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On the Danish Ballads

THE close relation between the Danish and the Scottish ballads has long been recognised. Jamieson particularly called attention to the subject by his translations from the Danish, included in his own *Popular Ballads*, in the notes to the *Lady of the Lake*, and in larger numbers, with a fuller commentary, among the *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities* (1814), edited by Scott. Motherwell in the introduction to his *Minstrelsy* referred to the likenesses which Jamieson had already pointed out, and added a note of his own on the ballad of *Leesome Brand* and its Danish counterpart. All the earlier discoveries in this field are of course recorded, with innumerable additions, in the great work of Svend Grundtvig,¹ the collection of all the Danish ballads which is being so worthily completed by his successor Dr. Axel Olrik; while the same matters, the correspondences of ballads in English and Danish (not to speak of other languages), are to be found, with frequent acknowledgments of obligation to Grundtvig, in the companion work of Child.² The commentaries of Grundtvig and Olrik on the one hand, of Child on the other, leave one almost in despair as to the possibility of ever making out the history of the connexion between the ballads of this country and of Denmark. The present paper is little more than an attempt to define some of the problems.

¹ *Danmarks Gamle Folkeviser*, quoted as *D.g.F.* Five volumes. 1853-1890; continued by Dr. Axel Olrik, *Danske Ridderviser*, 1895-1902 (in progress).

² *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, edited by Francis James Child. Five volumes. Boston, 1882-1898.

I

Danish ballads—the name ‘Danish’ for many purposes in relation to ballads may be taken to mean also Swedish, Norwegian, Icelandic, and Faroese—have preserved more than the English, and much more than the German, of their original character as dancing songs. Though the dancing custom has long died out in Denmark, hardly any of the ballads are without a refrain; and when the refrain is missing, there is generally other evidence to prove that the ballad is not really Danish. Thus the ballad of *Grimild's Revenge*, a version of the Nibelung story, which has no refrain, is known to be of German origin on other grounds; the plot of it agrees with the *Nibelungen Lied* in one most important thing which makes all the difference between the German and the Northern conception of that tragic history. Other examples may be found in Dr. Steenstrup's book on the Ballads,¹ admirably stated and explained. And though Denmark has lost the old custom of the dance, it is well known how it is retained in the Faroes;² the old French *Carole* being there the favourite amusement, with any number of ballads to go along with it, and the refrain always an essential part of the entertainment.

The French *Carole* was well established in the twelfth century in Denmark, and even in Iceland, where the word *danz* is used of the rhymes sung—the *ballade*—rather than of the dancing itself. The chief documents of this early part of the history are clerical protests against the vanity of the new fashion, much the same in Denmark, Iceland, France, England, and Germany: e.g. in the common story of the dancers on whom a judgment fell, so that they could not leave off dancing, but kept at it night and day.³

Fortunately the preachers and moralists, in noting the vices

¹ *Vore Folkeviser*, 1891.

² The ballads of the Faroes, including the dance and the tunes, are being studied by Mr. Hjalmar Thuren of Copenhagen, who has collected much new material since his preliminary essay (*Dans og Kvaddigtning paa Færøerne, med et Musikbilag*, 1901: in German, expanded, in *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, iii. 2, pp. 222-269).

³ Cf. Gaston Paris, *Les Danseurs Mardits, légende allemande du XI siècle*, 1900. There is another story in the Durham *Exempla* described by M. Paul Meyer (*Notices et Extraits*, xxxiv.). A priest, a lusty bachelor, was fond of wakes and dances; once, however, he saw at a dance two devils to each man and woman, moving their arms and legs, *ad omnes motus et vertigines quas faciebant*.

of the dancing song, have given some of the earliest information about it, and the oldest quotations. There are few remains of English lyrical poetry of the twelfth century, but the fact of its existence is proved by historians. Giraldus Cambrensis in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica* has a chapter against songs and dances in churches and churchyards, and tells a story of a priest in the diocese of Worcester who was so haunted by the refrain¹ of a song which he had heard repeated all night long about his church, that in the morning at the Mass instead of *Dominus vobiscum* he said *Swete lemman thin are*—'Sweet heart, take pity!' Almost at the same time is found the first notice of the ring-dance in Denmark: the great Archbishop Absolon, about 1165, had to correct the monks of Eskilsoe who kept their festivals with too much glory, and who approved of dancing in hall.² Passages showing the opposition of the clergy and the strong vogue of the dance in early days are quoted from the *Bishops' Lives of Iceland* in the essay on 'Dance and Ballad' in the *Oxford Corpus*.³ The earliest ballad refrains in Icelandic belong to the thirteenth century; one of them (A.D. 1264) repeated by an Icelandic gentleman on his way to meet his death:

Mínar eru sorgir þungar sem blý.
'My sorrows are heavy as lead,'

which was intended originally as a lover's complaint, and is applied humorously otherwise in the quotation.⁴

The French lyrical dancing game appears to have conquered the North just at the critical period when the world became closed to Northern adventurers of the old type, when the Viking industry was passing away, and along with it much of the old Northern poetical traditions. It is known how King Hacon of Norway (our adversary at Largs) encouraged French romance in Norwegian adaptations—a sign of changing manners. These were in prose, but besides these the Icelandic quotations above referred to show how French tunes and French rhymes were taking the place of the old narrative blank verse, even there in

¹ 'Interjectam quandam cantilenae particulam ad quam saepius redire conueverant, quam refectoriam seu refractoriam vocant.' Giraldus Cambrensis, *Rolls Series*, ii. 120.

² Steenstrup, *Danmarks Riges Hist.*, i. p. 688.

³ *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ed. Vigfusson and York Powell, ii. p. 385.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 387; *Sturlunga Saga*, Oxford, 1878, ii. 264.

Iceland. Denmark had probably been accustomed to rhyme long before, through the example of German minstrels, whether Canute the Dane really made his song about the monks of Ely or no.

This is all some way from the ballads, English, Scottish, or Danish. The French *caroles* could get on without stories; the refrains quoted by Giraldus and by Sturla have nothing about them to show that they were used in those days with narrative ballads; rather the contrary. The essay on the Icelandic *danz*, above quoted, takes very strongly the view that there was no narrative along with the *danz* in Iceland; that the verses of those early ballads were satirical or amatory. Narrative was supplied in a different way.

But at some time or other the refrain began to be used regularly in Denmark, as it is now used in the Faroes, along with narrative poems: *ballads*, as we ordinarily understand the term. The date of the first ballads is not likely to be discovered soon; and for the present it may be well to leave it alone. One thing, or rather a large system of things, is certain, and interesting enough, whatever the dates may be.

The use of refrains constantly in Denmark, and less regularly in this country, makes it necessary to regard the English and Danish ballads as one group over against the German ballads of the continent. Resemblances in matter between English and Danish ballads are not so frequent as we might expect; but there is identity of manner almost everywhere, at anyrate where the ballads of this side have refrains along with them.

In some of the Danish ballads the chorus comes in at the end, as in the old English poem of *Robin and Gandeleyne*, where the overword

Robin lieth in green wood bounden,

has an effect very like the Danish in such refrains as

Udi Ringsted hviles Dronning Dagmar
(In Ringsted rests Queen Dagmar),

or

For nu stander Landet i Vaade
(For now stands the land in danger).

More peculiar is the form of chorus, which perhaps makes the chief likeness between the Danish ballads and ours; certainly the most obvious likeness as far as form is concerned;

that is where there is one refrain after the first line, another after the second, as in many well-known examples :

There was twa sisters liv'd in a bower,
Binnorie, O Binnorie !
 There came a knight to be their wooer
By the bonny mill-dams o' Binnorie.

—CHILD, No. 10.

O wind is longer than the way
Gar lay the bent to the bonny broom,
 And death is colder than the clay,
And you may beguile a fair maid soon.

—CHILD, No. 1D.

There were three sisters fair and bright,
Jennifer gentle and rosemarie,
 And they three loved one valiant knight,
As the dew flies over the mulberry tree.

—CHILD, No. 1B.

Seven kings' daughters here hae I slain
Aye as the gowans grow gay,
 And ye shall be the eight o' them
The first morning in May.

—*Lady Isabel and the Elf-knight*; CHILD, No. 4.

The Danish manner is as well known here as anything in a foreign tongue can be, from Jamieson's translation of *Svend Dyring*, given by Scott in the notes to the *Lady of the Lake* :

'Twas lang i' the night, and the bairnies grat,
And O gin I were young,
 Their mither she under the mools heard that
I' the greenwood it lists me to ride.

Sometimes there is a likeness of refrain, along with identity of subject, between a Scottish and a Danish ballad. This Scottish verse is taken from a variant of *Leesome Brand* (Child, No. 16; i. p. 184) :

He houkit a grave long, large, and wide,
The broom blooms bonnie, and so is it fair,
 He buried his auld son down by her side,
And we'll never gang up to the broom nae mair.

The following is from one of the many Danish versions of the same story (D.g.F., No. 271, *Redselille og Medelvold*; v. p. 249).

Han grov en Grav baade dyb og bred,
Hvem plukker Løven udaf Lilientræ ?
 Der lagde han dennem alle ned,
Selv træder hun Duggen af.

In Child's collection, which is full of miracles, there are not many things more wonderful than the Shetland ballad of Orpheus (Child, No. 19), 'obtained from the singing of Andrew Coutts, an old man in Unst, Shetland, by Mr. Biot Edmonstone':

Yees tak' your lady, an' yees gaeng hame,
Scowan ùrla grùn;
 An' yees be king ower a' your ain,
Whar giorten han grùn oarlac.

The refrain here is 'Norn,' a fragment of the old Northern speech of Shetland, belonging to the same Danish ballad tradition as that other miracle, the Foula ballad of Hildina, still remembered, but not understood, in the eighteenth century, and interpreted, though not easily, by Northern scholarship.¹

The Hildina poem is part of the same story as the Middle High German *Gudrun*; Andrew Coutts's song is connected in some way with the old romance of *Orfeo*, which professes to be a Breton lay, and certainly belongs to the same order as the lays of Marie de France in the twelfth century. It goes back to the very beginnings of modern literature, to the early days of French romance; a Greek story adapted, with strange success, to the fashions of the court of Faery, as many other classical matters were adapted, from Troy or Thebes, and made into 'Gothic' stories. And further, this relic of early medieval fancy appears in Shetland with a Norse refrain, unintelligible by this time to those who hear it, and to the singer himself, but closely resembling the burden of Danish ballads. The last line is uncertain, even to Grundtvig: the first, however—the *indstev* as it would be called in Norway—is very near the *indstev* of the Danish *Esbern Snare*, for example (D.g.F., No. 131):

'The shaws are green and gay'—

Hr. Iver og Hr. Esbern Snare
 —*Skoven staar herlig og grøn*—
 de drukke Mjød i Medelfare
Den Sommer og den Eng saa vel kunne sammen.

It would be premature to fix on Shetland as the chief meeting place or trading station between the ballads of Scotland and Norway; no doubt there were other ways of intercourse. Quite apart from such questions, the ballad of Orpheus brings out

¹George Low, *A Tour through Orkney and Schetland in 1774*, Kirkwall, 1879; Hæ stad, *Hildinakvadet*, Christiania, 1900.

the close likeness between the Danish and the English fashion of refrain; and it is this, more than anything else, which makes a distinction between the Northern group of ballads—English-Danish—and the German ballads, High Dutch or Low Dutch, in which there is hardly an example of this sort. Interpolated refrains are found in the popular poetry of all the world, but the special manner common to Scottish and Danish ballads is not used in Germany. There the chorus does not come in after the first line with lyrical phrases:

O gin I were young—

And the sun shines over the valleys and a'.

Such things are found in German at the end of the stanza sometimes:

Dar steit ein lindboem an jenem dal
is bawen breit und nedden schmal
van gold dre rosen.

—UHLAND, 15B.

But where there is an *indestev* it is generally mere exclamation, like 'hey down' or 'hey lillelu' in English. There is, indeed, one German ballad, *Hinrich* (Umland, No. 128), which is exactly in the Danish or Scottish manner:

Her Hinrich und sine bröder alle dre
vull grone,
Se buweden ein schepken tor se
umb de adlige rosenblome.

There does not seem to be any other, though there are instances of interpolated refrain of rather a different kind:

Maria wo bist du zur Stube gewesen?
Maria mein einziges Kind.

This ballad is one of the analogues of *Lord Randal*, and the refrain is used in the same way.

Other examples, kindly given me along with these by my friend Professor J. G. Robertson, are from poems too completely lyrical to be compared, except in a general way, with the Ballads:

Frisch auf gut gsell lass rummer gan!
tummel dich guts weinlein.
das gläslein sol nicht stille stan
tummel dich, tummel dich, guts weinlein.

—UHLAND, No. 219; compare No. 221.

Wo find ich dann deins Vaters Haus,
Säuberliches Mägdlein?
 Geh das Gäslein aus und aus,
Schweig still und lass dein Fragen sein.
 —*Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, ed. 1857, ii. p. 434.

Wer singet im Walde so heimlich allein?
O du liebe liebe Seel! O mein einziges Kind!
O weh!
 Und die Kirchenglocken, sie läuten darein
Und das Scheiden und das Meiden, wie tut es doch so weh!
Ade! ade!
Ich seh' dich nimmermehr!
 —*HOFFMANN VON FALLERSLEBEN, Herr Ulrich*, 1823.

There are two rather remarkable things here: that German ballad poetry should have avoided this kind of burden, though it is a common form in lyrical poetry; and that Denmark, though so near to Germany, borrowing half its dictionary from the German, and copying German literature in so many ways, should have taken its own line in the narrative ballads, and kept to it so distinctly and thoroughly. Denmark was shot through with German influences of all sorts from the earliest days; Danish life in the Middle Ages was overpowered by Germany as much as English culture was indebted to France. But in this field the Danes refused to allow any German example to prevail. Their ballads resemble those of England and Scotland, countries with which there was much intercourse indeed, but nothing like the intimate relations with Germany.

Further, this reservation in ballad-poetry, this rejection of German examples, was not the survival of anything ancient, national, Northern, Scandinavian, beating off the foreign intruder. It was not like the continuance, in England, of the old national verse, the alliterative line that in *Piers Plowman* and other famous poems holds its ground against the French measures and rhymes. The form of ballad-poetry in Denmark is not native, nor old, as age is counted in the history of those northern lands. As in England and Scotland, it is a foreign importation, truly and entirely French.

II

Resemblances in matter between Danish and Scottish ballads have by this time been pretty fully discussed, and it is hard to add anything new, after the commentaries of Grundtvig

and Child. On the whole, it may be said that the correspondence is rather less than one might expect. It is very close in certain cases, especially in *Earl Brand*,¹ *Sir Aldingar*,² *Binnorie*,³ *Leesome Brand*,⁴ *Fause Foodrage*,⁵ with their Danish counterparts. In *Earl Brand* and *Leesome Brand* the names have been thought to be Danish; also the name 'Clerk Colvin,' it is conjectured, is derived from the Olaf who rides out and meets the Elfwoman and comes home to die.⁶ There are indications of borrowing from Denmark or Norway in the story of *Earl Brand*, which is the *Douglas Tragedy* in another form. In all the northern versions the action turns on the deadly power of the name: the hero warns his bride when he is attacked by her father and brothers that she must not name him while he is fighting.⁷ She breaks this command when he has killed them all but one:

'Stay you, stay you, Hildebrand! stay you, in Our Lord's name! let my youngest brother live; he can bring my mother the tidings home!'

Scarcely were the words spoken, he fell to the earth with eighteen wounds.

There is hardly a trace of this in the English and Scottish versions. Generally one is not inclined to look on this country as in debt to Scandinavia for literary things; it is known that Norway borrowed from Scotland part of the romance of Charlemagne, according to the note in *Karlamagnus Saga* at the beginning of the chapter 'Concerning the Lady Olif and Landres her son,'⁸ and it is not too much to suppose that in many

¹ Child, No. 7; cf. D.g.F. 82, *Ribold og Guldborg*; 83, *Hildebrand og Hilde*.

² Child, No. 59; cf. D.g.F. 13, *Ravengaard og Memering*.

³ Child, No. 10; cf. D.g.F. 95, *den talende Strengeleg*.

⁴ Child, No. 15; cf. D.g.F. 270-273.

⁵ Child, No. 89; cf. D.g.F. 298, *Svend af Vollerstøv*.

⁶ Child, No. 42; cf. D.g.F. 47, *Elveskud*, and the notes thereto.

⁷ Cf. Nyrop, 'On the Power of the Name,' *Navnets Magt*, 1887.

⁸ 'This story was found by Sir Bjarni Erlingsson of Bjarkey written and told in English speech in Scotland, when he stayed there the winter after the death of King Alexander. Now the kingdom after him went to Margaret, daughter of the worshipful Lord Eric, King of Norway, son of King Magnus, and the said Margaret was daughter's daughter of Alexander. Sir Bjarni was sent west to that end that he might secure and establish the realm under the maiden. And that the tale might be better understood by men, and they might receive thereof the more profit and pastime, Sir Bjarni had it turned from English into Norse.'—*Karlamagnus Saga*, ed. Unger, Christiania, 1860, p. 50.

other cases England or 'the English tongue in Scotland' may have provided the North with literature, and served as intermediary between the north and France.

The Danish editors accept for many of the ballads an English or Scottish origin, though the evidence is seldom very substantial. *Earl Brand*, not to speak of the Shetland Orpheus, appears to show that the trade was not all one-sided.

The problems of transmission are made more difficult by a large number of Danish ballads which, though they have no analogues in this country, are found—the plots of them that is—in France, Provence, Lombardy, Catalonia, and Portugal. M. Gaston Paris, in his review of Count Nigra's ballads of Piedmont,¹ clearly marked out what might be called the ballad region of the Latin countries, extending from France to northern Italy on one side and to the north of Spain on the other; not including the south of Italy, where popular poetry is generally lyrical, nor Castile, where the ballads are of a different order from those of Catalonia and of France. English ballads have many relations with this southern province; Child's indices are enough to show this. That the Danish ballads are connected in the same way was at first rather overlooked by Grundtvig, but the ground has been thoroughly surveyed in the later volumes of the *Folkeviser*. It may be remarked that Prior, the English translator of the Danish ballads, was one of the first to see that the popular poetry of France had been too much neglected in comparing ballad themes of different northern countries. The results, now that the comparisons have been made, are rather surprising. Briefly, they show that there is a considerable stock of ballads common to Denmark and the Latin countries from which England and Scotland are excluded, at least as far as the extant literature goes. Instead of the close relation between Denmark and Scotland which one had expected to find, there comes into view a closer relation between Denmark and France. Nothing can destroy the kinship of poetical form between Scotland and Denmark, the likenesses of rhythm and phrasing and refrain. In matter, however, there are many Danish ballads unparalleled in this country which are found in France and Italy. And in form also it may be that there is as close resemblance between Denmark and France as between Denmark and Scotland. But the matter of the ballad stories is to be dealt with first

The following are some of the chief instances of ballads

¹ *Journal des Savans*, 1889.

common to Denmark and 'Romania,' which are not found in the English tongue, either in Scotland or England. The ballad of the dead mother's return to help her children¹ is known to most of the Romance languages in the region described. Generally the southern versions have rather a different plot from the well known one of Jamieson's *Svend Dyring*. There the mother in heaven is grieved by her children's crying, and comes to the Lord to ask leave to return to Middle-earth. In France, and generally in the South, the children go to the graveyard to find their mother; on the way they meet with Jesus Christ, who asks them where they are going, and calls their mother back to take care of them. But in the Piedmontese version,² as in *Svend Dyring*, the mother is awakened by the children's crying at home; and in many Danish variants³ the children go to the churchyard; 'the first grat water, the second grat blood, the third she grat her mother up out of the black earth.'

In Scotland there is apparently nothing corresponding, beyond what is told by Jamieson in *Northern Antiquities* (p. 318): 'On the translation from the Danish being read to a very antient gentleman in Dumfriesshire, he said the story of the mother coming back to her children was quite familiar to him in his youth, as an occurrence of his own immediate neighbourhood, with all the circumstances of name and place.' [Not recorded by Jamieson.] 'The father, like Child Dyring, had married a second wife, and his daughter by the first, a child of three or four years old, was once missing for three days. She was sought for everywhere with the utmost diligence, but was not found. At last she was observed coming from the barn, which during her absence had been repeatedly searched. She looked remarkably clean and fresh; her clothes were in the neatest possible order; and her hair, in particular, had been anointed, combed, curled, and plaited, with the greatest care. On being asked where she had been, she said she had been with her *mammie*, who had been so kind to her, and given her so many good things, and dressed her hair so prettily.'

The ballad of *The Milk White Doe*, translated from the

¹ *D.g.F.* 89.

² Nigra, *Canti popolari del Piemonte*, No. 39, *La Madre Risuscitata*; references to French and Provençal versions, *ibid.* p. 213.

³ Grundtvig's versions D, E, F, M, N, P, in his second volume.

French by Mr. Andrew Lang,¹ is better known perhaps than most other French ballads in this country, and the version is so right that one would scarcely wonder if the same story in like phrases were discovered in some old manuscript ballad-book, such as the Danish ladies were fond of making three hundred years ago. What is not found in Scotland, except thus through the skill of the translator, is found in Denmark and Sweden. In Scottish traditional poetry there is little but a passing reference in *Leesome Brand* to show that possibly a ballad on this same theme once existed. In Danish and Swedish there is a poem that answers closely to the French; it has the same kind of lyrical quality, and is shorter than most of the Northern ballads:

The mother charged her son (*in the green-wood*): See thou shoot not the little hind (*that bears gold under her shoulder*): Shoot thou the hart, and shoot the roe, but let the little hind go free. Sir Peter goes to the rosy wood; there plays a hind as his hound comes on. The little hind plays before his foot; he forgot that he was to let her go. He bent his bow against his knee, against a tree-trunk he shot the hind. Sir Peter drew off his gloves so fine; with his own hands he would flay her. He flayed at her neck; he found his sister's tresses. He flayed at her breast; he found his sister's gold rings. He flayed at her side; he found his sister's white hands. Sir Peter cast his knife to the earth: 'Now have I proved my mother's words.'²

The ballad of the sister rescued from a tyrannical husband is found in Denmark and the other Northern countries,³ not here. In the Northern versions there is a horse, and a raven, mysterious helpers, who are not in the Southern story. It is thought that the Southern versions are all derived from the misfortunes of Clotilde, daughter of Clovis: notes and references are given by Nigra, p. 35 (*La Sorella Vendicata*).

A very common Southern ballad is that of the prisoner singing and changing the mind of his jailer by the power of his song.⁴ It is a favourite story in Denmark, with different

¹ *Ballads and Lyrics of Old France*, 1872, p. 68: cf. Haupt, *Französische Volkslieder*, p. 19 (*La Biche Blanche*).

² From Olrik's version, in 'Danish Ballads selected' (*Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg*). In *D.g.F.* 58 there is a longer version of the same story: the shorter form is found in Arwidsson's Swedish ballads, No. 136, with a variant where it is his betrothed, not his sister, that is shot.

³ *D.g.F.* 62, *Blak og Ravn hin brune*.

⁴ Nigra, No. 47, p. 284; French, Catalan, and Portuguese equivalents there referred to.

settings.¹ In one of them the hero is a deer-stealer: and though it is found only in modern oral tradition in Jutland it keeps a trace of the cross-bow and bolt, which proves it to be fairly ancient.² Another ballad found both in old manuscript books and in modern tradition has the same sort of ending.³ Though the power of song is well enough known in the ballads of this country, in *Glasgerion* for instance, this use of it is apparently not found here, any more than the magic song recorded in the romance of *Count Arnaldos*, which is the glory of the ballads of Spain. No other people have equalled that good fortune *over the waters of the sea*.⁴

But there is another sea-ballad, in which the magic singing comes again, a simpler thing than *Arnaldos*, which is unknown in English and common in Denmark and the Southern group. It is a cheerful story, something like the Gaberlunzie Man who becomes 'the bravest gentleman that was amang them a'. Here, however, the young woman is otherwise carried off; drawn on board ship by the enchanting song of the captain (called Valivan in Norway and Sweden), who afterwards declares himself as the king's son of England (it may be) or in some other way distinguished; at any rate an honourable man.⁵

Another sea ballad with the same curious distribution is that which is scarcely known in England except in the irreverent shape of *Little Billee*. The French had begun to take it lightly before Thackeray translated it:

Il était un petit navire
Qui n'avait jamais navigué.

But there are other forms of a ballad where the horrors of starving at sea are viewed more grimly, with a curious variety of endings, between the Portuguese *Nau Catharineta*,⁶ the Provençal *Moussi*,⁷ the Norwegian and the Icelandic ballads.⁸

One of the strongest and most remarkable of the Southern ballads, *Donna Lombarda*, the story of which is supposed to

¹ Kristensen, *Jyske Folkeminder*, ii. No. 6; *D.g.F.* 384.

² *D.g.F.* 292.

³ A. Olrik in *D.g.F.* vi. 1, p. 467.

⁴ Yo no digo esta cancion sino a quien conmigo va.

⁵ *D.g.F.* 241: cf. Nigra, No. 44, *Il marinaro*, and references.

⁶ Hardung, *Romanceiro Portuguez*, i. p. 21. Cf. Puymaigre, *Choix de vieux chants portugais* (1881), p. 173 sqq.

⁷ Arbaud, i. p. 127.

⁸ S. Bugge, *Gamle Norske Folkeviser (dei frearause menn)*; *Islenszk Fornkvæði*, No. 6 (*Kaupmanna kv.*).

have come from the life of Rosamund, is to be found in Denmark; in this country there is no vestige of it beyond a very uncertain and incidental likeness in *Old Robin of Portugal*.¹

Other examples might be given. The ballad of *Babylon* or *The Bonnie Banks of Fordie*² is very like a favourite Northern ballad, *Sir Truels's Daughters*:³

'Enten vil i være tre Røveres Viv,
eller og i vil lade jert unge Liv ?

Nei, hverken vil vi være tre Røveres Viv,
heller vi vil og lade vores unge Liv.'

He's tane the first sister by her hand
Eh vow bonnie.

And he's turned her round and made her stand
On the bonnie banks o' Fordie.

'It's whether will ye be a rank robber's wife,
Or will ye die by my wee penknife ?'

'It's I'll not be a rank robber's wife,
But I'll rather die by your wee penknife.'

He's killed this maid and he's laid her by,
For to bear the red rose company.

In the Scottish ballad, the outlaw, the robber, is proved to be the brother of the three maids. In the Danish, this is the story also, in some versions; there are three robbers living so long in outlawry that they have lost all knowledge of their family and their relations; they murder their three sisters, and are detected afterwards in their father's house, where they learn what they have done, and who they are themselves. But another version is also common (Danish, Faroese, Icelandic), which has no such *recognition*, only *detection*, in the house to which they go after the murder, and where they are discovered by the 'red gold,' or the jewels, which they have taken from the murdered girls. This is the plot of a common Southern ballad,⁴ French, Italian, Provençal; which has nothing of the recognition found in the other Danish and the Scottish ballad, and it may be said, not much of the beauty of either.

Here again, even though Scotland is represented, there appears to be a closer relation between Denmark and France.

¹ Nigra, No. 1.; *D.g.F.* 345, where there is an elaborate discussion by Dr. Olrik of the whole subject.

² Child, No. 14.

³ *D.g.F.* 338.

⁴ Nigra, 12; Arbaud, *La Doulento*.

III

The comparative strength of the French influence among the Danish ballads may easily be overrated in one way. It is clear that no complete evidence as to the range of ballad-poetry is to be gained from either Child or Grundtvig; they give no more than what is extant, and what is extant is not everything. Many ballads have been lost, along with the 'Tale of Wade,' and the story known to Gawain Douglas, 'How the Wren came out of Ailsay.' Denmark has many extant ballads with plots common to Denmark and France, and now unknown in Scotland or England. That can be proved; but it cannot be proved that those gaps among the Scottish ballads have been there always; that there never existed in English a ballad of the mother's return from the dead, or of the prisoner's harp-playing. The proof only touches the extant ballad literature, and any of the instances given above might be happily refuted to-morrow by the discovery of some old notebook with rhymes in it.

The relation of Denmark and France, however, goes beyond the matter of the ballads, and hardly any new discovery, in addition to Child's collection, could possibly give to the English and Scotch ballads the same proportion of Southern forms and qualities as are found in the Danish. Whatever might be added to the stock of ballads, there would remain in English the large number that have parted with their overword, and this fashion of refrain, all but absolutely universal in the Danish ballads, is the plainest mark of French origin.

Refrains, burdens, were known in the ancient Northern poetry, as in Anglo-Saxon; it would be strange if this common thing were lacking in any age. But the ballad refrains of Denmark, like these of the Icelandic *danz*, are after a French original, and so close to it that an Icelandic ballad stave—a Danish ballad in Icelandic—is cited by Jeanroy,¹ as reproducing in a striking manner the rules of the old French *rondet*. The ballad quoted is one of those already mentioned among the stories familiar in France—the sailors' ballad, *La Courte Paille*.² It looks as if the Icelandic ballad had preserved both plot and form of an old importation from France and Denmark.

The ordinary double refrain, already mentioned as common

¹ *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, p. 415.

² *Supra*, p. 369, notes 6, 7, 8.

to the English and Danish ballads, is derived from the same kind of old French poetry; the Icelandic ballad noticed by Jeanroy is only an exceptionally accurate repetition of the French device. All the interpolated refrains—‘Eh vow bonnie’; ‘Ay as the gowans grow gay’; ‘With a hey ho, the wind and the rain,’ etc.—are from the French School. Here there is small difference in practice between this country and Denmark. But there is a peculiar kind of ballad verse in Denmark, not used in the same way in English, which seems to have come from French lyric poetry, and helps to prove that the Danes made more out of their poetical commerce with France than any other nation did, in respect of their ballads at any rate.

This verse is exceedingly beautiful, and some of the finest things are composed in it—the ballad of *Sivard and Brynhild*,¹ of *Aage and Else*,² and the Icelandic ballad of *Tristram*,³ which is perhaps in Northern ballad poetry what the romance of the Count Arnaldos is among those of the Latin race—and that although everything in it is borrowed: ‘only a duplicate.’

Isodd heim frá sjónum gengur,
gatan var þraung :
einatt heyrði hun klukknahljóð,
og fagan saung.

Isodd heim frá sjónum gengur,
gatan er bein :
einatt heyrði hún klukknahljóð,
á veginum þeim.

Til orða tók hun bjarta Isodd,
búin með seim :
‘Eigi skyldi hann Tristram dauður,
er eg kem heim.’

Prestar stóðu á gólfinu,
með kertaljós :
drottningin niður að líki laut,
svo rauð sem rós.

Margur þolir í heiminum
svo sára nauð :
drottningin niður að líkinu laut,
og lá þar dauð.

Prestar stóðu á gólfinu,
og sungu psálm :
þá var hringt yfir báðum líkum
Rínar málm.

Þeim var ekki skapað nema að skilja.

¹ D.g.F. 3.

² D.g.F. 90.

³ Islensk fornkv. No. 23.

Nothing for them was shapen but to sunder.

Iseult goes from the sea inland
 (The street was long);
 And ever she heard the bells ringing,
 The goodly song.

Iseult goes from the sea inland
 (The street was strait);
 And ever she heard the bells ringing,
 As she came thereat.

Then she spake, the fair Iseult,
 From over the foam:
 'Nay, but Tristram should not die
 When I come home.'

Out on the floor the priests were standing,
 With tapers fair;
 Queen Iseult came where Tristram lay,
 And knelt there.

To many a man in the world is given
 Sorrow and pain;
 The queen knelt down and died there, Iseult,
 Where he lay slain.

Out on the floor the priests they stood,
 Their dirges said:
 The bells of gold were rung for Iseult
 And Tristram dead.

(Nothing for them was shapen but to sunder.)

The scheme of this verse is a familiar one in English, and it is used in popular lyric poetry, though not in the ballads. It comes in German poetry also, and loses nothing of its grace; there are certain kinds of verse that seldom go wrong; they keep their true nature in any language:

'O burmans sön, lat röselin stan!
 se sint nicht dîn;
 Du drechst noch wol van nettelkrut
 ein krenzelin.'

Dat nettelkrut is het und bitter,
 it brennet ser;
 Vorlaren hebb ik min schönes lef,
 it rüwet mi ser—¹

the very tone of the ballad of Iseult.

¹Uhland, No. 252.

Now this is found in the ballad poetry of the Romance tongues pretty frequently : in French, Italian, Catalan, etc.

Allons au bois, charmante brune,
allons au bois !
Nous trouverons le serpent verde,
nous le tuerons.¹

This French ballad is on the same story as the Italian *Donna Lombarda*, which has the same form of verse :

‘Amei-me mi, dona Lombarda
amei-me mi.’
‘O cume mai voll che fassa,
che j’òl mari.’²

This stave is found in old French poetry in various combinations, one of them specially interesting, because it is the well-known stanza of Burns, which appears itself to have been originally a ballad measure of the old sort used in caroles. The well-known form—three lines and a half, then one and a half—is explained in the following way. The second line was originally the first refrain, and the one and a half concluding the stanza are the second part of the refrain, as in the old example analysed by Jeanroy (p. 412) :

Main se leva bele Aeliz,
(*Dormez jaloux ge vos en pri*)
Biau se para, miex se vesti,
Desoz le raim :
(*Mignotement la voi venir,*
Cele que j’aim.)

The concluding lines, ‘Biau se para,’ etc., are thus a metrical period by themselves, following the first refrain, and the form of them is easily detached and made into an independent stanza, which is that of the French ballad, *Allons au bois*, and of the Danish *Sivard*, the Icelandic *Tristram*.

It is possible to go further, and to find in Southern ballad-poetry not only the abstract scheme of verse, but verse and words agreeing to the same effect as in the North. The Icelandic poem of *Tristram* has repeated a common ballad motive,

¹ Rolland, No. cclix. ; iii. p. 10.

² Nigra, i. ; also in Rolland, *loc. cit.*, immediately following the French version. Note, that in the Italian each short phrase is repeated : ‘Amei-me mi, amei-me mi’—as in ‘The robin to the wren’s nest cam keekin in, cam keekin in.’ But this repeating is not universal ; the French tune, *e.g.*, does not repeat ‘allons au bois’ in the stanza quoted.

of the lover coming too late and hearing the funeral bells. It is given in Italian, in verse essentially the same as that of the *Tristramskvæði*.

In *Il Giovane Soldato*,¹ a ballad of Pontelagoscuro in Emilia, a young soldier asks leave of his captain to go home and see his betrothed, who is lying sick. He arrives only in time to hear the bells and meet the procession; and this rustic Italian ballad has the same mode of verse as the Northern poem of *Iseult*:

Quand l'è sta arent al castello,
 Al sentiva sunar :
 Questo l'è al son dla miè cara mrosa,
 Son drèe a purtar.
 Fermito là o ti la purtantina,
 Riposat un po :
 Ch' a daga un basin a la miè mrosa,
 E po me n'andarò.
 Parla, parla, bochetta dorà,
 Rispondam un po—
 Ma cosa vot, se liè l'è morta ?
 Parlart la non pol.

‘When he came to his town he heard the bells ringing. “They are ringing for my own dear love; they are coming after with her bier. Stay there, set down the bier; rest a little, that I may give a kiss to my love, and then I will go away. Speak, speak, mouth of my love, answer me a little.”’

The friends say :

“‘What wilt thou, when she is dead? She cannot speak to thee.”’

This is poetry also: a common motive no doubt, but it can hardly be mere coincidence that brings the South and North so close together as in these two ballads, in spite of the long interval of time, and the distance between Iceland and Italy.

IV

The great difficulty with the Danish ballads (as with the English) is to understand how the imported French poetical forms came to be adapted so thoroughly, not only to render Northern themes—there is nothing so strange in that—but to carry on the most ancient popular fashions of thought and imagination.

Nothing in the form of the Danish ballads is national or

¹Ferraro, *Canti popolari di Ferrara*, etc., 1877.

Northern. Even the habit of alliteration, which might naturally enough have been carried from the old Northern verse into the new rhymes, is allowed to drop, not only in Denmark,¹ but largely also in the Icelandic ballads, though in all other Icelandic verse, to the present day, the old prescription of the three alliterative syllables is retained. But while the change from Northern to Romance forms is carried out so thoroughly, the Danish ballads lose nothing of their home-bred quality in other respects: there is nothing artificial or foreign about their matter or spirit; they are in a foreign kind of verse, but their ideas, their manners, are in some respects more ancient than the poems of the Elder Edda. Some of those have been called ballads, indeed, by the editors of the Oxford *Corpus Poeticum*, and there are many points of likeness. The old poem of the *Fetching of Thor's Hammer* is much the same in scale and method as the later rhyming ballad on the same story.² But the rhyming ballads are fond of antique simple things which the more careful poems of the Elder Edda have rejected, e.g. the old tricks of repetition, found all over the world wherever poets are not too high-minded or artificial:

Aft ha'e I ridden thro' Striveling town
Thro' heavy wind and weet;
But ne'er rade I thro' Striveling town
Wi' fetters on my feet.

Aft ha'e I ridden thro' Striveling town
Thro' heavy wind and rain;
But ne'er rade I thro' Striveling town
But thought to ridden't again.

—*Young Waters*, Buchan's version.

There are figures of repetition, it is true, in the old heroic poetry, but they are not of this sort; the repetitions in the Danish ballads are exactly of this sort, the very same thing in all but the language.³ As 'wind and weet' is changed to 'wind and rain' in *Young Waters*, so for instance 'earth' and 'mould' are changed in Danish; 'Queen Bengerd lies in the black earth, and the good man keeps his ox and cow; Queen

¹ Steenstrup, *Vore Folkeviser*, pp. 125-137.

² *D.g.F.* No. 1.

³ Cf. Gummere, *The Beginnings of Poetry*, p. 197 *sqq.*, on ballad repetition. There appears to be a good specimen of this kind of rhetoric in the Babylonian *Descent of Ishtar*; as there are many in the *Tristram* ballad, quoted above.

Bengerd lies under the black mould, and every maid has her red gold still. *Wo worth Queen Bengerd!*¹

Did the Danes and the English borrow such things from the French, along with the ballad verse and the music? If so, the result is wonderful, for nowhere else is there any such borrowing, with so little of the look of artifice about it, with an effect so purely natural and national. It is more wonderful in Denmark than in this country, though the general lines are the same in both: an adoption of foreign modes to express home-grown ideas, a revival of all the primitive simple ways of poetry in new-fangled poetical shapes, introduced from a foreign nation, and this, be it observed, after England and the Scandinavian countries had both of them had centuries of practice in the Teutonic alliterative verse, the verse of *Beowulf* and of the 'Elder Edda.'

The paradox is more striking in Denmark than in England and Scotland. England was nearer to France, much more closely related; the English tongue derived also a great many other things besides ballads from France, and ballads here never had the relative importance they had in Denmark. There—and this is the peculiar interest of the Danish ballads, historically speaking—the common ballad form had not to compete at such a disadvantage as in England or in Germany with more elaborate and courtly kinds of literature; so it grew into the national form of poetry—not merely popular, but national, capable of any matter or any idea known to any order of men in the kingdom—not a rustic, but a noble kind of literature. Gentle ladies took care of it, before it sank again to the 'knitters in the sun,' or rather the knitters in the dark cabins of Jutland, from whom Kristensen learned so much in different ways.² The ballad form in Denmark is used for something

¹ Queen Bengerd had been exacting contributions:

Nu ligger Bengerd í sorten Jord,
end har Bonden baade Okse og Ko:

Nu ligger Bengerd under sorten Muld,
end har hver Mø sit røde Guld:
Ve da vorde hende Bengerd!

²See Mr. W. A. Craigie's article on *Evald Tang Kristensen* in *Folklore*, September, 1898. Mr. Kristensen's work as a collector of popular traditions has scarcely its equal anywhere; though many of the old sources have perished, he still keeps on making discoveries. He has lately brought out a volume of comic ballads, in addition to the four that contain what is left—or what was left forty years ago—of the heroic ballads of West Jutland.

nearer true epic than is found in the ballads of France or even of Scotland; for heroic lays on business of greater moment than Otterbourne. The Danish ballads of the death of King Eric Klipping, or of Niels Ebbeson's stroke at the German Count, are heroic poems of a new kind, thriving in the fourteenth century after the older medieval epic forms are exhausted. This possibly, by the favour of the editor, may be the subject of another essay.

W. P. KER.

Lady Anne Bothwell

The Scottish Lady

IN the vault of the mausoleum of the Barons of Rosendal repose the remains of one who was known as 'The Scottish Lady,' and whose romantic story should be full of interest at least to Scottish readers. The lovely Lady Anne from Rosendal was the first wife of the Earl of Bothwell, and his marriage had not been annulled, unless heartless desertion of his young bride was valid annulment, when he wedded Mary Queen of Scots.

One who stands on a summer evening on the knoll beside the ancient church of Rosendal, a building in the Early English Gothic style and dating back at least to the thirteenth century, will fancy there are few fairer spots on earth than this Valley of Roses. The rays of the declining sun seem to glorify the burnished fjord, the island gems, the glacier slopes, the mountain peaks, and the hoary castle of the Rosenkrantz family,¹ nestling amid patriarchal trees in one of the very few demesne parks of which Norway can boast. Across the bay an abrupt serrated ridge rears itself aloft, and below, on the gentle, sunny slope at the mouth of the narrow valley running up from the shore, once stood the manor in which now more than 360 years ago the Lady Anne of story and of ballad first saw the light.

In July, 1560, the Earl of Bothwell, although only in his 25th year, was sent from Scotland by the Queen Regent to seek from France, of which Mary Stuart then was Queen, some aid in the war that had broken out with England. On his way to France Bothwell passed through Denmark, and there he met the famous admiral, Christopher Thronddssön,² a native

¹ Prof. Yngvar Nielsen's *Norge* (Christiania, 1899), p. 228.

² Prof. Ludvig Daae's *Historisk Tidsskrif* (Christiania, 1872), vol. ii., p. 116.

of Rosendal in the Hardanger, where his ancestral property was. It is quite possible that the Danish admiral had made the acquaintance of Bothwell in one of his North Sea cruises, for from various sources we learn that he had frequent intercourse with distinguished Scotsmen; and one of his daughters, Dorothea, married a Scottish noble, John Stewart of Shetland. Bothwell was quickly on terms of closest intimacy with Admiral Thronðssön, and he was immediately captivated by the charms of Lady Anne, the admiral's fifth daughter. That Bothwell was anything but handsome in appearance we are told by those who knew him well. But handsome or not, he was a great lady's man, and he ever left sore hearts behind him in his wanderings. In any case Anne Thronðssön could not resist the flattering attentions of the Scottish ambassador to the Court of France. Lady Anne, according to tradition, was very beautiful, but it is possible that her dowry of 40,000 dollars had as much to do with bringing about the marriage as her personal charms. Bothwell was an impetuous wooer; his business brooked little delay, and the wedding took place at Copenhagen.

It was not long before the news reached Scotland and was made known to all by Bothwell's old friend, the Lady of Buccleuch. Writing to Cecil on 23rd September, 1560, Randolph also mentions that he had heard of the nuptials.¹ George Buchanan, in his history of Queen Mary, maintains that the marriage of Bothwell and Anne was never annulled.

The engagement had been a brief one, the wedding speedily followed, and bride and bridegroom set forth not for France, but for Scotland, for word had come that the Queen Regent was dead, and Bothwell concluded that he had better return for new instructions before proceeding to Paris. And so the honeymoon was spent in Holland.

Bothwell made sure of the dowry before the wedding, and as soon as the ceremony was over he had obtained full possession of the dollars. One morning Lady Anne Bothwell awoke to find her husband gone; and with him all his train. Without exciting suspicion in his wife's mind he had made the necessary arrangements for departure; and quietly getting on board a vessel he heartlessly deserted his bride, leaving her quite penniless. She was reduced to selling her jewels and personal articles of value in order to pay Bothwell's debts

¹ Schiern's *Life of Bothwell* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 55.

and get the money to take her home to Copenhagen and her friends.

In the Danish Privy Archives there is preserved a letter dated Engelholm, 22nd June, 1568, from Frederick II. to his brother-in-law, August, the Elector of Saxony, referring to the child of the marriage; and it is not impossible that the William Hepburn whom Bothwell's mother adopted was the son of the unfortunate Lady Anne. In the *Bannatyne Miscellany III.* (p. 304) we find the Will of Dame Agnes Sinclair, Countess of Bothwell, dated 21st March, 1572: 'Item, the said nobill Lady left hir hail gudis, the saidis dettis beand payit, to William Hepburne, sone naturall to James Erle Bothwell.' And if this were so, it was a better thing for him to possess his grandmother's goods than his father's heritage.

In 1563 Lady Anne Bothwell, proud and brave as her father's daughter must have been, proceeded to Scotland in order to seek restitution for the shameful treatment she had received at the hands of Bothwell. Possibly she brought with her the child, to which Frederick II. referred and which Dame Agnes Sinclair adopted, in order to make the greater impression and give her complaint the greater weight. But it is doubtful whether she even saw Bothwell during her two years' residence in Scotland. For on account of his many escapades he had been incarcerated in Edinburgh, and escaped only to make acquaintance with the inside of an English prison. It is doubtless Lady Anne to whom the English ambassador Randolph refers when, under the date 3rd June, 1563, he writes that everything the Earl then possessed consisted of a memento of a connection with a noble lady from the 'North Countries.'¹ When Bothwell escaped from his English prison in 1564 he made his way to France; and it was not till 1565, when Lady Anne had left for Norway, that Bothwell came back to Scotland.

But the runaway Earl's wife seems to have received hearty sympathy and a good reception from Queen Mary. There is evidence that the Queen appointed her as one of her ladies-in-waiting, and in this way the Norwegian lady became well acquainted with the Scottish Court and all its ways. When Lady Anne received the sad tidings of her father's death, and heard that her mother proposed leaving Copenhagen and retiring to her Norwegian estates, she also, since she concluded

¹ *Nyere historiske Studier* (Copenhagen, 1875), vol. i., p. 142.

no satisfactory redress was obtainable from Bothwell, prepared to make her way to Rosendal. Queen Mary, on 17th February, 1565, then issued an interesting passport in Latin, which is still preserved,¹ giving Lady Anne liberty to come and go within the realm and to leave the country whenever she pleased. A few months later we find her in Bergen, where she was manifestly held in great esteem and honour, and was called 'The Scottish Lady,' the name by which she seems afterwards to have been generally known.

Hr. Holst Jensen has written an admirable article on 'The Scottish Lady' in *For Kirke og Kultur*,² and we are indebted to him for many interesting details which we have nowhere else met with; and he refers to several authorities inaccessible to us. He especially gives numerous quotations from the diary of Absalon Beyer, one of the most distinguished scholars and priests of the Norwegian Church, who in his notes supplies a vivid picture of the life in Bergen during the period when Lady Anne was resident there.

Under the date 18th August, 1565, we are told that 'There was a baptism in the Cathedral on Saturday morning, also sermon, but no mass, for there were no communicants. Mrs. Anne Thronddsön, the Scottish Lady, was godmother to Herluf, son of the Lord Lieutenant, Jörgen Daa, of Utstein.' . . . A week after the baptism she was a guest at the most famous wedding celebrated for many years in the west of Norway. On the 25th August the bride and bridegroom proceeded in pomp and state to the dwelling of the feudal lord where troths were plighted; and at the feast given in his residence, Müren, the quaint house which is still standing, blocking the narrow Strandgade in Bergen, it is said that 'there were not fewer than eight courses.' On that occasion Lady Anne Bothwell played a prominent part. We are told that 'The Scottish Lady arrayed the bride in the Spanish fashion, which is that the bride had a collar studded with precious stones round her neck, a gold circlet on her brow, and a wreath of pearls with a feather of pearls in it, and she wore a red damask kirtle.' It is very manifest that Lady Anne had kept her eyes open when she was one of Mary Stuart's ladies-in-waiting, and that

¹ *Danske Samlinger* (Copenhagen, 1865-6), vol. i., pp. 397, 8.

² Christiania, 1903, p. 273; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. xiv., p. xliv, n.

she had brought over to Norway with her from Holyrood the very newest fashions of the Scots nobility.

On the following day the real wedding took place. The bride was dressed in a brown velvet kirtle; and she wore a grand bridal crown, with gold chains round her neck, shoulders, and elbows; she had even chains of gold hanging from her waist to the ground, and her hair floated about her all unbound. All the aristocracy of Western Norway were at the wedding feast, and among the fair dames present is specially mentioned Mrs. Anne, the Scot.

Two years later Lady Anne was to see her faithless husband once more under most peculiar circumstances. Bothwell had reached the giddiest height of his ambition. He had married the Queen of Scotland, and was king in all but name. However,

‘The best laid schemes o’ mice and men
Gang aft agley.’

But a few weeks after the wedding Queen Mary’s troops were defeated at Carberry Hill and Bothwell’s fate was sealed. He made his way to Shetland, and then hurriedly quitted the islands without being able to provision his two ships, which were driven across to Norway. The skipper of a Hanseatic merchantman from Rostock¹ piloted them into Karm Sound, where Bothwell’s two vessels saluted the ‘Bear,’ a warship carrying the Danish flag, and cast anchor beside it. The naval captain demanded to see the ships’ papers of the newcomers. Bothwell replied that ‘they were Scottish gentlemen who wished to proceed to Denmark to serve His Majesty,’ and ordered one of his companions to repair to the ‘Bear’ and explain that the official whose ordinary duty it was to issue passports and papers in Scotland was in close confinement. The ‘Bear’s’ captain, as he afterwards reported, finding them ‘without any passport, sea-brief, safe-conduct, or commissions, which honest seafaring people commonly use and are in duty bound to have,’ resolved to convey them to Bergen. But Bothwell’s men numbered 140. The ‘Bear’ had not so many, and so the Captain secretly summoned all the neighbouring peasants to come on board during the night to assist to capture the privateers, as he called them; and in due course he laid hold of Bothwell and his men and ships, and took them to Bergen. Bothwell then went to

¹ Absalon Pedersson’s *Dagbog* (Christiania, 1860), p. 148.

Captain Aalborg in person and explained to him who he was, and that his proper clothes were in another ship; but the Danish Captain had difficulty in seeing in the man before him 'attired in old, coarse, ragged boatswain's clothes, the highest of the lords in all Scotland.' On 2nd September, 1567, the vessels anchored in Bergen; and the report of the capture was given to the Commandant of Bergen Castle, who summoned a Commission of 24 to investigate the whole affair. The members of the Commission proceeded on board the 'Bear,' and Bothwell explained to them that he was 'the husband of the Queen of Scotland.' On being asked for his passport he answered 'disdainfully, and enquired from whom he should get passport or letter, being himself the supreme ruler in the country.'

One of Bothwell's difficulties was to explain how he had obtained his chief vessel the 'Pelican':¹ for the Bergen authorities knew that the boat belonged to a Bremen merchant, from whom Bothwell had taken it against promise of payment. But he could not prove the purchase. And as he had carefully concealed his name from the crews of the vessels, when they were examined they declared that the Earl of Bothwell, so far as they knew, was still in Scotland. They said their captain's name was David Woth. Now, rumours had reached Bergen that a man of that name had recently captured a Norwegian ship, so David was at once charged with the crime and imprisoned in the Town House of Bergen.

When the tidings of Bothwell's arrival in Bergen reached the Scottish Lady, she at once seized the opportunity of seeking redress for the losses she had suffered for his sake. She summoned the Earl before the Court and read in his presence the documents that proved the marriage. Lady Anne declared that he seemed to regard marriage lightly 'since he had three wives alive, first herself, another in Scotland from whom he had secured his freedom, and the last Queen Mary.'

The interesting diary to which we have already referred describes the meeting of Lady Anne and the husband who had

¹ Schiern, *Life of Bothwell*, p. 320.

In *David Wedderburne's Compt Buik*, edited by Mr. A. H. Millar for the Scot. Hist. Society, we find a reference to a ship called the 'Pelican' in Dundee under the date 1580. It can be traced in the shipping lists as trading between Dundee and Denmark till 1618. In the year 1593 David Wedderburne purchased a sixteenth share in the 'Pelican'; and Mr. Millar thinks it very probable that this was the vessel Bothwell had when he was captured in 1567.

so heartlessly forsaken her during their honeymoon seven years previously. It might have happened yesterday. When the case was called in Court on 17th September compeared Lady Anne Bothwell charging her husband with desertion and claiming alimnt. 'Mrs. Anne, the daughter of Admiral Christopher Thronndssön charged the Earl of Bothwell that he had taken her from her native land and her father's home and led her into a foreign country away from her parents and would not hold her as his lawful wife which he with hand and mouth and writings had promised them and her to do.' The case was settled by Bothwell agreeing to pay Lady Anne an annuity of 100 dollars, to be sent regularly from Scotland, and to hand over one of the two ships in which he and his men had come from Scotland.¹ The vessel was immediately transferred to her ; but the dollars, of course, she never got, for the Earl could not have paid them if he would. On 30th September Bothwell went on board the 'Bear' again to be conveyed to Copenhagen that the Danish Government might decide his fate. About the end of the year he was cast into prison at Malmöhus. Six years later he was transferred to Dragsholm in Sjælland, where he died on 14th April, 1578, after a long illness, his mind latterly being affected. He was buried at Faareville ; and many years ago a grave was opened there which was supposed to be Bothwell's. A mummy was found in the coffin, and a picture of the face was taken, showing Scottish features and hair—a picture which is preserved in the Scottish Antiquarian Society's Museum in Edinburgh.

Many years pass before we hear of the Scottish Lady again, but in 1594 we find her in the east of Norway. The famous Oslo Bishop, Jens Nilssön, kept his Visitation Books very carefully, and these contain many personal and historical notes of a most valuable and interesting character. The Bishop visited the church of Id on 21st April. He tells us the text he preached from, and that he examined the people ; and he mentions that Mrs. Anne, the Scottish Lady, was in the church. Evidently the old admiral's daughter was as important a personage in the east of Norway as she had been nearly 30 years before in the west. He records that as he was rowed that day to the parsonage of Berg he passed Sauöen, where Lady Anne's property

¹ *Liber Capituli Bergensis* (Christiania, 1860), p. 148.

Bannatyne Club, *Les affaires du Conte de Boduel*, 1568 (Edinburgh, 1829), p. xxxix.

lay; and at the priest's house the Scottish Lady was herself a guest over-night. The worthy bishop thinks it worth mentioning that he had some conversation with her, and that when Lady Anne was departing next day, the priest of Id accompanied her to her boat.

The Bishop, in continuation of his visitation, arrived two days later at Tune, where exactly two hundred years later Hans Nielsen Hauge, the Norwegian Wesley, was to begin that revival of religion which redeemed Norway from utter spiritual deadness and implanted those grains of vital godliness which in so many districts are leavening Norway still. At Tune he tells us that he met Christine, the sister of the Scottish Lady, and also her niece Anna, the daughter of Else.¹ This Anna, Else's daughter, may have been called after the Scottish Lady, and we are told that she married a Scotsman, Andrew Mouatt of Hovland.

Lady Anne Bothwell may possibly have lived on the Christiania fjord right down to 1604. In that year she inherited the ancestral property of Seim in Rosendal after the death of her nephew, her sister Margrethe's son. Lady Anne then seems to have taken up her residence in Rosendal, and three years later we learn that she transferred the property to her sister Else,² possibly for the sake of her namesake Anna.

Nearly half a century had passed since Lady Anne first met Bothwell in Denmark, and thirty years had gone since he had found a Danish grave. And no long time could elapse after the transfer of the property until the old bells in the tower of Rosendal Church tolled out to all the parish the sorrowful tidings that the famous Scottish Lady had gone to her final rest. She probably breathed her last in the house which had been her childhood's home, although in the years between many a stirring incident and strange experience had befallen her in other lands and amid less peaceful scenes. Every trace of the house has long since disappeared; but Prof. Ludvig Daae tells us that many descendants of the old admiral, the Scottish Lady's father, still survive in Norway, and that especially the greatly esteemed and respected family of Aga in Hardanger traces back its ancestry to him. But if the house in which she opened and closed her eyes has disappeared, the surrounding scenery in all

¹ Bishop Nilsson's *Visitatsböger* (Christiania, 1885), pp. 241-250.

² *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 1892-3, p. 239; *Register of Privy Council of Scotland*, vol. xiv., pp. cxii-xiv.

its entrancing beauty still charms the visitor's eye as it did 300 years ago; and the tradition of the Earl of Bothwell's Norwegian Bride, the Scottish Lady, lives on in Rosendal until the present day.

Prof. Daae¹ has made a very interesting suggestion with reference to 'The Scottish Lady,' a suggestion which is calculated to clear up a long unsettled question. The old ballad *Lady Anne Bothwell's Lament* is the plaint of a gentle mother to her little boy because of the heartless desertion of the husband and father. The ballad's outpouring of bitter grief and unrequited love could not possibly more appropriately render the feelings that must have stirred 'The Scottish Lady' when Bothwell left her as he did.

Bishop Percy in his *Reliques*, original edition, thinks the reference is to Lady Jean Gordon, whom Bothwell wedded in 1566, and in 1567 divorced in order that he might marry Queen Mary. But in a later edition he gives up the theory, and suggests that the tradition refers to some lady of position called Bothwell who was cast off by her husband or lover.

Aytoun, in his *Ballads of Scotland*, prefaces his version of the ballad with the words: 'The heroine of this pathetic ballad was Anne Bothwell, a daughter of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, who performed the marriage ceremony between Queen Mary and James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. This young lady had an intrigue with and was deserted by a son of the Earl of Mar, Col. Sir Alexander Erskine, who was killed by an explosion of gunpowder at Dunglass in the year 1640.' According to the accepted family genealogy we learn that Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, had only one daughter, who was called *Jean*, and was married to Sir William Sandilands of St. Monans. In Maidment's *Scottish Ballads and Songs* we discover that the authority for suggesting that Adam Bothwell had a daughter Anne was a MSS. history of the family raked out by the scandal-loving C. K. Sharpe. History tells us that the Orcadian Bishop was a man of spirit. His son, Lord Holyroodhouse, would surely never have allowed his sister's seducer to escape condign punishment. We never hear of any strained relations between the cousins, for Erskine was Adam Bothwell's nephew. And on the whole we are not satisfied that the Bishop had more than one daughter. There is therefore great probability that Prof. Daae's hypothesis is perfectly correct, and that Lady Anne

¹ *Tillæg til Historisk Tidsskrift* (Christiania, 1872), vol. ii., p. 344.

Lady Anne Bothwell

Bothwell, the heroine of the affecting ballad, was none other than 'The Scottish Lady,' who was Anne, the daughter of Admiral Thronddssön.

Överland, in his *History of Norway*, says that in the *Lament* we have possibly an evidence of the sympathy Lady Anne met with in Scotland, and he gives a translation of the ballad which, with great skill and spirit, reproduces the original. In Norse and Scots the first verse runs :

<p>Aa, by, by, barne', stans din graad ! din lille kind den er saa vaad ; du maa, du maa ei grøede saa hvis hjertefred din mor skal faa. Aa, by, by, barne', mamas skat, din fader har os to forladt.</p>	<p>Balow, my boy, lye still and sleep ! It grieves me sore to hear thee weep ! If thou'lt be silent, I'll be glad, Thy mourning makes my heart full sad. Balow, my boy, thy mother's joy, Thy father bred me great annoy.</p>
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J. BEVERIDGE.

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ANDREW MACPHERSON OF CLUNY

Painted in 1661

From a photograph by Donald Cameron-Swan, Esq., of the original picture in Cluny Castle

The Celtic Trews

WHEN the Baron of Bradwardine complimented Waverley upon the handsome figure he presented when fully attired as a Highland gentleman, he incidentally drew a comparison between the respective merits of the kilt and the trews, giving his decision in favour of the latter. 'Ye wear the trews,' he observed, 'a garment whilk I approve maist of the twa, as mair ancient and seemly.' There may be a difference of opinion at the present day as to which of these two varieties of Highland garb is the more seemly, but there is no doubt as to the antiquity of the trews, regarded as a part of the Celtic dress. Scott himself, speaking in his own person, states that Waverley had 'now fairly assumed the "garb of old Gaul,"' and there is sufficient evidence that this statement is correct, making due allowance for some modifications in vogue in the eighteenth century, and introduced at one time or another during that period and the immediately preceding centuries.

The dress of the Celts of Western Europe, about 2000 years ago, has been described by Mr. Charles Elton; his statements being drawn from such authorities as Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and Pausanias, and from such evidences as the pictures on the medals of the Roman emperor Claudius. Mr. Elton writes as follows:¹

'The men and women wore the same dress, so far as we can judge from the figures on the medals of Claudius. When Britannia is represented as a woman the head is uncovered and the hair tied in an elegant knot upon the neck; where a male figure is introduced the head is covered with a soft hat of a modern pattern. The costume consisted of a blouse with sleeves, confined in some cases by a belt, with trousers fitting close at the ankle, and a tartan plaid fastened up at the shoulder with a brooch.' This form of Celtic dress is of special interest to all who are connected with the Scottish Highlands. Because,

¹ *Origins of English History*, 2nd ed., Lond., 1890, pp. 110-111.

while it may have been worn by Continental Celts for many centuries after the date of Claudius, it eventually vanished from the Continent, and from all other parts of the British Isles except the Scottish Highlands, where it continued to be worn without any radical variation down to our own times.

The authority whom I have just quoted continues thus, with reference to the Celts of 2000 years ago: 'The Gauls were experts at making cloth and linen. They wove their stuffs for summer, and rough felts or druggets for winter-wear, which are said to have been prepared with vinegar, and to have been so tough as to resist the stroke of a sword. We hear, moreover, of a British dress, called *guanacum* by Varro, which was said to be 'woven of divers colours, and making a gaudy show.' They had learned the art of using alternate colours for the warp and woof so as to bring out a pattern of stripes and squares. The cloth, says Diodorus, was covered with an infinite number of little squares and lines, 'as if it had been sprinkled with flowers,' or was striped with crossing bars, which formed a chequered design. The favourite colour was red or a 'pretty crimson.' In the words of Pliny [*Hist. Nat.*, xxii. 1], 'Behold the French inhabiting beyond the Alps have invented the means to counterfeit the purple of Tyrus, the scarlet also and the violet in grain; yea, and to set all other colours that can be devised, with the juice only of certain herbs, such colours as an honest-minded person has no cause to blame, nor the world reason to cry out upon.'¹ 'They seem to have been fond of every kind of ornament,' continues Elton. 'They wore collars and "torques" of gold, necklaces and bracelets, and strings of brightly-coloured beads, made of glass or of "a material like the Egyptian porcelain." A ring was worn on the middle finger [at one period, but in a later generation] the fashion changed, and that finger was left bare while all the rest were loaded.'

Such, then, was the attire of the Celts of 2000 years ago in time of peace. Of their armour, offensive and defensive, it would be out of place to speak here.

The accounts just cited, therefore, show us that the tartan was in full swing at that period in all its varied colours; red or crimson being chiefly preferred. And the dress was a sleeved blouse, often belted, with a tartan plaid thrown over it; the lower limbs being clad in trews, closely fitting at the ankle.

¹This translation, quoted by Elton, is from Holland, ii. 115. Holland lived 1552-1637.

This last item requires to be emphasized, owing to popular misconceptions, not only among illiterate Cockneys, but also among many educated people in England, Scotland, and elsewhere. The Celtic people whom Pliny styles (in Holland's words) 'the French beyond the Alps' were remarkable in the eyes of the Romans from the circumstance of their wearing the trews, an article of apparel of which the Romans were innocent. At Rome the word *transalpinus*, or 'a person living beyond the Alps,' was a synonym for 'a person wearing breeches or trousers.' The Celtic druids were nicknamed 'the long-trousered philosophers' and the Celts as a people were further nicknamed *Bracati* or *Gentes Braccatae*, 'the trousered people.' On the other hand, the Roman dress was the toga, or mantle, and the belted tunic, a garb very closely resembling the plaid and kilt which in later centuries became associated with at least one branch of the Celtic nation. So averse, indeed, was the early Roman to the restrictions of the nether garments of the Celts, that the first Roman emperor who so far forgot himself as to wear breeches at once raised against him a perfect storm of popular indignation. In fact it would seem to be the case that the wearing of these articles of apparel is a custom which the people of Europe have inherited from the Celts.

Whatever may have been the custom in the days of the Emperor Claudius, the trews has long ceased to be worn by Celtic ladies, unless occasionally in a metaphorical sense. One exceptional instance, it is true, is that of Miss Jeanie Cameron, whose name is so much associated with that of Prince Charles Edward; for she is pictured as attired 'in a military habit—tartan doublet and trews—fully armed, with a gun in her hand.'¹ But then, it was understood that she was dressed as a man.

The earliest representation of a trews-wearing Highlander which I am able to indicate seems to date from the sixteenth or possibly the seventeenth century, although the picture upon which this supposition is based was only printed in 1767. Curiously enough, it comes from Germany, having been printed on one of a pack of playing cards published in Nuremberg. It is entitled '*Ein böser Berg-Schott*,' 'a fierce Scottish Highlander.' The figure is that of a man wearing what is clearly meant to be a tartan plaid and tartan trews, with a cap or bonnet, in which may be discerned the tail feathers of a black-cock. His face is

¹ See an interesting account of 'Jenny Cameron' by Mr. A. Francis Steuart, in *Scottish Art and Letters*, Sept.-Nov., 1903, pp. 393-399.

clean-shaven, except for a small moustache. His right hand is engaged in drawing his sword, and with his left hand he is holding a pike, slanting over his shoulder. The butt of a pistol is seen projecting from his belt. One cannot say with certainty when the original of this picture was drawn, but it seems to contain inherent evidence that it describes a Highlander of at least a century before 1767.

The Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland show us, from entries made in August, 1538, the dress then worn by James the Fifth during a hunting excursion in the Highlands. He wore a 'short Highland coat' of parti-coloured velvet, lined with green taffety, trews of 'Highland tartan,' and a long and full 'Highland shirt' of holland cloth, with ribbons at the wrists. I have here used the word 'trews,' but the entry in the accounts is: 'Item for 3 ells of Highland tartan to be hose to the King's grace, price of the ell 4 shillings and 4 pence.' This, I think, clearly indicates the trews. Stockings were known as 'short hose,'¹ to distinguish them from 'hose' or trews.

'Defoe, in his "Memoirs of a Cavalier," written about 1721, and obviously composed from authentic materials, thus describes the Highland part of the Scottish army which invaded England in 1639, at the commencement of the great Civil War. . . . "They were generally tall swinging fellows; their swords were extravagantly and I think insignificantly [*i.e.* unmeaningly or needlessly] broad, and they carried great wooden targets, large enough to cover the upper part of their bodies. Their dress was as antique as the rest; a cap on their heads, called by them a bonnet, long hanging sleeves behind, and their doublet, breeches, and stockings, of a stuff they called plaid, stripped across red and yellow, with short cloaks of the same. These fellows looked, when drawn out, like a regiment of Merry-Andrews, ready for Bartholomew fair. There were three or four thousand of these in the Scots army, armed only with swords and targets; and in their belts some of them had a pistol, but no musquets at that time among them.'"²

The uncomplimentary comparison between these Highland soldiers and 'Merry Andrews' is obviously due to the resemblance between a man dressed in tartan trews and a Pantaloon, or Harlequin, in his chequered, tight-fitting suit. It is by no means

¹ *Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis*, Appendix, p. 39.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

unlikely that the Harlequin's dress is a survival of the dress of the Celtic juggler. The prevailing colour in the tartan of these troops of 1639 is described as red and yellow. This suggests the MacMillan Clan. The M'Leods, however, are most prominently associated with the Royalist cause during the English campaigns, and it is well known that, owing to the heavy losses sustained by them when fighting for King Charles at the Battle of Worcester in 1651, the M'Leods were held exempt from warfare by the other western clans until time had tended to increase their numbers.

The portrait of Andrew Macpherson of Cluny, of the year 1661, gives one a good idea of the trews-wearing Highlander of this period. Somewhere about this period, also, ought to be placed the portrait of Fraser of Castle Leathers, which hangs in the Town Hall of Inverness. This chieftain is dressed in a slashed coat and waistcoat, with tartan trews, and he has also a small sporran or purse. The sporran seems to have been frequently worn with the trews.

If Defoe is right in picturing the whole of the 3000 or 4000 Highlanders in the Scottish army of 1639 as wearing the trews, he indicates that that garment was then common to all ranks. Such, however, was not the case in later years, as may be seen from many references.

Lord Archibald Campbell gives¹ a reproduction of the two supporters of the arms of Skene of that Ilk, as these were pictured in Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates* in 1672. The dexter supporter shows a man wearing a flat round cap or bonnet, a short plaid crossing his chest from the left shoulder to the right hip, its under fold coming from the right arm-pit down to the basket-hilt of his broadsword, which hangs at his left hip, suspended from a long shoulder-belt, apparently of ornamented leather, put on above the plaid. The plaid was fixed by a brooch or a silver bodkin, at its point of crossing on the breast; but this is not visible in the picture. The shoulder-belt is of course suspended from the right shoulder. He wears a short coat or jacket, having the sleeves slashed about halfway up, and with ruffs at the wrist. Possibly, however, these are the edges of his gauntlets. His costume is completed by a pair of tartan trews, with garters, the bows of which are very prominent,²

¹ *Highland Dress, Arms and Ornament*, 1899, opp. p. 119.

² This style of garter is seen in detail in Logan's *Scottish Gael*, 1831, vol. i., plate opp. p. 259.

and his feet are encased in high-heeled shoes. In his right hand he holds a drawn dirk, the point downward; and his left supports the dexter side of the shield. It may be added that his hair hangs down to his shoulders, his upper lip is shaven, as also his chin; but he either has a pair of whiskers coming right down to his jaws, or else his cheeks are clean-shaven, and what looks like whiskers is merely shadow.

The sinister supporter is a counterpart of the one just described, so far as regards head-dress, hair, and character of face. He wears a short jacket with plain sleeves, and above it is a plaid which, apparently crossing both shoulders, is belted in at the waist and then hangs as a kilt, coming down to about half-way between his waist and his knees. He has a pair of tartan stockings, whose vandyked tops reach to his knees, below which they are fastened by plain garters. He wears a pair of plain, low-heeled shoes. On his left arm he bears a round Highland target, studded with nails, and at his right hip there hangs a large quiver, full of arrows, which is suspended from a shoulder-belt coming from the left shoulder. His right arm supports the sinister side of the shield.

Nisbet himself states that the supporters of the shield of Skene of that Ilk are 'two highlandmen he on the dexter side in a highland gentlemans dress holding in his right hand a skeen point downward and the other on the sinister in a servants dress with his Darlach [quiver] and a Target on his left Arm.'¹ Referring to these seventeenth-century figures, and to Nisbet's definition of them, Lord Archibald Campbell observes (*op. cit.*, p. 122): 'It is impossible to conceive of evidence of a more conclusive and satisfactory character than that here adduced of the existence of both modes of dress at this period; and of the rank of the respective wearers.'²

Cleland, the Covenanting colonel who was killed while in command of the Cameronians in their defence of Dunkeld against the Jacobite Highlanders in 1689, clearly regarded the trews as a sign of rank, and not as a dress of the common people.

¹ Alexander Nisbet's *Heraldic Plates*, Edinburgh, 1892, Introduction, p. xlii.

² It may be added that although Nisbet's actual words are quoted above, two variants of the description are given in his *Heraldic Plates* (ed. of 1892). One describes the dexter supporter as 'a highland gentleman in his proper garb,' and the sinister as 'another highlandman in a servil habit.' The other merely says 'a highlandman in his proper garb' and 'another in a servill habit.' (See p. xlvi, and the Skene blazon.)

This appears in the doggerel verses which he wrote in 1678, describing the 'Highland Host.' After referring in slighting terms to the half-clad appearance of the ordinary clansmen, he goes on to say:

'But those who were their chief Commanders,
As such who bore the pirnie standarts,
Who led the van, and drove the rear,
Were right well mounted of their gear ;
With brogues, trues, and pirnie plaides,
With good blew bonnets on their heads,
Which on the one side had a flipe
Adorn'd with a tobacco pipe,
With durk, and snap work [pistol], and snuff mill,
A bagg which they with onions fill,
And, as their strick observers say,
A tupe horn fill'd with usquebay ;
A slasht out coat beneath her plaides,
A targe of timber, nails and hides ;
With a long two-handed sword,
As good's the country can afford ;
Had they not need of bulk and bones,
Who fight with all these arms at once ?'¹

Martin refers to the trews as worn by some of the Western Islanders in the reign of Queen Anne. 'Many of the people wear *trowis*,' he says, 'some have them very fine woven, like stockings of those made of cloth ; some are coloured, and others striped : the latter are as well shaped as the former, lying close to the body from the middle downwards, and tied round with a belt above the haunches. There is a square piece of cloth which hangs down before.'²

It will be seen that Martin does not speak of the trews as peculiar to any one class. Captain Burt, however, writing a little later, regards this variety of the Highland dress as almost, if not altogether, a mark of gentry. He remarks thus :

'Few besides gentlemen wear the trowze, that is, the breeches and stockings all of one piece and drawn on together ; over this habit they wear a plaid, which is usually three yards long and two breadths wide, and the whole garb is made of chequered tartan or plaiding ; this, with the sword and pistol, is called a full dress, and to a well-proportioned man, with any tolerable air, it makes

¹ *Coll. de Reb. Alb.*, App., p. 43.

² *Coll. de Reb. Alb.*, App., p. 46. The last sentence suggests a small sporan, sometimes worn with the trews ; but not if Martin's statement is to be accepted literally.

an agreeable figure; but this you have seen in London, and it is chiefly their mode of dressing when they are in the Lowlands, or when they make a neighbouring visit, or go any where on horseback; but those among them who travel on foot, and have not attendants to carry them over the waters, vary it into the quelt.¹ Burt then goes on to describe the kilt or 'quelt,' which he speaks of as 'the common habit of the ordinary Highlanders.'

Another writer, J. Macky, who made a 'Journey through Scotland' sometime in the reign of George I., gives a companion picture to Burt's. Macky writes as an Englishman, and apparently he was one, in spite of his name. Of the dress of the people of Lochaber and the Great Glen he writes as follows:² 'The universal Dress here is a striped Plad, which serves them as a Covering by Night, and a Cloak by Day. The Gentry wear Trousings, which are Breeches and Stockings of one piece of the same striped Stuff; and the common People have a short Hose, which reaches to the Calf of the Leg, and all above is bare.'

A little later, Macky found himself in Crieff, with regard to which visit he makes the following observation:³ 'The Highland Fair of Crieff happening when I was at Stirling, I had the Curiosity to go see it. . . . The Highland Gentlemen were mighty civil, dress'd in their slash'd short Waistcoats, a Trousing (which is, Breeches and Stockings of one Piece of strip'd Stuff) with a Plaid for a Cloak, and a blue Bonnet. They have a Ponyard Knife and Fork in one Sheath, hanging at one side of their Belt, their Pistol at the other, and their Snuff-Mill before; with a great broad Sword by their side.' He then goes on to describe the common men who followed these gentlemen: 'Their Attendance were very numerous, all in Belted Plaids, girt like Womens Petticoats down to the Knee; their Thighs and Half of the Leg all bare. They had also each their broad Sword and Ponyard, and spake all Irish, an unintelligible language to the English. However, these poor Creatures hir'd themselves out for a Shilling a Day, to drive the Cattle to England, and to return home at their own Charge.'

It is noteworthy that Macky, who (like Captain Burt) writes as an Englishman, finds it necessary to explain to his English

¹ *Coll. de Reb. Alb.*, App., pp. 48-49.

² *A Journey through Scotland*, London, 1723, p. 127.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 194.



SIR JOHN SINCLAIR OF ULBSTER, BARONET
in his uniform as Colonel of the Caithness Fencibles

From the painting by Sir Henry Raeburn

readers (as Burt also does) what trews or 'trousings' are; the fact being that Englishmen then wore knee-breeches, and did not use trousers until about a century later.

It has been seen that the portraits of Cluny Macpherson of 1661, and of a Fraser chieftain living about the dawn of the seventeenth century, represent each as attired in what Nisbet calls 'a heighland gentleman's dress.' Other portraits bearing similar testimony are the following, all representing gentlemen of the eighteenth century: James, 6th Earl of Perth and Duke of Perth (the original being preserved in Drummond Castle), Normand, 19th Laird of MacLeod, painted by Allan Ramsay (preserved in Dunvegan Castle), one of the young sons of MacDonald of the Isles (the original, painted in 1750, being in Armadale Castle), and Sir John Sinclair, Bart., of Ulbster, painted by Raeburn in 1795. This last picture is here reproduced. These are only some notable instances illustrating the attire which had long been specially associated with the gentry of the Scottish Highlands; and it is worth pointing out, as a fact not sufficiently realised, that a man may be of unimpeachable Highland lineage without any of his ancestors having ever worn the kilt.

Among civilians, the fashion of wearing the trews may be said to have ceased with the eighteenth century. The last Macdonell of Glengarry wore the trews (elegantly finished in a fringe above the ankle) when he was a boy; but he appears to have decided in favour of the kilt in later life. In our kilted regiments the trews is still the dress of mounted officers; and in its ungraceful form of modern trousers it constitutes part of the undress uniform of the junior officers and the men. In this form, also, it is worn on all occasions by a few Scottish regiments of Highland origin. It is not unlikely that the modern use of the trews, or of tartan trousers, by privates as well as officers, is in some measure due to the influence of Sir John Sinclair, who insisted on the trews as the dress of all ranks in his Caithness Fencibles, which regiment was raised by him in 1794. In spite of the fact that the trews was then or previously regarded as characteristic of the upper class in the Highlands, Sir John did not recognize such a distinction. Of its superior antiquity to the kilt he had no doubt, and strenuously asserted this doctrine in a pamphlet referred to in the *Memoirs* by his son (1837, vol. i., p. 257).

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

Note.—Since the preceding article was written, I have seen M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Les Celtes* (Paris, 1904), a chapter of which is devoted to

the history of *Le Pantalon Gaulois*. The author makes it quite clear that he refers to trousers reaching down to the ankle; and not to *culottes*, or knee-breeches. He points to the use of trousers by the Gauls as early as the third century B.C., at which time they also wore mantles, or plaids, for the upper part of the body. But he asserts that the Gauls derived this nether garment from the Germans, who in turn had derived it from the Scythians, and these from the Iranians of Persia. He also shows that the Amazons are represented as wearing trousers. The Gaelic word *triubhas* (Anglicised as 'trews') he derives from Old French *trebus*, Mediaeval Latin *tribuces* and *tribucus*, and Low Latin *tubrucus*,—analysed by him as *tu-brucus*, i.e. 'thigh-breeches.' *Braca* he derives, through German, from an Indo-European root *bhrāg*. He is wrong, however, when he states that 'the trews or breeches, in Ireland and among the Gaels of Scotland, was borrowed from the English in recent times.' Shakespeare, who, like the rest of his countrymen, wore knee-breeches, speaks of the 'strait trossers' of the 'kernes of Ireland.' (*King Henry V.*, Act iii., Sc. 7.)

I would also add that the two Highlanders who figure in the ornamental title of Blaeu's map of Scotia, published in 1654, are both represented as wearing tartan breeches. But as, in each case, the tartan of the legs differs from that of the thighs, it is evident that they are supposed to be wearing knee-breeches, not trews.

D. M^{CR}.

The Mediæval Stage.¹

IN a work of wide range and deep learning, Mr. Chambers has traced out the social conditions which gave rise to the mediæval drama. By attacking literary history from an unusual point of view, new ground has been opened up, and many facts which lost meaning through their isolation have been drawn together and converted into a source of very fresh and original inspiration. Further, by dint of the industrious accumulation of material, a comprehensive collection of references and an admirable bibliographical apparatus are placed at the disposal of future generations of students, and must very greatly lighten their labours. An opportune moment has been chosen to show how great are the services which many outlying branches of study can render to the understanding of literary history. A beautiful style and pure literary taste are not all we require of the historian of literature; if literature has a history, it is needful to find the links which bind the centuries together, and it is the antiquarian, rather than the man of letters, who may be best fitted for this work, even though his style be a negligible quantity.

It seems a far cry from Frazer's *Golden Bough* and Tille's *Christmas and Yule-tide* to the Reformation stage-play, but it is by tracing the passage from pre-Christian sacrificial ritual to the conventions of the sixteenth-century drama that many well-worn facts are given a new force. The book is mis-named: it is really a history of mediæval 'make-believe,' or rather a collection of 'memoirs to serve for' such a history. Like Warton's great history of English poetry, it is inartistically arranged, and is full of cross-references and repetitions, but to it, as to Warton, students will continue to go as to a great store-house of material.

The sources of mediæval dramatic literature are pronounced to be four, the heathen 'ludus,' the classic 'mime,' the German

¹ *The Mediæval Stage*, by E. K. Chambers, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.

'scôp,' the liturgic 'trope,' and on these corner-stones, well and truly laid, a solid satisfactory structure is built up to serve in the place of the somewhat sketchy chapter with which our dramatic histories are generally allowed to begin. The early history of the Scottish drama, that great empty space in which only a broken pillar here and there serves to mark the what has been, fits roomily enough into such a ground-plan. Most of the broken pillars Mr. Chambers has marked, and in this place the reviewer cannot perhaps do better than test his scheme by the Scottish fragments.

The celebrated passages in the Chronicles of Lanercost under the years 1268 and 1282, which tell how the 'simulachrum Priapi' was used, and how Father Bacchus was served by a 'chorea' of girls 'cum cantantibus motu mimico,' will serve to remind us that no very broad gulf separated the Christianity of Scotland in the thirteenth century from what had gone before. It had not been easy to eradicate that 'ludus,' which was in part a ceremony of riddance, of purification;¹ and in part the recreative orgy of a sacrificial feast; and in part an expression of the mystery of sympathetic magic, which secures to the mimic the qualities of the divinity personated.

Dances, processions, beast-masks, hobby-horses, and disguisings are the remnants of a ritual of antiquity, of 'ludi,' with which the Christian world could not and would not part. Gregory the Great, with his usual sound worldly wisdom, bade St. Augustine convert the animal sacrifices of the Anglo-Saxons into a sacrificial meal in honour of Christ. Such meals could not be dispensed with altogether. Dancing in churches was the subject of canonical prohibition age after age, and died very hard. The beast-mask lives still to adorn the Christmas pantomime; it was a sore trial to the synods of the church, for they knew what all in the way of heathen belief lay behind it. But once the heathen deities had become safely housed in the nether-world of devils, the danger was over, and the most religiously minded may make a certain amount of irreverent sport with devils. The hobby-

¹ This element seems hardly sufficiently recognized by Mr. Chambers. It is admirably brought out in a new work by Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. In tracing the longevity of riddance ceremonies, it is curious to find that masks were forbidden at wakes at Ludlow in the fourteenth century. Toulmin Smith, *Gilds*, p. 194. The *barbatoriae*, who have given Mr. Chambers some trouble, were probably wearers of masks with large beards, originally intended—like the wake-masks, no doubt—to frighten away ghosts and devils.

horse, the 'cervulus,' so dreaded of the bishops of the dark ages, might 'foot it featously' and unabashed in the sixteenth century. One word, 'lâc,' the Scottish 'laik,' had meant to the Anglo-Saxon sacrifice, victim, gift, and sportive game, and Jamieson's examples will show the mixed meaning holding its own in Scotland.

To the 'mime' of the late Roman empire our author traces the note of degradation which attaches so persistently to the minstrels, or at least to a section of their fraternity. It was the spectacular performer, the professional tumbler and buffoon, with parti-coloured dress and flat-shod feet, whose utterances were the least important part of his dramatic 'business,' who was to link the Roman to the Germanic chain in the history of human entertainment. The Anglo-Saxon appears to have been little susceptible to the charms of the dance,¹ forbidden but once in the canons, but he was doubtless as fond as the rest of the world of the grotesque. According to Gaimar (whose source is not known), it was the feats of his dwarf tumbler which were used to draw Edward king and martyr to his death.

In tracing the fusing of the art of the 'scôp,' whose minstrelsy was the characteristic German contribution, with that of the mime, an interesting point is made of the minstrel's 'disguise,' which is early a favourite theme in history and romance; the walnut-stained and shaven face, clipped hair, bardy coat and motley wear, closely resemble the descriptions of the Roman mime's dress. It is the lower class of minstrel who takes the leading place in the tree of dramatic genealogy, and accordingly the minstrelsy, which is the usual theme of literary history, is here but scantily, perhaps too scantily, treated, and the history of court entertainment in the twelfth century leaves a rather awkward blank. Peter of Blois' description of Henry II.'s court serves to show that there was no real blank, but Rahere, the founder of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, as *mimus regis* to William II., ought not to appear, under that designation at all events. Dr. Norman Moore has shown exactly whereon the story is based. Connection with the king's spectacular entertainment he may have had, but he is scarcely more of a mime than

¹In the account of church dances, it should be noted that the 'vallationes,' forbidden by St. Eloi of Noyon, came possibly from St. Cæsarius of Arles. The *aut caraulas* (the 'carols,' so frequent in later descriptions of dances and processions) are an addition of a late MS., as Krusch shows in his excellent edition of the *Vita S. Eligii* for the *Mon. Germ. Script. Rer. Meroving. IV.*

certain mimes of King John named by Warton: A lady, he tells us, may marry whom she pleases, 'the king's mimics excepted.' It should not need a reference to the MS. to convert 'mimics' into 'enemies.'

It is singular that the minute accounts of John's *misae* should yield no fragments under the head of spectacular entertainment; so far as a hasty examination suffices to show, what time he could spare from misgoverning the country he spent at the game of tables and in active outdoor sport. But with the thirteenth century and the stream of monastic, episcopal, and other accounts, the place of the 'histriones,' mimics and minstrels becomes more closely assignable. The 'vafri,' 'waffarii,' performers of sleight-of-hand, of the Swinfield accounts deserve a note, as well as other entries from that source, in Mr. Chambers' useful appendices.¹

If only England would deal with her rich series of wardrobe accounts as Scotland has dealt with those of the Lord High Treasurer, much important evidence upon this subject (and on countless others) would come to light. It is the Durham accounts (admirably edited by Canon Fowler) which yield an allusion to the Scottish king's minstrels in 1278, and from that time they give a steady sequence of fees to 'histriones,' Scottish and other. The Leicester municipal accounts show that in the early fourteenth century minstrels are apt to be grouped with messengers, runners and heralds, and among them are some Welsh names. The Scottish 'minstrels of the chekkar' make one suspect that those Exchequer 'cockins,' who were liberally fed at Leicester, took part in the town's entertainment, when they made their periodic visits. The ordinance of Edward II.'s reign also classes minstrels with messengers, and its rules seem to recognize something in the nature of a craft-gild of minstrelsy. The disobedient minstrels must abandon their 'minstrelsy.' It is no mere accident that account writers multiply words for 'minstrel,' and do not give them that technical differentiation of which their language was generally so careful; the looseness of vocabulary has a real meaning. Music, minstrelsy, and dance, tumbling,

¹ The learned editor of Swinfield's accounts has also an interesting note, which Mr. Chambers would appreciate, on the epiphany fires of Archinfield, that home of ancient custom. For the twelfth century we should like also a reference to the tumbler of Alexander bishop of Lincoln's household, for whom Robert of Sempringham (of holy memory) was mistaken, so strangely did he gesticulate in his spiritual agonies. The *Leges Henrici Primi*, cap. 90, 11, show that the '*spectaculum feræ vel insani*' was what would draw a crowd in the early twelfth century—the dancing bear, or the dangerous madman.

conjuring, legerdemain, jesting and acting are all inextricably entangled, as the Scottish accounts show.

Turning next to liturgical dramatizations, to the dialogues of the troper, the sepulchre and cradle episodes at the two great church festivals, then to the curious outbursts of regulated irreverence connected mainly with the mid-winter festivals, the Feasts of Fools, the Boy Bishops, and Abbots, a collection of curious facts is methodically arranged; and drawn as it is from many varied sources, printed and manuscript, British and continental, it presents many more or less familiar pieces of knowledge in a new light, the light of the universality of certain kinds of dramatic representation within the church and of certain kinds of ritualistic buffoonery. The Feast of Fools, which it may not be too wild a guess to call the feast of the simple and unlettered, that feast which allows the lower orders of the clergy a grand outburst of fooling in the church itself, when all the sacred ceremonies of the year may for once be turned to burlesque, when men cense with pudding, sausages or old shoes, bray like asses at the supreme moments of the mass, repeat meaningless words, play at ball, and vest the fool in pontificals, has not been definitely traced in Scotland, and it is known at Sarum (whose use might send it to Scotland), only through a note in an inventory of 1222. But the Boy Bishop, whose companions in Scotland were imps and satyrs (*deblatis* and *ruffyis*), made his Christmas *quête* with regularity. He was a favourite at Sarum. The scraps of evidence concerning the mid-winter festivals were well worth collecting; never before have they been given their proper place in the history of pantomime in this country. The church took over the winter folk-games and made the winter king into a Bishop or an Abbot. The Aberdeen Abbot of Bon Accord, lord of misrule, was also manager of the Corpus Christi play, the Haliblude play on Windmill Hill, which is one of the rare traces of the miracle-play in Scotland, and the Abbot of Bon Accord presumably managed also the cycle of nativity plays or pageants which finished at Candlemas. Mr. Chambers is orthodox in tracing the origin of the Passion Play to the liturgical 'Planctus'; some account should be given, however, of that Greek passion play which was at one time said to be of the fourth century and of late is said to be of the tenth.

The passage from the 'miracle' to the 'morality' or moral interlude is not hard to bridge. But it is to be regretted that among the splendid appendices with which the book is furnished

room could not be found for the unpublished MS. of the plays ascribed to Stephen Langton and William Herman.¹ One may suspect that these literary exercises were not very unlike the elaborate verses, put in the mouths of the 'pageants' that broke the monotony of coronation and other town processions, such for instance as Leland has given in his account of Henry VII.'s progresses. There was little enough of action no doubt; the leading figure on the scaffold, or castle, or triumphal car, would merely recite the verses from memory. A link between the literary exercise and the spoken dialogue of the interlude may perhaps lie in the academic disputation. Behind the literary, moral, academic and dull interlude lie the equally literary, moral, academic and dull 'débat,' dialogue and 'strife.' Fitzstephen tells not only of the miracle-plays of London, but also in his account of the scholars' disputations something that might become drama of a serious kind seems to be traceable. There is dialogue; there is an audience, of parents perhaps, to please; what is recited has been in all likelihood committed to memory.

The interlude, and still more the French 'farce,' in which the spoken part of the entertainment was probably not important, were strongly enough developed in Scotland to leave numerous traces in literature, from the Christmas 'interludez' of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, to the written interlude of the Three Estates, the best written interlude that has been handed down to us. Lyndsay had 'played farces on the flure,' and with Patrick Johnson, Gilliam the taborer, bishop Andrew Forman, and Sir James Inglis to act as stage-managers and playwrights, evidently James IV.'s court was liberally supplied with 'ballattis, farses and pleasand playis.' Edinburgh, in the play-field at the Greenside, Dundee, in its play-field at the West Port, heard and saw, we may believe, the words and antics of the king's 'gysaris,' and shared in the pleasure of the 'mumre's graith' which figures in the royal accounts. But soon the fun was turned to earnest, when the popular interest was for the first time concentrated upon a great heart-searching theme. The Wedderburn who had been the king's 'fithelar' and teller of tales, who was provided with goatskins and harts' horns to dress up a tournament of 'wild men,' was to write plays on the beheading of John the

¹ What were the 'theatralibus ludis' in which Edward II.'s archbishop Reynolds excelled, and to which he owed his office? Was he 'a tripper on tapits, a wild player of summer's gamenes,' like the recipients of benefices in Wyclif's day, or was he a playwright? Mr. Chambers has omitted a notice of him.

Baptist and on Dionysius the Tyrant, whose religious and political meaning was unmistakable. At Stirling, in 1535, friar Kyllour was striking the same note in a passion play. In twenty years' time came the celebrated prohibition, and Scottish drama, which seemed about to become an important part of the national literature, was doomed.

Mr. Chambers' range, which begins by being continental, not unnaturally shrinks as the English detail begins to multiply, but Scotland, and Ireland too, receive their due. That the form of dramatic performances had a strong influence on the forms of mediæval art is made clear by a number of details, and it is a thought which deserves further study. In grouping and composition it is evident that the great miniaturists and painters of the fifteenth century owed something to the scenes represented on the stage, and perhaps the influence was reciprocal. In conclusion¹ one may perhaps be permitted to question whether the doctrine of evolutionary continuity will bear all the strain that is cast upon it by the scientifically-minded student of literature. The breaks and the changes in the character of the evidence ought not to be minimized. They are there and they mean something; it is well to know the true inwardness of Falstaff's buck's head, of the forgotten hobby-horse, of the fool's cock's comb and ass's ears, of 'Arry in 'Arriet's hat, and to realize that these things have a long and strange lineage; but there is also a lineage of human creative genius, and it has

¹ A few points of detail deserve only the obscurity of a note. Chabham was never either archbishop of Canterbury (i. 59) or bishop of Salisbury (ii. 262), and he did not die about 1313. Peter de Corbeil has been called an archdeacon of York, by mistake for Evreux; but was he ever really coadjutor bishop of Lincoln? 'Gutbercht, abbot of Newcastle,' is a curious disguise for Cuthbert, abbot of Wearmouth, whose life Bede wrote. The meaning of the cucking-stool punishment is not appreciated; to find it represented as in any way connected with rain-charms is surprising. The Beverley miracle play of the resurrection was not of *circa* 1220, but later, if Raine's note in *Historians of the Church of York*, i., p. lvi, may be trusted. Two fifteenth-century plays may be added from the Trin. Coll., Dublin, MS. E. 5. 9, a London chronicle, which says that in 22 Henry VI. a play of 'Egelmour and Degrebell' was played at St. Albans on June 30, and in the month of August was a play at Bermondsey 'of a knight cleft Florence.' Was this that Florent or Flormond of Albany whose romance is named in the *Complaynte of Scotland*? When we remember how little work has been done on the London chronicles, it seems not unreasonable to hope that more references may ultimately come from that source. Elizabeth was not without a jester; she kept on James Lockwood, and his career as a court jester was a long one. It appears for the last time in the Leicester accounts, 1566-7.

done its share in the origin of dramatic species. After all, the goat-song as the embryo of Greek tragedy does not upon examination prove altogether satisfactory. It is his zeal in the quest of 'origins' which has led the author somewhat to mar the form of his work by the inclusion of a good deal of matter which it is difficult to regard as in any sense relevant to the subject of the work. But whatever the theme of the digression, the reader will not feel ungrateful, inasmuch as it is always admirably supported by learned bibliographical references.

MARY BATESON.

Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union

I

IN a previous article in the *Scottish Historical Review*¹ some account was given of the movement to introduce improved methods of production into Scotland in the latter half of the seventeenth century. I have now collected such details as are recoverable of certain individual undertakings, partly as examples of the general tendency, partly from the intrinsic interest of the concerns themselves. For reasons explained in the article already alluded to, the Parliamentary papers preserve some record of the various businesses that applied for the privileges of the Act of 1681 for the encouraging of trade and manufactures. From this mass of references without illustrative detail it will be advisable to select certain groupings of undertakings of cognate character, since one will frequently be found to throw light on others of a similar nature. From 1660 to 1690 there is a fairly well-marked order of development, first the founding of soap and sugar works, and concurrently, but continuing later, of cloth factories. After 1690 the establishment of industries of a more miscellaneous character became common. Thus the present series of articles may be most fitly commenced by some account of the Glasgow sugar refineries and soap works. Subsequently the textile group and allied trades will be dealt with, and finally the miscellaneous undertakings. It may further be premised that in the case of three companies, the Newmills Cloth Works, the Bank of Scotland, and the Darien Company, the materials are so copious that any adequate account of these would extend beyond reasonable limits, so that no attempt will be made to treat of them except incidentally.

¹ January, 1904.

THE GREENLAND FISHING AND SOAP WORKS COMPANY,
OR THE GLASGOW SOAPERIE (1667-1785).

The manufacture of soap from an early period had been a favourite industry for the establishment of monopolies. In the time of James I. and Charles I. the production of this commodity was involved in a net-work of exclusive grants. The searches, fines, and imprisonments carried out at the instigation of the Society of Soapers of Westminster created no little indignation in England.¹ Scotland did not escape the effects of the same policy. In 1619 a patent was granted to Nathaniel Uddart for the manufacture of soap. Having erected 'a goodly work' at Leith, he petitioned the Privy Council on June 21st, 1621, that all foreign soap should be prohibited. In reply the Privy Council ordain that the importation of soap should be forbidden, provided that Uddart would sell that made by him at a price not exceeding 24s. per barrel for green soap and 32s. per barrel of white soap, the barrel to contain 16 stones. By July, 1623, several complaints had been made to the Council, and it was decreed that the privileges granted in 1621 should terminate in a year from the date of the order.² Probably this patent, if not recalled, was allowed to lapse, for in 1634 a new grant was made to the 'King's daily servitor,' Patrick Mauld of Panmure. In as much as Mauld was prepared to provide all the requisites for soap-boiling, and since the trade was of such a nature that the public would suffer if 'it were left indifferently to all,' the monopoly of making all kinds of soap was granted to Mauld and his representatives for thirty-one years. In addition, the patent licensed the grantee to fish in the Greenland and home seas to obtain the oil then required for the production of soap. He had also the sole right of making potash by utilising such wood as is most fit for the purpose, likewise all sorts of ferns and vegetable things whatsoever. As in other grants by the Stuarts, Mauld was to make a payment in return for the monopoly, which was fixed at £20 sterling a year.³ This patent would have continued till 1665, but in 1661 a monopoly for twelve years was granted for the manufacture of 'Castle Soap.'⁴

¹ *A Short and True Relation Concerning the Soap Business.* London, 1641, *passim*.

² Chambers's *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, i. p. 510. *Leith and its Antiquities*, by James Campbell Irons, ii. pp. 141, 142.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. pp. 80, 81.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. p. 47.

After the Restoration the attention of the legislature was directed towards soap, and in 1661 an excise of £6 Scots was imposed on each barrel imported; at the same time, all materials required by the home producer (such as oil, potash) were admitted free of duty, while soap made within the country was exempted from taxes for nineteen years.¹ As in the case of sugar, when soap was exported two ounce of bullion were to be brought to the mint for every six barrels shipped.² By a subsequent act of 1669 the same condition was applied to importation.³

Under the encouragement of these acts, which amounted almost to the exclusion of foreign soap, an influential company was formed in 1667, with its headquarters at Glasgow, for whale-fishing and soap-boiling. There were originally nine partners, who subscribed £1300 sterling each, making the capital of the undertaking £11,700 sterling. At first the chief efforts of the company were directed towards whale fishing and foreign trade to Greenland and the extreme north of America and Russia. A large ship (for that time) of 700 tons burden, and carrying forty guns, was built at Belfast and named the 'Lyon.' Soon afterwards three or four other ships were built and dispatched. The company was successful in catching whales, and the blubber was boiled down at Greenock in extensive premises known as the 'Royal Close.' This was only the first stage in the process of soap-making, for the main works, known as the 'Soaperie,' were situated in Glasgow at the head of the Candleriggs. These premises were built on the site now occupied by Nos. 108-120 Candleriggs and Nos. 12-16 Canon Street, and consisted of a large square surrounded by houses for the managers, stores, sheds, and cellars.⁴

This company, like so many of its predecessors, soon found that whale-fishing was a disappointing speculation, and the voyages became gradually less frequent. After some of the ships had been lost this part of the former operations of the company was abandoned, and in 1695 the Committee of Trade was prepared to grant privileges for seven or ten voyages to any who would adventure.⁵ The Glasgow company, though it had obtained in 1685 an act granting it the privileges of a manufacture, and also a recommendation to the tacksmen of the

¹ *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. pp. 88, 89, 203.

² *Ibid.*, vii. p. 253.

³ *Ibid.*, vii. p. 560.

⁴ *Glasgow Past and Present*, pp. 873, 874.

⁵ *Parliamentary Papers*, circa 1695: 'List of Acts to be desired.'

Customs that there should be no abatement of the duties on whalebone and soap,¹ does not appear to have responded to this invitation. The renewal of this part of the enterprise fell to others. Sir John Shaw, of Greenock, obtained an act granting the privileges of a manufacture to a company he had formed 'with a considerable stock,' to carry on the fishing industry,² and one of the many enterprises undertaken by Robert Douglas, of Leith, was whale-fishing, in which he was 'at vast expenses and great loss.'³ According to M'Ure all the capital invested by the Glasgow Greenland Fishing and Soap Company in the former undertaking was lost.⁴

The 'Soaperie,' freed from the incubus of unfortunate whaling voyages, was successful. Whether it remained in the hands of the original company or was sold to a new one does not appear. In 1700 the manufacture of soap was mentioned as one of the Scottish industries which was firmly established.⁵ In 1715 the manager advertised in the *Glasgow Courant* that he was prepared to sell good black or speckled soaps at the Soaperie at reasonable rates.⁶ The company appears to have continued a quiet, unenterprising career till the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century. 'Senex,' who visited the works not long before the concern was wound up, wrote that 'there appeared to be only about half a dozen men employed, and these were *clamping* about the floor in a very inactive manner, having heavy iron shoes on their feet. It was easy to see that they were working at days' wages.'⁷ In 1777 the buildings were partly consumed by a fire,⁸ and in 1785 the whole ground buildings and utensils were advertised to be sold by public roup.⁹

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, viii. p. 490.

² *Ibid.*, x. p. 80.

³ *Parliamentary Papers*, 1703: 'The Petition of Robert Douglas, elder and younger, Soap Boilers in Leith.'

⁴ *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 872.

⁵ MS. Discourses anent Improvements may be made in Scotland—Advocates' Library, 33, 5, 16, f. 15.

⁶ *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 874.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Annals of Glasgow*, by James Cleland. Glasgow, 1816, ii. p. 367.

⁹ *Glasgow Mercury*, August 15, 1785, in *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 874.

THE SUGAR-REFINING AND RUM-DISTILLING
COMPANIES AT GLASGOW.

The Wester Sugar Works (1667).

The Easter Sugar Works (1669).

The South Sugar Works (1696).

The King Street Sugar Works (1700).

The refining of sugar had been started at Glasgow during the Protectorate of Cromwell, or not long after the Restoration.¹ At first the profits were very large, and, according to Gibson, it was in this industry that the first fortunes in business were acquired in the West of Scotland.² It was not long before the Government availed itself of the opportunity of raising revenue from the production of a new taxable commodity, for in 1661 an act was passed requiring that 2 oz. of bullion should be brought to the mint for every 60 lbs. of sugar exported.³ In 1669 this act was modified to the extent of imposing a duty of 6 oz. of bullion to be brought to the mint for every cwt. of loaf sugar exported.⁴ The design of this legislation was to secure that at least part of the proceeds of sales made abroad should be brought back in bullion, and that some of this would be handed over to the State to be used as coinage.

After the passing of the acts of 1661 a partnership was formed in the year 1667, consisting originally of four persons. 'At first the proprietors got a little apartment for boiling sugar—a Dutchman being master-boiler—this undertaking proved very effectual and their endeavours wonderfully successful, so that they left their little apartment and built a great stone tenement with convenient office-houses for their work, within a great court, with a pleasant garden belonging thereto.'⁵ This building, known as the Wester Sugar House, stood at the corner of Candleriggs and Bell's Wynd.⁶

About two years afterwards (*i.e.* in 1669) another partnership for sugar-refining was established by five partners. This

¹ *The History of Glasgow*, by James Gibson, Glasgow, 1777, p. 246.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. p. 254.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vii. p. 560.

⁵ *A View of the City of Glasgow*, by John M'Ure, Glasgow, 1736, p. 282.

⁶ *Old Glasgow*, by Andrew MacGeorge, Glasgow, 1880, p. 155.

was also successful, and, according to M'Ure, the Joint Stock employed 'wonderfully increased.'¹ In 1684 the capital employed in one of these undertakings amounted to £10,000 sterling.² The buildings afterwards erected for the refinery, founded in 1669, were known as the Easter Sugar Work. An illustration of the building, which was remarkable for its great height (considering the date when it was built), is given in *Glasghu Facies*.³ On the passing of the act of 1681 for the encouragement of trade and manufactures, the partners of both these works presented a joint petition to Parliament asking that the privileges offered by the act should be extended to their undertakings. They stated in support of their request that they were in a position to sell sugar at one-third of the price at which it had been imported, and on this and other grounds both Sugar Houses obtained the privilege of a manufacture for nineteen years from 1681.⁴

Soon afterwards an event happened which threatened the success of the Wester undertaking, and which at the same time shows a peculiar risk to which these very small companies or large partnerships were subject. Peter Gemmill, one of the four original partners, had died, leaving his share in the concern to his wife. She was unable to take part in the management 'as partners should and do, because it requires great skill and pains.' She also refused, according to the complaint presented to the Privy Council by the other partners, to contribute her share, or to reckon according to the contract signed by all the partners. As a result the works were absolutely at a stand, the stock of materials was wasting, and the servants idle—the latter meaning a loss of £16 sterling per month. The other partners prayed the Privy Council to settle the value of the widow's share, and they would buy her out. In the end, however, the magistrates of Glasgow were directed 'to compose the dispute,' and there is no further information as to whether the share in question was transferred, or whether the female partner became reconciled to the 'great pains' of business.⁵ If any conclusion can be drawn from the state of the

¹ *A View of Glasgow, ut supra*, p. 282.

² Collection of Petitions to the Barons of the Exchequer (Edinburgh University Library). "Petition of the Masters of the Sugarie Works at Glasgow."

³ p. 543.

⁴ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, viii. p. 360.

⁵ *Acts of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 1682-1685, ff. 187, 188.

partnership when M'Ure wrote his *View of Glasgow*, it would appear that though many of these West of Scotland partnerships at any given time were confined to a few persons, the interest was not long retained in one family, for in this particular case, in M'Ure's time, there were six partners, and none of the six had the same name as any of the original four.¹

Probably one reason for the continued success of these sugar works was that the refining industry was supplemented by the production of rum. The rum was sold to great advantage in the colonies, and a considerable amount of it was consumed at home. This branch of the industry, however, met with some hindrances from various sources. Owing to the system of leasing the collection of taxes to private individuals, the tacksmen of the Customs did not obey the different acts of Parliament designed to encourage home industries. In fact, as a contemporary writer expressed it, 'they do not regard the laws but their own profit, *per fas et nefas*.'² In the sugar industry, for instance, though exemption from Customs had been granted by the act in favour of the Wester and Easter Works in 1681, a few years later the tacksmen at Edinburgh seized a quantity of rum consigned for export by the proprietors of these works.³ The case was debated before the Exchequer in April, 1684, and the claim to exemption from duties was allowed.⁴ The matter did not rest at this stage, for a counter petition was presented declaring that the trade in rum should be suppressed, as this drink was injurious to the health of the lieges.⁵ Though this attack on the making of rum failed for the time, it eventually produced a temporary result, for in 1695 an act of Parliament was passed prohibiting both the making and sale of rum, except for export, on the grounds that it hindered the sale of strong waters made of malt, and also that 'being a drug rather than a liquor,' the consumption of it was prejudicial to health.⁶ This act was repeated soon afterwards. As against this short-lived repressive legislation is to be counted the imposition of a duty⁷ of

¹ *Glasghu Facies—Glasgow Ancient and Modern*, p. 871.

² *A Letter to a Member of Parliament*, Edinburgh, 1700, p. 13.

³ Bundle of Petitions to the Barons of the Exchequer (Edinburgh University Library). Petition of the Master of the Sugarie Works at Glasgow.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, Petition relating to the Sugarie Works, Glasgow.

⁶ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ix. p. 462.

⁷ *Ibid.*, x. p. 34.

£6 Scots per cwt. on imported sugar candy. The Royal Burghs too had an intention of supporting the industry, but if any steps were taken there is no record of their nature.¹

On the settlement of domestic affairs in Scotland after the Revolution, when a serious effort was being made to develop home manufactures, it was to be expected that one of the first enterprises that would attract the capitalist would be that which was officially declared to have been 'a most profitable one.'² In 1695 Robert Douglas, of Leith, who was at the same time promoting works for the manufacture of soap, earthenware, china, and starch, was granted the 'privilege of a manufacture' for the usual term of nineteen years, not only for the diverse undertakings already mentioned, but also for sugar works from which he was entitled to export rum to the amount of 18 tuns yearly.³ In spite of this attempt to settle the industry at Leith the seat of trade remained at Glasgow. In 1696 an act was passed in favour of Robert and James Montgomery (who had at least one other partner associated with them), which stated that owing to the success of the industry the number of works should be increased. Accordingly the same privileges already granted to the other undertakings were conferred upon this one under the title of the 'New Sugar Manufactory at Glasgow.'⁴ Following the custom of the existing partnerships, this undertaking adopted a local designation, and its works became known as the 'South Sugar House.' It was described by M'Ure as situated on the west side of Stockwell Street, and consisting of a large court, surrounded by high and low apartments, with cellars, a store house, boiling houses with distilling apartments, pleasant gardens, and all conveniences whatsoever.⁵

There were now West, East, and South Sugar Houses, and it might be expected that the next to be founded would be the Northern Sugar House. As a matter of fact there were works under this title which were situated close to the Wester House, and appear ultimately to have been absorbed by the older undertaking.⁶ The Northern concern, however, was founded later, and the fourth Sugar House, known as that

¹ *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs, 1677-1711*, p. 95.

² *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, x. p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, ix. p. 491.

⁴ *Ibid.*, x. p. 66.

⁵ *A View of the City of Glasgow*, p. 283.

⁶ *Glasgow Past and Present, ut supra*, p. 871.

at King Street, was granted the privilege of becoming a statutory undertaking in 1700.¹ The act is in favour of Matthew and David Campbell, but soon afterwards the partners were six in number. In fact, during the first half of the eighteenth century, these and other co-partneries consisted of from five to ten of 'our high-class citizens, such as our Provost, Baillies, and Deans of Guild, with a "Sir John" or a "Sir George" scattered here and there among them.'² It is related that there was much consternation in Glasgow when, in 1736, the six partners in the Easter Sugar Work, comprising the Provost, two Bailies, the Treasurer of the City, and a goldsmith were bought out by a new and unknown co-partnership called 'Robert M'Nair, Jean Holmes and Co.' The title of the purchasing 'Co.' was in reality a somewhat ponderous joke. M'Nair was a 'new man' who had acquired considerable wealth, and finding that all undertakings of magnitude were in the hands of co-partnerships, he, as a satire on the prevalent custom, registered his own firm in his own name and that of his wife, thereby forming literally 'a one man' company.³

The Glasgow Sugar Houses constitute an exception to the general rule that few industrial companies founded in the seventeenth century survived the removal of protection after the Union. This fact is the more interesting, since the sugar trade had fewer privileges than the cloth, linen, or paper companies. It had been founded before the act of 1681, and there was never a complete prohibition of competitive products.⁴ Even the exemption from duties ceased in 1715, for in that year the Crown sued the Leith refiners for £40,000 sterling of 'bye-gone' duties. Eventually a compromise was effected by which the claim by the Crown was remitted on condition that the refiners would surrender their rights to exemption from duties under their private acts.

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¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, x. p. 212.

² *Glasgow Past and Present*, p. 440.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 438-440.

⁴ As to the differences between the acts of 1661 and 1681, *vide* Article, January, 1904.