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THE POEMS OF DAVID RATE, CONFESSOR OF KING JAMES THE FIRST OF SCOTLAND.

IN the University Library, Cambridge, there is a manuscript which deserves more attention from Scotsmen than it has yet received. Its catalogue reference is Kk. 1. 5. Originally bound as a thick quarto, titled *Tracts*, it was about thirty years ago separated and rebound in eight parts or volumes. The contents of the several parts are as follows, viz. :—

- Part I. The Boke of Polocye, by Christine de Pisa.
- „ II. The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, by Sir Philip Sidney.
- „ III. Ye grete lawis of Scotland of ye gude King David, the quhillk laws are contenit in ye buke the quhillk be callit Regiam Magestatem.
- „ IV. (1) Ye copis of the Roll of Ulerioun and ye Jugement of ye lawis of ye sea ; (2) The law of Burch mayde throw King Davide Malcolme sone and Saynt Margaret ; (3) A short Latin poem, beginning, 'Taurus cornutus ex patris germine brutus' ; (4) A prophecy in Scottish verse ; and (5) Beket's prophecy, with a Scottish Metrical Version.
- „ V. Bernardus de cura rei famularis, with a paraphrase in Scottish verse. [E.E.T. Society, ed. by Professor Lumby, including Nos. 4 and 5 of the preceding Part.]

NOTE.—III., IV., and V. are in the same handwriting.

- „ VI. (1) The Craft of Deyng ; (2) Ballad of Maxims ; (3) Chaucer's Flee from the press ; (4) Ballad, 'Sen trew Vertew,' etc. ; (5) Eight line verse, 'Sen in waist,' etc. ; (6) Dicta Salomonis ; (7) Advice of a Father to his Son (Ratis Raving) ; (8) The foly of fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen ; (9) Consail and Teiching at the vys man gaif his sone ; (10) The Thewis of Gud

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women ; (11) The Vertewis of the Mess. [E.E.T.S., ed. by Professor Lumby.]

Part VII. Sir Lancelot of the Lak. [E.E.T.S., ed. by Professor Skeat.]

NOTE.—VI. and VII. are in the same handwriting.

„ VIII. Miscellaneous extracts of Scottish Laws.¹

Although in the Library Catalogue treated as one ms., there is not the slightest doubt that the eight parts originally formed three, or it may even be four, distinct MSS. For our present purpose, however, we may regard them as three. The first, which we shall call ms. A, comprises Parts iii., iv., and viii. ; the second, ms. B, Parts i., v., vi., and vii. ; the third, ms. C, Part ii. There are still extant some twenty or more mss. of the A class, nearly all of them having the scribe's 'omne gaderum,' into which pieces like the metrical prophecies were easily admitted. English examples of the B class, *i.e.* miscellanies relating to Morals and Manners, are not uncommon, among such being mss. like Ashmole 61, and Lambeth 853 ; the Camb. ms. Kk. 1. 5, so far as Scotland is concerned, is probably unique. Ms. C cannot be older than the end of the sixteenth century, more probably it belongs to the seventeenth century. Its connection with the seven parts was at first only the result of contract between some late owner and his bookbinder.

It is of ms. B alone, and particularly of a few of the poetical pieces in it, that I wish at present to speak. Professors Skeat and Lumby, who have edited it—with the exception of Christine de Pisa's *Book of Policy*—for the E.E.T. Society, are agreed that it was written by two fifteenth century Scottish scribes, but they tell us nothing about the handwriting of Parts i. and viii. A work of Christine de Pisa certainly is just what we might expect to find in a ms. like this Cambridge one ; and as Part viii. contains proceedings relating to parliaments of James III., its importance is that it would enable us to fix the date of the ms. approximately were it found to correspond as regards handwriting with Parts iii., iv., and v., or Parts vi. and vii. Some day soon it is to be hoped ms. B will be printed by the Scottish Text Society, and when that is done its pedigree will doubtless be traced as carefully as it deserves to be.

When the contents of ms. B are examined, they are seen to belong to the field of religious didactics. One piece supplements another. The prose treatises, if not homilies in the strict acceptation of the term, are akin to that class of writing ; the poetical fall into the category of *moralia*. For the most part the contents, both prose and verse, appear to be derived from an Italian or French source, most likely the latter.

As regards the diction exhibited by the ms., Dr. J. A. H. Murray has expressed an opinion that the *Craft of Deyng*, *Vertewis of the Mess*, and *Dicta Salomonis* belong to about 1440 ; *Ratis Raving* and the other poems he considers to be more modernised by the scribe, corresponding more nearly to the language *c.* 1460. With that opinion I do not altogether agree. The frequency of the past participles in *yt* and *it*,—the chief

¹ The ms. is described by its contents in *Ratis Raving*, edited for the E.E.T. Socy. by Prof. Lumby. It is also mentioned in *Bernardus de cura rei famularis*, by the same editor, and again by Professor Skeat in his edition of *Lancelot* (E.E.T.S.). The *Regiam Majestatem* and Law Tracts are more particularly described in the Acts of the Scottish Parliament (Thomson's Edition, vol. i. pref. *voce* The Camb. ms. K. 1. 5). See also *Scottish Metrical Romances*, edited by Joseph Stevenson, Maitland Club, 1839. From the description of Part I. as a folio, it may be unrelated to Parts V., VI., and VII., which are quartos. In that case it would be a fourth ms.

criterion by which *Ratis Raving* is pronounced later than 1440—is really no criterion at all. Neither is it possible by any mere philological test known at present to date a Scottish writing with any degree of certainty between 1400 and 1450. For the period later than 1450 there are a few criteria, but the past participle is not one of them. A comparison of the numerous dated letters, indentures, and charters still extant, satisfies me that both as regards grammar and diction the contents of the Cambridge ms.—prose and verse alike—in that portion which I have called ms. B, exhibit in the main the language of the Lowlands of Scotland anterior to the year 1450.¹ It is certainly one of the remarkable things connected with the ms., assuming it to have been written late in the fifteenth century, that it preserves so consistently, both as regards orthography and grammar, the peculiarities of the earlier period.

But to turn to *Ratis Raving* and the three poems which immediately follow it in the ms., namely *The Foly of Fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen, Consail and Teiching at the vys Man gaif his Sone*, and *The Thewis of Gud Women*. The first three are written by the scribe as one treatise, divided into three books. *The Thewis of Gud Women* stands by itself. *Ratis Raving*, or, as it has also been called, *The Advice of a Father to his Son*, consists of a prologue of 98 lines, the theme extending to 1697 lines, and a poetical colophon of 16 lines. *The Foly of Fulys and the Thewis of Wysmen* extends to 480 lines; *Consail and Teiching at the vys Man gaif his Sone* to 456 lines; *The Thewis of Gud Women* to 310 lines with a poetical colophon of 6 lines. As Professor Lumby truly observes, *Ratis Raving* is of a 'more ambitious character than the treatises published in Dr. Furnivall's *Babees Book*. Commencing with a description of each of the five senses, it gives advice against the temptations into which the delights of sense may lead men, and follows this with an account of the four great virtues of Fortitude, Honesty, Prudence, and Temperance, and of what the poet is pleased to call their three sisters, Faith, Hope, and Charity. The writer then proceeds to speak of the seven sins with which these seven gifts of the Holy Ghost are at war; after which follow precepts common to this and the other poems on Morals and Manners, such as, on taking a wife, and how to treat her if you do take one; next follow exhortations on trade, and then advice to retainers of great men. The poem concludes with considerations on man's life, divided into seven ages, and specifies, with a great amount of discrimination, the advantages and disadvantages of each stage in life's progress.'

Reading the four poems together one soon feels that they are by the same pen. Words, phrases, rimes, and general style all go to prove common authorship. One will also readily believe them to be the work of a churchman. Pay tithes before all things, honour the clergy, be regular at kirk, mindful of holy days, count beads, make regular confession, all these and many more kindred exhortations accord well with the holy vocation. Whoever he may have been, he certainly was well learned in Canon Law, had a good knowledge of classical authors and of general literature—was a man withal of much shrewd worldly wisdom and possessed of a rich vein of pawky humour. If he cannot be regarded as a poet in the higher sense of the word, we may at least say of him what Ten Brink says of William of Shoreham—he handles language with apparent ease, has something to tell us, and possesses warm sensibilities.

¹ Let me be understood, at present, to exclude *Lancelot of the Lak*. I hope to deal with that poem and some others in a supplementary article.

Who was he? Is it possible to suggest an answer? Let us look at the poetical colophon at the end of Book i. line 1799, which is as follows :—

Now pene I pray thé rest thé here
 For now is endyt this matere
 The quhilk is ratis raving cald :
 Bot for na raving I it hald
 Bot for rycht vys and gud teching
 And weill declaris syndry thinge
 That is rycht nedfull for to knaw
 As the sentens it wyll schaw.
 And to gret god be the lovyng
 Quhais grace has grantit this ending
 And till his blis his soul mote bringe
 That trawell tuk of this tretreing
 And the vrytar for his meid
 God grant him ever weill to speid
 And gyf hym grace sa here to do
 The blis of heuyne that he cum to.
 Amen.

Clearly it tells us that the poem was known as *Ratis Raving*, that the word *raving* was used in a depreciatory sense, with which the scribe did not agree. To him it was 'rycht vys and gud teching,' treating of many things 'richt nedfull for to knaw.' That the scribe was not the author is plain, for he is careful to ask for a blessing on him that 'trawell tuk of this tretreing,' and for himself no more than 'his meid' for transcribing it. The same distinguishing between author and scribe is observable also in the colophon of *The Thewis of Gud Women*—

And here I pray ye redaris all
 And als ye heraris gret and small
 That ay quhen at thai one it luke
 Thai pray for hyme that maid the buk ;
 And fore al cristynne man and me
 Amen, amen, fore cherytte.

The quest for the author is narrowed by diction and grammar to the first half of the fifteenth century; and it is among churchmen that one expects to discover him. The title *Ratis Raving* means unquestionably the Raving of Rate. Here then we have a Scottish surname found chiefly benorth Forth, always well-known, but never common. One of the *gens* attained to the dignity of Bishop of Aberdeen about the middle of the fourteenth century. Now, in the period in which we are searching there was an ecclesiastic of considerable rank living at the Court of King James the First. His name was David Rate. He was, as we learn from a charter under the Great Seal, the Confessor of James, and Vicar of the order of Preaching Friars in Scotland. In 1427 the king appointed him to the Hospital of St. Leonard's at Peebles, of which house he became Master. The same position appears to have been held by royal chaplains both in earlier and later reigns. What is there to be said in support of his claim to be regarded as the author referred to by the scribe? It is something to find a Scottish churchman, moving in the court circle, bearing the name Rate in the period between 1400 and 1450.

The uncommon surname was itself the mnemonic which led straight to Horstmann's *Altenglischen Legenden* (Neue Folge), where I had formerly noted a poem with the colophon 'quod Rate.' On examining again that valuable collection I found that there were three such poems—all taken

from Ashmole ms. 61—one a legend of *St. Margaret*, another of *The Crucifix*, and a third entitled *The Stasyons of Jerusalem*. These on examination exhibited the characteristics of grammar, diction, and rimes common to *Ratis Raving* and other poems of the Camb. ms. And there were others, also from Ashmole 61,—one in particular wanting title, an *Inferno*,—which, without any authority from colophon, seemed also to be by the unidentified Rate. These additions to his works did not at first appear to help towards the identification of David Rate, Confessor of King James, as the author. In proceeding to examine and compare the two poems in the Camb. ms. *Consail and Teiching* and *The Theuvis of Gud Women* with the closely related versions of the same poems found in other mss., it was necessary to consult Dr. Furnivall's edition of *The Booke of Precedence* (E.E.T. Socy.). In that volume three poems, all taken from the Ashmole ms. 61, are printed as a group. They are *How the Goode Wyfe tauyt hyr Douyter*, *How a Wyse Man tauyt hys Sone*, and *Stans puer ad mensam*. The colophon of each, as given by Dr. Furnivall, is 'quod Kate.' That, it seemed to me, might easily be a mistake of the transcriber who made the copy for the modern editor, and such I have since learned is the fact. An examination of the Ashmole ms. discovers the colophon to be *quod Rate* unmistakably; and besides the three poems in question there are no fewer than fifteen other poems in that ms. with a similar ascription, one of them being the *Inferno*, printed by Horstmann, without any colophon. The following are the 'quod Rate' poems:

- FOL.
- 6-6*¹ A Father's instructions to his Son,—beginning 'Lordynges and 3e wyll here.'
- 7-8* A Mother's instructions to her Daughter,—'Lyst and lythe a lytelle space.'
- 8-16* The Romance of Ysombas,—'[H]end in halle and 3e schalle here.'
- 16*-17 A lay of the Commandments,—'Herkyens serys þ^t standes abowte.'
- 17*-19* A version of the poem of Sulpitius, *Stans puer ad mensam*,—'Jhesus cryste þ^t dyed uponne a tree.'
- 20-21* Instructions in Courtesy,—'Who so euer wyll thryve or the.'
- 22-22* A morning hymn,—'Jhesu lord blyssed þ^u be.'
- 23-26 A quarrel among the Carpenter's tools,—'The shype ax seyð unto þ^o wryght.'
- 26-26* An Eucharistic hymn,—'Welcom lord in forme of bred.'
- 26*-27 A legend of the Crucifix,—'Bytwyx two knyghtes bezond þ^o se.'
- 27-38* The romance of the Erle of Tolous,—'Jhesus cryst in Trinite.'
- 38*-59* The romance *Lybenus Dyconius*,—'Jhesus cryst owre sauouore.'
- 106-107 *Lamentacio beate marie*,—'In a chyrch as I gan knelle.'²
- 128-135* The Stasyons of Jerusalem,—'God that schupe both heuyn and helle.'
- 136-138* The Complaint of Sir William Basterfeld's Ghost,—'All crysten men þ^t walke by me.'
- 138*-144* The romance of the Resurrection,—'When Jhesu was in graue leyð.'
- 145-150* The legend of St. Margaret,—'Old and 3ong þ^t here be.'
- 156*-157 Paraphrase of part of Ecclesiastes entitled,—'Vanyte O vanyte off vanytes and all is vanyte.'

We have thus a collection of at least nineteen poems specifically attributed to Rate. Most of them are well enough known to readers of early English poetry, but with the exception of the three pieces published by Horstmann and the three (mistakenly as regards ascription) by Furnivall, none of them, so far as I remember, has been published with an attribution to a particular author.³ In the short time which has elapsed

¹ The asterisk denotes *folio-verso*.

² Rate is spelt in this colophon Rathe.

³ I am not overlooking the fact that another translation of *Stans puer* is in a late ms. attributed to Lydgate.

since the complete list of the Ashmole ms. was received I have only been able to examine a few of the pieces carefully, and by comparing them with each other and with the poems in the Cambridge ms., to formulate some general reasons in support of David Rate's claim to be regarded as the author. But first it will be well to quote the description of the ms. as given in the Ashmole Catalogue by Mr. William H. Black, p. 106 :—

‘ No. 61.

‘ A very tall and narrow folio volume consisting of 161 leaves of paper of the largest size, folded down the length of the sheet. On a fly-leaf at the beginning is fixed a torn leaf containing a spoiled copy of 30 lines of the first article, and part of a list of the contents of the volume, which are—

‘ A collection of Metrical Romances, Lays and other Poems in old English, made by one Rate, in or before the time of Henry VII.

‘ The volume is written in a coarse but legible hand, each page contains about 50 lines. Between most of the poems is drawn a fish with leaves and flowers across the page to distinguish the articles’ [and often at the foot of the page, for no special purpose].¹

If we read the words ‘ in or before the time of Henry VII.’ as *circa* 1485, it will be seen that we are dealing with a ms. of considerable age. Judging by the orthography and slight verbal changes met with in certain of the poems, the scribe appears to me to have been an Englishman. But it is remarkable to find the northern dialect so pure as it is in some of the pieces—*e.g.* The Legend of St. Margaret—a fact which may lead one easily to suppose the scribe to have been himself a Northumbrian, probably long located a little south of his native shire. Some of his verbal changes would appear to indicate Mercian influence.

The poems selected for comparison with the Cambridge ms. are those printed by Horstmann and Furnivall: viz. (1) The Legend of St. Margaret; (2) The Crucifix Legend; (3) The Stasyons of Jerusalem; (4) Stans Puer ad mensam; (5) The Inferno, called in the Ashmole ms. The Complaynt of Sir William Basterfeld's Ghost; and (6) the variants of The Father's advice to his Son, and How the Gudwyf tauzt her dauzter.

Making allowance for slight verbal changes and later orthography in the Ashmole ms., it will be found that both as regards diction and rimes, there is a perfect agreement with the poems in the Cambridge ms. They certainly appear to be the work of a churchman. Their tone is also strikingly alike.

In the Rate version of *Stans puer ad mensam*—which by the way is much more than a translation of the Latin poem of Sulpitius—we meet with those two lines, having nothing corresponding to them in the original—

The Trinyte me sped and gode seynt clement
Yn what country that euer y be inne !

Saint Clement, as John Barbour informs us, was the patron of those ‘ that saylis in to the se ;’ and if the author, as appears likely, is telling us that sometimes he himself ‘ trawalyt in sere place,’ then we have perfect

¹ The words in parenthesis are added by Miss A. F. Parker, Oxford, who kindly examined the ms. for me, and furnished the report of contents.

agreement with another of the poems, viz. *The Stasyons of Jerusalem*, which is an interesting and minute account of a pilgrimage to the Holy Places of Palestine. As a Vicar of the Order of Dominicans, it is exceedingly probable that Magister David Rate had visited the Holy Land, a special office of the Black Friars being the conversion of the Infidels.¹ But *Stans puer ad mensam* connects itself also most significantly with *Ratis Raving*—a poem, be it remembered, existing only in the Scottish version preserved in the Cambridge ms. In the preface to the *Booke of Precedence* Dr. Furnivall remarks on the allusions in *Stans puer ad mensam* to Doctor Grostete and Doctor Palere. 'Who, he says, 'the Doctor Palere is, who is introduced into our ninth piece so often as a great authority, I do not know.' Now, if I am correct in supposing Palere to be none other than Matteo Palmieri of Florence (1405-1475), it will bring *Stans puer ad mensam* and *Ratis Raving* into the closest relationship to each other.² Palmieri was the author of a Dialogue on Civil Life (*della Vita Civile*) published in 1430, if not two years earlier—a book which undoubtedly belongs to the literature of Morals and Manners. Its popularity was great in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century: it was even translated into French in the same early period. *Stans puer ad mensam* is the only one of Rate's poems in which Palere is named: it is not, as we shall see immediately, the sole one in which we can trace Rate's indebtedness to the Italian. Let us hear Palmieri's own account of his work:—

'The whole performance is divided into four books. In the first, the new-born boy is diligently conducted up to the perfect age of man; showing by what nurture and by what arts he should prove more excellent than others. The following two books are written concerning Uprightness, and express in what manner the man of perfect age should act in private and in public, according to every moral virtue. Whence in the former of these Temperance, Fortitude and Prudence are treated of at large, also other virtues comprised in these, etc.'³

If we now turn to *Ratis Raving* we shall find it to be neither more nor less than an abridged and rather loose paraphrase, by an ecclesiastic, of Palmieri's book. The division of the subject is the same. After describing each of the five senses and the temptations into which delights of sense lead men, there follows an account of the four virtues referred to by Palmieri, namely, Temperance (temperans), Fortitude (stalwartness of hart), Prudence (quantice), Uprightness (rycht wysnes). *Ratis Raving* is thus the key which opens *Stans puer ad mensam* to us. Now, if it be asked how

¹ Pat. 8, Ed. I. m. 23, 'Quod Fratres Praedicatoris praedicent Iudaeis pro conversione eorum.' Pat. 14, Ed. II. p. 1, m. 16, 'Salvus conductus pro Roberto de Braybrook, etc., Fratribus praedicatoribus proficiscentibus et proponentibus praedicare evangelium Saracenis.' Quoted by Dugdale, vol. viii. p. 1482. Until the reign of James III. a Vicar was the head of the Order in Scotland. In that reign, however, John Muir, Vicar, was made First Provincial of Scotland, notwithstanding much opposition from the English. Scotland then became the Eighteenth Province of the Order. Spottiswood's *Religious Houses*, c. xv. p. 486, edition 1734. John Muir is designed in the Register of the Great Seal, A.D. 1473, as 'Vicar-General of the Dominicans,' and in 1474 as 'Bachelor in Divinity and Confessor of the King of Scotland.'

² The contraction in the ms. is easily accounted for. A stroke over the *e* would denote the *m*. Or the scribe may easily have omitted the sign of the contraction. *Palmer* is the equivalent in English of *Palmieri*.

See the excellent essays, *Italian Courtesy Books*, by W. M. Rossetti, and *German Courtesy Books*, by Eugene Oswald, published by the E. E. T. Society.

Palmieri's book came to be known to a Scottish friar before 1450, it is not difficult to suggest more than one cogent answer. In the first place, it is known that King James the First, on two occasions, despatched ambassadors to Rome, and it certainly is far from unlikely that his own chaplain, David Rate, was of the *entourage*; or it may be that a copy of Palmieri's book, then being much talked of in polite Italian society, was brought to Scotland by some courtier interested in such literature; or, again, it may even have come to Scotland through the medium of a French translation. Be that as it may, the using of Palmieri's work in Scotland before 1450 by a churchman is not at all difficult to account for.

So far I have been endeavouring to show a connection between some of the poems and, at the same time, their perfect concord with the known biographical facts relating to David Rate. Let us look now at another of the poems from a slightly different point of view. The one I select is the *Inferno*, or, as the Ashmole MS. describes it, *The Complaynt of Syr Wm. Basterfeld's Ghost*. It is found also in the Thornton MS. A few lines will show the variations in the two texts:—

ASHMOLE 61.

All crysten men that walke by me
Behold and se this dulfull syght !
It helpys not to calle ne cry
Fore I am dampned a dollfole wyght.
[Some tyme in Inghland duellynge,
Thys was trew withouten lesyng]
I was callyd sir Wylliam Basterfeld knygt,
Be were be me both kyng and knyght
And amend you whyle ye haue space !
Fore I haue lost euerlastyng lyght
And thus of mercy cane I gete no grace.

THORNTON.

All crysten men that wawkys me bye
Behold and see this dulful seyght
I beyd nother to kawl nor to crye
I am so dampnyd a woful weyght
Tak heyd of me both kyng and kneyt
And mend yow heyr, qwyllys ye haue
space
For qwen ye haue lost euer lastyng leght
Fro mercy be gone, ye gayt no grace.

The poem is found complete only in the Ashmole MS., where it consists of a proem of 99 lines and the story proper of 194 lines. The proem alone is in the Thornton MS. In another manuscript, Lambeth 306, there is a later copy of the story, but without proem. In the last-mentioned manuscript the scribe has copied as *Falmowtht*, a place-name which occurs in the Ashmole as *Felamownte*, and at the end of his transcript has added this interpretation of the poem:—'Explicit. A story of too skwyrys that were brethren, the whyche dwellyd here yn ynglond, yn the towne of Falmowtht yn Dorsetscheere: the tone was dampnyd for brekyng of hys wedlok, the tother was sauyd.' It may be observed that the scansion of the poem would be completely spoiled by the name *Falmowtht*. In *Political, Religious and Love Poems* (E.E.T.S.) Dr. Furnivall printed the Ashmole *Proem* and the Lambeth *Story*, in that way presenting the poem as relating to Sir William Basterfeld, a knight of Falmouth. But Dr. Horstmann is of opinion that the reference to the knight is an interpolation by the scribe of the Ashmole MS.—an opinion scarcely open to doubt. The complete disturbance of the rimes tells its own plain tale. We may therefore let Sir William out of purgatory, and read the poem as an impersonal didactic. And the question then resolves itself into the comparatively simple one of accepting the reading of the Ashmole MS. as regards the place-name *Felamownte*, and rejecting *Falmowtht* of the Lambeth, or *vice versa*. I accept the Ashmole unhesitatingly, and point out that if we read *Falamount* for *Felamownte* we

have a place-name of Midlothian, and the name of a place, besides, which belonged to the Church and Hospital of the Holy Trinity of Soltre in Haddington. Like St. Leonard's, of Peebles, the patronage was in the Crown, and the place was frequently held by Royal Chaplains.¹

A god sampull I wyll you telle
To my tale if ye take hede
In Felamownte this case befelle
Thirti wynter senne the dede !

It surely is not difficult to understand how David Rate may have come by his 'god sampull.'

Now one result of considering the Cambridge ms. Kk. 1, 5 and the Ashmole 61 as closely related, is very clear. They touch and coalesce often; they never contradict each other. Each interprets the other. So much a preliminary survey has shown; an investigation that will subject all the Rate poems to a thorough examination may be expected to widen the horizon considerably. At present let me state, by way of suggestion, one or two other things.

And first, a reader of the poems will not fail to remark the author's fondness for a poem or preface, even in comparatively short compositions—a mannerism which makes for common authorship. A preface in the Cambridge ms. may also be noted as an evident of literary taste which embraces in its catholicity every poem attributed by the Ashmole ms. to Rate:—

Sen vysmen that be fore our dawis
Studyt in prophesy and in lawis
In syndry sciens of clergeis,
Cornykes, Romans and storys
Mayd diverss compilaciounys
Eftyr thar inclinaciouns
Sum of myraclys and halynes
Sum of conquest and riches
Sum of armys and honouris
Sum of luf and paramouris
Sum of lustis and of delyte
Ilkane efter thar appetyte
Fore to remayne efter thar dais
To tech wn-letteryt folk al ways
For word, but writ, as vynd our-gais
And efter that smal profet mais
And wryt remains and prentis in hart
To thaim that sal cum efterwart.

Further, and bearing in mind that the grammar and diction of all the pieces in the Cambridge ms.² exhibit the language spoken in Scotland during the first half of the fifteenth century, it may deserve at least passing mention that the only hint of the name of a scribe is in *Dicta Salomonis*, the colophon of which is—*Expliciunt dicta Salomonis per manum V. de F.* May these initials be read as William de Foulis, the name of the scribe of King James the First? Be that as it may, there is no doubt about David Rate's connection with the Court of that monarch. And that

¹ Among the endowments of Soltre were the £2 lands 'in villa de Falahill infra Heriotmoore' (*Edin. Charters*, p. 100). It may be noted that David Rate obtained St. Leonard's in 1427, in succession to George Lawder, on his preferment as Bishop of Argyll. In 1452 Thomas Lauder, Master of Soltre, and one of the preceptors of James II., was advanced to the Bishopric of Dunkeld.

² Making allowance for slight orthographical changes, especially by one of the scribes.

connection may indeed offer a good starting-point for future investigation. To ensure accuracy of general view, nothing better than Dr. Furnivall's delightful *Babees Book* could be desired. It suggests the question, Was David Rate, the royal confessor, also the preceptor of 'the bele babees and swete children,' the pages of honour at the Court of King James the First? English analogy favours such supposition. King James's legislation, besides, shows him to have been a reformer possessing sound views on the question of the nurture of youth. 'He bent his whole attention,' says Buchanan, 'to establish schools that they might be seminaries for all ranks. He not only drew around him learned teachers by rewards, but was himself present at their disputations; and as often as he could disengage himself from public business cheerfully attended to their literary discourses, thus striving anxiously to eradicate from the minds of his nobility the false idea that literature rendered men idle, slothful, and averse to active employment.' Presentation to St. Leonard's may have been David Rate's reward. The poetical collections of the Cambridge and Ashmole manuscripts are exactly the kind of literary discourses and literature given to 'the young gentlemen henxmen' at the English Court by the authors and translators of such pieces, 'the Maistryris of Henxmen,' whose duty it was to inculcate 'urbanitie and nourture' in

Yonge Babees whom bloode Royalle
With grace feture and hye habylité
Hath enournyd.

Then there is the specific attribution of *Ratis Raving* in the Cambridge ms. and of the considerable collection of pieces in the Ashmole ms. to Rate, a fact of much importance. Both the Scottish and English scribes knew of such an author, and in the question of authorship they are independent witnesses, for *Ratis Raving* exists only in the Cambridge manuscript. Again, Rate was not a recognised poet in the highest sense of the word, to whom scribes, as in the case of Chaucer, would bring gifts, gathered anywhere, offering them on his altar for no better reason than that they seemed good enough to be his. He belonged only to the glorious company of the minor poets. His compositions did not spring so much from tuneful impulse as from pedagogic sense of duty to 'enfants de famille, younkers of account, youths of good houses, children of riche parents, merchants' sons and goodwives' daughters.' Good enough as schoolbooks, they would seem to have passed from Scotland into England and to have been absorbed there in the general mass of related literature, their authorship wholly unacknowledged in the land of their adoption save by the Ashmole scribe, on whom, perhaps, it is fitting here to bestow a word of praise. Assuming his original to have set forth Rate as the author, then such conscientious acknowledgment of copyright was not very common either among his English or Scottish brethren; if, as scribe, he added a 'quod Rate' in a single instance, at his own hand, the modern critic will have some trouble in detecting it either by philological test or by the general style of the compositions.

The issue thus raised divides itself into two branches—(1) the common authorship of the Rate poems in the Scottish and English manuscripts, Cambridge Kk 1, 5, and Ashmole 61; and (2) David Rate's claim to be regarded as the author. On neither branch has there been any attempt to make a definite pronouncement. Before that is possible, it

appears to me, there must be a thorough examination of all the poems and a careful collation of many manuscripts.¹ But if what is here advanced be enough to awaken interest and stimulate inquiry, my purpose in writing will have been attained.

J. T. T. BROWN.

'SURDIT DE SERGAUNT': AN OLD GALLOWAY LAW.

AMONGST the interesting anomalies of early Scots laws were the customs peculiar to special provinces. Unfortunately little is known of them beyond their names. The influence of Celticism in the chief body of the legal institutions of the country must have been singularly slight. Celtic practices, in the main strictly confined to Celtic localities, in the end died out. They were not absorbed into the national *corpus juris*. Amongst the best known of these Celtic specialties was the taking of 'cawpes' by the heads of clans in the Highlands and in Galloway, blending the features of a feudal casualty with those of a species of blackmail. In Carrick and in Galloway, the common people had occasion at different periods to complain of oppressive treatment by their lords. With such a wild historic past behind them, however, it would not be surprising to find that the Galwegians owed some of their oppression to their own turbulence.

In 1305, during the English occupation, Edward I., who in divers ways showed himself very conciliatory towards the people of Scotland, received from the 'community of Galloway' a petition to remedy a certain injurious and outlandish (*extranea*) law called 'Surdist des serjantes.' The petitioners declared that this 'estraunge e torcenuse ley qe est appele surdit de sergaunt' had not been used since (*pus*) the time of King Alexander and the year before he died, but that now the barons and great lords used this bad law to the great grievance of the land. They therefore prayed the king to give them peace from that law as they had had since (*pus*) the time of King Alexander. Edward gave orders for an inquiry into the facts, directing his judicial representatives to take action in accordance with what they deemed best for the people (*Memoranda de Parlamento*, R. S. 171-2, *Rotuli Parl.* i. 472, *Bain's Calendar*, ii. 1874). There is no direct record of the result.

The law certainly did not cease to exist, though it may have been interrupted, for in 1324 King Robert the Bruce granted to the captains and men of Galloway that any Galwegian upon any *supradictum serjan-dorum Galwidie* should have the right to an assize and not be bound to make purgation or acquittance according to the ancient laws of Galloway. The four pleas of the crown and articles touching treason and slaughter of foreigners were exempted from the operation of this new—or, perhaps

¹ For example, Dr. Furnivall's opinion that the two poems 'The Father's advice to his Son,' and 'The Mother's advice to her Daughter,' printed in the *Babes Book*, 'are but variations from some original that has not yet turned up,' was expressed before the publication of Professor Lumby's edition of *Ratis Raving*. Unless I am mistaken, the Cambridge ms. Kk 1, 5 furnishes the oldest and purest text; other mss., like Trin. Coll. Camb. G 23, Lambeth, 853, Porkington, 10, etc., being simply later variants. So, too, the Ashmole version of *Syr Ysombras*—a romance, by the way, which has no Anglo-Norman original, and which notably has for its theme the conversion of Saracens—will require to be studied with the Edinburgh ms. (*Advoc. Lib.*) 19, 3, 1; the Caius Coll. Camb. ms. 175; Cotton, Calig. A; Douce 261; and the ms. in the Royal Library at Naples—particularly with the two first mentioned; and probably others of the *Rate* poems call for similar treatment.

rather, renewed—provision. Any man convicted by such an assize was to pay ten cows for each count (*supradictum*) upon which he was condemned. Bruce's charter was printed (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 482) from the Earl of Haddington's collections. From the context there is good reason to infer that *supradictum* is a misreading for *superdictum*. The word is, however, *supradictum* sure enough in the Earl's copy, in his Collection of Charters, vol. ii. (ms. Adv. Lib. 34. 2. 1^a), p. 89, near end of volume. It obviously means a charge—a something said upon, or laid against, an offender.

This inference on the true spelling is certiorated by a still earlier example of the word in the same connection in that actual form. In 1285 the father and mother of King Robert the Bruce, Earl and Countess of Carrick, gave a charter to the monks of Melrose narrating that they had heard how the Abbey was not a little aggrieved 'by the charge of our serjeants' (*de superdictu servientum nostrorum*) made upon the monks, their men and lands of Carrick, though claiming for themselves English law: wherefore the earl and countess, for the good of the souls of themselves, their ancestors and successors, benevolently and forever released the Abbey and its people from the said *superdictum* (*Liber de Melros*, p. 277). In Alexander Low's *History of Scotland to Ninth Century* (1826), p. 226, a note states that 'Robert the Bruce freed the canons of Withern *A superdicto jurgantium*,' citing as authority, 'ms. Monast. Scotia.' The charter thus indicated was no doubt that confirmed under the Great Seal in 1451 (*Reg. Mag. Sig.* ii. 461). As recited in that confirmation charter, it bore the date of 20th May 1426, and conceded to the canons that they and their men inhabiting the lands of Glenwyntoun or Glenswinton, in Parton, Kirkcudbrightshire, should be free forever *a supradicto serjantium*.

Synthetically the documents reveal certain facts regarding this law which the men of Melrose in 1285, the community of Galloway in 1305, the Gallovidian captains and clansmen in 1324, and the canons of Whithorn a couple of years afterwards, were all alike anxious to have abrogated. It was prevalent in Carrick as well as Galloway, a fact which the former unity of these provinces at once explains. It was in 1285 emphatically repudiated as inferior, in point of liberty of the subject, to English law. It was in 1305 stigmatised apparently as not a native but an extraneous institution disused since the time of King Alexander, and—according to the allegation—only a recent revival. Still even that admits that it had formerly been a general custom, whether outlandish in origin or not. It has, however, the fullest light thrown upon it by Bruce's charter of 1324, which was styled (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 292) a liberty 'of new' granted to the Galwidians. The unvouched charge of a serjeant is not to lie for the future without an assize. The accused is not by that charge alone to be put to his purgation according to the old law of Galloway.

This distinctly enough bears out what was Professor Maitland's original impression concerning the passage in the Parliament Roll of 1305 when he was editing it, viz.—that the Galwegian lords had been enforcing the rule that a man could be driven to his law by an unsupported charge—the *simplex dictum* of English records—proffered by the lord's officer. They had been doing what in England was condemned by Magna Carta, cap. 38. So viewed, Bruce's grant has the appearance of a late recension for Galloway of the law which Henry II. brought into prominence by the Assize of Clarendon in 1166—the law of an accusing jury, regarding which

something is said in Pollock and Maitland's *History of English Law* (i. 130, 131). Bruce's charter, it seems clear, said that the mere charge by the serjeant should no longer infer the burden of disproof by the onerous purgation of the old law. Proofs have in civilised countries been ceasing to be negative. The accused is not to demonstrate by the ordeal or by fellow swearers that he is Not Guilty. That he is Guilty the accuser has to establish by the finding of an assize. The passage is diversely instructive of great change. In the reign of William the Lion there is (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 378) a popular clinging to the law of Galloway as against the newer visnet: here in Bruce's time the protest is the other way; it is for the improved visnet, an assize, or jury, as against the law of Galloway. When in 1384 the Earl of Douglas made reservation and protest (*Acts Parl. Scot.* i. 551), for the liberty of his right and of the law of Galloway, one cannot be sure that he referred at all to this point of procedure, and, were that certain, his was in any case the protest of a great lord, the successor of the very persons against whom the community, the clansmen, and the chiefs, had of old needed protection by royal charter. Quite as likely as not he was the champion of what he conceived to be feudal rights, some of which, doubtless, the community regarded as their wrongs.

The subject as a whole merits fuller examination than appears yet to have been given to it, especially in regard to its bearing on indigenous Celtic law before Carrick was carved out of Galloway. The impress of Celticism is to this day very strong on Carrick, where it is perhaps most self-evident in the old personal and place names. This summer the remains of a Celtic wheel-cross were detected in the churchyard of Girvan. And in a mysterious name in that town—Knockushion Street—one may well read a legal and historical reminiscence of considerable import. Girvan was the feudal capital of Carrick, the head courts of that bailliary having, in the sixteenth century at any rate, been held on the knoll which gave its peculiar name to Knockushion Street. The earliest spelling pointed out is 'Knoktoscheok,' which does not require a Celt's imagination to decipher into the sense of the Toschach's knowe (*Ayr Advertiser*, 5th November 1896). Perhaps the law of 'surdit de sergaunt' once upon a time was administered there by some 'toschach' or 'capitaneus' of old Carrick, under the shadow of Turnberry,—a law which, however obscure otherwise, was certainly once groaned under in common by vassals of Balliol and Bruce.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE GAELIC PSALTER.

IN connection with the letter from William III. to the Scots Privy Council printed in *The Scottish Antiquary* of last July the following note regarding the Gaelic Psalter may be of interest.

In the year 1653 the Synod of Argyle took steps to translate the Psalms into Gaelic verse, and apportioned the work among the Presbyteries of the bounds. By 1658 the first fifty Psalms were translated by the Presbytery of Dunoon, and in 1659 these were published by Andrew Anderson in Glasgow. A few copies of this book still exist.

It is not exactly known when the translation of the remainder of the Psalms was made. 'Because of troubles in Church and State' a complete edition was not printed until after the Revolution. Meanwhile the whole

of the Psalms of David in Gaelic verse were published in Edinburgh in the year 1684 by the Rev. Robert Kirk, Minister successively of Balquhiddy and Aberfoyle, a gentleman better known perhaps as the author of the *Secret Commonwealth*, an Essay on Elves, Faunes, Fairies, etc. Mr. Kirk was an Episcopalian, and this may perhaps account for the fact that his version was not reprinted, and that it is not even alluded to in any of the editions subsequently published by the Synod of Argyle. Kirk's Psalter is dedicated to the Marquess of Athole, and bears a grant of 'privilege' from the Privy Council, to endure for eleven years, and dated March 20th, 1684. The author died (or was 'removed' by the fairies) in 1692, but the 'privilege' would continue till 1695.

The Synod of Argyle's complete version of the Psalms, evidently that to which the letter of William III. refers, is universally believed to have been published in 1694. It was without doubt prepared for publication in that year. 'There was no meeting of the Presbytery [of Dunoon] from 30th November 1693 to 15th August 1694, because John M'Laurin [minister of Kilmodan] was from December till the end of April at Edinburgh waiting on the press for the Irish Psalms, completed in the latter year' (*Fasts Eccl. Scot.* v. 23). But no one has in recent years, if ever, indeed, seen a copy of a 1694 edition. To reprints still existing, and dated 1702, 1707, 1716, etc., etc., are prefixed a 'privilege' to last for nineteen years, from the Privy Council to the Synod of Argyle, dated March 8th, 1694, and a Gaelic preface, unpagged and undated, but which from internal evidence must have been written for the first complete edition published by the Synod.

A revised edition of the Gaelic Psalm Book, containing all the Psalms and forty-five Paraphrases, was published by authority of the Synod of Argyle in 1753. This version bears to be a revision 'of the translation made by the Synod in 1659 and completed in 1694.' It is commonly known as Macfarlane's edition, the translator of the Paraphrases being the Rev. Alexander M'Farlane, minister of Kilniver and Kilmelfort. This version continued in use until 1787 when the Gaelic Psalter, further revised, and now containing all the Paraphrases and Hymns as in the English Psalm Book, was published by the Synod, the editor being the distinguished scholar and divine, Dr. John Smith of Campbeltown. This, with unimportant verbal alterations, is the Gaelic Psalm Book in common use since.

An edition of the Gaelic Psalter, reverting back to the older edition of Macfarlane, was published in 1807 by the Rev. Dr. Ross of Lochbroom. This version, printed sometimes with the Paraphrases and sometimes without, is used principally in the Northern Highlands.

DON. MACKINNON.

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, *Jan.* 9, 1897.

THE USHER OF THE WHITE ROD.

THE title 'Usher of the White Rod' is the most modern of several by which the Principal Usher of the Scottish Kings and Parliament has been known.

'As to the duties and functions of the office, these,' reported Sir Patrick Walker, the Usher of the day, to the Parliamentary Commissioners,

in 1818, 'are connected with the Household and matters of State, and may be performed at home or abroad as I may be ordered, for which reason (being always on duty) I am exempted watching and warding, and from serving on juries, etc.

'Those duties, of a fixed nature since the Union, fall partly to be performed in Scotland and partly in England—as to the former, I am bound to attend the Regalia (or Honors as they were formerly called) of Scotland on all public occasions on which they were carried. As the Usher of the Parliament and the Councils, I ought to attend the Peers of Scotland at all their meetings for election. Also the King's Commissioner on his Levee days, but as there has been no allowances for these services since the Union, and the expense of eight attendants who accompany the Usher is great, my predecessors have seldom done these duties, and I never have. . . .

'The Usher has the duty of the Chamberlain and the Master of the Household to perform, when they, or either of them, are or is absent, as the case may be.

'I am, generally speaking, supposed to be attending the Sovereign, and I observe my predecessors used to accompany his Majesty on visits to other countries, and that at a very early period. . . .

'I am also bound to attend his Majesty or his Commissioner on all the solemnities of the Order of the Thistle, of which he is the Sovereign, being by my charter *Ostiarus ad Festa*, or the Feasts of St. Andrew.

'In England I am bound to officiate at all coronations and public solemnities at which the Sovereign is present, and to bear his Majesty's gracious commands to wheresoever he may be pleased to direct either at home or abroad. . . .

'I receive the sum of £250 as the fee of my office under my charter. . . . My fee is paid quarterly upon the Scots Establishment. The Precepts from Exchequer direct the sums to be paid to me as "Hereditary Usher of the Court of Session," yet I am not placed amongst the Officers of that Court.'

The history of this ancient office of Principal Usher is a chequered one.

About the year 1180 Thomas de Lundyn, the king's Usher (*Ostiarus regis*), is found among the crowd of William the Lion's notables who competed with each other in the endowing of that monarch's Abbey of Arbroath. The office of *Ostiarus*, or door-ward, was then, or at any rate became, hereditary in this branch of the Lundyn family, and in time the surname of Lundyn gave place to that of Durward. Alan, the last of the Durwards, flourished in the reign of Alexander II. (1214-1248). He married a sister of the king, and was made Earl of Athol and Justiciar of Scotland. Twice he was one of the regents of Scotland. After his death in 1275 without male heirs, little or nothing is heard of the office of Usher for about a century. There is a trace of a Thomas le Usher who may have been Alan's successor. His name occurs in the inventory of Muniments seized in the treasury at Edinburgh by Edward I., and conveyed to Berwick.

In the fourteenth century compilation, known as the *Leges Malcomi Mackenneth* (Malcolm II., 1005-1034), the annual fee or salary of the Usher of the King's Hall is stated as a hundred shillings. It may not be far wrong to consider this information to be true of the time of the dynasty of the Bruces.

We are, however, on firmer ground when we reach the reign of the first of the Stuart kings, and find a charter of Robert II., of 10th February 1373, granting to Alexander de Cockburn de Langton, Esquire to the king (*armigero nostro*), that 'he and his heirs shall be our principal Ushers at our Parliaments, General Councils and feasts (*fasta*), receiving an allowance for two Esquires and two archers, with the sword-bearers and horses pertaining to the same.' It is true that the only authority for the terms of this charter is a transumpt of it among the Acts of Parliament of 1681, and that the transumpt is of only a recital of the charter in a confirming charter of Robert III. in 1393; still, there is little doubt that the charter of Robert II. is a reality. There is independent evidence that the Cockburns, within two years of the confirmation of 1393, held at least the office of Esquire. Stowe mentions that 'Cockburne, Esquire of Scotland,' was one of the Royal Household of Scotland which met the English Household in the tournament at Southfield in 1395.

The Cockburns of Langton continued to hold the office of Principal Usher till the middle of the eighteenth century, by a succession of charters in the terms of which there is but slight variation. In 1595 the office was confirmed to William Cockburn and his heirs male whomsoever, bearing the surname and arms of Cockburn; the office to be administered by himself, accompanied by two Esquires and two archers with their horses and servants. In 1609 the same Cockburn, now Sir William, obtained another confirmation, with a limitation firstly in favour of himself and the heirs male of his body, then to those of Sir Richard Cockburn of Clerkington, knight, and after these to Sir William's own heirs male as in the charter of 1595. The destination in favour of the Cockburns of Clerkington, however, does not appear in the subsequent charters; these run invariably in favour of the grantee and his 'heirs male and assignees whomsoever.'

It is by no means clear, however, that the Cockburns always exercised the duties of their office and enjoyed its emoluments. In 1539 there is a Great Seal confirmation of a charter to John Ross of Cragy, *supremo hostiariorum regis*. Yet in 1541-42 we find by another Great Seal confirmation that James Cockburn is in possession of the office of king's Principal Usher (*ostiarium regis principalis*) incorporated as usual with his barony of Langton, as his father Alexander, it is narrated, held it before him. Cockburn's and Ross's offices seem to be identical, save that Ross's is not said to be heritable, while Cockburn's is.

There were at this time as formerly, and indeed down to a comparatively recent time, a variety of Ushers whose revenues consisted largely if not mainly of fees. As early as the reign of David II. the fees of the Usher of Chancery are fixed by royal grant under the Privy Seal. 'Willielmus Ostiarius, of our chancery (*capelle nostre*) son and heir of the late Alexander de Capella by law and custom ought to receive certain fees in our chancery, which fees the ancestors of the said William have received immemorially.' The fees fixed are:—for each charter of new infeftment, half a silver merk; for each confirmation *in majori forma*, the same; for each *in minori forma*, forty pence; for letters of remission, of church presentations, etc., two shillings, and so on; but no mention is made of fees on charters by resignation (Roxburgh mss., Rep. Comrs. Hist. mss. xiv. 26). What fees the Principal Usher was entitled to then we do not know, but in after times he also had rights, to fees on new infeftments, confirmations, etc., which can scarcely have been originally due to him.

In 1585 there was 'grudge and complaint on account of allegit extortion' by the Ushers in the exaction of fees. Parliament appointed a commission of officers of State to ascertain the ancient usage, and to fix fees which were reasonable. 'Mr. Yshear' himself—probably William Cockburn of Langton—was on the commission, but the commission does not appear to have ever reported. In 1592 the matter of Seal and Ushers' fees were remitted by Parliament to the Privy Council. But it was not till 1606 that the Council was moved to action. It then became convinced of the existence of the 'shamefull scafferie and extortion' which the lieges were being subjected to in the matter of fees in general. Respecting the Ushers' fees it enacted that 'no infestment or signator shall pay chalmer fie' save in a resignation of lands held of the king, and then the fee shall be equal and proportional to the price due to the Privy Seal for the lands that shall be resigned. It will be observed that if the ancient list of fees due to the Usher of Chancery was in force at this time, it did not include fees on charters by resignation. The Council did not finally adjust its regulations without some argumentative correspondence with the king. James and his Court were at Greenwich, and his Ushers were in attendance on him as in duty bound. 'Thair stay and attendance heir,' writes the king, 'being an impediment to thame to solicit thair affairis' in Edinburgh, his Majesty graciously took up the cudgels for them. The Ushers were Sir John Drummond of Hawthornden and James Maxwell. And this incidental statement of King James's clears up a passage in the life of Sir John's son, William Drummond the poet, the explanation of whose residence in England in his youth had formerly been a matter of doubtful surmise (see Professor Masson's footnote, *Privy Council Register*, vii. p. 190). Maxwell was James Maxwell of Innerwick, a gentleman of the bed-chamber to King James and afterwards to Charles I. He married a sister of the first Earl of Annandale, and in 1646 was himself created Earl of Dirleton. He was a person of considerable influence at Court.

Cockburn of Langton does not appear in these discussions. Yet, as he had received a charter of confirmation but a few years previously (1595), according to which his office was to be administered by himself personally, it cannot be supposed that he was ignorant of his rights or that they had lapsed. It is true that in 1595 Cockburn was a minor, acting with consent of a 'tutor.' In 1609, however, he was of full age and had already received knighthood. He cannot therefore have been considered a person of no consequence. But whether by granting leases of their office, or by neglect of it, the Cockburns were in imminent danger of losing altogether their right to exercise any part of it personally. No Cockburn appears in the list of Ushers and Master-households who receive gratuities for their services on the occasion of King James's visit to Scotland in 1618. Nor do they appear to have exercised even their parliamentary functions for a time, for though Sir William Cockburn had had a crown confirmation of his office in 1609, yet in 1621 the Privy Council utterly denied that he was ever in possession of it. The Council was resolute, and its minute is quaint:—

'25th July 1621.—The quhilk day, — Cokburne of Langtoun having usurpit upoun him the office of Isheair and preassing to haif attendit that office during the tyme of this present Parliament, and the Lordis of the Secret Counsaill haveing divers tymes causit admonishe him to forbear that service at this tyme seeing he was never in possessioun thairof and

that his contestation might procure some disturbance of the peace of the Parliament, and he haveing obstinatlie and contemptuuslie refusit to forbear the exerceing of the said office, unles, as he affirmed he wer violentlie putt frome it and his battoun tane frome him, thairfor the saidis Lordis ordanis him to be committit to warde within the Castell of Edenburgh, thairin to remayne upoun his awne expenssis ay and quhill he be fred and releved be the saidis Lordis.'

In 1625 the Prince, in forming his establishment, came to name an Usher, wrote from his Court at Newmercatt and nominated William Cunningham, Writer to the Signet. But the Council delayed the appointment 'till James Maxwell, his Majesty's Usher, shall have been heard as to his interest.' Thereafter the appointment was cancelled, the Prince alleging that he had been 'sinisterouslie' informed when he made it, and an appointment was issued in favour of 'James and William Maxwells, Gentlemen Ushers to the King's Majestie.' Again, no mention of Cockburn.

The next Cockburn of Langton however was destined to retrieve his position, but not without difficulty and compromise. The William Cockburn who had been warned by the 'Lordis of the Secret Counsaill' in 1621, was dead, and his son, Sir William Cockburn, Knight-Baronet, had been retoured to him in 1626. In 1633, at the coronation cavalcade of Charles I., the Usher had been granted his place as an officer of the household. On 17th August 1641, when the king opened the Scots Parliament in person, Cockburn appeared and proceeded to exercise his parliamentary office. 'The laird of Langtoun took upon him,' says the record of the Parliament, 'without knowledge or direction from his Majestie, to go before the king as Ischeur with ane rod in his hand.' The immediate consequence of his conduct was that the king ordered him 'to goe to the Castle be his Majestie's warrand,' but, presently repenting him of his severity, he 'declaired that since this was the first day of his appeiring in parliament he would deale so bountifullie with his subjectes, that none should be imprisoned, And therfor his Majestie commandit Langtoun to keepe his chalmer whill [until] the morne that the mater might be hard and settled anent his cleame to the office of Ischeurie.' From the proceedings of the next few days it appears that Sir William had influential rivals. The Earl of Wigton claimed a right in the office, and James Maxwell, already mentioned, considered his interests were affected, and claimed to be made a party to the case. The Laird of Langton lodged answers to all his competitors, and 'askit instruments that he was debarrit violentlie from the possessione of his place of uscherie, And protestet that the samen myght not be prejudiciall to his right of the said place and office.' In 1642 there was effected a compromise, the terms of which look as if the Crown itself had been somewhat in the wrong, and Cockburn remiss perhaps. The Earl of Wigton got a warrant for payment of a thousand pounds sterling out of the king's coffers, in lieu of his rights, and the Laird of Langton accepted a re-grant of the office, subject to liferents in favour of James Maxwell and his brother William Maxwell of Kirkhouse. In the next year William Maxwell died, and Colonel Robert Cunynghame, brother to the Earl of Glencairne, came into his right. In March 1647, Parliament finally ratified a gift of the office under the Great Seal to Sir William Cockburn of Langton, and his heirs-male and assignees whomsoever, but providing a liferent of one-half of the office to Colonel Robert

Conyngame. The Ushers compeared personally in Parliament, and made faith *de fidei administratione*, and so was the matter settled, and ended with the vindication of Cockburn's rights.

At the same time the fees and salary of the office were fixed. They were—1st, the fees 'in use to be payed to the said Usher for infestments of lands passing the Great Seale within the said kingdome [Scotland], either by Resignations, Confirmations, or new Gifts, with all fies, casualties, and other dewties under written payable be Earles, etc., . . . to be payed be all Scotismen within his Majesties dominions and als be all Englishmen, who shall receive any honors or dignities from his Majestie within the said kingdome of Scotland. To witt:—

	Scots.	Sterling.
From every Earle so created, . . .	£180	[£15 0 0 10 0 0 6 13 4 5 0 0 3 6 8]
„ Viscount, . . .	120	
„ Lord, . . .	80	
„ Knight-Baronet, . . .	60	
„ Knight, . . .	40	

Together with the soume of Four hundreth pounds [Scots] money of fie for the foresaid office to be payed out of the readiest of his Majesties Rents.'

In 1660, the fees similarly receivable from Dukes and Marquises was also fixed by charter:—

	Scots.	Sterling.
For every Duke, . . .	£260	[£21 13 4 18 6 8]
„ Marquis, . . .	220	

Colonel Cuninghame seems to have had a liferent of these, and a salary of £50 sterling.

The next charter of confirmation (1662), ratified by Parliament in 1663 (*Acts*, 1663, c. 104, Rec. Ed. vii. 521), grants to Sir Archibald Cockburn and 'his airs male and assigneyes whatsomever, the baronie of Langtoun, with the office of principall Ischar to his Majestie and his successors in all time comeing, with tuo gentlemen and tuo bowmen with their horses and servants servand the said Sir Archibald and his airs male in the exercise of the said office [reserving to Robert Conyngame his liferent allenerlie of his conjunct right] Together with the pension of tuo hundreth pund sterling english money granted be his Majestie to the said Sir Archibald dureing all the days of the lifetime of the said Robert Conyngame. . . . To be payed, on the first termes payment, at Witsunday 1662.' In 1674, Sir Archibald acquired Colonel Cunyngame's rights, and in 1681 procured a general ratification, to himself and his heirs, of all the charters of the office, with the fees, and salary of £250 sterling (*Acts*, 1681, c. 37, Rec. Ed.).

In 1686 (c. 63, Rec. Ed. viii. 632), Parliament confirmed a Great Seal charter, dated 21st January of that year, again granting the fees above-mentioned, and adding

	Scots.	Sterling.
For every Archbishop, . . .	£230	[£19 3 4 13 6 8]
„ Bishop, . . .	160	

These fees, with the exception of the two last mentioned, are exacted at the present day on all creations of dignities in Great Britain which are

personally conferred ; on dignities conferred by letters patent the fees are abated to the extent of about one-twentieth.

The fees on infestments, etc., which varied in ratio to the value or dignity of the subjects involved, are now a thing of the past.

It is not clear from the charter of 1662, what maintenance if any was granted to the Ushers' attendants. The salary of £250 may have been in lieu of the maintenance, and so it was said in the case of *Stewart v. Campbell*, 1782, *Mor. Dict.* 6925, in which the right to the emoluments of the office were involved. But a later Usher, Sir Patrick Walker, took another view, which has been alluded to above.

During this period of activity on the part of the Cockburns, Sir George Mackenzie wrote in his *Treatise on Precedency*, 'The Lyon and he [the Usher] does debate who shall go next to the King or his Commissioner in Parliament and Conventions, the Usher pretending that if he behooved to go after the Lyon, he behooved to go before the Heralds, and so he behooved to walk between the Lyon and his brethren, which were not decent. . . . Like as it is implied in the nature of the Usher's office, that he should immediately usher him to whom he is Usher.' Mackenzie leaves the question open, though he undermines the Usher's positions by references to the practice of England and France, and implies that the Usher walks next after Lyon (Mackenzie on *Precedency*, 1680, p. 44). And this is the order observed in the Ridings of the Parliament from 1685 down to the Union. (See Certificates in Lyon office.) In 1693, the Usher is declared to be among those officials such as the Lyon, the Knight Marishall (then an existing office), etc., who are allowed to remain in the presence of the Parliament during its sittings.

In the meantime the Lairds of Langton were getting into difficulties financial. They had borrowed extensively from William Cockburn of Cockburn and others, and in 1690 had granted these creditors in return a bond and a disposition of their estates in security. In virtue of his disposition the creditors subsequently led adjudications, which were sustained by the Court of Session, and were held to put them in possession not only of the lands and barony of Langton, but in possession also of the office of Usher. The litigations between the creditors themselves, and between them and Cockburn, which continued from 1690 down to 1758. During this time the Union of Scotland and England took place, and by Article 20 of the Treaty the Scottish heritable offices were reserved to their owners. In 1714, therefore, on the accession of George I., Sir Alexander Cockburn petitioned to be allowed to walk at the King's coronation with a white rod as his predecessors had done. The Petition, however, was not determined on, owing to Cockburn's failure to produce proofs of the statements he made in support of his claim. In 1727, in view of the coronation of George II., he renewed his petition, adding, that being now a man of great age, and unable to undertake a journey, he prayed the King to allow him to be represented by his near kinsman Dr. William Cockburn. But the consideration of this petition was postponed also in absence of proof that any of Sir Alexander's predecessors had ever walked as Ushers of the White Rod at a coronation of any of the Kings of Scotland. Cockburn had not ingratiated himself at Court, and was in no position to prove his statements. He had been in rebellion, he was bankrupt and unable to appear personally for fear of arrest, and his office was

practically alienated from him for the behoof of his creditors. In 1758, the decree of the Court of Session was affirmed by the House of Lords, the heritable office of Usher was finally pronounced to be adjudgeable, and was thereafter judicially sold to Alexander Coutts, one of the famous bankers of that name.

Coutts found the office in a state of great dilapidation. He at once petitioned the King for the recognition of it as a British office, and for the recognition of his rights to fees on creations of dignities of the United Kingdom. It was only in the time of his successor, Sir James Cockburn, that the Usher's right to these fees was formally acknowledged, as it was by the Treasury ordering payment to him in 1766 of £21, 13s. 4d. on the creation of a dukedom of Cumberland in favour of Prince Henry Frederick. But Coutts procured the official recognition of the office in some respects, as a British office analogous to that of Black Rod. He was able to answer the test question of precedent, for, after extensive searches among the Records in Edinburgh, which were not so accessible then as now, Mr. George Moncreiff had discovered for him that the Usher had had his precedence fixed by the Scottish Privy Council for the entry into Edinburgh and coronation of Charles I. in 1633. Mr. Coutts received, in consequence, a summons to attend the coronation, and to walk next the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod. There is no record of his having received new insignia of office for the occasion, as did other similar officials. It must be supposed therefore that the old Cockburn insignia, now lost, was still in existence then. He appears to have had a rod made about four years afterwards—in 1765. This rod, which is still in existence, will be described below, along with the later insignia.

In 1766 Coutts in his turn sold the ushership to Sir James Cockburn, heir-male of the first grantee, who held it till 1778, when his affairs went into disorder, and the office again changed hands. It was acquired by Sir Archibald Campbell, K.B., for £12,100 at public auction. At this time the average annual fees were, from infestments, £20, 10s., creations of dignities, £100, 16s. 9d. These, added to the salary of £250, amounted to £371, 6s. 9d. Sir Archibald died in 1791, and was succeeded in office by his brother Sir James Campbell of Inverneil. In 1805, Sir James made preparations for selling the office, but died before the sale was carried out. His son, General James Campbell, completed the sale. By this time the total annual return from the office had increased to an average of £453, 17s. 8d. But the office was knocked down for £7,600. The purchaser now was William Walker of Coates, Midlothian, son of an Episcopal clergyman at Old Meldrum, and grandson of a burghess and tailor moving in good society in Aberdeen. Walker purchased the office for his second son Patrick, afterwards of Drumsheugh, and a member of the Scots bar, in whose hands the office of Usher of the White Rod of Scotland entered into a new chapter.

Never was there a man more energetic and indefatigable in magnifying his office than was Mr. Walker. Within a few months of his appointment he was besieging the King, and his government and executive, with claims and petitions that were not to end for years. He petitioned the Barons of the Scottish Exchequer to sanction the collection of his fees; the Secretary of State for the issue of new insignia of office to him; the King to recognise him as one of the Ushers of the Parliament of

Great Britain, and to cause him to be summoned to be present at the then impending trial of Lord Melville ; and the Commissioners on Claims to summon him to attend a coronation, and give him all the duties and precedence ever enjoyed anywhere by any of his predecessors. He petitioned the Prince Regent for possession of an ancient rod found among the Scottish Regalia, and informed the Secretary of State that the ushership was a knight's service. When not engaged in petitions on his own behalf, or discussing the vexed question of his fees with the Society of Writers to the Signet, he was signing petitions for summonses to coronations, for the great officers of the Scots Household, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and so on. He presents the petition from the Society of Solicitors before the Supreme Courts for the assignment of a gown to them. He takes charge of the arrangements at a Peers election, and the proclamation of George IV., incurs expenses in issuing cards, etc., and petitions that the Barons of Exchequer be ordered to reimburse him. In spite of there being an Usher of the Order of the Thistle, Walker busies himself, on behalf of the Order, with proposals for the restoration of the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, is ordered to exhibit plans to illustrate them to the King and Duke of Clarence, and goes back to his old friends the Barons of Exchequer to provide the plans for him. If no good came of the Holyrood plans or of some others of these schemes, the fault of inaction did not lie at the door of the Usher of the White Rod. Nor did he fail in everything. He vindicated his own official position, and was employed in more public duties than belonged strictly to his office. And he actually got a knighthood—a rare thing in official Scotland.

Though his fees gave him a very handsome return for his father's original outlay, the honour and glory of the office he had acquired loomed larger in his eyes. His correspondence, about his insignia and state duties and privileges, is somewhat extensive.

In demanding new insignia, he states, in October 1806, regarding the official insignia of his predecessors, that 'Every search, every investigation, and every proceeding has been made and taken by the petitioner which could legally be done, for the recovery of these old Insignia, but in vain, and the only part he has been able to hear of has been mutilated and pledged by the deceased Sir James Cockburn.' He afterwards filed a Bill of Discovery and Delivery against Sir James, and it may be that the 1765 rod was recovered by this process.

To prove 'the urgent situation of the petitioner,' Mr. Walker says, 'the Election of the Sixteen Peers of Scotland must, in consequence of the expected Dissolution of Parliament, shortly take place (and as he or his deputy is of course in duty bound to attend on that occasion), where he cannot officiate or appear without his badge of office, and, what is still worse is, that as the Election of the Peers takes place in the Palace of Holyrood-house, he may even be excluded, or turned out of the Palace, being without his Insignia, tho' he is himself the Principal Officer of the Place attendant on that Occasion.'

Mr. Walker was by no means premature with his petition, for in four days the Parliament was dissolved. In a month and a day the Election of Peers had passed, and the new Parliament was at Westminster. Whether the worst had come to the worst, and the Usher had been turned out of the Palace, we do not know, but no insignia had been made and

issued. In 1807 came another dissolution, and another election—but still no insignia.

In August 1812 the Parliament of 1807 which had been young was old, and the Usher was in London, and anxious, as with his prophetic soul he well might be, for the Parliament was to die that year on 29th of September. Lord Sidmouth pointed out to him that if he got his insignia and then sold the office, as he had bought it, the purchaser would have as good a right to demand new insignia as he had. This had not occurred to Mr. Walker, but, to obviate the difficulty, he offered to bind himself and his successors not to apply for new insignia 'except in the like circumstances, with the other similar offices that are not hereditary,' and that on any alienation of the office, he or they shall deliver over the insignia to the person receiving the office. This offer seems to have been accepted, as on 3rd August 1813 the insignia have been ordered and are overdue. It was, however, not till further correspondence had passed, and not till 30th April 1817, that the long looked for authority for the issue of the insignia reached the 'Wardrobe and Jewel Office.'

But Sir Patrick's troubles were not over. In 1820 he had to fight his fight all over again for a state robe, which he had not yet asked for, and now wanted in view of the coming coronation of George IV. He presented also several petitions, or rather argumentative addresses in support of his rights to what he considered his precedence at the coronation procession:—'By no other means,' he pleads, 'than by placing the Kings of Arms between the two national ushers, can the united arms be represented in the procession. As well might the unicorn be torn from the Great Seal, as separate the petitioner from the Kings of Arms, or give him a different rank from the Black Rod.' The Usher of the White Rod eventually appeared at the coronation in full array, walked side by side with Green Rod, gave the signal to the Peers when the crown was placed on the king's head, and afterwards at the banquet attended the Duke of Argyll, when, as Great Master Household for Scotland, he presented the gold cup for the king to drink out of. That, the most gorgeous coronation the kingdom had ever seen, was the climax of Sir Patrick Walker's pageantry, and, though it was not the last occasion on which he wore his robes, we may leave him here.

Strange it is that immediately after this the most complete revival which the office of Heritable Usher had experienced, it should have been placed by the hands of the reviver's own family in a position of greater anomaly and oblivion than when it was even in the hands of the Langton creditors. On Sir Patrick's death in October 1837, the office, along with his landed properties of Coates and Drumsheugh, went to his sisters, who held it for a considerable time. On the coronation of Her present Majesty, Queen Victoria, they petitioned to be allowed to appear by proxy, in the person of their step-nephew, Colonel Ainslie, C.B., but the prayer of the petition was refused. The ladies dying afterwards without issue, left both lands and office to a permanent body of Trustees for the benefit of the Scottish Episcopal Church. The Trust draws the salary and the fees on Honours, but cannot perform the correlative duties, the performance of which Sir Patrick considered of even national importance. That the position of the Trust in retaining the office is legal has not been questioned. The foundation deed leaves, it may be presumed, no alternative but to retain it. So whether the members of the Board are tenacious

or not of the distinction of being connected with the most notable anomaly in Scotland, they can hardly be expected to take the initiative to procure its abolition.¹

By the courtesy of the Walker Trustees we have been permitted to photograph the Usher's robes and insignia, etc., which are now in their possession.² The insignia, issued in 1817, consisted of a rod of office, and a badge and chain—as seen in the accompanying illustration. The rod, which measures 36 inches in length, is of silver, the ornamented parts of the rod,—the capital, the two bosses, one at the middle and one half-way between the middle and the butt-end of the rod, and the butt of the rod itself,—are gilded. The butt-end is in the form of a thistle head, and enamelled to represent one in its proper colours. The other gilded portions are enamelled with smaller thistles, also in their proper colours. Round the edge of the head of the staff is the Scottish motto, *Nemo me impune lacesset*, on a green enamel ground. The rod is ensigned with a Scottish unicorn sejeant, supporting a shield on which are the Scottish Arms. Both shield and supporter are in their heraldic metals and colour. On the butt-end of the rod is engraved the Royal Arms as borne by our kings after 1800. The badge is an oval ensigned with an imperial crown. On one side of the badge is the St. Andrew, on the other a Scotch thistle proper, on an azure field, all in enamel. In a ribbon round the margin of each side of the badge is the Scottish motto. The badge hangs from three separate gold chains of plain oval links. No hall-mark or maker's name can be seen on rod or badge, but if we may judge from the name in the lid of the leather case belonging to the badge, the makers were Rundell, Bridge, & Rundell of London, the Court Jewellers of the day. There is another similar badge, flatter in make and without the crown, and possibly worn by Sir Patrick Walker in semi-state. Its case bears the name of Griffin & Adams.

Along with these richly enamelled insignia reposes an older, plainer rod of Scottish make. It measures 33 inches in length, and is slighter and more graceful in its lines. It is of silver with a boss at the middle and at the butt-end, and ensigned with a unicorn supporting a shield, all in silver. On the shield is engraved a lion rampant. There is no tressure, but in its place is the Scottish motto, also engraved. The bosses have originally been water-gilded, and appear to have been recently touched up rather thinly by the electro process. The hall-mark of Edinburgh for 1765 appears on the rod, with the maker's name—Clark—stamped beside it.

The full dress of the Usher of the White Rod consisted of scarlet satin tunic, richly braided with gold, with white satin slashed at the shoulders and white satin cuffs; scarlet and slashed white satin trunks; white hose, white kid shoes with red heels and gold braided rosettes; a court sword with gilt hilt; over all a white satin robe lined with crimson silk; the St. Andrew Cross sewed on at the left corner of the skirt of the robe which is looped to the left shoulder.

¹ We understand that a history of the Heritable Office of Principal Usher will form a chapter in the forthcoming *Story of the Cathedral Church of Saint Mary*, by G. G. Cunninghame, Esq., Advocate.

² We have also to thank Messrs. Robertson & Wood, W.S., Agents to the Trust, and Mr. Crichton, 89 Princes Street, for the facilities and assistance they have given to enable the photograph to be taken.



How far this robe resembled its predecessors, or was invented for the occasion of the coronation of King George IV. it may be difficult to tell.

ED.

THE USHER OF THE GREEN ROD.

THERE is not so much to tell of the office of Usher of the Most Ancient Order of the Thistle, otherwise known as the Usher of the Green Rod, as of that of the King's Principal Usher. It seems probable that the Principal Usher at one time exercised the duties of Usher to the Order. In England the offices of Black Rod of Parliament and of the principal order of knighthood are still held by the same person. On the Act of Re-establishment of the Order of the Thistle by Queen Anne in 1703, the offices of King's Usher and Usher of the Order are mentioned as if they were distinct, but they seem to have been executed by the same person.

At the accession of George I., the Cockburns of Langton, the Heritable Principal Ushers, were not in a position to exercise their offices, heritable or not. There was nothing heritable in the office of Usher to the Order of the Thistle, as created by Queen Anne. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that, in the year of his accession, 1714, the king issued a separate patent of that office. The patent was in favour of Thomas Brand, a Scotsman, and favourite at Court. Brand, who was appointed also to be an Usher Daily Waiter, was afterwards knighted, attended the coronation of George II., and in the procession walked next Black Rod. He asked, and was accorded a summons to attend the coronation of George III. in 1761, but declined to pay the Council fees demanded of him, and did not appear.

In 1762, Robert Quarne, who had been Deputy Black Rod, was appointed to the office, along with £100 a year, which is still the salary of the office. He was succeeded in 1787 by Matthew Robert Arnott. Arnott in his turn was succeeded in 1800 by Robert Quarne, son of the last. It was he who walked with Sir Patrick Walker at the coronation of George IV. Frederick Peel Round was the next Usher. He was succeeded in 1884 by Sir Duncan A. D. Campbell, Bart., who held office till 1895, when the present Usher, Hon. Alan David Murray, received the office.

The accompanying plate is taken, by the kind permission of the Marquis of Lorne, from a full length portrait now at Roseneath. It represents an Usher of the Green Rod in robes and insignia, and appears to date itself somewhere in the first half of the 18th century. It may therefore be taken for a portrait of Sir Thomas Brand. The portrait has been variously thought to be by Murray and by Shackleton. The robe is of green satin lined with white satin or silk; the right corner of the skirt is looped to the right shoulder; on the left breast is the St. Andrew's cross. The tunic and tights are of black velvet, the tunic very handsomely braided down the front with gold; the hose are white, and the shoes black with gold buckles; the cordon is tied round the waist, and its tassels hang down to the knees. The badge, which is not very carefully rendered in the portrait, is oval, of white enamel, with two sprigs of rue in saltire, surmounting which is a thistle; round the margin of the badge is the Scottish motto, *Nemo me*, etc., all in enamel. The chains are of gold



and tied at the shoulders with white bows. The rod of office is green. At the top is the Scottish Unicorn in silver, supporting a shield, the other ornaments as seen in the illustration are of gold. ED.

THE PIRATES OF BARBARY IN SCOTTISH RECORDS.

Two or three centuries ago one of the most interesting features of rural parish life was the assemblage at the church door on Sundays before service commenced. Thither assembled, with ample leisure, the farmers and their dependants from the whole district round, and there were discussed the important events of the week. But the parishioners did not comprise the whole assembly. Seldom did a Sunday come round but they were joined by a sprinkling of stranger beggars, who, from time to time, were representative of almost all classes and nationalities. The disasters and atrocities that are now served up to us by proxy by our daily and weekly newspapers were then recounted at the church door by the sufferers themselves, in bodily form—at least so much of their bodies as was left them. And what a motley crew they must have been! Take, for example, a few specimens at random that presented themselves at the door of the parish church of Fordyce:—a distressed gentleman, a ship-broken skipper, a stranger with eight fatherless children, a poor schoolmaster, a distempered schoolmaster, a Grecian priest, a woman on a barrow, a woman carried in a creel, a man with his arm cut off, a poor cripple with his legs and knees above his back, a woman who had nine children at three births, blue-gowns again and again, a man from Ayr, a Derbyshire man who had come from that county to be cured of a palsy at Peterhead, a Belfast merchant, a soldier's wife and children who were starving, two Spanish soldiers, a madman—and so on.

But the class that concerns us at present is the victims of the pirates of Barbary.

In thinking of the Turk one is apt to forget that though he is now low and in bad repute, Turkey was once the most powerful nation in Europe, and for long spread the terror of its name not only in Europe but in Asia. Few, even well-read persons, realise the full extent of its power, and to many the facts in Lieut.-Colonel Playfair's admirable and interesting work, *The Scourge of Christendom*, will come as a revelation.

From that work one may learn the supreme power of the Turk who could gather in captives by the score and the hundred, while the following extracts will aid in dispelling some current ideas as to the utter rudeness of our court and nobles, seeing the products of other lands were so eagerly sought for; and they will tend to confirm the prevailing opinion of the indomitable energy and courage of the Scot who, even in those early days, sailed up the Mediterranean with all its concomitant risks.

Were Colonel Playfair's statements not taken from official documents one could scarcely consider them reliable. 'Everything,' says he, 'connected with the subject of Christian slavery in the Barbary States is of the deepest interest. When that institution was at its height there were from 20,000 to 30,000 captives at the time in Algiers alone, representing every nation in Europe and every rank in society, from the viceroy to the common sailor; men of the highest eminence in the church, literature, science, and

arms ; delicately nurtured ladies and little children doomed to spend their lives in infamy. The majority never returned to their native land.'

The principle of co-operation, so powerful in our day, must have been then in its infancy when these corsairs for upwards of four centuries could set at defiance every nation in Europe, or cleverly play one nation off on the other. In a letter I had from Colonel Playfair, H.M. Consul-General at Algiers, he says : 'It is more and more incomprehensible to me every day how the nations of Europe permitted this scourge to exist, especially as the Algerines never were strong, and it would not have required a very serious effort to have suppressed them at any period of their history.'

The American Consul in 1798 expressed the same idea in language more plain than diplomatic : 'Can any man believe that this elevated brute has seven kings of Europe, two republics, and a continent tributary to him, when his whole naval force is not equal to two line-of-battle ships?' And two centuries before that, Sir John Narborough expressed the same opinion :—'I will engage that two third-rates will beat all the men-of-war the Algerines have.'

The untold sufferings the captives endured appear too frightful to contemplate. But the sound of them still rings in our ears, and will continue to ring in the ears of mankind for all time, notably through Cervantes. Captured in a sea-fight he suffered five and a half years captivity in the prisons of Algiers—from 1575 to 1581, during which time he made several bold but unsuccessful attempts at escape. At last he was released for a high ransom. His works reveal the life the captives had to lead in all its horrors. A humbler man, albeit he was master-gunner to Henry iv. of France, Edward Webbe by name, was also a prisoner with the Turk at the same time. Both, strange to say, were present at the taking of Tunis, under Duke John of Austria. Webbe appears to have been a captive from 1572 till 1588, when he and others were freed by the ransom money contributed by the merchants of London. The impression conveyed by Webbe's narrative is not such as to lead us to imagine that the victims placed themselves needlessly within the power of their captors. His ship, he says, was returning from Alexandria when they 'met with fiftie saile of the Turkes gallies with which gallies we fought two days and two nights and made great slaughter amongst their men, we being in all but three score men very weake for such a multytude and, having lost 50 or 60 men, faintness constrayned vs for to yeeld unto them.' The ten survivors, he says, were stripped naked and received a hundred blows apiece from the Turks for presuming to fight against them.

So crying an evil was this piracy and captivity that an Order of Monks was founded to redeem Christian captives from Turkish slavery. They were also called Trinity Friars or Mathurines, and were established by St. John of Matha and Felix de Valois, an anchorite at Cerfroid, near Grandula. Innocent iii. approved the Institute, and Innocent iv. confirmed their privileges, 1246. Their houses were called hospitals or ministries. Their substance or rents were divided into three parts, of which one was reserved for redeeming Christian slaves from amongst the Infidels. They had six monasteries in Scotland in 1209. At the Reformation they had thirteen houses—in Aberdeen, Dundee, Brechin, etc. The Trades Hospital and Trinity Church afterwards occupied the site of the Aberdeen house. In Algiers such an hospital existed from very early times until the abolition of Christian slavery. Here slaves of all

Christian nations were received and cared for by Spanish monks of this Order.

The following extracts from Scottish records will serve to supplement the interesting article on the same subject by 'A. F. S.' in a late number of *The Scottish Antiquary*.

'Innumerable instances,' says the *Spottiswoode Miscellany*, 'might be adduced as to the mode in which money was raised for the purpose of relieving slaves with the Moors and Turks were the ecclesiastical records carefully examined.' The following instances will show what can be gleaned from a careful examination of the chief ecclesiastical records hitherto published in Scotland and from other sources.

Treating the subject chronologically, we may first refer to these pirates during the time Scotland was a separate kingdom—that is, prior to 1603. The first conflict the English had with the corsairs of Barbary was about the year 1390. A century later Moors from Spain settled there and set themselves to plunder the vessels of every Christian nation that came in their way. But it was only when Algiers came under the power of the Turk that piracy began there in earnest, when Barbarossa and his brother Kheir-ed-din were called in to expel the Spaniards about the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Turks are sprung from Central Asia. They appear in history from the sixth century. By the fourteenth century they had overrun a good part of Europe, and in the following century they captured Constantinople, which they have since held. Not long after, they swept the Mediterranean and seized Algiers and the adjoining countries.

The following entries show what was doing in Scotland at this period in reference to the Algerines, and it may be added that at the same time Queen Elizabeth was as busy endeavouring to redress the wrongs her subjects were suffering at the same hands :—

1575. According to an Act of Privy Council, a collection appointed at every parish church for the release of a skipper of Inverkeithing and his mate, prisoners with the Turks, to be ransomed for not less than 500 or 600 dollars for each. (Aberdeen Kirk Session.)

1578, Dec. 8. 'It is thought meet by the Assembly concerning the poor prisoners in the Turks' hands, conform to the King's Majesty's letters, that upon Thursday next admonition be made in the pulpit to the whole inhabitants of this town, that upon Sunday in the morning the merchants contribute of their charity to the effect foresaid which the reader shall cause to be put in execution during the time of the first psalm. The collection, including what the baillies also contributed, amounted to £28, 15s. 5d. Sc. (Perth K.S.)

1579. About this time money was being collected in Aberdeen and other parts of Scotland for the support and relief of the 'Scottishmen prisoners in Argier in Affrik, and other parts within the Turk's bounds.' One Andro Cook, engaged to dispose of this money as intended, and to deliver the surplus 'gif ony' to the royal treasurer, to be used as his Majesty might think fit. By 1583, £562 had been collected, exclusive of expenses, but by this time the captives were dead. Cook was also dead, and the King in Council ordained the sum

resting with Cook's son to be paid in behalf of David Hume, skipper in Leith, who was now lying captive at Bordeaux. (Privy Council Record, etc.) Aberdeen collected 100 merks in 1579 for the relief of Scottish prisoners at Morocco, taken by the Turks.

During the reigns of James I. and Charles I. (1603-49), the pirates were far from idle. Between 1609 and 1616 they captured 466 British ships and reduced the crews of the whole of them to slavery. King James sent out an expedition against them, but it did little good. About 1624 an agent of the Turkey Company, James Frizell, ransomed no less than 240 persons at a cost of £1800; but numerous captives still remained, and collections were made throughout all England and Scotland for their relief.

These corsairs had the daring actually to come to the village of Baltimore in Ireland, sack the place, and carry off to Algiers, besides 150 men, no less than 89 women and children—a notable instance of injustice to Ireland. Arrived at Algiers, these miserable persons were sold into the most abject slavery. Even from the coast of Cornwall these pirates carried off about the same time as many as 60 men, women and children, and they were said to have had then 3000 English in captivity. The following extracts show what aid was being given towards the Scots captives, but still more was being done in England for the captives of that country. Among other means of raising money for this purpose the Parliament of England imposed a tax of one per cent. on all imports and exports, and with the proceeds of this many were liberated, among others a woman belonging to Dundee, another to Edinburgh, etc. :—

1604. £10 given to relieve Thomas Cristall's sone from the sclaverie of the Turkis. (Aberdeen K.S.)
1610. £20 given to a Grecian gentleman persecuted by the Turks. (Aberdeen Eccles. Records.)
- 1615, Dec. 21. The Privy Council recommend 'to the charitie of all our Sovereine Lordis subjectis' the case of certain Leith mariners, for whom James Fraser had 'so lovinglie advanced money for their redemptioun,' to be repaid by them, but who 'are nocht able to repay the said sowme.'
1616. The Synod order a collection to refund James Fraser his 140 pounds paid for the ransom of Leith mariners exposed for sale as slaves at Algiers, lest the 'frustrating' of it 'may afterwards be prejudiciall to others falling in the lyk estait whilk God forbid.' (Synod of Fife.)
- „ Contribution to repay James Fraser in Argiers who bought off (when sold as slaves) in Algiers, Andrew Robertson and several more Leith sailors caught off Barbary by Turks.
- „ The Privy Council recommended this collection. The names of the prisoners were Andrew Robertson, John Cowie, John Dauling, James Pratt, etc. They had been on the coast of Barbary, and after a bloody but unsuccessful contest with the Turks, were made captives.
- 1617, August 17. 'That intimatioun be maid to the parosche that they grant suplimit to ane callit [blank] for the help of sum quha ar detenit captives, and also that the bischop read the Kingis' letter in that mater.' (Elgin K.S.)

1618. John Harrison sent to King James an account of his unsuccessful attempts to obtain the liberation of certain British subjects detained under Muley Sidan, Emperor of Morocco. (*Spot. Misc.*)
1621. Collections made in all the parish churches of Scotland 'for the relief of the Scots prisoners in Tunis and Algiers.' These amounted to a large sum. (See *Balfour's Annals.*)
1627. The *Spottiswoode Miscellany* contains a letter from Sir Robert Anstruther to Lord Chancellor Hay as to the ransom of Angus Morraye's son, a slave in Barbary. This letter is interesting as showing how the release of such captives was usually effected by procuring a royal or a Privy Council warrant to collect money for their ransom.
1625. Letter from the Bishop for a contribution for the relief of some folks of Queensferry under slavery by the Turks at Salie. (Register of Presbytery of Lanark.)
1632. Supplication for Alexander Lathrishe in Dysart and David Kirkaldie in Kinghorne, captives (1) with the Turks (2) with the Spaniards, to be redeemed of 1000 merks, etc. (Synod of Fife.)
1636. Contribution to John Brown in Prestonpans and his crew, fourteen in number, captives to the Turks. (Synod of Fife.)

John Brown was captain of a ship the *John* of Leith bound from London to Rochelle. When near the coast of France they encountered three Turkish men-of-war who chased them from sunrise to sundown and at last took and sank their vessel. Brown and his ten sailors were taken to Sallee and sold as slaves. They were then employed all day grinding in a mill with nothing to eat but a little dusty bread, each prisoner bearing iron chains to the weight of eighty pounds. 'In the night they were put in foul holes twenty foot under the ground where they lay miserably, looking nightly to be eaten with rottens and mice.' The Privy Council recommended a contribution for them throughout Lothian, Berwick, Stirling, and Fife.

Next month the Privy Council considered a supplication from James Duncher a prisoner among the Turks in Algiers. He had been long a prisoner there, tortured and starved. The Turks having offered to liberate him for 1200 merks the Privy Council appointed a collection to be made for him in the Sheriffdoms of Edinburgh and Berwick, the proceeds to be given to the supplicant's uncle in Dysart who promised to apply it for Duncher's relief.

About this time 1000 merks was collected by the citizens of Aberdeen to be paid to the magistrates of Ayr to ransom Ayr men captives to the Algerines.

1626. A collection taken 'at the churche dore for reliefe of the men tane by the Turkis' (*Murray's Records of Falkirk Parish*).
1637. Petition to the Privy Council from a man who stated that he had been a slave etc.
1641. Collected four punds for Jhone Fraser burges of Dumbartane who was robbed be ye Turks wherupone he produced a testimoniall. (Cullen K.S.)
1643. Edinburgh, Sept. 6. 400 merks given for help to ransom John Schank mariner taken captive by the Turks. (General or six Sessions.)

1643. Money is given to James Bogle a burges's son to help to pay his ransom 'being taken with the Turks.' (Glasgow.)
- 1644, April 3. Edinburgh. 1000 merks to be advanced for the relief of Gilbert Boyd taken captive by the Turks. (General or six Sessions.)

Under Cromwell's government the pirates of the North of Africa were for once brought to reason when defeated by General Blake. During his rule we meet with fewer instances of captivity but this favourable change was of short duration. Whatever may be said by others, Cromwell evidently did not think the terror of his name was sufficient to cow these daring spirits for he caused £70,000 to be raised for the redemption of captives. Of this sum, however, only one-sixth part was applied for this purpose, the rest being devoted to defray debts connected with the navy.

1656. Supplication from Anastasius Commenus a minister of the Grecian church, desiring supply for his own and other fifteen ministers captives of Argiers their releife. (Presbytery of St. Andrews.)
1661. Thomas Monnepennie twenty-four years captive among the Turks recommended to the several sessions. (Presbytery of St. Andrews.)

In Charles 11's reign the Algerians were again busy at their old practices. Expedition after expedition was sent out against them and inviolable and perpetual treaties made which were generally broken almost as soon as made.

1664. A recommendation of one Rosse and one Lindsay from the Sheriffes of London (whoes freinds are in captivitie by the Turks) was read, who earnestlie desyred some supplie to help to releave their brethren from the slavish bondage of the Turks. The bretheren taking the samyne into consideration did give sum supplie. (Register of Presbytery of Lanark.)
1673. Numerous references occur to prisoners among the Turks in the records of the Convention of Royal Burghs. On the petition of Andrew Knox, merchant, Glasgow, the Convention orders a collection for the relief of nineteen persons, and several were relieved.
1674. Silver gathered for the Turkey prisoners. (Fala and Soutra K.S.)
1675. Collection to be made at each paroch Kirk within this diocese for the releise of Walter Gibsone, skipper of the *Marie* of Inverkeithin, and Johne Reid his mate who are prisoners with the Turks who are to be ransomed, with no les than fyve or sex hundred dollars a peice. (Synod of Aberdeen.)
1675. Charitable collection at each parioch church within this diocese for relieffe of Walter Gibsone, skipper of the *Marie* of Innerkeithing and John Reid his mate who are prisoners with the Turks in a miserable and pitifull conditione, and who are to be ransomed and relieved for no lesse than 500 or 600 dollars a peice. Recommended by ane Act of Privie Councill, 5th November 1674.
1676. Collections are being made in the Synod ordained by the Lords of Session to Captain Bennet for the relief of some slaves taken by the Turks. (Synod of Dunblane.)
- 1678, Nov. 6. Order for a voluntary contribution for ransoming the

- Montrose mariners kept prisoners with the Turks. (Register of Presbytery of Lanark.)
- 1678, Feb. 12. A collection for the distressed merchants of Monros, being intimated the forgoing Sabbath was collected, which is 18s. and delivered. (Laing's Lindores Abbey and its Burgh of Newburgh.)
1678. Collections to be made for releiving the Montrosse captives taken by the Turks. (Presbytery of Fordyce.) Collection (7 merks) for some citizens of Montrosse that were taken prisoners by the Turks, (Fordyce K.S.). Intimation was made of an Act of his Majesties counsell for a voluntary contribution for the ransoming of some Montross men captives to the Turks. 35s. 4d. collected. (Cullen K.S.)
- 1679, March 30. John Lindsay was captive by the Turks and afterwards released for a summe of money which did exhaust all his substance he had in Ireland where he lived. Given to him by ane order from the Privie Counsell recommending him of all citys, countryes and parochs, 30s.
1679. There was presented ane Act of his Majestie's Secret Counsell appoynting a voluntarie contributione to be granted unto one, Mercurius Lascaris a minister of the Greek Church, for ransoming his brother and children who are captives with the Turks at Algiers. The brethren answered that they delyvered the contributions to himself when he came to their dwelling-houses in his journey to the north. Collections ordered within this diocie for ransoming of severall persones belonging to Pettinween who are taken and detained prisoners be the Turks. (Presbytery of Fordyce—Referrs of the Synod of Aberdeen.)
1679. Debursed to Mercurius Lascarie a Græcian priest, £4. (Fordyce K.S.)
1679. Publict collection for some captive merchants of Pittinweeme for ther releif out of Turkish slaverie. (Cullen K.S.)
1680. Five merks and three shillings Scots, collected in the Kirk of Cullen for the merchants of Pettinweem. (Presbytery of Fordyce.)
- 1681, Oct. 30. Collected for some merchants of Invernesse, taken by the Turks 10 libs. (Fordyce K.S.)
- 1681, July the 10. This day intimatione was made and the order read for ane voluntary contribution for the captives amongst the Turks belonging to Pittenweem. (Newburgh K.S.)
- Towards the close of William's reign and during the reign of Anne, numerous collections had to be made in Scotland for captives in Algiers.
- 1685, December 25. Intimation of a collection for persons taken by the Turks, recommended from London to the charitie of the 3 kingdoms, to be gathered the next Sabbath. (Drumoak K.S.)
- 1686, January 3. The minister gave in to the box 16s. 4d., deducted off the collection collected for the relieff of the captives with the Turks, in respect the supplicants did not give him such satisfaction as he expected. (Drumoak K.S.)
- 1686, Feb. 28. Intimation was made of a collection for some English

- merchants, taken by the Turks. 42s. collected. (Fordyce K.S.)
- 1686, Feb. 26. Given 20s. to the supplicants' wives (named Penrose) merchants, taken by the Turks. (Deskford K.S.)
1686. Recommendation in favours of a Grecian Gentleman, Francesco Pollani, who hath two brothers and a sister in bondage in Tripoli, for their relief. (St. Andrews Presbytery.)
1695. Collected for the nine prisoners in Algiers, £7, 9s. 6d. (Fordyce K.S.)
1700. Collected to Simpson and his trew slaves in Algiers, £4, 19s. (Cullen K.S.)
1701. Collected for Andrew Simpson, skipper in Dysart, and his company, slaves in Algiers, £16. (Crail K.S.)
1701. Collected 30s. for Scots prisoners taken by an Alger pirrat. (Deskford K.S.)
1701. The collection for the redemption of slaves taken by the Algerins, is appointed to be brought in against the next Presbytery. (Presbytery of Lanark.)
1702. £78, 10s. 8d. Sc. collected in this province for the prisoners at Algiers. (Synod of Aberdeen.)
- 1701, Jany. 5. Collected 4 libs, given for the redemption of Christians taken by the barbarians. (Boyndie K.S.)
- 1701, Jany. 5. An Act of Council for a contribution for the ransom of Katherin Greg's husband from the Algeriens, was read (£4 collected). (Fordyce K.S.)
- 1704, Feb. 6. Act of Councill read in favours of John Thomson, junior, prisoner in Algiers, for a collection for him (£12, 7s. collected). (Fordyce K.S.)
1704. Collected 6s. 11d. to the relieving of one John Thomson, a Scotsman, prisoner in Algiers. (Boyndie K.S.)
1704. Collected for Master Thomson, slave in Algeers, £4, 4s. (Cullen K.S.)
1706. The Presbytery agrees that the money formerly collected for redemption of slaves, which is now in the town of Lanark's hand, be employed for the redemption of John Thomson, now prisoner with the Algerines. (Presbytery of Lanark.)
1704. Collected £5, 6s. 8d., for John Thomsonsone, sone to John Thomesone in Turreff, being a slave these four yeares in Algeires & that for helping his ransom. (Deskford K.S.)

In connection with this, it may be remarked that it would be curious did Scottish song or Scottish ballad bear no reference to such a subject. Two ballads can be named which may have had their origin in what we are now treating of, although the commentators have overlooked this explanation. I refer to 'Lord Beichan,' and particularly to 'John Thomson and the Turk.' The latter begins thus:—'John Thomson fought against the Turks, Three years intill a far countrie, And all that time and something mair, Was absent from his gay ladie.' It is more natural to refer this to the John Thomson, for whom as we have seen, collections were made throughout all Scotland, than at any rate, as has been done, to the John Tamson whose 'bairns we all are.'

In the reign of Queen Anne, the Algerine pirates had the daring to seize members of two of the leading families of the North of Scotland.

Hugh Rose, fourteenth baron of Kilravock, married (2) Mary, daughter of Alexander, Lord Forbes. 'Their fifth son, Arthur, chose the mercantile business, in which he might have had good success, if, unhappily, in a voyage to the Levant, he had not been taken by the Algerine pirates. He was kept for some time prisoner at Algiers, but upon notice given to the British Consul at Grand Cairo, he purchased him from these barbarians, and kept him in his own company till ransomed in 1714. Then he returned home to his native country and lived with his brother at Kilravock, till he died 1715.' An ancestor of the Duke of Fife fared no better at their hands. 'Provost William Duff, Craigston's third son, settled a merchant at Banff, about 1716. He was a very sensible, social, friendly, honest man. While Provost of that town he studied the interest of the place without any regard to person or party. In Queen Anne's wars he went upon a trading voyage to the Levant, aboard of a merchant ship, was taken prisoner, I think, by an Algerine and carried to Smyrna, where he lay a winter, till his ransom was remitted and then came home.' (Baird's *Genealogical Memoirs of the Duffs.*)

1712, Sept. 14. Collected £3, 12s. 10d. Sc. by vertue of her Majestie's letters patent, in favours of Charles Empson, ane Englishman. (Ordiquhill K.S.)

During the reigns of the first Georges, frequent cases of captivity or alleged captivity occurred.

1717. To Robert Innes, who had lately been tortured in Turkish slavery,' 12s. (Keith K.S.)

1717. To James Stewart, 'lately delivered from Turkish slavery,' 12s. (Keith K.S.)

1717. To 'some poor Christians lately redeemed from Turkish slavery,' 2s. stg. (Keith K.S.)

A philanthropic citizen of London, Thomas Betton by name, left a large sum of money in 1724, for the redemption of British slaves in Turkey and Barbary. Out of his estate upwards of £20,000 had been paid for the liberation of captives previous to the suppression of slavery in Algiers in 1816 by Lord Exmouth. The estate which yields about £10,000 a year is now applied to educational and kindred purposes.

1720. Collected £4, 13s. 10d. for some Inverness men in slavery among the Sallymen. (The collection detained as they are to be set at liberty without ransom.) (Deskford K.S.)

1720. Commission of General Assembly, grant recommendations for charitable contributions for relief of Alexander Stewart and ten others, captives in Barbary.

1723, Feb. 10. Given to a distressed seaman, who had his tongue cut out by the Turks, 2s. 10d. (Rathven K.S.)

1725, Mar. 21. Given to ane Orkney man, who had been under the Turks slavery, 6s. 10d. (Rathven K.S.)

1725. To Robert Sinclair 'lately a Turkish slave,' 12s. (Keith K.S.)

1726, Sept. 14. Given to a dumb man who had been taken by the Algeriens, 3s. (Fordyce K.S.)

1729. Given to two poor men said to have been in Turkish slavery, threepence each. (Cullen K.S.)

1731. To 'John Cunninghame, late Turkish slave, 6s.' (Keith K.S.)

1732, May 31. Given to a poor seaman all mangled by the Turks. (Fordyce K.S.)

1733. Given to two distressed men who had been in Turkish slavery, 8s. Scots. (Cullen K.S.)
1733. 'To Robert Stuart, late Turkish slave, 4s.' (Keith K.S.)
1734. Given to a man who had his tongue cut out by the Algerines, 2s. (Rathven K.S.)
1734. In April a letter to the Presbytery of Fordoun was read from Alexander Doewell, shipmaster in Inverbervie, anent his son William Doewell, a sailor in bondage and slavery under the Turks in Algiers, also a letter from the said William, craving the Presbytery's assistance for raising a sum of money for his redemption. The Presbytery and Synod gave their assistance, but before the money collected for his redemption could be transmitted, William Doewell died.
1735. Act of Assembly given in for a public collection for relieving of William Dowel, a slave and prisoner at Algiers.
- 1736, June 18. To two poor men who had been taken by the Turks, 5s. (Fordyce K.S.)
- 1736, July 4. Charity given to two strangers that were dumb, being taken by the Turks at sea and their tongues cut out. (Oathlaw K.S.)
1738. To an old seaman who had been barbarously used by the Turks, 3s. (Fordyce K.S.)
1741. To a poor man abus'd by the Turks, 2s. (Fordyce K.S.)
1742. To seven men, barbarously used by the Turks, 8s. (Fordyce K.S.)
1743. To some sailors barbarously used by the Turks, 2s. 6d. (Fordyce K.S.)
1744. Read a recommendation of the last Assembly for a collection to James Anderson, presently under the Turkish slaverie. (Presbytery of Fordyce.)
1745. To William Fraser 'late a Turkish slave,' a contribution given. (Keith K.S.)
1778. To James Sinclair, a poor object distressed and abused by the Turks, recommended by his Britannic Majesty's Concel at Venice, 1s. (Rathven K.S.)

Among the last of our countrymen to be 'captivated' by the Turks, was William Paterson, a native of King-Edward, Aberdeenshire, and a cooper by trade. He went to London in 1781, and on the proclamation of peace, trade being slack, he went to Ostend, where he remained till 1785, when he took passage for America on board an American vessel. This vessel, the Dolphin, was captured by the Algerines and carried to Algiers. I have in my possession a printed circular, headed London, 'Sunday, 10th April 1791. For the redemption of our honest, industrious countrymen, British subjects who have already been nearly six years in slavery in Algiers.' The circular calls for further subscriptions. The sum of £166 had been already subscribed. The list is appropriately headed by 'Charles Colvill, recently redeemed from slavery in Algiers, £1, 1s.' Earl Fife gave the handsome subscription of £21, and the Duke of Athole followed with £10, 10s. The number of subscribers is 95, one of whom is William Gow, watchmaker, London, a cousin of the captive. I have seen a letter from the prisoner to his chief, Earl Fife, accompanied by a note from the Consul, to assist in his redemption. Paterson

signs 'My Lord, your obedient slave.' The efforts of Earl Fife and others were successful in effecting Paterson's liberation. In June 1796, a letter appeared in the *Aberdeen Journal*, from John Ewen, Silver-smith in Aberdeen, stating that he had paid 100 guineas to William Paterson, formerly in captivity in Algiers, and that the interest, which had accumulated to about £40, he had sent to the Aberdeen Infirmary to establish a fever ward.

In connection with this subject it may be noted that Princess Beatrice has translated from the German of Dr. E. Krans the *Adventures in the Life of Count George Albert of Erbach*, who lived in the seventeenth century. The adventures include the Count's sojourn with the Knights of Malta, his capture by the Barbary Corsairs and his imprisonment at Algiers. The following story, which has been current of late, is also interesting:—

'A merchant in Liverpool got a five-pound Bank of England note, and holding it up towards the light, he saw some interlineations in what seemed red ink.—He finally deciphered the letters and found that the writing had been made by a slave in Algiers, saying in substance:—"Whoever gets this bank-note will please to inform my brother, John Dean, living near Carlisle, that I am a slave of the Dey of Algiers." The merchant sent word, employed Government officers, and found who this man that was spoken of in the bank-bill was. After a while the man was rescued, who for eleven years had been a slave of the Dey of Algiers. He was immediately emancipated, but was so worn out by hardship and exposures, that he soon after died.'

The civilisation of the nineteenth century could not tolerate the piracy of the Algerines, but even then it died hard. About the beginning of the century, the English Consul at Algiers described it as 'the next step to the infernal regions.' The natives were still pursuing their old courses, for the same Consul tells how he had liberated no less than 266 persons. At last in 1816, as the result of Lord Exmouth's victorious expedition, came the abolition of Christian slavery in Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. For the last half century Algiers has been under the rule of the French.

W. CRAMOND, LL.D.

CULLEN.

TRAVELLING IN 1725.

DR. CRAMOND, Cullen, sends the following copy of an agreement for a coach from London to Edinburgh:—

'London, *May 6th*, 1725. Received then of Colonell William Grant and Patrick Duff, Esq., six guineas of earnest for a good closs bodyed coach and six horses to sett out from London for Edinburgh on Munday, the 17th of May, to travel in sex dayes to York, to rest their two dayes, to travel in two dayes and a half to Newcastle, and in three or four dayes from that to Edinburgh as the roads will allow, and to make up thretty pound Sterling for the said coach the one half in hand the other at Edinburgh, and the earnest to be forefault if the gentlemen do not keep punctually. (Signed) THOMAS GREEN.'

'Edinburgh, *31st May* 1725. Received from Colonell Grant and Company fourteen pounds fourteen shillings Sterling, which with what was payed at London is in full of there coach hyre from London to Edinburgh on accompt of Joshua Perry and partners belonging to the London Stage Coach. (Signed) WILLIAM BAILLIE.'

OLD SCOTS BANK-NOTES.

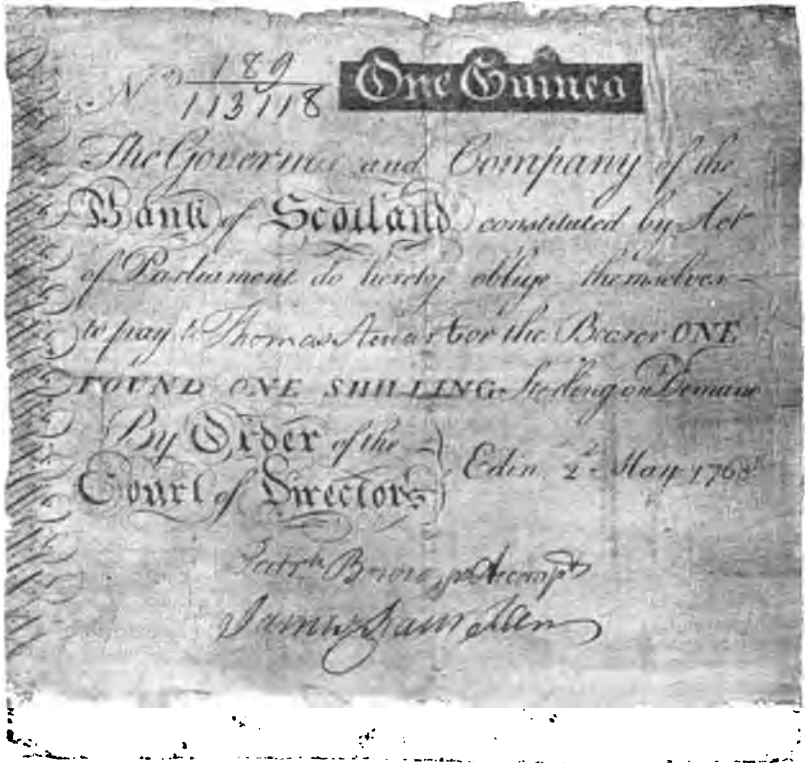
*(Continued from p. 121.)**Guinea Notes.*

THE golden guinea is now but a relic of the past, and to be looked for in numismatists' collections, or inlaid in the tops of snuff-boxes, or the bottoms of quaichs, or (least properly of all) dangling from albert watch-chains. But the guinea survives in name honourably wherever old custom or courtesy remain to soften the edges of the precise *quid pro quo*. Add to your pound one shilling and call it a guinea, and your subscription to the decayed gentleman's 'testimonial' loses its insult of pecuniary support, and becomes the uncalculated token of an esteem which cannot be reduced into terms of pounds, shillings, and pence. So the polite honorarium which your leading counsel receives without a remark before going into court on your behalf, or which your eminent and successful physician gets from your executors after you are dead, is calculated in guineas. The story is an old one of a bygone Lord Advocate who returned a fee of a thousand pounds with an intimation that counsel could accept guineas only. The tale stops here, and it may never be known how the Advocate's demand was gratified. The addition of fifty more of the inadmissible pounds would have made the whole into guineas; but so also would the subtraction of eight shillings.

But at its first introduction, in 1663, the now elegant guinea was merely a twenty-shilling piece, a unite, coined out of gold brought home by the African Company from Guinea, and stamped in respect thereof with the figure of an elephant. This guinea-piece and its successors of the same weight, $42\frac{1}{2}$ to the pound troy, are commonly said to have fluctuated in value from time to time. The fluctuation, however, was not so much in the value of the guinea as in the value of the then variable shilling. In 1695 the maximum of this variation was reached; the guinea was then worth thirty shillings, or, in other words, the debased shilling reached its minimum value—one-thirtieth of a guinea. On the restoration of the value of the silver coinage, the guinea and the shilling gradually returned towards their first relations—not without the aid of Royal Proclamation—till, in 1717, the final settlement of twenty-one shillings to the guinea was made. At this value the guinea continued till 1817, when, on the introduction of the sovereign, the coinage of the guinea ceased. And so long as the guinea remains, as it is practically now, the name of a sum of money, it will probably mean the sum of twenty-one shillings.

The present value of the guinea was settled long before the guinea bank-note appeared. The first of these notes was issued by the Royal Bank in 1758. The minute of the Court of Directors of the Bank runs thus:—'3rd March 1758 . . . It having been suggested that it would be of service to the Bank and preserve their silver specie, which is diminished of late and scarce in the country, if Notes were issued for £1, 1s. which might be changed by a guinea, the said measure was approved of, and ordered that specimens of these notes be prepared and laid before a Court of Directors that plates may be engraved, and a parcell printed and made ready for issuing with all dispatch.' And certainly there was no

want of despatch in the preparation of the plate, which is dated the twenty-fourth of the same month. For some years no other bank followed this example of the Royal Bank, and in December 1765 the Bank's Committee proposed to the Committee of the Bank of Scotland, with which at the time it was in close relations, that the issue of the guinea notes should be discontinued. The Bank of Scotland thought that, as so many of the country banks issued pound notes, the guinea note issue should not be forced, but that persons desiring them should have them. On 15th February 1768, however, the Royal Bank decided to issue

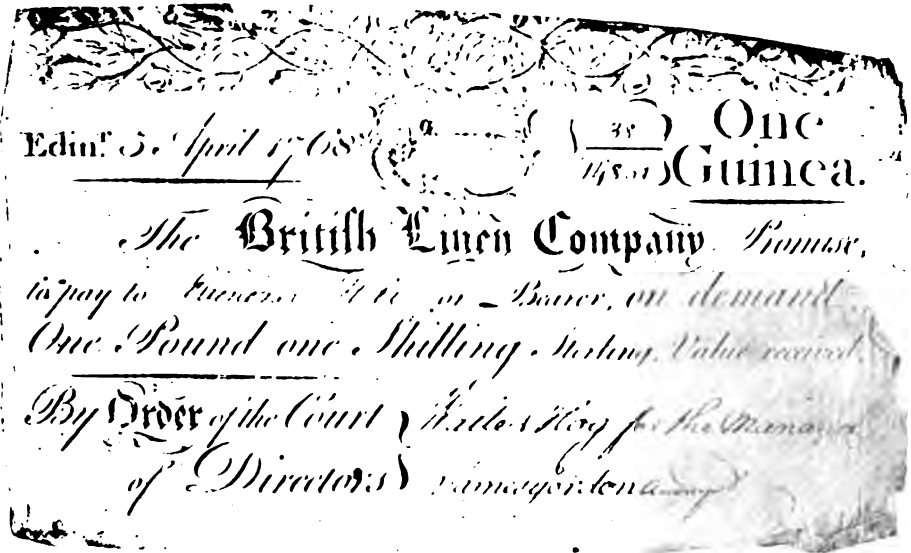


guinea notes again; and two days later the Directors of the Bank of Scotland came to a similar resolution, and ordered a guinea-note plate to be made with the date engraved on it, and that the notes should be issued without loss of time. Both Banks determined at the same time to stop their issues of twenty-shilling notes. The date of issue of this Royal Bank guinea-note was 4th March 1768; that of the Bank of Scotland note was 2nd May of the same year.

At the time when the Royal Bank was issuing its first guinea notes, the British Linen Company was preparing a note from a plate which was to be left 'blank in the sum, to answer for any sum that may be demanded, the sum to be filled up and the note issued at sight of the Committee of Directors waiting at the time.' The British Linen Company

issued its first guinea note on 5th April 1768. If, like the other Banks, the Company ever stopped the issue of pound notes, it renewed it in May 1770, when it ordered several books of the 'old impression of 20s. notes payable on demand' to be signed. The country banks followed the example of the banks of Edinburgh, and printed guinea notes of their own.

Two-guinea notes were afterwards introduced, and these were adopted by the country banks also. It is evident that the guinea note had its advantages, but its use seems to have been limited, for a time at any rate. In March 1772, the British Linen Company's Directors 'took under consideration the great demand and scarcity of silver, and ordered to send guinea notes in place of pound notes to Glasgow, and other parts within thirty miles of Edinburgh; and to places beyond that district to continue to send one pound notes as usual.' Before long the Bank of Scotland



and the Royal Bank resumed the issue of pound notes, but guinea notes continued to be made by both Edinburgh and provincial banks as lately as the second quarter of the present century. The contemporary issue for so long a period of notes of so nearly one denomination as the pound and the guinea, is one of the curious phenomena in the history of money and its equivalents in Scotland.

J. H. S.

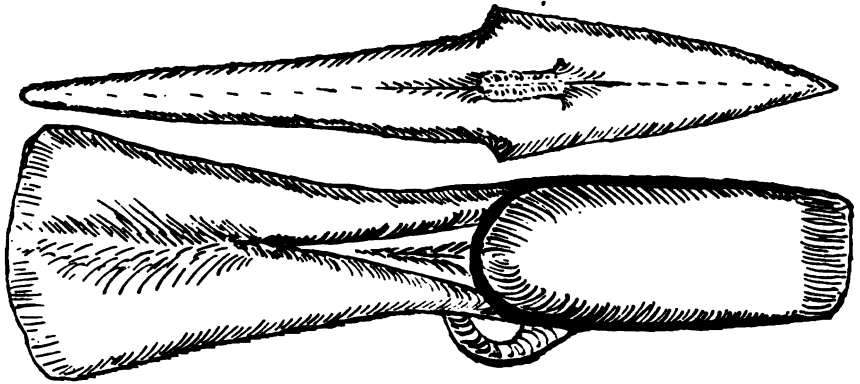
(To be continued.)

INVENTORY OF THE EARLY WRITS OF THE BURG OF LINLITHGOW.

A LARGE number of early writs have recently been discovered at Linlithgow, which were not known to exist when the Inventory, now in course of publication in these pages, was compiled. It seems, therefore, to be advisable to delay the printing of the remainder of the Inventory till these writs have been examined.—Ed.

A PAALSTAB.

MR. G. DEANS RITCHIE, writing to the *Peeblesshire Advertiser* of 13th February, says:—It may interest your readers to learn that in September last the shooting tenant on Kilbucho estate picked up a beautiful specimen of what is known to antiquarians as a bronze paalstab, or paalstave. This ancient weapon could be used either as an axe or as a spear, in this latter case being attached to the end of a cleft handle and fastened by a raw hide thong through the eye on the side of the paalstab itself. The specimen under notice was found in a narrow pass, called 'The Glack,' where there is an old track from Glenholm valley to Kilbucho; it weighed 15 oz., and measured 6½ inches in length, and was in a perfect state of preservation. I enclose a rough sketch. Your readers will regret to hear that this relic of the bronze age has not found a home



in Peebles Museum. It has gone to Warwickshire; which is an additional reason for preserving in Scotland a record, at least, of the find.¹

The question suggests itself—do paalstabs rank at Kilbucho with partridges and grouse, and go to the shooting tenant?

ABERDEEN DIPLOMAS.

THE graduation records of Marischal College, and University, Aberdeen (1593-1860), which are being printed by the New Spalding Club, prove to be by no means complete prior to 1826. I should be glad to be informed of the existence of any Aberdeen diplomas of earlier date.

P. J. ANDERSON.

UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, ABERDEEN.

CULROSS ABBEY CHURCH.

I MAY add to Mr. Cornelius Hallen's note (*ante*, vol. x. p. 100) that the first edition of Beeverill's *Delices de la Grand' Bretagne et de l'Irlande* was published in 1706. The 'Nouvelle Edit.' of 1727 was the second, and last.

¹ This account and the illustrations of the paalstab are reproduced here by the kind permission of Mr. Ritchie and of Mr. Smyth, Editor of the *Peeblesshire Advertiser*.

It is hardly likely that all the plates that illustrate this work were designed and engraved specially for it; and I shall be very glad to know whether any of them are known to have done duty in earlier books. It may turn out that the view reproduced (x. 101) dates from the seventeenth century.

Q. V.

THE COMMISSARIOT REGISTER OF SHETLAND.

OWING to pressure on our space, the continuation of the abstract of these Registers is unavoidably delayed till next issue.

THE LATE REV. DR. GREGOR.

At a meeting of the Council of the Scottish Text Society, held last week, the following minute was unanimously adopted:—The Council at their first meeting after the death of the Rev. Dr. Walter Gregor desire to record their sense of the great loss thereby sustained by the Scottish Text Society. Dr. Gregor was practically the founder of the Society, and has acted during the fourteen years of its existence as its Secretary. His accurate knowledge of the Scottish vernacular and its dialects, and his intimate acquaintance with its literature, both in manuscript and in print, were probably not surpassed by any Scotsman of his time. To his enthusiasm, energy, and unremitting labours the success of the Society has been chiefly due. He not only edited John Roland's *Court of Venus* for the Society, and supplied the Notes and Glossary to the poems of William Dunbar, edited by the late Mr. Small, but read and revised the whole texts published by the Society, and either contributed or added to the Glossaries prepared by other editors. At the time of his death he had commenced the edition of the *Scots Rescension of Wycliff's Gospels*, and the Council deeply regret that this important work will be deprived of his valuable aid. His varied accomplishments beyond as well as within the field of Scottish language and literature, and especially in Scottish folklore and antiquities, have done much to illustrate Scottish history and character, and were always placed without stint at the service of others. The Council venture to express their opinion that Scotland has lost in Dr. Gregor one of her most patriotic sons, the Society a secretary whose place will be hard to fill, and the members of its Council a highly valued and never-to-be-forgotten friend.

QUERIES.

BELLENDEN.—Will any one tell me where I can get information respecting John, second Lord Bellenden, who was born 1661 and died 1706. What year did he marry Mary, Countess of Dalhousie? Did she accompany him in his exile to Holland in 1689? How long was he kept there? and where were his children born? One daughter Mary was baptised in Edinburgh in 1685, but I am anxious to find the baptism of another daughter Mary, born about 1694-5. Any information other than what is to be found in the Peerages, will be gratefully received by Lady Russell.

16 CADOGAN GARDENS, LONDON, S.W.

REV. GEORGE YOUNG, A.M.—Reported as descended from the Youngs of Auchensheoch, in Galloway, born *circa* 1674, graduated at the University of St. Andrews 1696, licensed by the Presbytery of Linlithgow, and ordained minister of the united parishes of Hutton and Corrie in Annandale, Dumfriesshire, 1702. Died, 14th February 1749. Who was his father?
W. D. H.

PORT HILLSBOROUGH—can any of your readers tell me where I can find an account of this African settlement discovered by Captain George Glas, son of the Rev. John Glas, founder of the Glasite Church.

I find in the Record office that Captain George Glas was granted a concession for the formation of a settlement at Port Hillsborough, but no indication of its precise position or whether the settlement was ever established.
JOHN GLAS SANDEMAN.

TWO ANCIENT DEDICATIONS IN ANSTRUTHER (EASTER)—When lately consulting the *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* I came upon a reference under date A.D. 1590, to 'Parcellam terre in burgo de Anstruther orientali dictam Sanct-Ailis-Chapell (juxta mare),' (vol. 1580-1593, page 597). In the *Inquisitionum ad Capellam Domini Regis Retornatarum Abbreviatio*, allusion is made (on the 14th November 1632) to 'Sanctclydis Chaippill in dicto burgo,' (*i.e.* Anstruther Easter). In the Index to the *Retours* the name is given as 'Sanctclydis Chaippell.' With regard to the titular of Sanct-Ailis-Chapell, Bishop Forbes gives the following particulars in his *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*:—'Ayle. August 30, A.D. cir. 650. In Easter Anstruther there is still standing an ancient tenement called S. Ayle's House, where, till lately, there were the remains of a chapel. There is S. Ayle's acre, on which the Free Kirk manse is built. The site was probably that granted by William de Candela, Lord of Aynstrothir, to the abbot and convent of Balmerino in 1221. A brief from Rome of Paul III., in 1527, mentions the acre of S. Ayle or Yle, "nec non capella Sancti Ylze."'

In the Balmerinoch Chartulary there is an indenture between Abbot, John de Hayles and Henry [Wardlaw], Bishop of St. Andrews, as to the administration of the sacraments in the chapel of St. Ali. This St. Ayle's Chapel of Balmerino was situated to the north of the manor-house at Balmerino.

Dr. Stuart identifies this saint with 'S. Agilus, son of Agnoald, a courtier of Childebert II., who was consecrated to religion at Luxeuil under S. Columbanus and S. Eustatius. After interceding with King Thierrri to stop Brunhilda's persecution of the Irish monks occasioned by their laws against the intrusion of women into the church, he went with S. Eustatius to preach the Gospel to the infidels who lived on the further side of Mount Jura, penetrating to Bavaria. Then he was recalled to govern Rebais, near Meaux, where he died, aged 66.' I have failed to find any reference to the titular of 'Sanctclydis Chaippill.' Perhaps some reader of the *Scottish Antiquary* may be able to supply information regarding the saint.

J. M. MACKINLAY, F.S.A. (Lond. and Scot.) Glasgow.

WEST LINTON, PEEBLESSHIRE.—The Cross Well of this village was originally erected in 1666 by James Gifford, with figures of his wife and five children on the top of it. The children's figures disappeared many years ago, but it is said that there is a view of the well complete with all

the figures on it, in an old magazine, or book, by a traveller through Scotland. Can any one kindly give me the name of the book, and where it is to be seen?

The site of the village seems to have been in early times a lake surrounded with sandy mounds, or kames. Is this lake shown in any early maps, as Timothy Pont's, Blaeu's, etc.? Within living memory part of the locality was bogs and morasses, where now are flourishing farms, woods, etc.

A LINTON LAD.

EBENEZER THOMSON.—Can any correspondent give any information as to Ebenezer Thomson, 'Teacher of Greek and Latin in Air Academy'? He published *Elements of English and Latin Grammar: upon a New and Simple Plan of Mutual Illustration*, a small 12mo. volume of 100 pp. printed by Wilson and Paul, Air, 1813; also *The King's Quair*, a Poem, by James the First, King of Scots, with Explanatory Notes, a Glossary, etc., 8vo, pp. viii and 97; Air, Printed by Wilson and Paul, 1815. The notes to the latter indicate considerable acquaintance with early English and Scottish Literature. It would be interesting to know something more of a man who seems to have been a superior example of the Scottish Schoolmaster of a past age.

ROBT. GUY.

THE WERN, POLLOKSHAWS.

Rev. WILLIAM FORBES OF FORDOUN.—William Forbes was ordained and admitted to the charge of Fordoun, on 9th Sept. 1747; he married in 1748 Susanna Walker, and died 20th March 1771. I shall be obliged for any information as to his parentage.

'SPERNIT HUMUM.'

REPLIES.

CHARLES SMITH OF BOULOGNE, Merchant, married Barbara, daughter of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn, by his wife Barbara, daughter of Sir William Ruthven of Dunglass. His widow died at Touch, Stirlingshire, in her ninety-fourth year, on 29th December 1781. They had an only son, Hugh, who married Elizabeth Seton, heiress of Touch, the widow of his cousin Hugh, only son of Sir Hugh Paterson of Bannockburn. Mr. Smith died at Touch, aged eighty, 25th August 1768. He is mentioned as bringing the news of the victory of Gladsmuir to those present at Linlithgow at the wedding ceremony of his son, 21st September 1745.—(*Scottish Antiquary*, vol. v. p. 148.)

A. F. S.

THE GAELIC PSALTER.—*See ante*, p. 157.

STEUART.—James Steuart, writer in Edinburgh, the father of Charles Steuart, Writer to the Signet, married Alison Ruddiman, the only surviving daughter of the grammarian. He was son of Charles Steuart, Stewart Clerk of Orkney. The latter was cousin-german to William Steuart of Weyland (born 1686, died 1768), who, when Secretary to the Prince of Wales and Remembrancer of the Exchequer of Scotland, recorded arms as 'descended of the family of Lorn and Innermeath.'

A. F. S.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow: vol. i. *First Protocol Book of William Hegait (1547-55)*; vol. ii. *William Hegait's Protocols (1555-60)*, with *Appendix (1503-1610)*; vol. iii. *William Hegait's*

Protocols (1561-68); edited by Robert Renwick, Depute Town Clerk. Glasgow, printed for the subscribers by Carson and Nicol, 1894-96, 4to.— Between 1547 and 1568 there happened a great many things among the larger events of Scottish history, whilst William Hegait, Town Clerk of Glasgow and Notary Public, was causing his protocols to be enrolled from day to day with all due regularity. The echo of religious and political struggle and tumult, of foreign invasion and intrigue, of national disensions, of public and private murder, treason and feud, might never have invaded the Notary's chamber, so far as any trace is left on the carefully written record now in course of being made rapidly available for general historical purposes. The first protocol was entered soon after Pinkie, the last shortly after Langside; the interval had been fateful; yet the protocols went on in unruffled succession as though the death of Rizzio or Darnley, and the joys and sorrows of Queen Mary had counted for nothing. The business annals of a notary are dull; notwithstanding they have packed into them a body of domestic history of vastly more utility than the average chronicle. The archives of Glasgow include no fewer than forty-one protocol books, embracing the period from 1547 to 1696. A still older book, that of Michael Fleming, has now been traced in the General Register House, covering the years 1530-39, and its contents are promised for Mr. Renwick's fourth volume. The series, issued to subscribers of the exceedingly modest sum of 10s. 6d. a year (for two volumes averaging 140 pages each), is projected to include all protocols down to the year 1600. In the three volumes which have already appeared there are very nearly a thousand protocols. The great bulk of these relates to transactions regarding property in the close vicinity of Glasgow, but about one sixth of the whole deals with subjects away from Glasgow altogether, and scattered over the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Ayr, Argyle, Dumbarton, Stirling, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, and Fife. They form, therefore, a land register of much more than local importance. The editorial method adopted is one that depends largely upon the competence of the editor, a point on which in the present case no two opinions can exist. Whatever objections it might have been lawful to harbour to the editing of such a record otherwise than by transcription in full, they sink into nothingness when the task of abridgment and translation is in Mr. Renwick's hands. Nobody in Scotland has had a more extensive practical experience than he among burghal muniments, and he shares with Sir James Marwick a most intimate acquaintance with old Glasgow topography and chronicle. Indeed he is the custodier of the many invaluable books and writs which form the city archives, and no one knows a tithe as much about them as he. The original protocols are mostly in Latin, and the abstracts now in course of issue are abridged translations narrating the purport of each, invariably preserving intact the descriptions of lands and houses, and the names and designations of persons. Each volume is independently indexed fully for names and places. It remains only to draw attention to the nature of the writs and the special legal or other features which they possess, for it must be plainly unnecessary to insist on the superlative value of the substance of them as supplementary and corrective of all Glasgow histories hitherto published, and on their territorial and personal evidence, sometimes of major, sometimes of minor, moment, on the careers of many public men. Just to illustrate this, the protocol No. 761 (excellently rendered in facsimile) offers itself. It is the record of the renunciation by 'Maister George Buchquhennan' of an annualrent from the lands of Yoker in

Renfrewshire, whilst No. 756 records another transaction by the same person who, as there is shown good reason to believe, was the great historian. Ordinarily the business notarially attested is a sasine, whether upon a sale, security, or succession, but often it is some other proceeding such as a reserved reversion or a discharge. Occasionally it may relate to movable possessions or rights such as No. 22, where a claim of spulzie is assigned. In many cases the document is either itself in the vernacular, or is a mere formal Latin setting of a textual vernacular quotation. This is almost always so whenever the transaction is out of the stereotyped order of things familiar to notarial style. Hence the students of conveyancing and of Scots will meet on common ground in welcoming many a form rich in quaint phrase. The class of writs thus happily left in the native language comprises such things as decrees of division, reversions and discharges, renunciation of claims, ratification, regulation as to servitude, overgiving of kindness, and the like. By No. 459 the proprietor of a 'haile gavill' gives licence to a neighbour 'to big upone his gavile'; but subject to an obligation on the grantee 'to riguell and wattirbairge' the grantor, 'and to halde hym wattirfast,' with a saving of the heritable right, which will throw light on the origin of our current law of mutual gables. Of course numerous now extinct principles and observances of law are seen in operation. No. 593 is in form a sale to a father of a daughter's prospective share of heirship movables on his death. Several references are made to the widow's liferent (known in England as free bench) in kindly and rentalled holdings. Symbols prevalent are of the common type, earth and stone, net and coble, etc., although some unusual ones occur, such as *tignum et tectum*, editorially Englished as 'rafter and rigging.' In No. 295 a gloss gives 'pan and rwif' as the equivalent of *ligna et tigna*, apparently defining the joists for roofing purposes. In some discharges the grantor is stated to have 'cuttit the evidentis' in token of cancellation. The praiseworthy usage has been adopted of quoting in doubtful or interesting cases the original phrase translated. Sometimes this is already found in the gloss embodied in the deed, as when *fusor* is expressly explained by the notary as 'tynclare.' There is an odd use of '*citra*' relative to a stream. In some instances it may have the ordinary meaning 'on this side,' but there are not a few in which the property in question really lay 'on the other side.' Probably this use was not a special and peculiar vice of Glasgow notarial Latinity, but we have no recollection of meeting it elsewhere. A practice of which not very many parallel examples are known is seen in No. 801, where the formality of breaking sasine, apparently a protest for recall or avoidance of a prior ceremony of infeftment, is gone through by breaking a dish (*frangendo discum*) on the ground the right and title to which were in dispute. The notes, which only too seldom appear at the foot of the page in clarification of some obscurity, are always concise and helpful—the notes of the least obtrusive of editors. Like the prefaces, they contain much in small compass, and are careful, relevant, and thorough. A sketch plan in the first volume gives the reader the benefit of the editor's large topographical learning in an attempt to outline Glasgow as it was about and after 1547. A good illustrative facsimile of a document or page of protocols is given in each of the other two volumes. The list of subscribers whose names are printed numbers 258: we trust it will expand. The series cannot fail to take permanent rank amongst the records of Scotland which, for the future, the student of history may not ignore.

The Church and Other Bells of Kincardineshire, F. C. Eeles, [1897] demy 4to, 50 pp. price 5s. net (W. Jolly and Sons, Aberdeen).—This volume, a reprint with additions, from the Ecclesiological Society's Transactions, aims with good success at being a complete account of all the bells in Kincardineshire, their history, uses, and ornaments, with notices of their founders. It contains also an interesting sketch of Scottish Church bells in general, which exhibits considerable acquaintance with the literature of bells. There is an article also on the more interesting of Kincardineshire bell turrets and belfries.

The oldest and most interesting of the bells of Kincardineshire, as elsewhere, are naturally those now or formerly belonging to the parish churches. Of the seventy-five bells in the county, one only (at Strachan) is in any degree mediæval. Its date is about 1500 A.D. By kind permission we are able to reproduce the illustration of this bell.



Two (at Banchory Ternan and Kinneff) are Dutch Renaissance, four (at Portlethen, Nigg, Dunnottar, Durriss) are Scottish of the eighteenth century, one (at Fetteresso) is English, eighteenth century. The rest are modern or doubtful. The author has exercised a wise discretion in drawing a line nowhere, but in describing all the bells new as well as old. Nor are the new bells without their interest. Thus the parish church of Maryculter appears to have adopted a bell last year, with the legend on it —‘Sancta Maria Ora Pro Nobis.’ When a legend with a meaning is adopted or repeated for decorative or other reasons, not for the sake of, but in spite of its meaning, the furthest stage in the decadence of art has been reached. The illustrations which the book contains of the bells, their lettering and ornamentations, and of the old belfries and bell turrets, are well executed and very interesting. We hope Mr. Eeles will continue his labours in this department, and that he will find followers in other parts of Scotland.

Handbook to Gothic Architecture for Photographers and Others, by Thomas Perkins, M.A. London, 1897 (Hazell, Watson and Viney, Limited), 8vo, 224 pp. 3s. 6d.—The camera is rapidly becoming, if it has not already become, a necessary part of the equipment of a student of architecture. This handbook, however, is primarily intended for the use of amateur photographers, and is admirably arranged to give a general idea of the growth of the different styles of Gothic art, so that the dates of all buildings visited may be approximately known. The churches and castles of England are described in chapters devoted to the several periods, and, at the end of each chapter, a list is appended of contemporary examples, which must prove to be of the greatest service. Thirteen pages are devoted to the architecture of Scotland, and there are short chapters on the architecture of Wales and Ireland. There are altogether some seventy-one illustrations, reproduced from photographs. The subjects have been wisely chosen, and, in the general views, there is a fine appreciation of artistic grouping. But details there are in plenty, and the illustrations of the ball-flower ornament, used to so great excess by the fourteenth century builders in England, is as perfect as an illustration may be.

James Boswell, by W. Keith Leask, 1897, 'Famous Scots Series' (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier), price 1s. 6d.—Mr. Keith Leask has written so sympathetic and appreciative a life of James Boswell that he almost persuades us that somewhere in the man, hidden underneath that amazing accumulation of childish vanity, weakness, and folly, there lay something which attracted liking and commanded respect. Certain it is that Johnston's Bozzy, lacking himself almost every element of greatness, the fore-runner and type of the modern biographer and interviewer rolled into one, goes down to posterity radiant with reflected glory, a monument of unabashed sincerity and utter self-abasement, with a good literary style.

Tobias George Smollett, by Oliphant Smeaton, 1897, 'Famous Scots Series' (Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier), 1s. 6d. This 'short life' of the great novelist has been admirably done. It gives a clear and interesting account of Smollett's life, and an able and discriminating criticism of his work. Mr. Smeaton writes as an enthusiastic admirer of Smollett's genius and as the lenient critic of his shortcomings. His explanations of these last will not probably be accepted as entirely satisfactory by most readers, but no one need quarrel with him on that account as he provides abundant material for forming an independent opinion on the novelist's character. The story of Smollett's early struggles with poverty—his 'shifts to live'—is well told, as is also the still more pathetic tale of his later years, spent for the most part in the ceaseless treadmill of the literary hack; 'a more pitiable picture can scarcely be conceived than this splendid genius yoked like a pug-mill horse to tasks the most ignoble, in order that he might keep his wife and daughter from feeling the pinch of want.' It was a struggle not unworthy to be ranked with that which lends so great a pathos to the closing years of Sir Walter Scott. Mr. Smeaton's estimate of Smollett's place in literature is on the whole sound. When, indeed, he claims for the novelist 'an imaginative wealth almost unique since the days of Homer,' it is probable that most readers will demur. Otherwise his criticism is singularly able and discriminating.

He shows a thorough acquaintance not only with Smollett's works, but with the literature that has grown up around them.

Description of the Armorial Bearings, Portraits, and Busts in the Mitchell Hall and Picture Gallery, Marischal College, University of Aberdeen, by E. A., 1896 (Albany Press, Aberdeen), small 4to, 138 pp. price 6d.—This would be a very cheap book at a larger price than sixpence. It contains a long list of names of Aberdeen men who have become world's celebrities. It gives a short biographical notice of each, and adds a blason of his coat of arms with a reference to the place it occupies in the great window of the Mitchell Hall. The collection of portraits which it catalogues contains examples of Jamieson and other great painters. Would it be too much to ask that the next edition of this book should contain a short description of each of the portraits it refers to?

BOOKS RECEIVED.

The History of Scotland, by J. H. Burton, new edition, in 8 vols. (Blackwoods), 1897, vol. i., pp. xiv. 448, 3s. 6d., and *The Church of Keith*, by Wm. Cramond, M.A., LL.D. (John Mitchell, Keith), 1897, pp. 95, 6d., have been received too late for notice in this issue.