected, Honest, Industrious, and Religious People. Those who call them Enthusiastical, Revengefull, and Lazy, do not know them or are highly prejudiced against them.' On the other hand, the Camerons are 'a Lazy, Silent, Sly, and Enterprising People,' and Knoydart, in the Macdonald country, is 'a perfect Den of Thieves and Robbers.' It need scarcely be said that the Campbells get an excellent character.

The author's own observations and suggestions are less interesting than his facts, but they show both knowledge and common-sense, and some of them have been justified by history.

Mr. Lang contributes a readable preface and some verses on Culloden. He has been fortunate in obtaining some valuable notes from Mr. William Mackay, author of *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*. The book would be much the better of an index.

Tituli Hunteriani: An Account of the Roman Stones in the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, by James Macdonald, M.A., LL.D., F.S.A. Scot., with Prefatory Note by John Young, M.D., Professor of Natural History in the University, and Keeper of the Hunterian Museum. Glasgow: T. and R. Annan and Sons. 1897. Quarto, 100 pp., 45 illustrations and map. 15s. net.

SPECIAL interest attaches to this work, inasmuch as it combines the results of a critical examination of Scoto-Roman epigraphy by several of our foremost Romano-British scholars and antiquaries with the best examples of recent photographic art, in the interpretation of an important section of Roman Legionary Tablets and Altars.

Originally conceived by Dr. John Young, the recording and illustration of the historical stones discovered from time to time on the line of the great Antonine Wall (or Pius Vallum) has now been efficiently carried out by Dr. Macdonald, whose position, as the Rhind Lecturer on the Roman Occupation of North Britain, enhances the value of any treatise on a subject which he has made so peculiarly his own. This has been done, as he himself readily admits, with the hearty co-operation not only of Mr. Haverfield of Christchurch, Oxford, but also of Mr. Bosanquet of Cambridge, who has contributed Notes of definite value and importance upon a fine Roman Bronze Jug found at Sadlerhead in Lanarkshire. The volume contains photogravures of this Jug and of all the forty-five carved, sculptured, or inscribed stones, or fragments of stones, unearthed during the lengthy period throughout which the attention of archæologists has been directed towards the Forth and Clyde Wall—a period beginning with the end of the sixteenth century, when Timothy Pont inspected it—and embracing further inspection and description by Gordon of Straloch, Camden, Sibbald, Alexander Gordon, Horsley, Roy, and Robert Stuart. Brief Prefaces by Dr. Young and the author are followed by an Introduction, dealing, first, with the origin of the Roman Room in the Hunterian Museum; next describing, but all too briefly, the Vallum itself; thirdly, classifying the stones in the Roman Room. These, the author throws into three groups: Commemorative Slabs, Altars, and Sepulchral Stones. The body of the work then begins with a full description, with necessary references to the older authorities, of the various Inscribed Stones, taking Chapel Hill, on the extreme west, as the starting-point, and so working eastwards to Castlecary, 'the last of the Vallum Forts represented in the Roman Room, and the twelfth in order from west to east.'

The sepulchral slab, inscribed 'DIS MANIBVS AMMONIVS,' for so long doubtfully attributed to the Station at Ardoch, is now on the best authority certainly assigned to that great Roman site. In the second section, the un-inscribed Stones are treated of; nine in number, the majority sadly defaced, and none presenting features of special interest.

In a work manifestly intended to be both popular and satisfactory to the critical—if such an ideal be possible—we cannot but note one point upon which the text of the volume throws no light. To the enquiring student, one of the first points calling for elucidation in connection with the remarkable series of Distance Tablets (*i.e.*, the Inscribed Stones which record that a certain amount of the Vallum was made by this, that and the other cohort) is: for what lineal measure does the letter P stand on these stones? Dr. Macdonald on p. 7 says: 'It will be seen from the notices

of the Vallum Stones that many of them record the number of *paces or feet,* [italics ours], etc.; and, throughout the descriptions the same alternative phrase is used. Dr. Hübner is credited, farther down on the same page, with the opinion that the P stands for *pedes* and not for *passus*; but into the grounds for this opinion, neither Dr. Macdonald nor Mr. Haverfield seems to have examined. That Hübner's opinion is at any rate very near the mark is surely ascertainable enough by the following simple process of reasoning. The Roman *passus* consisted of 5 *pedes*, the *pes* being a small fraction less than our 'foot' of 12 inches. Measuring the distance on Roy's accurate plan of the Vallum between, say, Duntocher and Balmuildie, we find it is a little over 6 miles Roman measure. Adding up the sums of the measures of work recorded on the ten or twelve stones hitherto discovered in this piece of the Vallum, we find the total to be 46,613 P. In a Roman mile there were 7500 *pedes*; in $6\frac{1}{4}$ miles therefore there are 46,875 *pedes*. The results of these two measurements, therefore, tally pretty closely. Even if this admittedly rough and ready calculation does not meet the demand for exactitude, it surely at any rate proves that the initial P stood for either the actual *pes* or for something less, certainly for no greater measure, and most certainly not for *passus*, which, if intended, would extend the Vallum for over 195 miles! Even on the supposition that more stones remain as yet underground in this strip of the Vallum, the validity of this calculation is not touched; such a discovery would only prove that the initial P really meant a rather shorter measure still than what we understand by the Roman 'foot.' It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the old Scottish mile was computed, at least up to 1711, in paces of five feet each.

Again, the ascription of the Vallum to Antonine is not readily made clear, from the lack of a brief summary, which should have stated the number of stones inscribed to deities or personages. As it happens, Antoninus Pius is commemorated on quite sixteen of these—but the reader has to ascertain this for himself.

The map on the frontispiece lacks a scale, which is a rather serious want, for the reason that no ordinary maps show the exact line of the Vallum, and, as the names of stations on the line of wall are also not to be found in everyday atlases, the student is now and then at a loss for special localities. The index might have been considerably fuller; no names of *e.g.* scholars or antiquarians, whose descriptions or opinions are embodied in the volume, being entered. The photogravures themselves are excellent, and with the equally excellent typography and paper should be treasured by all interested in the history of Romano-Scotic history and antiquities.

Extracts from the Records of the Kirk-Session of Elgin, 1584-1779; with a brief Record of the Readers, Ministers, and Bishops, 1567-1897, by Wm. Cramond, LL.D., F.S.A.Scot., Schoolmaster of Cullen. Elgin: Courant and Courier Office. 1897. 8vo, pp. i+359. Price 1s. 6d.

THIS volume, which states itself to be a reprint from the columns of the *Elgin Courant and Courier*, concerns a parish which, as Dr. Cramond rightly says in his preface, was of more than ordinary extent, containing a large burghal and a considerable rural population. The business of the Kirk-Session of such a parish was of a very varied character. The succes-

sive Session-clerks of the parish of Elgin were, fortunately, men possessed of exceptional qualifications for their office. It thus happens that the Minutes of the Elgin Kirk-Session are in several respects the most valuable now extant for the illustration of the social and religious life of the country in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From so miscellaneous a feast as the extracts from the records of such a court, it is impossible within reasonable space to present anything representative. The contrasts among the characters of the items of its administration, registered in quick succession by its clerks, may be illustrated by the extracts from the Minutes of 1745. Sandwiched between observances of fasts on account of the war with Spain and France and the rebellion at home, is the appointment of a day for administration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, 'if the troubles hinder not,' and a grant of £1, 10s. to 'help to carry Isobel Glass to the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh.' The list of ministers goes considerably beyond that in Scott's *Fasti*. The volume evinces much patient labour on the part of Dr. Cramond, who has made of it a valuable addition to his already extensive and useful series of extracts from parish records.