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The Household of Mary Queen of Scots in 1573

IN 1572 the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew was nearly proving fatal to Mary Queen of Scots. She was more closely watched than ever at Sheffield, but the wave of excitement passed, and in the summer of 1573 she was allowed to receive the Chancellor of her dowry lands in France, and drew up that *Etat*, or list of her pensioners and household, with their pensions and wages, which follows. The list has not previously been published, and the Society of the Inner Temple has kindly allowed me to have a transcript made (by Miss E. M. Thompson) from the MS. in their Library. Mary's *Etat* of 1566 is referred to in the casket letter from Glasgow to Bothwell, usually printed as Number II. 'The King sent for Joachim yesternight, and asked him . . . if I had made my *Estate*' (a passage omitted in the English translation).¹ I observed, in discussing the Casket letters, 'If this yesternight means that Mary was in Glasgow on the day before she began writing, the dates cannot be made to harmonise with facts,' for on that scheme her first night of writing would be January 22, her second January 23; Bothwell therefore cannot receive the letter till January 24, on which day he went to Liddesdale; and Paris, the bearer, declares that he gave the letter to Bothwell the day *before* he rode to Liddesdale. But, I pointed out, Joachim, the *valet de chambre* to whom Darnley spoke 'yesternight' probably went to Glasgow a day before Mary, to prepare her rooms.² This guess was right. In the *Etat* which Mary drew

¹ *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, pp. 316-317, 1904.

² *Mystery of Mary Stuart*, pp. 248-249.

up on February 13, 1566-67, we read, '*à Joachim Paris, qui servira de fourrier, viii.xx. livres tournois.*'¹ The *fourrier* is the servant who goes in front to make ready the rooms, and Mary's man was Joachim! Thus the dates of the letter fit the facts, and *that* part of the fatal letter Mary wrote.

Opposite the *Etat* of July 31, 1573, I print the corresponding entries of the *Etat* of Feb. 13, 1566-67, signed by Mary three days after Darnley's murder. It will be observed that a surprizingly large number of Mary's attendants in Scotland in 1566-67 remain on her Household list in her captivity in 1573. But opposite the names of many occurs the entry *néant* (£0. 0. 0.). They were out of her service, and were not in receipt of pensions. Perhaps in some pages an old list was employed, and brought into harmony with the actual expenses of 1572-73. In other cases, though the name of a person appears on the list, with the entry of his wages, there is reason to believe that the money is paid merely as a pension, in the absence of the recipient. Examples will follow.

Mary was the most generous and most grateful of mistresses: the letters of her long years of captivity are full of proofs that she forgot no loyal retainer, and never wearied in securing their welfare. On their part they never wished, or very seldom wished, to leave her. Of her *valets de chambre* at the time of Darnley's murder, Joseph Riccio thought it best to go abroad at once; of Joachim we lose sight. Paris was executed, but Bastien Pages, at whose wedding Mary danced on the night of the murder, was faithful to the end. Servais de Condé, her steward, whose accounts are published in Joseph Robertson's *Inventaires de la Reyne d'Escosse*, went abroad, but, ten years later, Mary writes again and again to Archbishop Beaton in the interests of the faithful servant whose name had, somehow, been omitted from her *Etat*.

Mary entered England, after her flight from Langside, with sixteen persons in her company. In September of the same year, 1568, Cecil ruefully reckons 'almost 140 people' in her train. Among these were George Douglas and 'Little Douglas,' the heroes of her escape from Loch Leven; Bastien Pages and his wife; 'Gilbert Curle, Secretary'; 'Nawe, a Secretary'; Mary Seton; and Lords Livingstone, Fleming, and Herries.²

¹ Teulet, *Relations Politiques*, ii. 273 (1862).

² Bains' *Calendar*, ii. p. 154.

On February 5, 1569, Shrewsbury, at Tutbury, counts her attendants at sixty. Mary was content that they should be reduced to thirty, exclusive of women and grooms of the stable. The *valets de chambre* are Bastien Pages, Balthasar Hully, Gilbert Curle, Ange Marie, Will Douglas, Florens Gwarde. Mackinson is groom of the wardrobe, Raullet is secretary.¹

In May, 1571, Lord and Lady Livingstone are still with Mary, among the thirty attendants allowed to her, *plus* nine others, 'permitted of my Lord's' (Shrewsbury's) 'benevolence.' But Ninian Winzet, the ex-schoolmaster of Linlithgow, the unanswered challenger of Knox to disputation, and finally, by Mary's influence, the Abbot of Ratisbon, is ruthlessly turned out, Shrewsbury having discovered that he is a priest. 'Ange Marie, perfumer,' is also dismissed, he found a place in the French Embassy in London.²

When the Duke of Norfolk was imprisoned in September, 1571, on account of the scheme for his marriage to Mary, her household was again reduced. In a touching letter of September 18, 1571, she bids her exiles farewell, 'You, William Douglas, believe that the life which you risked to save mine will never be left destitute while I have one friend alive.'³ They are all to go to her ambassador in Paris, Archbishop Beaton, and to be supported out of her dowry. Bastien was allowed to remain with her.⁴ Now we find the names of these faithful servants in the *Etat* of 1573, and it may probably be understood that, though they receive their *gages*, they are absent from their mistress.

On the news of the Bartholomew massacre of August, 1572, Elizabeth avenged the Protestant cause by ordering Mary's Household to be reduced to sixteen persons, and attempted to induce the Regent Mar to receive her in Scotland, and cut off her head 'at sight.' Mar died on October 28, and the scheme fell through. In May, 1573, her last fortress in Scotland, the Castle of Edinburgh, fell: Kirkcaldy was hanged, Lethington died, her party was powerless and headless, and Elizabeth could afford to be good natured. The chancellor of Mary's French estates, Du Verger, was allowed to visit her on June 9, and

¹ Bain, ii. 617.

² Leader, *Mary Queen of Scots in Captivity*, p. 186, note 2.

³ Labanoff, iii. 381.

⁴ Labanoff, iii. 373.

remained at Sheffield till July 31, when the *Etat* of 1572-73 was finished and signed.

The whole amount paid in pensions and wages is rather over 15,000 *livres tournois*, as against 34,000 in 1566-67. Most of the expenditure attests the Queen's unprincely gratitude and more than Royal generosity, for the majority of the recipients of 'wages' are merely pensioners. She still pays the pension of 1566-67, to her grandmother, the Dowager Duchess of Guise, and to Madame de Betoncourt, wife or widow of her own mother's Master of the Household. She raises Mary Seton's fee from 200 to 400 *livres*, and pays Mary Beaton (*Lady Boyne*) 100 *livres* in absence.

Most of the other ladies on the roll, though paid, were far away. In many cases the pension is reduced from the old rate of wages, but the servants are not forgotten.

For example, her confessor of 1566-67 (who believed her innocent of Darnley's death) receives 200 in place of 500 *livres*, and Ninian Winzet is provided for. Possibly Ange Marie had returned to service, with Gilbert Curle, but Willie Douglas, in absence apparently, receives his full rate of wages. The most interesting personage among the Valets is the famous French painter, Jehan de Court. In 1566-67 he received 240 *livres*, exactly what the great Clouet got, as Court painter to Henri II. In 1573 de Court is on an ordinary Valet's fee, as pension. On the death of Clouet, in August, 1572, de Court succeeded to his place as Court painter of Charles IX. with a salary of 400 *livres*.¹

I am not absolutely certain that de Court was in Scotland with Mary in 1566-67, though it seems improbable that even she would then pay him the full salary of a Court painter if he was not with her. Even in her captivity, when she needed every *sou* for the support of her militant party in Scotland, she did not forget the distinguished artist.

Under *Gens de Mestier* there is a blank, but in 1578 she certainly had an embroiderer: probably the Pierre Odry of 1566 returned to service, for in 1578 P. Oudry signs the portrait of the Queen, 'the Sheffield portrait,' inherited by the Duke of Devonshire from the Countess of Shrewsbury, the wife of Mary's gaoler. We omit, as of little interest, a list of ten pensioners, French, and unknown to fame. The *Etat* is a permanent

¹Dimier, *French Painting in the XVI. Century*, pp. 238-241.

witness to the Queen's gratitude and generosity, at a time when her dowry money was irregularly and possibly not honestly paid.

Estat 1566-67.
Edinburgh, Feb. 13, 1566-67.

Estat de la Reyne Marie d'Escosse d'Angleterre et de France par elle dressé a Cheefeld le dernier Jour du Mois de Juillet mil cinq cens soixante treize po' le Règlement de sa Maison. 1573. Inner Temple MS. 7226, No. 90.

PREMIEREMENT DAMES.

Madame la Duchesse Douairiere de Guise. VIII. C. L. T.
Mademoiselle de Curel. III. C. L.

Mademoiselle de Pinguillon. III. C. L.

Madame de Betoncourt. III. C. L.

Madame de Briante. III. C. L.

Mademoiselle de Seton. II. C. L.

Madame de Bouyn. [Boyne. Mary Beaton.] II. C. L.
Absent in 1573. Lady Atholl. Mary Fleming (Lethington).
Mademoiselle Semple.
Mademoiselle Erskine.

La Souche. III. C. L.

Lucesse de Beton. II. C. L.

Rallay. II. C. L.

FEMMES DE CHAMBRE.

Courcelles. LX. L.

Marie Gobelin. LX. L.

Anne L'Enfant. LX. L.

PREMIER LES DAMES.

Madame la Duchesse Douairiere de Guise a gaige de huit cens livres tournois par an.

Mademoiselle de Curel a quatre cens livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Madame de Reguillon (?) a quatre cens livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Madame de Betoncourt la Sôme de trois cens livres de gaiges par an.

Madame de Brianté a mesme gaiges de trois cens livres tournois par an.

Mademoiselle de Seton a gaiges de quatre cens livres tournois par an.

Madame de Boyn a gaiges de cent livres tournois par an.

Mademoiselle de Verger a gaiges de deux cent livres tournois par an.

FILLES DAMOISELLES.

Mademoiselle la Souché Gouvernante des filles quitta ses gages au moyen de l'assignation qui luy fut baille po' le don a elle fait.

Damoiselle lutresse de Beton a gaiges de . . .
(Blank in MS.)

Mademoiselle de Rallay a gaiges de trois cens livres tournois par an.

Mademoiselle de Couselles a deux cens livres de gages par an.

FEMMES DE CHAMBRE.

Marie Gobelin a gaiges de quinze livres tournois par an.

Anne l'enfant aux gages de an—quinze livres tournoit par an.

Pochonnères (*sic*). LX. L.

Hélène Boc. XL. L.

Jacqueline, Gouvernante de la
Jardinière. XL. L.

Marie Carré. Lavandière.
VI. XX. L.

Catherine Bignonet. XL. L.

AMBASSADEUR.

M. de Glasgo. III. M. LX. L.

Sieur de Pinguillon. VI. C. L.

Sieur d'Esquilly. VI. C. L.

ESCUYERS TRANCHANS.

Bethon. III. C. L.

Fils du Sieur du Crocq. III. C. L.

La Montaigne. III. C. L.

Rollart. III. C. L.

Four others.

ESCHANÇONS.

Sieur du Crocq. III. C. L.

Melgon. II. C. L.

Boucyn. II. C. L.

ESCUYER D'ESCURIE.

Leviston. III. C. L.

Bethon. III. C. L.

Mademoiselle la Rochonnière aux gaiges de
soixante livres tournois par an.

Mademoiselle Jehanne de Kiene aux mesmes
gaiges de lx lb. tournois par an.

Damoiselle Eleen Bog et Damoiselle Christine
Hog aux mesmes gaiges de lx lb. &c. par an.

A Jacqueline Gouvernante de la Jardinière
aux gaiges de xl lb. tournoys par an.

A Marie Pages a cent soulds tournois de
gaiges par an.

A Marie Hanet aux mesmes gaiges de cent
soulds tournois par an.

Marie Carré lauandier aux mesmes gaiges.

FEMMES DE CHAMBRES DES FILLES.

Catherine Bignonet aux gaiges de Christofflette.
Jumeau aux gaiges de dix livres tournois
par an.

AMBASSADEUR.

Monsieur de Glasgo aux gaiges de trois mil
soixante livres tourfi par an.

MRES D'HOSTELS.

Monsieur de Reguillon (*sic*) premier aux
gaiges de six cens livres tournois par an.

Monsieur desquilly ausy aux mesmes gaiges
de six cens livres tournoys par an.

Monsieur de Beton aux gaiges de quattres
cens livres tournois par an.

Monsieur de Cartely aux mesmes gaiges de
quatre cens livres touf par an.

PANNETTIERS.

Le Fils du S^r de Crocq sans gaige.

La Montaigne sans gaige.

Raullart. Neant.

ESCHOINCONS.

Le S^r du Crocq aux gaiges de septante cinq
livres tournois par an.

La S^r de Melgom aux gaiges de deux cent
livre tournois par an.

Le S^r de Boyn. Neant.

Le S^r Thomas le Vingston a deux cent
livres tournois par an.

ESCUYERS TRANCHANS.

Le S^r Jean Hammliton aux gaiges de deux
cent livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Le S^r Estienne Beton aux gages de deux
cent livres tournois.

Dessalles. c. l.

Le S^r des Salles a cent livres tour de gaiges par an.

ESCUYERS D'ESCURIE.

Bourtiq. II. C. L.

Le S^r Borthieck. Neant.

Rochefort. III. C. L.

Le S^r de Rochefort. Neant.

Devaux, qui aura la charge de la garde-robbe d'Escurie.

Le S^r de Vaulx qui at la charge de la Garderobe a l. livres touf par an.

II. C. L.

Le S^r de grafurd a trois cent livres tournois de gaiges par an.

CHANCELIER.

Monsieur du Verger a six cens lb. tournois d'entretenelement au gages par an.

GENS DU CONSEIL.

Little alteration. They acted in the French dowry lands.

GENS DU CONSEIL.

Messire Francois de Beauquaire aux gaiges de cent soulds tournois.

Monsieur Chemynon Mfe des comptes a cent livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Monsieur de la Riche Juge Criminel a Poitiers a cent livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Monsieur Mangs Advocat a Paris a dix livres tournois de gaiges par an.

Le Nepheu de Mons^r Boucherat a vingt livres de gaiges par an a luy ordonné.

Mfe Francois Channelin Solliciteur a cent livres tournois de gaiges annuels.

Mfe Pierre Baron Procureur du Parlement a cent livres tour de gaiges par an.

Mfe . . . Rohe a Chaumont a cinq^{tes} livres tournois de gaiges.

Mfe Julien demorenes Procureur des comptes a vingt livres tourf de gaiges.

Mfe . . . de Ihon Advocat du Roy de Parlement a vingt livres tournois de gaiges.

Gerard de Hault dict Gobelet a dix livres tournois de gages.

A Mfe Pierre Hotman Mre des Comptes a trois cens livres tourf par an de gaiges.

Mfe . . . Choppin Advocat a dix livres tournois de gaiges.

Mfe . . . Monthelon a dix lb. &c. de gaiges.

Mfe . . . Versores aux mesmes gaiges de x lb. &c.

Mfe Gallope aussi a dix livres tournois de gages.

Mfe Edmond du bois procureur aux gages de x lb. &c.

CONFESSEUR.

Roch Mammerot. v. c. l.

CONFESSEUR.

Mfe Rochmammerot Docteur en Theologie
aux gaiges de deux cent livres tournois.

CHAPPELLAIN.

Mfe vbimande Vinhet a six vingt livres
tournois de gaiges (Ninian Winzet).

CLERC DE CHAPPELLE.

Mfe Robert Anthelet aux gaiges de . . .

SECRETAIRES.

Parcheminier. II. C. L.

Raulet. II. C. L.

[Joseph Riccio. II. C. L.]

Lenfant. C. L.

SECRETAIRES.

Mfe Claude les Parcheminier.

S^r. de landouze premier au gaiges de deux
cens livres tournois.Mfe Pierre Raulet aux mesmes gaiges de
deux cens livres tourff.Mfe Michel l'enfant aux gaiges de cent livres
tournois.Eleahard du Bonel dict chasteaudun aux
gaiges de trente livres tournois.

Ryer aux gaiges de deux cent lb. tournois.

. . . Danelourt aux mesmes gages de deux
cens livres tournois par an.Mfe Gassiniois aux gages de cent livres
tournois par an.Mfe . . . du Moulin aux gaiges de cents
sols tournois par an.Symon de la Roche aux mesmes gaiges de
cent sols tournois.

CONTREROLLEUR ET CLERC D'OFFICE.

Guy Fournier. VIII. XX. L.

Guy Fourmier clerc d'office aux gaiges de
huict vingt livres tourff de gaiges.

MEDECINS CHIRURGIEN ET APPOTICAIRE.

De Lugerie. III. C. L.

Le S^r. de lugerie p^r aux gaiges de trois cens
livres tournois.

Marguerin du Castel. v. c. l.

Mfe Marguarin du Castel aux gaiges de
cincq cens lb. tournois.

Arnault de Colommiere. v. c. l.

Mfe Arnoult de coloiniere aux gaiges et g^d

AS VALET DE CHAMBRE.

Baltazart Hully. VIII. XX. L.

M^{re} DE LA GARDEROBBE.Balthazard Hully aux gaiges de deux cens
livres tournois.

VALLETES DE Garderobbe.

Jacques de Senlis a cent lb. &c. de gaiges.
 Robert Makison aux mesmes gages de cent lb. tournois.
 Jan Bertin aussi a cent lb. &c. de gaiges.
 Charles Bailly aussi a cent lb. tournois de gages.
 Jacques Bourdault aux susdy^a gages de c. lb. &c.
 Rene Hully aux gages de vingt lb. tournois.

VALLETS DE CHAMBRE.

Bastien Pages. VIII. XX. L.

Bastiaen Pages a huit vingt lb. tournois de gages.

Angel Maryé. VIII. XX. L.

Ange Marie aussi a huit vingt lb. tournois de gages.

Gillebert. VIII. XX. L.

Gilbert Curel aux susdy^a gages de huit vingt lb. tourff.

Guille d'onglas aussi aux mesmes gages. (William Douglas.)

Jehan de Court, Paintre.
 II. C. XL. L.

Florent Guerraud au mesmes gages.

George Robeson aux mesmes gages.

Florent Brossier aux susdy^a gages.

Jehan de Coart aux mesmes gages.

Michel de Mura. VIII. XX. L.

Michel de meura. Neant.

René Gondeau. VIII. XX. L.

René Godeau. Neant.

Toussaintz Cursolle. VIII. XX. L.

Toussains Cour. Neant.

Joachim Paris, qui servira de fourrier. VIII. XX. L.

Joachim Paris. Neant.

Guille Halley. Neant.

TAILLEUR.

Jehan Poulliet. IIII. C. L.

TAILLEUR.

Jean poulliet dit de Coinyngne a deux cens livres tournois.

HUISSIERS DE CHAMBRE.

Archibald Beton aux gages de huit vingt lb. tourff.

Jacques my my aux gaiges de quarante lb. tournois.

Lois de Forestz. VIII. XX. L.

Louys Foresse. Neant.

Thomas Archibali a huit vingt lb. tournois de gaiges.

HUISSIERS DE SALLE.

René de Bourneuf. VI. XX. L.

HUISSIERS DE SALLE.

René de Bourmœuf. Neant.

Isaac Collet. VI. XX. L.

Isaac Collet. Neant.

VALETS DE FOURRIÈRE.

Nicolas Guillebault. IIII. XX. L.

VALLETS DE FOURRERIE.

Nicolas Guillebault. Neant.

Pierre Donville. IIII. XX. L.

Pierre Somille porte table a vingt lb. tournois de gaiges.

SOMMEILLERS DE PANNETERIE.

Cault. c. l.
Laffineur. c. l.
Mounot. c. l.

AYDES.

de la Salle. }
Chou. } LX. L.
Dumoncel. }

SOMMEILLIERS
D'ESCHANCONNERIE.

Baille. II. C. L.
Vienne. c. l.
Vincent. c. l.

AYDES.

Didier Chiffard. LX. L.
Bertrand. LX. L.
Jehan du Fan (*Sommier*). LX.

MAITRE QUEUX.

Noel Froissart. c. l.

POTAGER.

Pierre Medard. LX. L.

HASTEUX.

Hubert Parfors. LX. L.

ENFANT DE CUISINE.

Guillaume Moreau. XXX. L.

GALLOPINS.

The same two. X. L.

PORTEURS.

Dedisson. } XX. L.
Lefort. } XL. L.

HUISSIER.

Jumeau. XL.

SOMMEILLERS DE PANNATERIE.

Guille le Seigⁿ aux gaiges de cent lb. tournois.
Nicolas de Coult. Neant.
Jacques l'affineur. Neant.
Marc Mounet. Neant.
Alexandre Schot a cent lb. tourfi de gaiges.

AYDES.

A Guyon l'oiselet a lx lb. tourfi de gaiges.
Jehan de la Salle. Neant.
Nicolas Chou. Neant.
Jehan Moncel. Neant.

SOMMEILLERS D'ESCHANCONNERIE.

A Leonard Baille. Neant.
Guille de Vienne. Neant.
Louys de Vinarn. Neant.
Didier Chiffart a cent lb. tournois de gaiges.

AYDES.

Jean Bertrand. Neant.
Gielie le Roide de lx lb. tournois aux gaiges.
Jehan du Fan Sommier des bouches a xv lb.
tournois de gaiges.

MRE QUEUX.

Noel Froissart. Neant.
Martin Huet lx lb. &c. de gages.

POTAGER.

Pierre Medart cent lb. &c. de gages.

HASTEUX.

Hubert parfours. Neant.

ENFANS DE CUISINE.

Guille morreau. Neant.

GALLOPPINS.

Andre Liste. Neant.
Guille Dunkyron. Neant.

PORTEURS.

Jehan de Disson. Neant.
Guille le Fort. Neant.

HUISSIERS.

Jehan Jumeau. Neant.

MAISTRES QUEUX.
Lavance. c. l.

PASTICIER.
Jehan Dubois. c. l.

GARDE VAISSELLE.
Adrian Sauvaige. viii. xx. l.

FRUICTIERS.
Vavasseur. lx. l.
Boq. lx.

SERT D'EAU.
André Maguichon. lxx. l.

VALETS DES FILLES.
Jehan du couldray. xl. l.

GENS DE MESTIER.
Gartoust. *Passementier*. c. l.
Pierre Odry. *Brodeur*. c. l.
Richevilain. *Orfevre*. c. l.
Alizart. *Cordonnier*. xl. l.

OFFICIERS DE CUISINE.
COMMUN ESCUYER.
MÈRE QUEUX.

Nicolas lauener. neant.
A Estienne Haut la Somme de huict vingts livres tournois po' vne annee commençant le p^r Jour de Janvier et finessant le dern^r Jour de Decembre mil cinq cens soixante treize.

PATICIER.
Jehan du bois aux gaiges de cent livres tournois.

GARDE DE VASSEILLE.
Adrian Sauuaige aux gages de . . .

FRUITIERS.
Jehan Vavasseur aux gaiges de . . .
Jehan Bog escossois aux gaiges de . . .

HUISSIER ET MARISCHAL DES DAMES.
SERT D'EAUX.
André Makyson aux gages de lx lb. tournois.

HUISSIER DU BUREAU.
VALLETS DES FILLES.
Jehan de Couldraye. Neant.

PALFERNIERS.
Gilbert Bonar a l. lb. &c. de gages.

GENS DE MESTIERS PENSIONNAIRES.

[Blank.]

AULTRES PENSIONNAIRES.
Of eighteen in 1567, ten are still paid. Raulet, pensioned in 1566-67, is in the Queen's service in 1573.

A. LANG.

Side Lights from the Dunvegan Charter Chest

AN enormous number of documents are preserved at Dunvegan, the ancient seat of MacLeod of MacLeod in Skye. I have, however, no intention of giving any detailed account of these papers in the present article. Interesting though they may be to members of the family concerned, such things as charters, instruments of seisin, grants of non-entries, and the like are apt to be somewhat dull reading. I propose rather to lay before the reader such selections from these papers as seem likely to be interesting from the quaintness of their phraseology, from their reference to historical events or from the light they throw upon the conditions of life which prevailed in the Highlands and Islands during the 16th and 17th centuries. A perusal of such papers impresses on one's mind the utter lawlessness which prevailed during this period in this part of Scotland. Thus in 1527 letters of apprising were issued in the King's name against Alexander MacLeod of Dunvegan, and the Sheriffs were told to summon the King's lieges to assist them, 'because ye said Alexander duellis in ye Hieland where nane of ye officeris of ye law dar pas for fear of yair lyvis.' Skye, like Galway at a later period, was assuredly 'west of the law.' Again, on the death of William MacLeod of Dunvegan in 1553, the family estates passed, legally speaking, to his daughter Mary, who was thus one of the greatest heiresses in Scotland. The nobles of Scotland were vying with each other for the privileges attached to the guardianship of so wealthy an heiress. The Earl of Huntly, Lord Kintail, and the Earl of Argyle each in turn obtained her wardship, and she was married by the last-named peer to a relation of his own, Campbell of Castle Swinney. But though Mary was the undoubted owner of the estates in the eye of the law, her uncle, the male heir, took possession of them and held them in spite of her legal rights, and at length, about 1570, she recognised the

Side Lights from Dunvegan Charter Chest 357

futility of persisting in her claims, and resigned all right to the property, receiving a dowry of £1000. Her descendants were constantly endeavouring to substantiate their claims, alleging some flaw in her resignation, but they never succeeded in doing so.

As a matter of fact, however, a very large part of the Highlands was *de facto* in the hands of owners who *de jure* had no claim whatever. Sometimes the Kings of Scotland created jealousies and strife between the great chiefs by granting the lands of one powerful laird to another, and even making simultaneous grants of the same estates to different people. In 1498 James the Fourth granted the Bailliary of Trotternish to both MacLeod of Dunvegan and to MacLeod of the Lewes, leaving them to fight it out between them. In 1542 James the Fifth granted the estates which had been for centuries the property of the MacDonalds of Sleat to MacLeod of Dunvegan, a grant which was the cause of endless disputes between these powerful clans.

The Kings of Scotland were directly responsible for the turbulence and unrest which prevailed in the Highlands at this period. As long as they were united under the strong rule of the Lord of the Isles, the Highlanders lived at peace among themselves, but were an unceasing cause of anxiety to their rulers at Edinburgh. Long after the final forfeiture of the Island Lords their representatives were constantly endeavouring to regain their lost power. As late as 1545 seventeen of the chiefs entered into negotiations with Henry VIII. with a view to transferring their allegiance to the English monarch. This shows the reality of the peril the Scottish Kings had to face, and it may well be that they considered any policy justifiable which would sow dissensions among the members of a confederacy which had been for two hundred years an unceasing source of danger to the kingdom.

I take almost at random some other instances showing the lawlessness which prevailed during the period under consideration. In 1674 proceedings were taken to obtain payment from M'Neil of Barra of some money due from him to a merchant in Glasgow for 'certaine merchand wear' bought by him, and an unfortunate messenger named Munro was sent to serve legal letters on M'Neil. The results were disastrous, for 'Rorie M'Neil in hie and proud contempt of His Majesties authoritie did deforce molest trouble and persew the said messenger and notar, and did most cruellie and inhumanlie dischairge foure scoir shott of hagbutts muskets gunns and pistols at them, and threw great stones from the house whereby they were in hazard of being

brained and so durst not for thair lyvis approach nearer to have left copies at the principall door thereof, as use is, so they left them on the ground, on being informed of which Rorie M'Neil and others to the number of twentie all armed with hagbutts guns pistols and other invasive and forbidden weapons, being thieves robbers sorners and broken men did persew and follow after the said messenger and notar to the yle of Fuday and ther did take and apprehend ther persones, and did detaine them captives and prisoners ther the space of two dayes, still threatening and menacing them and did most prouddie and insolentlie robb the wreits they had then in their compayne from them and in high contempt of his Majesties autorite did rend and ryve the samen.'

Rorie M'Neil, however, did not get off scaithless. He was tried at Edinburgh in 1679, and fined £1000, and to be imprisoned till the fine was paid, while one of his dependants named Donald Gair was also condemned; 'his hail moveable guidis and gear were escheat,' and he was imprisoned during the King's pleasure.

In 1587 Rorie M'Leod of Dunvegan seems to have been guilty of an act of piracy on the high seas, in that 'he reft spluzied and took certaine wairs guidis and geir out of a bark at ye mouthe of Loch Long.' In this case, though justice was very slow, the delinquent had to pay the value of the goods taken, £500. The discharge is dated December, 1604, and sets forth all the circumstances.

In 1618 we have a very curious account, relating how a 'certaine Kenneth M'Alayne of Glenelg did wrang in his wrangous violent and masterful spoliation away takyng recepting and withoulding by himself his servants complices and utheris in his name, of his caussing sending out command reset and assistance and ratifakatione fra Alexander Duff Johnsonsone Burgess of Inverness furth of his merchand builth in Inverness upon the twentie first day of November, off the particular quantitie of guidis geir and merchandeice particularlie under wrettin of the pryce particularlie under specifit.'

Then follows a long list of the articles stolen. This includes 'gryt blew bonnates' worth £12 Scots a dussein, 'less bonnatis' worth £10 the dussen, kourdes (which, I suppose, is cord), 'beutting clathes' which cost thirty shillings, groceries, and other miscellaneous goods. Besides all these, a quantity of money was stolen, including an item of 'forty fyve aucht schyllinge pieces,

pryce of the every one of them nyne schyllinges.' There is no evidence to show whether the unlucky complainer ever got back his property or the value of it.

It would be easy to multiply instances showing the lawless condition of the Highlands during the 17th century, and, as will be seen further on, letters written at the period are full of references to tumults, robberies, and crimes of all kinds. Perhaps one great cause of this was the appalling ignorance which prevailed in all ranks or life. The clergy were more or less educated, and in 1559 the Earl of Argyle signed his name to a bond of manrent, which is among the Dunvegan papers, but his writing is phenomenally bad, and a few years earlier not one of the seventeen chiefs, who signed the commission referred to above authorizing their envoy to treat with Henry VIII., could write their names.

The usual form of signature was 'with my hand led at the pene by ye notar becaus I can writ nocht, by my command.' Even Marie MacLeod, who, as is proved from the Lord Treasurer's accounts, was, about 1560, attached to the Household of Queen Mary, could not write. Her uncle, Tormod, is said to have been educated at Glasgow, but, if this be true, writing cannot have been included in the curriculum, for he signed in the usual form.

His son Rorie Mor was the first chief who could write, and he always used the Erse character; his wife, a daughter of the house of Glengarry, was, however, illiterate.

In 1609 Bishop Knox succeeded in getting the Western chiefs to accept the Statutes of Iona, the sixth of which provided that the eldest sons of the upper classes should be educated in the lowlands; and we find from that time forward among the bills and discharges preserved at Dunvegan a large number for tuition, board, and lodging at Glasgow and Edinburgh. Towards the end of the century, Mr. Martin, the historian, was governor to the young lairds at Dunvegan, and the chiefs' daughters were educated at Edinburgh, learning music, dancing, and painting in much the same way as to-day.

In the eighteenth century, but not earlier, we begin to find among the estate accounts items relating to the salaries of school masters maintained for the instruction of the masses. One is somewhat surprised to find from the places at which documents were executed how much travelling was done in the seventeenth century. The Chanonrie of Ross, now called

Fortrose, seems to have been a great place for transacting business, many deeds being dated there. Rorie Mor died there in 1626, having probably gone there on business, and is buried in the Cathedral, and the same chief frequently visited Glasgow, and once went to London, as is proved by a letter from King James to the Council in Scotland, dated 1613.

There were, of course, no roads in the West Highlands, but there was an excellent breed of ponies, as is mentioned in the notes attached to a curious map of Skye made about 1650, and even in the south at that period wheeled conveyances were not much used. But no doubt most of the travelling was done by sea. In a charter, dated 1498, MacLeod is required to keep ready for the King's service one galley of 36 oars and two of 16 oars. The young Captain of Clanranald married Moir MacLeod in 1613, and she received as tocher, in addition to 'nine scoir of gude and sufficient quick ky (*i.e.* 180 living cattle), ane gailley of twentie foure airis with her sailling and rowing geir gude and sufficient.'

The fact that almost all the instruments of seisin were dated in May and none of them in winter, probably points to the difficulty of winter travelling, and no doubt locomotion was slow and uncertain. One letter, towards the end of the seventeenth century, says what a wonderfully quick journey the writer had, having actually come from Edinburgh to Dunvegan in a week.

After the restoration, Rory MacLeod went to London. His 'Taylor's bill,' in 1661, amounted to something like £3000 Scots, about a fourth of his rental, and this was probably an outfit to go to Court. The clan had suffered very severely at Worcester, and I dare say he thought the King would confer on him some signal mark of Royal favour. But Charles never even referred to the sacrifices the clan had made in his cause, and MacLeod returned north much mortified. He is said to have declared that never again should clansmen of his draw sword for the ungrateful Stewarts. They certainly never did. There are letters extant from James II. and Dundee, in 1690, imploring their assistance, and no effort was spared to attach them to the Stewart cause in 1715 and 1745, but they took no part in any of these risings.

There seems to have been no regular post at all. The letters contain very frequent references to the opportunities which some chance traveller gives of sending a letter, and to the expense of sending a special messenger. Frequently a letter is an answer to one dated several months before. Probably the lack of postal

arrangements accounts for the small number of letters dated before the beginning of the eighteenth century. The earliest is a missive anent Glenelg, addressed by a certain Ronald M'Alayne to Rory MacLeod of Dunvegan in April, 1596. A dispute as to the ownership of one third part of Glenelg had been going on ever since the early years of the sixteenth century between Lord Lovat and MacLeod. From this letter it appears that MacLeod's instrument was 'tint,' and that great efforts had been made by both parties to find it, the one party intending to 'keep it weel t'other to ryve and burne it.' The phraseology is deliciously quaint, but the letter is too long to give in full.

A letter, dated November 24th, 1666, from a tailor in Edinburgh, regrets that he can get no holland 'worthie your Honours wear, the merchants being afrayd to take in mair by reason of the great trubble yat is happening heir.' This refers to the Pentland rising and the Battle of Rullion Green. Another letter from Edinburgh, in October, 1667, says: 'There is account of internal trubbles in the next countrie. Tweddale has gone to Court. The Douglass Regiment is recalled to France. The French King has adopted our King's mediation between him and Spain in the affairs of Flanders, and hath been asked by the Holland ambassador to mediate lykwayes; however he is strengthen with 150,000 men against the next seasan.'

A letter from D. M'Kinnon in 1677 is very curiously worded. 'These are shewing that I had a continual motion since leaving your honours house, but I hope it will with Gods grace rest in ye proper center if yair cum not greater opposition, but it also empties ye bottom of my purse. It is uncertaine qhat will befall the Duke of Lauderdale, but we expect he will cum frie off.'

The timber merchant who, in 1672, agrees to sell 600 'dealls' at £42 per 100, but begs MacLeod to tell everyone he paid £48, is somewhat naive. His ending is rather amusing. 'Right Honourable your Honour's everlasting servant to command while I am.'

A certain Alexander MacLeod, referring to an invitation his daughter has received to stay with a friend, is most anxious that she should go, because he is 'fully persuaded of her opportunitie to attain to some more breiding by the society of your virtuouse bed fellowe.'

The same writer in another letter asks for 'ane gallon of ye best liqour which is for the use of some tender persones.' Rory MacLeod, on August 23, 1690, writes to his father, saying 'all

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the professors at the Edinburgh University are to be deprived next Wednesday. No man can lay his mind to his book in this town by reason of the tumults and confusion.' Thomas Fraser, writing from Beaufort in 1691, is afraid his letter 'cannot come safely in your hands the way being so dangerous by robbery.' He also refers to a fire at Whitehall, which has done damage to the extent of £100,000. The fire which destroyed Whitehall took place in 1698, but this was the earlier fire of April, 1691, when it was partly burnt.

References are made to the Battle of Steinkirk, and to a projected French descent on Scotland in 1692. The tax of 14s. for every hearth is also referred to in a letter about the same date. In 1692 an account is given of a great earthquake in Flanders and France, 'when the earth was visibly seen moving like the waves of the sea.'

There are many other points on which an old charter chest has much light to throw, such as the tenure and value of land, and the prices of commodities, both home-grown and imported, but the space at my disposal forbids my entering on these matters in the present article.

R. C. MACLEOD.

The Queen's Maries

WHEN the mass of literature which has accumulated around the name of Mary Queen of Scots is considered, it is astonishing that the careers of her four playmates and companions—Mary Fleming, Mary Seton, Mary Beaton, and Mary Livingstone—should have received so inadequate a measure of attention. Although eclipsed by the charm of their mistress, contemporary references render it evident that their own powers of fascination were sufficiently formidable. Yet obscurity has been their portion, and the very names of two of the numbers of this historic sisterhood have been excluded from those of the group to which they rightfully belong.

A stanza in the well-known ballad of 'The Queen's Marie'—

'Yestreen the Queen had four Maries,
The night she'll hae but three,
There was Mary Seton and Mary Beaton,
And Mary Carmichael and me'—

is originally responsible for a misapprehension in regard to the composition of the quartette. These misleading lines first appeared in Sir Walter Scott's earliest edition of the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, with the result that the date of the production became a subject of controversy which has lasted down till the present day. From this stanza it was conjectured that Mary Hamilton was the heroine of the ballad; that she was one of the Queen's Maries; and that she was hanged for murdering a child of which Darnley was the father. As there is no evidence whatever for the existence of a Mary Hamilton, and very little for that of a Mary Carmichael, the glaring discrepancy induced even authorities, such as Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Professor Child, and Mr. Courthope, to conclude that the ballad dated no further back than the middle of the eighteenth century. Mr. Andrew Lang, however, in an article

contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1895, and now included in his *Valer's Tragedy*, maintains 1563 as the almost authoritative date. Whilst the cogency of many of the arguments employed are indisputable, their absolute validity may still be regarded as open. That a ballad-monger during the reign of Queen Mary should confuse the names of the four most renowned Court beauties is in itself a sufficiently suspicious circumstance, but that is a mere trifle to his combined ignorance and love of distortion, as he proceeds to transmogrify a Don Juan of a French apothecary into Darnley—who at the time of his supposed lapse from conjugal virtue was not even in Scotland—and a French waiting-woman of the palace into a nebulous Mary Hamilton. This luckless couple had involved themselves in a *liaison* which terminated disastrously in the destruction of its fruits, and, in consequence, they were sentenced to be hanged in one of the public streets of Edinburgh. 'The punishment,' observes Knox in his *History of the Reformation*, 'was suitable because the crime was heinous.'

As regards the contention of Mr. Lang that the iron discipline of the Kirk had wholly extinguished the poetic imagination and ballad-producing spirit of the people, this does not exclude the possibility of a flickering individual resuscitation. A belated glimmer of romance might credibly enough arise even amid the prosaic repressions so unsparingly delineated in the pages of Buckle, Lecky, and Mr. Grey Graham. Professor Child, it is understood, latterly modified his acceptance of the theory of an eighteenth century origin, and the whole question is one which requires to be approached with great diffidence.

The reinstatement, however, of Mary Fleming and Mary Livingstone seems in any case no more than common justice, as the pathetic lilt of the ballad has effectually banished their names from the memories of all but those tolerably well versed in the Marian period. Even Mr. Whyte-Melville stumbles into this pitfall in his pleasing if unhistorical romance of *The Queen's Maries*, and what is more surprising, so does that most distinguished of Mariolaters, Mr. Swinburne, in his two poems of 'Bothwell' and 'Chastelard.'

That there were contemporary ballads upon the subject of the Queen's Maries we know from Knox, but as he refers to them in a strain of approval, they must have belonged to the order of lampoons rather than of romantic celebrations.

When the guardians of the little Scottish Queen—with the

dread of the ambition of Henry VIII. before their eyes—had her conveyed from Stirling Castle to the island priory of Inchmahone, situated in the Lake of Menteith, Mary of Guise selected as the companions of Mary's solitude four little maidens carefully chosen from among the noblest and most loyal families in Scotland. Whether from accident or design, the houses out of which the Maries were picked stood contrasted in religion—the Flemings and Livingstones having embraced the Reformed doctrines, whilst the Setons and Beatons clung to the old faith.

Dr. John Brown in his *Horae Subsecivae* has drawn under the title of 'A Child's Garden' an idyllic picture 'of the little, lovely royal child' when safeguarded in her island retreat 'with her four Maries, her play-fellows, her child maids of honour, with their little hands and feet, and their innocent and happy eyes, pattering about that garden all that time ago, laughing, and running, and gardening as only children do and can.'

It was from this tranquillity that the joyous little group was transported to the French Court, and thence destined to return to the lurid convulsion of the Scottish Reformation.

Of the life which the Maries led in France we know but little. The following reference to their education, however, is extracted from *Comptes de la maison des enfants de France pour l'année 1551*:

'Ces quatre jeunes filles ne resterent pas longtems auprès d'elle (i.e. Queen Mary). Le roi les éloigna pour lui faire oublier l'Ecosse, et chargea Française de Vieuxpont, prieure des dominicaines de Poissy, de les élever et de leur apprendre d'lyre, escrire et faire ouvrages.' Henry II., however, must ultimately have been induced to revoke this edict of separation, as Brantome in his *Annals* flatteringly accords them a place on the roll of beauties at the Court of that monarch and his queen, Catherine de Medicis.

The French poets, however, who celebrated in rapturous strains the graces of the Queen have deemed her attendants unworthy of a passing tribute. Even Ronsard has not deigned to sing of them.

That the personalities of the Maries were in a large measure the product of their French upbringing is palpable enough. It was entirely to the acquirement of a Parisian levity that the misconstruction which awaited them on their return to the Puritanised Scotland is attributable. Yet, living as they did encompassed by a vigilant hostility of observation, their

reputations emerge unsullied from an ordeal through which it was difficult for the light-hearted to escape unscathed!

Any pre-eminence that existed among the Maries seems to have been accorded to Mary Fleming. After the Chastelard episode, she shared the royal sleeping apartment, and when it fell to her lot to assume the rôle of Queen of the Bean, Mary personally decked her out for the occasion in regal attire. Randolph, the English Ambassador—although himself the professed adorer of Mary Beaton—describes the mimic sovereign 'as contending with Venus in beauty, with Minerva in wit, and with Juno in wealth'—the last simile referring to the magnificence of her costume. As the mother of Mary Fleming had been a natural daughter of James IV., this relationship—in days when the bar sinister was but lightly regarded—entitled her to rank as a near kinswoman of the Queen's. She has been described as the flower of all the Maries, and her betrothal to Maitland of Lethington, eighteen years her senior and a widower to boot, appears to have been a source of endless entertainment to the wits of the day. 'My old friend Lethington's wife is dead,' comments that grim warrior, Kirkcaldy of Grange, 'and he is a suitor for Mary Fleming, who is as meet for him as I am to be a page.' Writing to Sir Henry Sidney, with whom the 'flower of all the Maries' had previously conducted a vigorous flirtation, Randolph banteringly assures his predecessor 'that he need not pride himself upon having any such mistress at this Court. She hath found another whom she doth love better. Lethington now serveth her alone, and is like for her sake to run beside himself.'

It was anticipated that 'for the sake of the love he bears to Mary Fleming,' 'that the Scottish "Chameleon" would be induced to throw in his lot with the Lennox faction, but unfortunately for himself he declined to do so, and became irretrievably entangled in that most sinister of conspiracies, the Darnley murder. His courtship was protracted, for though he appeared in the apparently incongruous rôle of lover so early as 1563, the nuptials were not celebrated until 1567. Miss Strickland has levelled charges of treachery against Mary Maitland, which she nowhere endeavours to specify or substantiate. No evidence whatever is known of any lack of either discretion or fidelity shown by the bride of the Scottish Machiavelli, difficult as her position was in many respects. During the incarceration of the Queen in Loch Leven, 'Madame

de Liddington' receives mention in a dispatch of the French Ambassador as having had a ring conveyed to her, bearing a motto of hope and deliverance. Whilst the Commissioners on the Casket Letters were conducting their investigations at York, it was through his wife that Lethington—by this time arrived at the parting of the ways with the Lords of the Congregation—renewed his communications with the exiled mistress whom he had served in so ambiguous a fashion. That the attachment between the Queen and her favourite Mary remained unbroken to the end is demonstrated by the existence of a letter written by the Queen from Sheffield Prison so late as the year 1581, entreating that passports may be granted to Lord Seton and Lady Lethington, as 'in their society she might find some alleviation of her solitude.'

After the death of Maitland, his widow—who had remained at his side during the prolonged beleaguerment of Edinburgh Castle—is found presenting a petition to the Lords of the Congregation praying 'that his body should not be dishonoured by mal-treatment.' She had two children. The elder, James, became a Roman Catholic, and latterly resided almost entirely on the Continent. Inheriting a portion of the literary talent of the Lethington family, he is known as the author of two works, the first of which, *A Narrative of the Principal Acts of the Regency during the minority of Mary Queen of Scots*, earned the commendation of Sir Walter Scott, and was re-published in 1842. Its companion, *A Vindication of the Political Conduct of his Father against the Charges of Camden*, has recently been issued under the auspices of the Scottish History Society and edited by Mr. Andrew Lang. Margaret, the sister of James Maitland, became the first Countess of Roxburghe.

The biographical material which we possess in regard to Mary Seton is voluminous when compared with that of any of her compeers. Besides a short memoir contributed to a magazine by Miss Strickland, a more recent sketch is embraced in Mrs. Fenwick Miller's little volume entitled *In Ladies' Company*, and in his admirable *History of the Family of Seton*, Mr. George Seton has traced exhaustively her career.

Almost alone among the attendants of the ill-starred Queen, Mary Seton was content to share her captivity. Into her mouth and not Mary Beaton's Mr. Swinburne should have put the concluding line of his 'Bothwell':

'But I will never leave you till I die.'

The biographer of her family maintains that if Mary Fleming was the flower of all the Maries, Mary Seton was the gem, and it would be difficult to dispute the essential justice of the distinction. History yields few finer instances of feminine fidelity. From the day of Carberry Hill, Mary Seton was almost until the close ever at her side. She and Mary Livingstone figure in the narrative of the Captain of Inchkeith as her attendants upon that most heartrending of evenings, when, amid the execrations of the Edinburgh mob, the loveliest woman in Europe was dragged to her ignoble lodging in the High Street, 'pressing very close behind her came her ladies, Mistress Semple (Mary Livingstone) and Mademoiselle Seton.'

In a curious tinted sketch still preserved at the Record Office, Mary Seton is depicted—seated on a pony and wearing a white veil—following the Queen into the camp of the Confederate Lords. Upon the stone also, which still crowns the crest of Carberry Hill, side by side the doomed ladies looked down on the royal troops melting into nothingness.

Accompanying her mistress to Loch Leven, the gem of the Maries pluckily changed clothes with and filled the royal captive's place when the well-known attempt to escape in the guise of a laundress was made. Immediately after the Queen's flight to England, she is again discovered in close attendance upon her fate-stricken sovereign. Writing from Bolton not long afterwards, Sir Francis Knollys describes Mary Seton as the finest 'busker' (that is to say dresser of a woman's hair) in any country. 'Every day,' he adds, 'she hath for the Queen a new device of head dressing without any cost, and yet one which setteth forth a woman gaily well.'

If Scott had Mary Seton in his eye when he introduces the madcap Catherine into the *Abbot*, he undoubtedly travesties a character whose most conspicuous trait was a dignified sedateness. Yet she was none the less involved in two love affairs of a sufficiently tragic description. When at Wingfield manor-house, she was wooed by Christopher Norton, a younger son of Sir Richard Norton of Norton Towers, and the chief emissary of the Earl of Northumberland in his plot to carry off and liberate the Queen. The reward of both, like that of so many other adherents of Mary Stuart, was the scaffold. The subsequent insurrection, and the share played in it by the Norton family, has been immortalised in the ballad of the 'Rising of the North,'

and by Wordsworth in his well-known poem of the 'White Doe of Rylstone.'

A more pertinacious aspirant to the hand of this somewhat unapproachable maid of honour was Andrew Beaton, the master of the exiled Queen's household. By the Earl of Shrewsbury he was described as the 'chiefest practiser ever about his mistress.' After much persuasion, Mary Seton was ultimately induced to relax the austerity of her attitude, but as she alleged an obstacle to betrothal in a somewhat dubious vow of celibacy, Beaton journeyed to Paris to procure a dispensation. After some incomprehensible procrastinations, he died in returning, and the object of his unrequited devotion was left to enjoy the freedom she apparently coveted.

Under the rigour of successive confinements, the health of Mary Seton became seriously affected, and a few years before the culminating episode of Fotheringay she found a resting-place in a convent at Rheims, presided over by Renée of Lorraine, a sister of Mary of Guise and aunt of the Scottish Queen. In an appeal made upon her behalf at a subsequent date to the benevolence and filial piety of the Scottish Solomon by James Maitland, she is described as 'decrepit and poverty stricken,' but the latter statement is not confirmed by her testament, which is given at full length by Mr. George Seton in his history of her family, as it includes a number of charitable bequests of considerable value. In any case, no response to Maitland's application was received from the frugal James VI.

The place which the most devoted of the Maries occupied in her royal mistress's affections is clearly denoted by the gifts lavished upon her. Of only four of these do specific records exist. The first, a *memento mori* watch in the form of a death's head, was conferred upon Mary Seton immediately after the death of Francis I.; the last—another curiously designed horologe, bearing upon it the inscription, *Simple et justi*—was given to her so late as 1574. This souvenir was procured in Paris by Archbishop Beaton at the special request of the Queen, and is now in the possession of Mr. J. J. Foster, whose two recent sumptuous volumes, *The Stuarts*, constitute a superb memorial to that most tragic of dynasties.

The handwriting of Mary Seton is described as so closely resembling that of her mistress as to be almost indistinguishable from it.

The beauty of Mary Beaton seems to have been regarded as

second only to that of the Queen, and if any inference can be drawn from the division of the royal library, made by the Queen in a will of 1566, between Mary Beaton and the University of St. Andrews, she was also the most learned. The Latin and Greek books were bequeathed by this document to the University, the residue to Mary Beaton. As the will, which is still in existence, never came into operation, the interest that attaches to it is only one of intention.

In his *Valentiniana*, George Buchanan in eight Latin epigrams has gracefully extolled alike the charms of Mary Beaton and Mary Fleming. They are couched, however, too much in the language of hyperbole to be personally illuminating.

In 1566 Mary Beaton married Alexander Ogilvie of Boyne, discarded lover of that Lady Jane Gordon whom a retributive destiny afterwards converted into the divorced spouse of Bothwell. At Balfour House, Fifeshire, a picture of her taken in full Court dress is said to be still in existence. Ogilvie of Boyne was captured at Langside, which presumably indicates that the allegiance of his Consort to her dethroned mistress had remained unshaken. Jebb, however, upon no discoverable ground, has attempted to palm off upon her the authorship of the Casket Letters. As the mothers of both Mary Seton and Mary Beaton were French, this may have established an additional sympathy between them and the Queen.

Mary Livingstone's reputation has been besmirched by Knox in his *History of the Reformation*, where he refers derisively to the union of 'John Sempill the dancer with Mary Livingstone the lusty,' and proceeds to aver that 'shame hastened the marriage.' In his rôle of Hebrew prophet, the great Reformer was overcredulous of evil in high places, and Dr. Robertson has fully demonstrated the baselessness of this calumny. Mary Livingstone's 'Englishman,' as the Queen was wont laughingly to describe Sempill, on account of his having been born across the Border, was the second son of the Lord of that name. The match was not regarded as brilliant, and subsequently we find Mary Seton alleging as a reason for dallying with the suit of Andrew Beaton, 'that he was a younger son, and that Mary Livingstone had suffered in estimation by making an alliance of this character.' As a wedding present the Queen bestowed upon the couple the lands of Auchtermuchty, which ultimately proved a somewhat Grecian gift, as it involved Sempill in a trumped-up

charge by the Earl of Morton, to whom these acres constituted a species of Naboth's vineyard.

Upon the night of Rizzio's murder, Sempill rendered substantial service to the Queen by abstracting from the chamber which had been placed in the custody of his father by the Confederate Lords the black box containing her secret foreign correspondence, and the keys of her foreign ciphers. He was also concerned in some of the earlier attempts made to rescue Mary from Loch Leven. The eldest son of Mary Livingstone, Sir James Sempill of Beltree, was Ambassador at the English Court during the reign of James VI., and as the champion of Andrew Melville figures to a small extent in the annals of the Scottish Reformation.

The houses of Seton, Livingstone, and Fleming remained to the end conspicuous for their loyalty. The last representatives of the two former were attainted after the rising of 1715, whilst that of the third only escaped a like fate by the notoriety of his Jacobitism, which caused him to be incontinently arrested at the commencement of the insurrection.

The atmosphere in which the Maries moved remains one of dimness and twilight. Investigation fails to resuscitate their personalities with any marked degree of definiteness. Whilst much of the material that we possess regarding them is full of suggestiveness, the inscrutable quality which distinguishes Mary herself attaches in a measure to her satellites. Yet as graceful and poetic figures gliding in the train of the greatest of all Queens of romance, they demand an interest which has assuredly not been their portion. If the parts which the Maries have played in Scottish history is not one of primary importance, picturesqueness at least is theirs, and the neglect that has been meted out to them demands at all events some measure of reparation.

THOMAS DUNCAN.

The Scots at Solway Moss

THE affair of Solway Moss, which occurred just before the death of James V. in 1542, is a discreditable episode in Scottish history. Both Mr. Tytler and Mr. Hill Burton appear to find the subject too painful to dwell upon; Mr. Froude, on the other hand, has adorned his narrative with all the grace and eloquence for which he is so far-famed. His description of the discomfiture of the Scots is a brilliant piece of writing, but whether it can be said to be historically accurate is another matter. It seems unfair that the full share of blame for the disaster should rest upon the nominal leader of the defeated army, Oliver Sinclair. His name has generally been received with execration, and yet no proof exists that he courted the thankless task of attempting to govern a mutinous mob. In the rout ten thousand troops, according to Mr. Froude, fled before three or four hundred English horse under Sir Thomas Wharton, Lord Dacres and Lord Musgrave, which in the darkness were believed to be the advance guard of a larger force led by the dreaded Duke of Norfolk. James, it will be remembered, ordered the invading army to advance without leadership as far as the River Esk. His instructions to Sinclair were that he should take the command as soon as the border had been crossed. He had no choice but to obey, although he may well have disliked the undertaking. The king was in no compliant mood, for, as Mr. Tytler points out, he had been roused to the highest pitch of indignation by the refusal of the majority of the peers to fall in with his plans.

The attack was delivered just at the moment when the general lifted upon the spears of the soldiers was proclaimed throughout the host and before he had had time to issue any orders to the army which was then in a hopeless state of confusion. No man has ever been placed in a more awkward predicament, and it seems impossible that we should withhold our sympathy from

Oliver. Such an emergency would have taxed to the uttermost the skill and ingenuity of the most capable commander, trusted and respected by his men. But Sinclair, unfortunately, had not as yet gained that confidence, although, if an opportunity had arisen, he might have proved himself worthy of it. In 1685, Argyle's plan of operations against James VII. was thwarted by the jealousy and insubordination of his followers, for which due allowance has been made by Macaulay and other historians, and it is not unlikely that the defeated general at Solway Moss found himself in a similar situation. It is alleged that in spite of the efforts of Lord Maxwell to pacify certain of the disloyal peers, who thought themselves affronted, they refused to serve under a commander of inferior rank to themselves. It is somewhat difficult to understand James's choice and his determination to defer the announcement of it until English soil had been reached. By the majority it has been regarded as a pure act of favouritism, but, as Mr. T. F. Henderson suggests in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, it is probable that he had a high opinion of Sinclair's abilities, and may have thought that his selection was the least likely, under the circumstances, to cause discontent. Moreover, Sinclair was a member of his household, and acted as his military counsellor, whilst he could not count on the loyalty of one half of the Scottish nobility, who had only undertaken the expedition under remonstrance and threat, and wished to improve the occasion by wringing concessions from him. His natural shrewdness negatives the supposition that, from the mere wish to gratify a favourite, he gave the command to an utterly incompetent person, for Mr. Tytler pays a high tribute to the King's knowledge of the art of war, comparing him in this respect to his illustrious ancestor, the first James.

The reader of Mr. Froude's account of Solway Moss would naturally suppose that James promoted his principal scullion to be leader of his army. 'Who was Sinclair? men asked,' he writes in his dramatic way. 'Every knight and gentleman, every common clan follower, felt himself and his kindred insulted.' It is evident that the historian has not been at pains to answer the very question which he puts into the mouths of the rebellious army, but is content to dismiss the unlucky Oliver from his mind as 'one of those worthless minions with which the Scottish Court, to its misfortune, was so often burdened.'¹ It is a

¹ *History of England*, IV. 191 (Edit. 1873).

remarkable fact that Mr. Froude borrows the term 'minion,' or low dependant, in this passage direct from Knox, who in discussing the preparations for the expedition in his *History*, says, 'Oliver the grit Minioun should be grit Lieutenant.'² Murmurings there may have been, but it is probable that they arose—and on this point Mr. Lang has recently cast some doubt—on the score of Sinclair's youth and inexperience rather than on that of his ignoble origin and base connections, as Mr. Froude seems to imply. He belonged to the influential House of Roslin, which produced many distinguished statesmen and warriors—among them William, Bishop of Dunkeld, known for his exploit at Donibristle, as the 'King's Bishop,'³ and Sir William, Younger of Roslin, slain with Douglas in Spain,⁴ both the friends of Robert Bruce—and of which Sir Bernard Burke has written in his '*Vicissitudes of Families*' (I. 117):—'No family in Europe beneath the rank of royalty boasts a higher antiquity, a nobler illustration or a more romantic interest.' His grandfather was Sir William Sinclair, Earl of Orkney and Caithness, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, his father was Sir Oliver Sinclair of Roslin, his uncles were Sir David Sinclair of Swinburgh, and John, Bishop-nominate of Caithness, and his brothers Henry and John, afterwards became the Bishops of Ross and Brechin respectively, and were the staunch supporters of Mary Queen of Scots.⁵ It is absurd to imagine that the Scottish army was ignorant of his social status, and supposed that he was a mere upstart adventurer⁶ of the type of Cochrane or Rogers foisted upon them at

² Knox, Lib. I. p. 28 (Edit. 1732).

³ See *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. I. p. 317, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁴ See *The Heart of the Bruce*, by W. E. Aytoun, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

⁵ John Sinclair succeeded his brother Henry as Lord President of the Court of Session. When Dean of Restalrig he was chosen by Queen Mary to celebrate her marriage with Darnley. The brief account of the ceremony given in the *Diurnal of Occurrents* (p. 80) is as follows: 'Vpoun the xxviiiij day of July 1565 the said Henrie king and Marie quene of Scottis wes marijt in the chapell of Halyrudhous at sex houris in the mornyng be Mr. John Sinclare deane of Restalrig with greit magnificence accompanyit with the hail nobilitie of this realme.'

⁶ Fidelity to fact, strict accuracy in matters of detail may not be incumbent upon the writer of romantic fiction, who is merely concerned in creating an historical atmosphere. Such imaginative utterances might have been pardoned in the gifted author of *The Queen's Quair*, had he regarded Solway Moss as the ominous prelude to the tragedy of Mary's life, and commenced his masterpiece at the date of her birth; but they ill befit the professed historian. Mr. Froude in the exuberance of his eloquence has trespassed on the domains of the novelist.

the last moment. These particulars may appear of minor importance to the general reader, and yet Mr. Froude would have done well to remember the words of his master, Carlyle, that it is essential for the historian to look into side sources and enquire in every direction, since it must be obvious to the least observant that the question of Oliver's antecedents and upbringing has a material bearing on the wisdom or folly of James's choice.

Nor is there any evidence that Sinclair played the coward. Musgrave, the English commander, himself says that while the troops gave way, the Scottish gentry held their ground. It is true that Mr. Froude quotes with approval Knox's sarcastic statement, 'Stout Oliver was taken without stroke flying full manfully,' a graphic touch, which has appealed to the latter-day historian's sense of the picturesque, but the Reformer's word is unreliable in this instance. He was the bitter enemy of Oliver's brothers⁷—the Bishop of Ross appeared to him as 'ane conjured Enemy to Christ Jesus' whom God would 'effer straik according to his deservings,'⁸ and the Bishop of Brechin as 'ane perfyte Hypocrite' who 'maintained Papistry to the uttermost prick'⁹—and he would no doubt have been ready to believe any evil or malicious rumour concerning the family. He does, in fact, elsewhere in his *History*, confess his personal hatred of Oliver, and writes of James's opposition to the Reformation thus:—'To preiss and pusche him forward in all that his furie, he wantit not Flattereris anew; for mony of his Minions wer Pensioners to Preistis; among quhom, Olipher Sinclare, yit remaining Enemy to God, wes the Principall.'¹⁰ And again, commenting on the disaster of Solway Moss, he rejoices that his short-lived glory, 'stinking and foolische proudnes we should call it,'¹¹ was so suddenly turned to confusion and shame.

The reason of the Reformer's delight in the defeat of his own fellow-countrymen is not far to seek. He affirms, and Mr. Froude follows him, that the expedition was arranged by the

⁷ When Knox was summoned before the Council for illegally convoking the lieges in 1563 the Bishop of Ross voted for his acquittal. The Queen, according to Knox, upbraided the bishop for his conduct. The Reformer himself records *verbatim* Sinclair's dignified reply to Mary, and yet he has not one charitable word for his generous adversary, but he heaps him with abuse (Knox, IV. p. 343).

⁸ Knox, IV. p. 337.

⁹ *Ibid.*, I. p. 97.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 23.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I. 30.

bishops and abbots who lent the king their support, and that only Catholic nobles took part in it. But, as Glencairn and Cassilis, and other peers, captured by the English were Protestant, Mr. Lang has no difficulty in exploding this myth. He relies on the official despatches as affording the best narrative of Solway Moss. 'Nothing is said in the English reports,' he writes, 'of the dismay caused by the appointment of Oliver Sinclair as commander just when the fray began. The raid was not a secret of the Scottish clergy and of the Orthodox. All that is Knox's gossip . . . His moral is that Providence is Protestant, and so 400 casual men marvellously defeat an army of bishop's levies.¹² He also corrects Mr. Froude in the matter of figures, and proves that the English were not unprepared for an attack. The English commanders themselves, Wharton and Musgrave, put their numbers much higher than 300. The former rates them at 2000 and the latter at 3000. Finally the position, in which the Scots were placed when attacked, has much to do with the panic that ensued. It has been described as a straight pass, with a river in front and an impassable morass on the left.

In December, Sinclair and the other nobles captured at Solway Moss arrived in London, and were lodged in the Tower. The news of the death of James V. reached Henry VIII. shortly afterwards, and he determined to send the prisoners home to work in his service. He entertained them royally on Christmas Day, and gave to each gold chains, money and horses. The majority of them returned to England in the spring, as promised, and at Darnton, Cassilis, Glencairn, Maxwell, Oliver Sinclair, Craigie, and certain others signed a secret article whereby, in the event of Mary's death, Henry should be king. But this did not please him. He wished to know whether the Scottish lords were willing to capture Cardinal Beaton, the Regent Arran, and Mary herself, and to garrison the principal castles in Scotland for him. They promised to do their best for Henry, if they received material support from him, but, as Sinclair did not sign the reply, his name cannot be associated with this shameful act of treason. And these are the very peers who, in Mr. Froude's opinion, were disgraced in their general at Solway Moss! Sinclair, in fact, proved but a broken reed to the English king, and he appears to have been a match for Sir Ralph Sadleir, who complained in one of his letters that he 'was neither well dedicate to the king's majesty nor to any of his highness's godly purposes.' In

¹² *History of Scotland*, I. 455.

November, 1543, the English ambassador was compelled to take refuge in Tantallon Castle, and, as an excuse for his inaction, he pleaded that Sinclair was then stationed at a little house within two miles of the castle ready, with three score horsemen, to catch him up if ever he or any of his servants ventured too far from the walls. In the following year, Sinclair was ordered to render himself a prisoner to Henry, but he naturally refused. The last we hear of him is from his inveterate foe, Knox, who, when compiling his *History*, wrote that he still remained 'enemy to God.'

GEORGE A. SINCLAIR.

Note.—Since the above was written I have seen Mr. Lang's paper on 'Knox as Historian' in this Review for January, 1905. The allusions to Oliver Sinclair all occur in Book I. of the *History*, and as Mr. Lang is of opinion that Knox's errors in this book are in part due to his neglect of the evidence of eye-witnesses, it is not unreasonable to infer that his account of Solway Moss is an erroneous one. Mr. Lang remarks that Knox's *History* has coloured all other histories from that of Buchanan to the present day, and this confirms the view that Mr. Froude has accepted the Reformer's narrative without criticism. G. A. S.

Nynia¹ in Northern Pictland

WHEN the Roman Empire was fast loosening its hold on Britain, Nynia appeared on the shores of the Solway as a General of that new Army of the Cross which was destined to enter territories barred to the legions of Cæsar. Ancient traces of St. Ninian, as he is generally called, exist throughout the length of Scotland, and extend even into the northern islands; but historians have failed to explain many of these, and have been content to limit the presence and work of the Saint to Northern England and to that part of Scotland south of the Grampians.

The occurrence of traditions and names in Northern Alba which persistently point back to Nynia's actual presence has provoked observers frequently to extract the underlying story.

Encouragement is afforded from the western coast of Scotland. From Celtic literature we know that many place-names and place-memories in the West reflect accurately persons and events of long ago. I-Colum-Kil, the name of Hy, meaning the island of Colum of the Church, is a little history in itself, and would tell Iona's distinction, although no literature had survived. *Cairn-cul-ri-Erin*,² on the height of Colonsay, is another name speaking history, although it has been preserved through hundreds of years by people who did not know that it faithfully recalled that incident in the journey of Columba when he made a final effort to get away from the sight of his native land. *Cuchullin*, the name given to the principal hills of Skye, was for long meaningless to many, and appeared to be only an accidental collocation of syllables, resembling the name of the romantic Irish hero; but the revival of Celtic literature brought to light *The Wooing of Eimer*, with its substratum of history, which tells of Cuchullin's

¹The Latinized form of the Celtic name. The final "n" in the spelling *Ninian* marks the usual Celtic diminutive of honour super-imposed on the Latinized name.

²The place of turning the back on Ireland.

journey to Skye and his sojourn at the house of the instructress, Scathach.³

Why should ancient place-names and place-memories have less accurate significance, or a less true story, on the east coast than on the west? We know from writings concerning St. Columba and other Irish churchmen which survive, that if the records had all perished and we were left with only local tradition, place-names, sculptured stones, ruins of cells, and philological features of speech, we could reconstruct a most faithful picture of their labours, learning, skill, habits, and peculiarities. The reconstructed picture would be in many cases truer than the picture of these men which we see in the surviving records. It would be scientific, and free from the clumsy elaborations of chroniclers who neither appreciated nor understood the Celtic Church. Indeed, every careful historian of the early northern Church is compelled, in the interests of truth, to use local knowledge to correct the extravagances of interested redactors of ancient Celtic manuscripts.

Bede and Ailred are the chief authorities in the older literature on Nynia. The former wrote two and a half centuries, and the latter seven centuries after Nynia's death. Although Ailred's highly-coloured work cannot rank in authority with Bede's, it ought not to be forgotten that he had not only Bede's work before him while he wrote, but a certain old life⁴ of Nynia which has not survived. Probably this old work, which offended Ailred's literary sense, provided him with the few evident facts that exist in his book.

Professor Zimmer makes a severely critical estimate of what we may regard as 'reliable' concerning Nynia. 'Bede tells us,'⁵ he says, 'that about the year 400 a Briton named Nynia founded a monastery on the peninsula of Wigton, which extends into the Irish Sea between the Firths of Solway and Clyde. Because of its stone church, it bore the name of *Ad Candidam Casam*. Nynia had received his theological training in Rome, and he greatly revered Martin of Tours, perhaps through having come into personal contact with him. From his newly-founded monastery Nynia spread Christianity among the *Picts* living south of the Grampians.'⁶

The words which Professor Zimmer has italicised are worthy

³ Maclean's *Literature of the Celts*, p. 158.

⁴ 'Liber barbario scriptus.'

⁵ *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 4.

⁶ From A. Meyer's translation of Zimmer's article.

of attention, though not for his reasons. He follows other modern historians in restricting Nynia's work to *southern* Pictland. But it is while narrating Columba's labours among the *Northern* Picts that Bede tells how, long before, the *Southern* Picts 'abandoned idolatry and embraced the Christian faith through the preaching of the Word by Bishop Ninian.'⁷ Bede is simply balancing the work of the two great men rhetorically. It is well authenticated that Nynia laboured in Ireland;⁸ but it would be as unfair to use Bede's reference to the work among the southern Picts to discredit this, as to use it to infer that Nynia never passed into northern Pictish territories.

We now turn to Ailred. Unlike Bede, he gives details of Nynia's work. In one of the most trustworthy passages in the biography, which looks as if it had been incorporated from the older life, he tells how Nynia moved about in company with many holy brethren; and that, as the effect of his preaching, the Gospel was received, the meeting-places of the heathen were thrown down, and churches erected. Nynia ordained Presbyters, consecrated Bishops, conferred ecclesiastical honours, and divided the whole land into parishes.⁹

This account bears credibility on its face. Its terms belong to Ailred's time, but its meaning carries us back to the period of Nynia and to ecclesiastical habits with which Ailred was unfamiliar. It was not easy to make intelligible to his highly-organised Church the picture of a Bishop wandering about in the fashion of Pictish Churchmen as a religious clan-leader with a *muinntir*, single-handed consecrating Bishops without dioceses and appointed to wander like himself, leaving missionary representatives of the faith in one place and another; but Ailred did his best in the words referred to.

By writing of Presbyters, and especially of parishes, in connection with Nynia, Ailred has staggered the modern writers, who forget that Ailred's avowed purpose in superseding the ancient life¹⁰ of Nynia was to represent the saint 'in the clear light of Latin speech'—in other words, to give the founder of the Caledonian Church and his organisation a twelfth century aspect and nomenclature. Fortunately the truth has survived the adaptation of its garments to the fashion. In Ailred's time men knew well who deserved credit for the well-defined parishes

⁷ Dr. Campbell in Prin. Story's *Ch. of Scotland. Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 4.

⁸ Ussher quoting the Irish life, since lost. ⁹ *Life of Ninian*, chap. vi.

¹⁰ 'Liber barbario scriptus.'—Ailred.

of the highly-organised Roman Church, because the creation of parishes had been going on before their eyes. What the historian wishes to credit to Nynia is the placing of missionaries in certain definite districts throughout the length of Scotland.¹¹

Archæological inquiries fully vindicate the historian. The student of Pictish antiquities might justly amplify Ailred's testimony. Names, memories, and church sites connected with Nynia are found in northern Scotland and in the islands, associated with the hut circles, and duns, which mark the Pictish villages. The places between Ross and the Grampians, where Nynia was anciently commemorated,¹² though now mostly destitute of Pictish remains, are known to have been important centres of Pictish life.

The following list, though not complete, gives an idea of how Nynia spaced the seed-plots of the faith throughout the East and North-East of Scotland, to which he apparently confined himself after turning the Grampians:

St. Ninian's Isle, Dunrossness, Shetland.—On this island, and on an assured Pictish site, a chapel existed until recent times bearing Nynia's name.¹³ In the burial ground attached to this ancient church an important stone¹⁴ was found with Ogam lettering. The Ogams have been transliterated by Professor Rhys and Mr. E. W. B. Nicholson, whose genius for Pictish inscriptions is phenomenal. Mr. Nicholson's transliteration is *lesmeqqnanammovvest* (= *Les Meqq Nan am Movvest*); and his translation—*Enclosure of Mac Nan in Mobhaist*. *Mobhaist* = My Baptizer, and he considers that this ecclesiastical title had come to designate the property; just as people say, 'The minister's,' when they may refer either to the manse or to the glebe.¹⁵ This is ingenious, but it is too forced a meaning for a compound word, and especially such a word as *Mobhaist*.

It appears to me that the Ogam legend is manifestly *Les Meqq Nanam Movvest*. The habitation of the Sons of Nynia the

¹¹ 'Per certas parrochias.'—Ailred.

¹² St. Vigean and Dyke have yielded sculptured stones which show that the Church in these districts was well-planted among a Pictish population. See E. W. B. Nicholson on the stones of Ancient Alban.

¹³ See Sibbald's Description, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotl.*, xii. 24. Dr. Joseph Anderson, E. W. B. Nicholson.

¹⁴ Presented by Mr. Goudie to the Museum of National Antiquities.

¹⁵ See vernacular inscriptions of Ancient Alban, by E. W. B. Nicholson, M.A., Oxford.

Baptizer; or, if the *les* was the gift of a convert—the habitation of the sons of Nynia, my Baptizer.

Meqq may be singular; in any sense, it is to be taken in the scriptural sense,¹⁶ or as used by Columba.¹⁷ *Nan* is the pure name; the last syllable is the usual diminutive of affection; and the final *n* is changed to *m* before the first letter of the following word. *Mo* is the usual prefix of saintly honour. When added to Bhaiste it makes the word a title. The Celts have always had a fondness for alternative names. 'The Baptizer' would be a natural and appropriate name for such a pioneer of the faith as Nynia.

Nynia is the Latin form of a Celtic name meaning 'the little,' and *Mobhaist* would seem more complimentary to his converts than the real name, which would not be uncommon. In Ireland Nynia was called Monenn.

Ninian's Isle, North Orkneys.—Believed to be a similar station to the above. This island has had its Pictish remains more obliterated by the Norsemen than the former. Its name was corrupted by the Norsemen into Rinanse, and in later times into Ronaldsey; now known as North Ronaldshay.¹⁸

St. Ninian's Church (ruins), Stove, South Ronaldshay.—The remains of this Church were associated with traces of a Pictish settlement.

Church and Burial-ground of Ninian, Sybster, Wick Bay, Caithness. This Church was in the midst of Pictish remains.

Ninian's Church (ruins) and Churchyard, Navidale, Sutherland.—The burial-ground is still used, and is picturesquely situated on a cliff overlooking the North Sea. Close at hand are the ruins of a Pictish village.

Formerly ruins of Churches of Ninian existed at *Roskeen*, and at *Balcony, Kiltearn*.

The Church in Easter Ross from which Fearn Abbey was founded.—It is impossible on the strength of available information to say whether this church should be located at Edderton or somewhere in the Tarbat peninsula. Ferquhard's Abbey was first founded at Edderton, but owing to 'tribal hostility,' the Abbey-seat was removed to Fearn.

The remarkable feature in the history of Fearn Abbey is that

¹⁶ 1 *Timothy*, i. 2.

¹⁷ Diormit called Columba 'father,' and Columba spoke of the members of his *muinntir* as children.

¹⁸ See J. M. Mackinlay.

it originated from one of Nynia's Pictish Churches. The Abbey kept its reverence for Nynia, and continued its connection with Whithorn into the Roman Catholic period.¹⁹

The tradition about Fearn Abbey, deprived of impossibilities and embellishment, is that the King came North to quell some disturbances. He called for the assistance of Ferquhard, which was given; and Ferquhard vowed that, if successful in the campaign, he would build a house to the holy man whose representatives he might first meet afterwards. Ferquhard was successful, and the first religious people he met were from a house of Nynia.²⁰

This tradition has for long pointed to the existence of an ancient house of Nynia in Easter Ross. The historians were so perplexed by it that some of them made Ferquhard's adventures take place in Southern Scotland, conveniently near Whithorn, as if *Candida Casa* had been the only house of Nynia in the kingdom.

Through the kindness of Dr. J. M. Joass, the learned minister of Golspie, I have seen a complete verification of the tradition concerning the existence of a strong Pictish religious centre in the Tarbat peninsula. This is a lettered stone taken from Tarbat Manse garden wall. It is evidently the fragment of a cross, and the lettering is the Celtic semi-uncials, which palaeographers ascribe to about the eighth century. The lettering is much worn, but Dr. Joass has deciphered as follows:

IN NOMINE IHU CHRI
CRUX CHRI
IN COMMORATIONE
RHEODATI
QIESCAT IN CHRO.

In the *Book of the Four Masters*²¹ there is the following entry, which speaks for itself:

'The Age of Christ 758.

Rheodaidhe, Abbot of Fearn died.'

Ninian's Church at Dyke, Morayshire.—One of the unread

¹⁹ See list of Fearn Abbots in the Roman Catholic period.

²⁰ See the various writings about the Earls of Ross.

²¹ The connection of Nynia and afterwards *Candida Casa* with Ireland and Irish pupils is well known.

Ogam stones, with distinctively Pictish symbols,²² was dug up while preparing the foundation of the present Church of Dyke.

Churches of Nynia formerly existed at :

Enzie (Rathven).
Bellie (Fochabers).
Andat of Methlick.
Stonehaven.
St. Vigeans.
*Arbroath.*²³

At *St. Vigeans* is to be seen a stone, taken from the Church-yard, with undoubted Pictish symbols, and lettered in Ogam and Latin half-uncials. This stone makes several things certain. The original Church of *St. Vigeans* was Pictish. When the stone was erected the Church had landed property, and was so firmly established that it could look after it. The clergy were tonsured in Celtic fashion.²⁴ The ecclesiastic in charge when the stone was erected was Drost. His neighbours were the children of 'the Judge.' The original owner of the land was one 'Fergus.'

Those who credit the Christianising of Eastern and Northern Pictland wholly to the Dalriad missionaries should note that no Ogam-marked stone has yet been discovered in the old Dalriad territory; that the Ogam-marked march-stones are singularly associated with a Pictish Church; and that the district of the Ogam stones is also the district containing the Churches planted by Nynia.

A glance at a map of Scotland will show that, in planting his stations, Nynia arranged to join the northern mainland and islands to the province of the South Pictish Church mainly along the coast-line. He appears always to have chosen places naturally accessible to the interior, but never far away from the seashore. One can understand that he wished his people to be in touch with the sea, which offered a ready way of escape or an easy means of keeping the line of communications open during tribal disturbances.

The foregoing list of ancient foundations bearing Nynia's

²² See Nicholson, p. 57, and the two statistical accounts.

²³ See Forbes, *Kalendars*.

²⁴ Nicholson, p. 12. Nynia's name has also lingered in the traditions associated with the Old Celtic Church at Turriff. His portrait in fresco was found in the walls of the ancient Church of *St. Congan*.

name means more than a like list of later foundations. Until the end of the seventh century churches were named after their living founders, not after dead ecclesiastics of eminence,²⁵ consequently they support the Orkney and Caithness traditions, and point to Nynia's actual presence and work. The district where Nynia's Sutherland Church was established furnishes a good illustration of the universality of this practice two centuries after Nynia's time. For thirteen hundred years the ruins of Celtic churches in the dales of Sutherland and Caithness have preserved for us in their names the names of the leading members of St. Donnan's *muinntir*, and their testimony has been recently corroborated from an ancient Irish book.²⁶

A place-word may cover a world of history. For example, close by Nynia's churches are other churches known to have been founded later by missionaries from Ireland. These are all designated by the name of the founder, with the prefix *Kil*; while Nynia's churches lack the prefix. This absence of the prefix not only indicates very decidedly the greater antiquity of Nynia's foundations, but points to the missionary efforts of an organisation which did not make the anchorite's cell the nucleus of a congregation, like the missionaries of purely Irish origin and training. Nynia, as Ailred, or the old biography which he used, conveys, appears to have entered a district for a short time only, to have preached, made converts, suggested a church, and to have left the new flock in proper charge.

The reality and success of Nynia's northern mission helps us to understand how, until the Norse invasions, a highly-organised church of Celtic type could have existed in the Orkney and Shetland islands, and even in Iceland. The Bressay Stone,²⁷ with its Ogam legend, not only shows the sculptured thought of the imaginative Celt, but portrays ecclesiastics with the official *bachuil* in their hands, evidently enjoying settled comfort and authority. Such a bell as that recovered at Saverough in Orkney was not rung until it was as much the custom to go to worship as it is to-day. It would take at least two centuries of popular and acceptable ministry to bring the Christians of the isles to the *bachuil* and bell stage of organisation.

²⁵ Haddan & Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 155. There is one possible exception—Whithorn itself. Nynia, out of respect to Martin, established Whithorn on the lines of Martin's house at Tours, and Bede speaks of it as a dedication.

²⁶ *The Martyrology of Tallagh*.

²⁷ See plate in Dr. Anderson's *Introduction to Orkneyinga Saga*, xiv-xvii.

Some historians have credited the Church of the northern isles to Columba. But the ministry of Columba or his disciples would neither have been acceptable nor popular in the islands. Archæologists and the *Historia Britonum* put it beyond doubt that the early islanders were Picts.²⁸ Columba²⁹ and the Dalriad missionaries did not know the Pictish tongue. Columba never went to the Orkneys, and so well aware was he of Orcadian hostility to his missionaries, that we find him appealing to Brude MacMeilcon to protect Cormac and others who had gone from Iona to the northern islands. Besides, Columba's Dalriad friends were the enemies of the Orcadian Picts. Aedan MacGabran wasted the Orkneys in 580, and apparently added them to the Dalriad kingdom. Brude MacBile recovered the islands for the Picts, and drove out the Dalriad Scots in 682. If the Columban Church had any early influence in the Orkneys, it would only be during the short and insecure period of the Dalriad occupation. It is plain that the Columban Church does not account for that evidently popular, well-developed, and well-organised insular church which is pointed to by Ari Frodi,³⁰ Dicuil,³¹ and by the inscriptions, ornamentation, and symbols on the ancient stones.

It has been stated that there were *dedications*³²—ancient dedications are meant—to St. Columba in Orkney. As has been pointed out, St. Columba was never in the Orkneys; and it was not the custom of the Celts to name their churches after those who were not their actual founders. A little inquiry would have shown that the old churches in Orkney and Eilan Colm do not commemorate Columcille, but Colum,³³ a bishop who laboured on the northern mainland and the northern islands.

Nynia's work explains the origin of the Church of the northern islands. Where are we to look for the base on which that Church depended for its continuation? Nynia's *Candida Casa* is the only place, seeing that Iona is out of the question.

It would be expected that Nynia would provide for his work in the North. As long as *Candida Casa* endured and venerated the work of Nynia, his foundations in the North would appeal to its care. Bede says Nynia was a Briton; but his house was in the territory of the Niduari Picts, and was very accessible to the Irish

²⁸ See Dr. Anderson, *Orkneyinga Saga*, p. x.

²⁹ Two Picts interpreted for him at the Court of Brude.

³⁰ *Islandingabók*.

³¹ *De Mensura Orbis Terrarum*.

³² Note on p. xiv., Dr. Anders .n's *Introduction to the Orkneyinga Saga*.

³³ Colmus, *Camerarius*, 113.

Picts. The ministry from such a centre would be both intelligible and acceptable to the Picts of the north and the islands. When we remember that Nynia was an evangelist to the Irish, and instructed Irish pupils at Whitherne, it is uncertain whether we should follow the historians and call the survivals of his work 'Irish' in type, or simply *Pictish*, to distinguish them from what is Columban. 'Celtic' is not a word that helps here, because Pictish and Scotie remains are alike Celtic.

Owing to the Norsemen, who destroyed so much, the names of scores³⁴ of pre-Norse churches have perished. Nevertheless, evidence remains that neither Nynia nor his establishment at Whitherne forgot the work in the North. One of the most eminent men sent back from *Candida Casa* to the north was an Irishman—judging from the name an Irish Pict.³⁵ About the end of the fifth century Whitherne had as a pupil Finbarr, better known by the name of endearment, Finnian. He ultimately became a Bishop and Abbot of the famous religious College at Moyville, in Down. He had the honour of teaching Columba and of making him a deacon.

Finbarr is as greatly venerated in the tradition of the dales of Caithness as in Down. Though the memory of his work remains to this day, the fact that he is commemorated by the unmodified name suggests, as we know, that he laboured in the north while he was young, and did not remain long enough for the people to know him intimately. The halving of a name and the transformation of the retained part into a diminutive invariably followed the prolonged residence of an old teacher among the Celts.³⁶

One of Finbarr's Churches was at Dornoch, Sutherland. This Church looks as if it had been planted to fill up a long gap left by Nynia in his line of communications. It looked across the Dornoch Firth to Nynia's foundation on the Tarbat peninsula. Either it or a continuation survived until the beginning of the thirteenth century. So well did Finbarr impress the forms of the Picto-Irish Church on this foundation, that Dornoch, along with Turriff has the honour of maintaining Celtic ecclesiastical ways into the Roman Catholic period for many years.

The natives of Sutherland, influenced by Finbarr's successors,

³⁴ See Brand and Sibbald.

³⁵ Finnian of Clonard was a Pict.

³⁶ *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, 32, pp. 175-190.; and Heinrich Zimmer's article in the *Realencyclopädie für Protestantische Theologie*.

refused to recognise the first three Roman Catholic bishops of Caithness, and they were compelled to find a precarious existence in the Scandinavian section of the diocese. After the burning of Bishop Adam, the Roman Catholics consecrated a Celt, Gilbert of Moray, and he was the first bishop to popularise his Church at Dornoch. The memory of the older Church continued to survive in the celebration of Finbarr's festival and in the preservation of the burial-ground called by his name.³⁷

The Roman Catholics, who, in Dornoch as elsewhere, showed little appreciation of the ancient Celtic Church, dedicated their Cathedral to St. Mary. After Gilbert's death, he was canonised, and the Cathedral was dedicated anew to St. Mary and St. Gilbert.

Gilbert was beyond question a brilliant worker for his Church ; but not even yet has he succeeded in displacing from the popular affection the more famous Irish Pict who gave Dornoch its first Church, who in the straths of Sutherland and Caithness continued the great work of Nynia, and who had the honour of teaching and first ordaining the renowned Columba of Hy.

ARCHIBALD BLACK SCOTT.

³⁷ Sutherland Charters.

Dunnottar and its Barons

IN the course of examining some old family papers,¹ the writer recently came upon certain accounts and inventories relating to a line of great noblemen of Scotland, the Keiths, Earls Marischal of Scotland. From these papers an interesting picture may be drawn of the domestic amenities and the equipment of their Castle of Dunnottar, situated on a rock nearly four acres in extent on the coast of The Mearns, one mile south of Stonehaven.

The direct line came to an end in the two greatest companions—or perhaps they ought to be called acquaintances, for they, at all events, were the soul of honour—of ‘Pickle the Spy,’ namely, George Keith, the last Earl, the friend of Frederick the Great and correspondent of Voltaire, and James Keith, his brother, the celebrated Field Marshal of Prussia.

There were Keiths of lineage in the country in the time of Malcolm and Margaret, but the story of their having come as a tribe called Catti from the Rhenish provinces of Germany and settled in Caithness and subsequently forming the Clan Chattan, may be discarded along with the fable of their coat-of-arms having originated in the Scottish king dipping his three fingers in the blood of the Danish Camus at Barry about 1010 A.D. and drawing three strokes on the shield of a valiant Keith of that time. It is certain that at an early date they became Marischals of Scotland, and obtained the lands of Ackergill in Caithness. But their first substantial settlement seems to have been at Keith-Hundeby of old, now called Humbie, near Dalkeith. One of the estates in this parish is Keith-Marischal, although the later barony of Keith-Marischal was in Kincardineshire. Numerous chartularies and charters bear evidence

¹ The papers referred to are Keith Papers, in the possession of the Ochtertyre family. They were courteously lent to the writer by the late proprietor.

of their presence in the Lothians. They mingled in the stirring events of the War of Independence, leading the horse at Bannockburn, and fighting at Rosslyn and Harlaw; and by the time of Robert the Bruce certainly—if not long before, as some contend—the dignity of Marischal (which at that time was more of a court than a military office) had become fixed in the family.

The Mounth, which divided Strathmore from Mar and Buchan, had for hundreds of years in the Pictish-Scotic period been of very great strategic importance, and many of the most stirring events of that remote time were enacted a few miles from Dunnottar Castle. Kincardine Castle, in the parish of Fordoun, commanded the principal—indeed, the only practicable—road to the north over The Mounth. Cowie Castle, near Stonehaven, commanded the littoral pass, subsequently named The Causeway—and identical with Dugald Dalgetty's forlorn hereditament of Drumthwacket—to Aberdeen. The province was long in the hands of chiefs, who had their duns or forts among the hills, as at Fotherdoun (now called Green Castle). The Crown appropriated the territory when the government had become more settled—notably Kincardine or the Fotherdoun of the Chronicles, which became a royal palace.

When Robert the Bruce succeeded, he took care to reward his supporters; and to the Keith he granted Hall Forest, which remained in the family till the forfeiture of 1715.

Sir William Keith, who had by marriage acquired the Forest of Cowie, including Dunnottar, proceeded to build a Tower upon the Rock of Dunnottar, and in this way exposed himself to the wrath of the clergy, who excommunicated him in consequence. The church or cell of St. Ninian had occupied the rock of Dunnottar up to that time either by itself or along with the original fortress. The Pope afterwards removed the ban on condition of a new church being erected, and this was done at a spot near the present church of Dunnottar. At what time the rock itself had been consecrated to this sacred use is not quite clear, but probably it was about 1270. Dunnottar thus became the chief castle of the Keith family. The family continued to increase in power, and the Keith of 1455 was first made Lord Keith, and then the first Earl Marischal. There was a line of ten Earls between 1455 and 1715, and there is hardly a Scotch noble family who have not the blood of the Keiths in their veins.

The documents above referred to cover the period of the fifteenth and two following centuries. The Keiths kept up a state almost royal, and from the beginning of the sixteenth century at latest the hospitality of Dunnottar was frequently extended to king and nobles. The earlier kings were often at Dunnottar. On 15th October, 1503, James IV. was entertained at Dunnottar, as the book of his treasurer records 'that samyn nycht in Dunnottar, to the cheld playit on the monocordes, be the king's command, xviijs.' were disbursed. When Queen Mary visited the North during the contentions between the Gordons and the Earl of Murray in the year 1562, she was entertained at Dunnottar, for Pitscottie relates that 'upon the feird day of November, the Queen came out of Aberdeine to Dunnottar.' James VI. also honoured Dunnottar, 'for the kyngis grace come to Dunnottar the xvij. day of June, the yeir of God 1580 years; and the fyrst tyme that I, Walter Cullen, Reder of Aberden, sehit his graice, was the xx. day of the said moneth of June, 1580 yeirs; and that, at the wod of Fetteresso, he beand at the huntis with sertane of his lordis; and thaireftir I paist to Dunnottar, quhair I beheld his grace at his supar, quhill he paist to his chalmer; and thaireftir his grace paist furtht of Dunnottar, the xxij day of June, 1580 years to Ezail.' He visited it again, 1617, and in March 1641 the Earl of Winton, with his son, Lord Seton, who had Mr. Andrew Cant in their company, 'war weill intertynneit, the Lady Marshall being the Erll of Wintoun's dochter.' Here also, on 8th July, 1650, Charles II., when he came to Scotland to be crowned, accompanied by the Dukes of Buckingham and Hamilton, and other English and Scottish cavaliers, was sumptuously entertained. He also visited it on the 24th of February, 1651. These are samples of the guests. Now let us see what the Castle contained.

The earliest account we have of the furnishings of Dunnottar is in an inventory of 1612. George, the fifth Earl, succeeded in 1594, and possessed until 1623, dying at Dunnottar at the age of 70 years. The Inventory is thus described:

'This is the iust Inventar quhilk ane noble and potent lord George Erll Merschall, Lord Keythe, &c., and Dame Margret Ogilvie (daughter of James, Lord Ogilvie), his spous, giwes up wpoun thair credit and honnour to William Maister Merschall, Lord Keythe, sone to the said noble lord, conforme to the contract past betuixt thame, quhilk Inventar the said William Maister of Merschall, Lord Keythe, &c., acceptis, grantis, and acknowledges to be just, trew, and ane perfytt Inventar, particularlie as is affair writtin, except

ye timber wark, buikis, and armour quhairof ye Inventar salbe particularlie takin wp and set doun heirefter betuixt ye said noble lord and the said William Keythe his sone. In witness quhairof yis present is subscriuit be the saidis noble lordis and the said noble lady At Dunotter ye sewintein day off December in ye zeir of God ane thousand sex hundrethe and twelff yeiris Beffoir witnesses Johnne Erll of Mar, Lord Erskine, John Levingstoun of Dunnipace, John Keyth in Couton.'

This is indorsed: 'Inventar of the plenisheing, bedding, artailzearie (artillery), &c. In Dunnottar.' The inventory of 1660 is headed: 'Ane trew Inventarie of what goodis wer belonging to the Earle Marischall and wer in the Castle of Dunnottour in the custodie of Captaine Umphra Measone, which the said Captaine Measone delyvered by order of Major Generall Morgan to Robert Keith of Whytriggs, Depute-shireff of the Countie of Kincardine, & George Ogilvy of Barrass, 10 September 1660.' This date is ten years before William, the seventh Earl, died.

Many of the articles detailed had doubtless been in use for years before 1612, but it is probable that in the latter half of the previous century numerous additions had been made to the list. This is evident from incidents in the careers of the Earls from the fourth to the seventh. William, the fourth Earl, who was at Pinkie, 1547, attended Queen Mary to France, and afterwards, although a great reformer, was a favourite of the Queen Regent. The estates suffered greatly at the hands of the anti-Covenanters, and the celebrated Cant was in Dunnottar when the Marischal's neighbouring houses and barns were burned, and consoled the unhappy nobleman with the assurance, which harmonized well with Cant's name, that it would be a sweet-smelling incense to the Lord. The fourth Earl—he died 1594—had seen splendid plenisheing in the palaces of the French kings and in the châteaux of their nobility. His son George, the fifth Earl, a pupil of Beza at Geneva, was sent by James VI. to bring Queen Ann from Denmark, for which service he obtained the Abbacy of Deir, and was made Lieutenant of the North, 1593, and founded the Marischal College in Aberdeen. He was a much travelled and learned man, and died at Dunnottar in 1623. These two Earls undoubtedly added to the furnishings of Dunnottar, for George is said to have modelled more fine houses than anyone had done before. It is suggested that in his time the quadrangle of Dunnottar subsequently referred to was built for the better accommodation of illustrious guests. William, the sixth Earl, died in 1635, and his third son was



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made Earl of Kintore when his uncle William, the seventh Earl—who espoused the cause of Charles II.—was in possession of the Castle. The Regalia were sent to Dunnottar because of its strength, and the Castle stood an historic siege by Cromwell's troops.

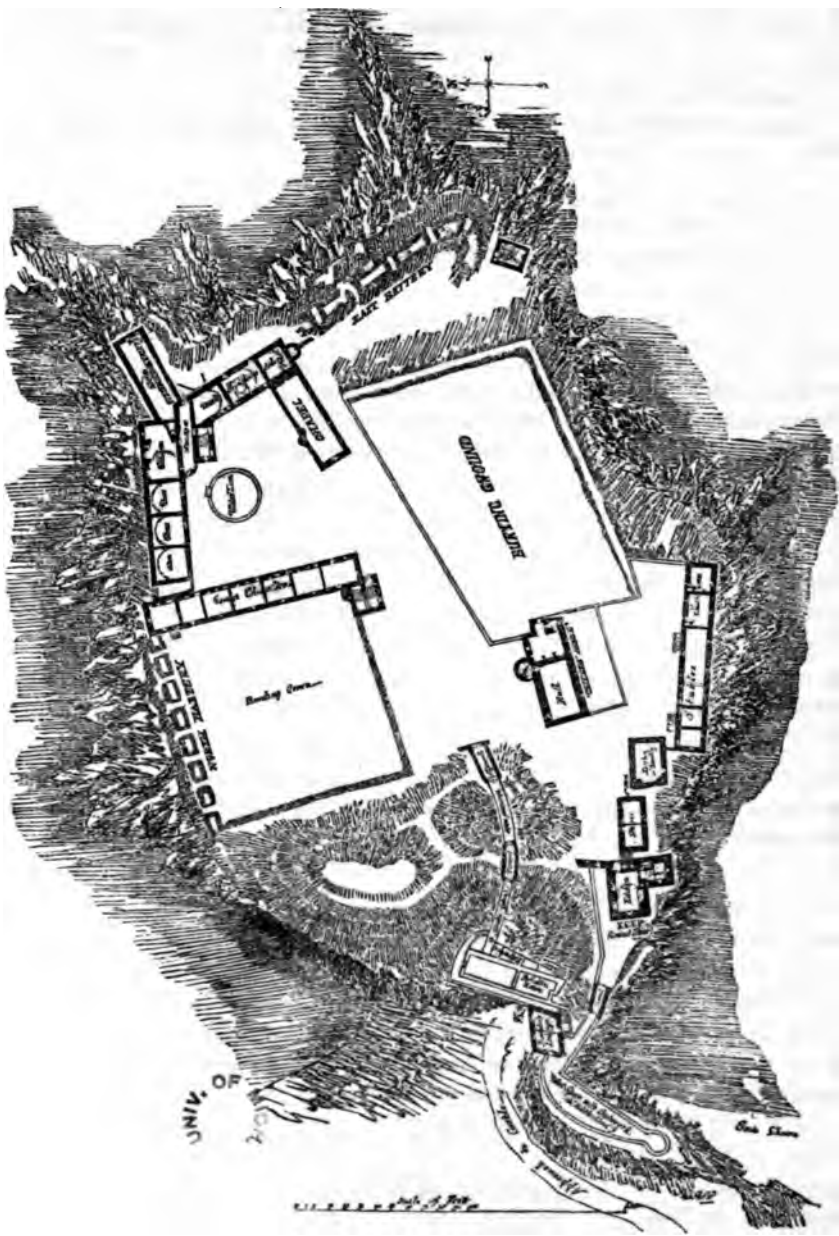
The inventory of 1660 applies to the troubled times of Cromwell, and it is not nearly so full as the inventory of 1612. It merely summarises the substantial articles of furniture. There were 58 bed-steads and 58 girners—whatever they might be; hardly girnals, although girnals is sometimes spelt in this way. There were 44 tables of one kind or another distributed amongst the various rooms, and a 'lidd' of a table, or a folding table, in addition. Of chests—possibly oak—there were 44, and of chairs 49, including, no doubt, the chairs purchased half a century ago by Sir William Fraser in the Old Town of Stonehaven—one of them selling in Edinburgh four or five years ago for nearly £800. There are still two or three fairly authenticated chairs in Stonehaven and neighbourhood. There were 22 'stoolis,' more sumptuous probably than three-legged ones; and nine cupboards and 11 pressis—of the nature of wardrobes, doubtless. Of forms, which would accommodate more than a stool or a chair, and might some of them be settles, ranged along the dining, drawing, and dancing rooms, there were 20.

Unfortunately, we have no means of distinguishing what articles garnished the room which was dedicated to the king and called 'the King's Room,' and what were in the Earl's and guests' rooms, except that we find that of eight pair and five pieces of 'courtaines and vallownes' there were a 'suite of reid embroidered with silk fringes' in the king's room; while in the greine chalmer there was 'ane suite of greine with deep silk fringes and silk lace and a counterpaine.' Moreover, there were 67 feather beds, 54 coverliddis, 66 bolsters, 84 plaidis (used as blankets), and 'ane half of blankettis'—five of them; 20 shelves, and 11 coddis—probably pillows. The inference from what follows is that the beds and bedrooms were made imposing by rich hangings, that the beds were formidable four-posters, to which the occupant ascended by the brouderit stool or chair, and that the tapestry depicted the history of Samson and probably other Scriptural characters. Who the makers of the tapestry were, we have no means of knowing; but in an inventory of writs dated January 1617 detailing writs found in a particular 'lettron' this entry occurs: 'Item William

Beatton, brounder, his obligatioun upon ye receipt of sex piece of tapestrie whilk is yet undelyverit, 1593.' Doubtless, the best of it came from France.

The inventory of 1612 is much more graphic than that of 1660, and it is worth while to give it in full. It is called in a sub-heading: 'The Inventour off the Copboirdis silwer wark, tapestrie silk bedis, plinishit brounderit bedis, plinishit timber wark, monitioun, artelzerie wark, buikis, and armour,' and then follows this curious list:

- 'Item off gilt tapestrie ane stand contenyng aught peices.
- 'Item off erras wark off the historie off Sampson contening sevin peices.
- 'Item ane wther stand off tapestrie off erras wark contening sex peices.
- 'Item of erras wark tapestrie sewin [seven] stand ewerie stand contening fywe peices quhilk is in ye haill threttie—fywe peices.
- 'Item of grein steining tapestrie brounderit with quhytbridge satein contening fywe peices.
- 'Item ane stand of grein steining tapestrie freinzeit [fringed] with quhyt and reid worset freinzies contenyng sex peices.
- 'Item ane wther stand off grein steining tapestrie brounderit with sewing contening aught pices.
- 'Item ane stand of blak dames [damask] courtingis contening baksyd foirsyd [inside and outside] heid and feit, with ane ruiff [drawn frill] with sex pices panes [foot-panes] four stoupis with ane compter claithe [counterpaine] of blak velwot all thir pasmentit with gold [gold gimp] with ane blak silk mat all per-tening to the said bedis with ane blak velwot chyre and ane fuitgang [chair and footstool] yairto.
- 'Item ane stand of fleshe collourit spaines [Spanish] taffetie courtingis with foirsyd baksyd and feit thrie peice of panes yairto brounderit heid and ruiff [ruiff] according to the same with four brounderit stoupis [posts] with ane counter claithe off reid veluot freinzeit with silk with ane mat thairto off silk.
- 'Item ane stand of grein Spaines taffetie courtingis with foirsyd baksyd heid and ruiff with thrie peices of pandis all brounderit with ane compter claithe off grein velwot pasmentit with open pasmentis off gold and silwer, freinzeit, with ane chyre and fuitgang to the said bedis.
- 'Item ane cannabie [canopy] off grein dames [damask] freinzeit.
- 'Item ane sewit bed with silk and gold contening thretein pices with ane cannabie off grein taffetie.
- 'Item ane stand off grein steining courtingis with baksyd foirdys heid and feit with twa peices off pandis with great knapis [tassels] hingand at the pandis with ane chyre brounderit to the said bedis.
- 'Item ane stand of changing growgrame [silk] courtingis brounderit with foirsyd baksyd heid and feit with twa peices of pandis.
- 'Item ane stand of browne serge courtingis brounderit with foirsyd baksyd heid and feit with twa pices off pandis thairto.
- 'Item ane stand of reid skarlet courtingis brounderit, with foirsyd baksyd heid and feit thrie pices pandes and ye ruiff and ane chyre brounderit to the said bedis.
- 'Item ane stand of counterfuit [imitation] dames courtingis contenyng foirsyd and feit with ane pice of pand pasmentit with counterfuit pasmentis off silwer and gold.



Dunnottar Castle. General Plan.

'Item ane stand off grein growgrame courtingis with foirsyd baksyd heid and feit with thrie pices of pandis pasmentit with counterfuit pasmentis off silwer.

'Item of fethir bedis fywe scoir, yairof Flanderis tykis [ticks] twentie sewin.

'Item of bousteris fywe scoir, yairof of Flanderis tykis twentie sewin and yairof tua fustian bousteris.

'Item twa fustiane stickit mattis.

'Item four pair of futtiane blankettis.

'Item off codis [pillows] fywe scoir and ten.' Etc.

It would almost seem as if the plenishing of William of the Tower, who attended Mary to France, and of his son the founder of Marischal College, had to some extent been dispersed by 1660. There is no saying what depredations the soldiers of Cromwell may have committed. It is apparent from the inventories however that every event in the family life had been provided for: witness the black damask suite of curtains, under which, probably, the dead Earls lay before they were carried by the tenants to the Marischal's Aisle in St. Bridget's in state, as we shall see. The earlier inventory contains no mention of carpets or cushions, and Meason returned only four rugges, three carpettis, three pieces of hangings and 'two rowmes hanged,'—which probably accounts for some of the shortages in tapestry. This inventory is more vivid too with regard to other matters. Mention has been made of the Church of St. Ninian. According to the inventory, all the furniture in the church consisted, in 1660, of eight seats and a pulpit. In all probability the church had at one time been richly adorned and furnished, but the covenanting Earl and his band of destroyers had been at work,—as their successors seem to be still, striving to realize the theological fiction called spiritual independence,—long before that year, and left it a venerable but empty barn. Some of the silver mentioned in the inventory of 1612 may have stood on the altar of St. Ninian's. The silver work of 1612 is extremely interesting to read about, but not an ounce of it now exists. What would we not give even to see those basins, tasses, cups and goblets! Here they are:

'Item—twa silwer baissines with thair lawaris [plate or stand?] with yair coweris double ourgilt.

'Item—twa heiche [tall] goblattis of silwer double ourgilt of raisit wark wanting ye coweris.

'Item—ane greit silwer tass with ye cower and ring double ourgilt.

'Item—ane less silwer tass with ye cower and ring double ourgilt.

'Item—ane wther silwer coup dowble ourgilt wantand ye cower.

'Item—twa silwer goblattis double ourgilt and engrawein wantand the coweris.

- 'Item—ane plaine silwer goblet wantand ye cower.
- 'Item—ane flat silwer tass.
- 'Item—ane greit silwer salt fat [vat] contening thrie pices ourgilt.
- 'Item—ane plaine silwer salt fat.
- 'Item—two little silwer salt fattis persuall [parcel] overgilt.
- 'Item—of silwer truncheours twentie-thrie.
- 'Item—of silwer spoynes four dossone.
- 'Item—ane silwer fuit for ane cope [cup] double ourgilt and engrawein.
- 'Item—ane plaine silwer fuit for a cope.
- 'Item—ane maissaris and lipis stalk and fuit yairof off silwer.'

Not one of these is mentioned in the inventory of 1660. It is difficult to believe that a refuge had been found for them elsewhere than in Dunnottar, since the Regalia of Scotland were considered safe within its Tower. Possibly the silver may have been taken out of the Castle. This supposition receives confirmation in a note of plenishing (indorsed '*Some of the Earl's furnishing and goods*'), delivered by the Lady of Cromartie 'unto Master Patrick Falconer for my lord Marshall's use, Januarie the 8th 1658, at Tillibo'; and it affords some further gleams of the interior of the Castle before that date. For instance, there is mentioned an English carpet, and it is said that it is used for a chamber table. Then, there are stands of blue and red, black and green, and orange and white curtains, some of them 'figurata,' some silk, and some velvet. Here, also, we obtain a trace of the household linen and some of the silver, as follows: '3 paire of new walked blankets; 2 pairs of hauding plaids at an eale & half quarter broad every breed (width); 2 pairs of whilling (homespun) plaids of the same bredth; 4 paire of small eale broad linning (linen) sheets; 2 damask table cloaths, with a dozen of damask servets & a damask towel; 2 dornick (?) table cloaths, 2 dornick towels, & 2 dozen of dornick servets; 5 small linning table cloaths, 4 towels, 2 dozen of servits, all linning; an green table cloath for a hall table; an spranged table cloath of all colours for a hall table; an doun bed of Flanders tyking with four down cods of Flanders tyking, with four small linning (linen) waires; an bowle salt fat with four trencher saltfats all silver, a silver cup, an dozen of silver spoons, all weighing four pound wanting an ounce; an covered cup doble oregilt weighing 9 once; 4 church cushens, 2 of velvet & 2 of damask.'

The details must, however, yield in interest to the personal adornment of the noblemen themselves. Here is an inventory of the 'Robis and Others delyuered be James Thomsoune in



ANNALS OF
MICH.

Entrance to Dunnottar Castle.

name of Dame Marie Erskine, Countas Marischaell, to Androw Hantoune in name of Wam. Erle Mairschaell, hir sone. At Dunotter the 8 day of December 1638 befor thir witness John Hantoune in Dunoter, and John Bisset in Chapiltoune' (a tenant on the estate). It details the Earl's robes for Coronation, Parliament and burials. For the coronation there is one robe—'of rid cramassie veluit lyned wt quheit mertrix and quheit taffetie with jupye huid and crowne conforme, with gold lace.' The Parliament robe is the same except in colour, which is scarlet; and there is mentioned along with it 'the Mairschaell baton with the cover thairof of rid weluit'; and he is also furnished with 'ane fuit mantle for the Parliament, of black welvit with gold laice and freinzie conforme lynd with buckassie'—that is, a black velvet mantle fringed with gold lace and stiffened, and 'ane brydill & bit strip lethers curpell & tie covered with veluit all with gold lace' conform to the foot mantle, and also 'ane embroudered lous (loose) covering of ane saidill (saddle).' Burials seem to have been conducted with more ceremonial than any other function. There were 'thrie crowns for burials, quhairof tua hes rid ueluit capis with ane spuinge conform.' This was for the Earl, and for his four lacqueys 'four coatis of black weluit with arms broudered with gold & siluer, ye back & breist lynd with rid taffetie.' Then there are 'tua cotis of black taffetie for the buriall,' and for the family burials 'the pail (pall) of black weluit with the pands (pans) yairof lynd with taffetie with ane upper and nether freingzie.' 'The mortclaith' was 'of black weluit with ane freingzie round about (stiffened) with buckassie.' There was further 'ane black weluit mortcot with ane freingzie of black & whyte silk and ribans conforme.' And if one of the family or a friend were buried, the Earl wore 'ane murning rob with the jupye craig (throat) peice & huid (hood) conforme,' or 'ane wther murning rob (without jupye craig peice or huid).' Moreover the lacqueys (allacayis) had provided for them on state occasions 'four wther cotis with bars of blew and yallow welvit,' and there were 'ten scheildis with arms for the mortclaith and pail,' while five 'peissis of culors of rid & yellow taffetie with freingzies conforme,' decked out the cavalcade of which the Earl or his corpse was the head and centre in state or funeral processions.

Descending to more trivial matters, the foresaid inventory of 1660 is exact in its miscellaneous specifications. The Earl's

bailies had returned to them by the dispossessed besiegers 'a hanger for towellis, a pair of pothookes, a desk, a brass basine, tenne boxes, an old cloak and bell, a field bedcaise (probably the property of a soldier and not the Earl's at all), two firlots and ane peck, a closet, two close stooles, two brass candlesticks, a paire of smith's bellowes, pieces of gilt hangings, a fence about the garden with a little rowme & table in it, a pistoll (pestle), and mortar, two cusheones, a reid couth, a cloak (clock) with a case, a map, a pewter flagon, a fyre range,' etc. It is also particular in mentioning 'three paire of iron tonges and four chamber-pots.' The latter are the only pieces of crockery we hear of, if they were earthenware, which is doubtful; of pewter dishes there are eight, and of trensher plaites eight. China and glass and forks and knives are not mentioned. And in the inventory it is suspected that many inferior articles had been substituted for the furnishings handed over when Ogilvy surrendered the Castle to Cromwell's troops. The kitchen and wine cellar furnishings bulk largely, as they ought to where English troopers, even Puritans, are concerned; and, accordingly, mention is made of 'cooleris sexteine greate and small, a tunwell, a quilefat (quailvat), a bakeing boord, a naskfatt broken, a racke to hang meat upon, three cowpes for fowles, two pair of irone raxes, two cheise rackes, a worte spute (worts spout for the brewer), a hand mill, a new maskine fatt, a copper (which fatt and copper does not belong to the Earle Marischal bot is sold by the said Captaine to the said Earle for the sowme of fourteine pundis sex shillingis sex pence sterling), a cole rack, a purring iron, a bucket, twenty-one barrellis & tubbis, sex gantries, two pantries, thrie rackes, & mangeris.' The greater part of these were concerned with the brewing, and they are followed by 'nine hundred sleattis and a wooden horse.' The latter contrast strangely, indeed, with the 'Bell to the Chappell, the League and Covenant, a prospective glass and globe, and a broade with theses.' The League and Covenant would probably be the family copy; there is such a copy among the Keith papers now. The 'prospective glass' was used by the look-out on the watch-tower, sitting at the height of more than 200 feet above the sea.

These particulars convey some notion of the kind of establishment the Earls kept throughout the seventeenth century. The castle was more like a village than the dwelling of one family. Retainers and guests were constantly going to and

fro, and the great storehouse of the family, burned by Montrose, was the Tolbooth at the old pier of Stonehaven, to which the fishers brought wine from France, and from which the Earl's stores were shipped in boats to the Castle about a mile away. No surprise need be felt at the elaborate kitchen arrangements when an army of guests and menials had to be provided for; and they were provided for by what the Earl could draw as rent—speaking of 1700 A.D.—from Dunnottar, Fetteresso, and Garvock, in addition to the money rent, namely, '491 firlots bear, 816 bolls meal, 33 bolls corn and fodder, nearly 1000 hens, 4— $\frac{2}{3}$ rd mairts, 10 stones of butter, 261 capons, 1200 eggs & nine swine.' To provide fire for his kitchen, he could make his tenants draw large leits of peat from the great moss of Cowie or coals from 'Stanehive,' and there were in the Castle twenty fire ranges of enormous width, and two of them had gallowses—that is, sways or gibbets in wide fire-places, on which, no doubt, many more than the eight or nine pots and pans mentioned in the inventory of 1660 hung and cooked the victuals.

Then sanitary arrangements had to be made. The latrines were at the verge of the cliff, and there are traces of jakes in several places. The water supply was a most interesting piece of engineering. When visitors used long ago to be conducted over the Castle, the keeper, known as Jamie Smith, originally a Stonehaven fisherman, of enormous proportions and good hardy features, used hypocritically to say in describing the Covenanters suffering in the dungeon, that the 'puir craters didna get a drap o' water till the gweed Gode birsed it thro' the rock.' Jamie said this with his tongue in his cheek. The water came through interstices in the rock from the vast well in the quadrangle, about 30 feet in diameter and as deep. It is really a small reservoir shaped like the half of an egg. The water reached it in this way. St. Ninian's Well is in the little ravine leading from the highway between Bervie and Stonehaven down to the Castle. A pipe, probably wooden, was laid from the well to a barrel well on the top of the cliff opposite the entrance of the Castle, just where the road begins to dip towards the shore before ascending again to the Castle gate. From this barrel well, pipes, wooden or leaden, were led, either by way of the Castle gate or in some other way, to the reservoir, which is at a lower level, and in this way the Castle had always an abundant supply of water. A curious confirmation of this exists

in the following extract from the Register of the Privy Council, dated Edinburgh, 8th January 1607, which shows the Earl of that date, learned and distinguished though he was, in a not too favourable light:

'Complaint to the Council by David Andirsoun, plumber, burgess of Abirdene, against George, Earl of Merchell, as follows: "The said parties entered into a contract whereby Andirsoun was bound to lay a pipe of lead from the meadow beneath the stables to the great well be-east the 'galrie' within the Castle of Dunnottar to serve 'ane fontane.' Accordingly, he bought 160 stone weight of lead, and carried the same to the burgh of Abirdene, and thence to the said Castle, at great expense. He and his workmen at great trouble cast one day five pipes, each 14 ells in length, and were most willing to finish the work. But the said Earl, on 25th April 1603, after the completing of the first day's work, apprehended the complainer, and detained him in ward in the said Castle for four days 'bosting and minassing me to discharge and annull the said contract. And, efter that I obtenit libertie and fredome, I repairit hame to the burgh of Abirdene to attend and await upoun my lauchfull trade, and haveing tane jorney fra the said burgh to the burgh of Edinburgh be sey [by sea] and being bestorme of wedder and contrarious windis dryvene bak and forcit for saulftie of my lyff to land at the Stanehavin, quhair I resolvit to repair be land to the said burgh of Edinburgh, upoun the sevint of May thairefter, I being gangand in peciable and quiet manner upoun my fute to the said toun of Stanehavin, lippyning for na harme nor oppressioun to have been offerit to me, it is of treuth that the said Erll in proper persone, accompanyt with Keith of Duffus, and James Stirling, then his servand, followit me on horsebak out of the said toun, and at the end thair of they tuke and apprehendit me, and tuk me perforce with thame to the said Castell, keipit and detenit me thairintill as presoner, and on na wyse wald put me to libertie quhill I wes constranit to deliver to him ane grite quantitie of leid.' This, worth £700, with the other lead and pipes, worth £300, the said Earl disponed at his pleasure. The Earl also compelled the complainer to deliver to him a discharge of the said lead and contract. The Earl has thus not only committed 'ane manifest ryot and oppressioun upon me,' 'but thairwithall usurpit upoun him his Majesties princelie power and authoritie in taking and detening of me as prisoner, I being his Heynes fre subject, answerable and obedient to the lawis, haveing commitit na cryme nor offence, nor he haveing na power nor commissoun to tak me; and thairfore he aucht to be persewit and punist in his persone and guidis with all rigour to the terour of utheris.' The pursuer therefore humbly beseches that the defender be charged to compare and produce the discharge above written in order to its being declared null as having been unlawfully given."

The complaint is indorsed 'Fiat ut petitur,' the decree being subscribed by the Bishop of Dunkeld, but what ensued afterwards does not appear.

This brings one to the last point of interest for the present. The Castle was not merely his dwelling place; it was a fortress; and dominated a large tract of country. Speaking of The

Mearns only, even in 1700 the best part of Dunnottar, Garvock and Fetteresso was still in the possession of the Earl. Dunnottar was a fortress throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The first keep had in the course of time given place to others of an even stronger description; and, as habits became more refined and the exigencies of life demanded, the keep was gradually surrounded by more luxurious structures. The rock is peninsulated, unscaleable from the sea and also from the small portion abutting upon



Keep of Dunnottar Castle from the South East.

the land. Access on foot or horseback but not by vehicle was got by ascending a steep slope in the neighbouring cliffs by a winding pathway, which at the foot of the rock is causewayed, and thence by a causewayed ascent to the entrance through an arched gateway flanked by guard-rooms. One of these guard houses is fifty feet high, and commands the entrance by innumerable embrasures for the use of arms in the thick walls. Eight feet from the gate was the portcullis, the groove of which remains; and further on a guard house faced the gateway with four circular holes for arms in the wall. Near this is the magazine, and following the outer and inner sally ports scooped out of the rock and the latter of which

was roofed and surmounted by ordnance, the plateau is reached. A shorter way to the right led up to the central keep, the south wall of which rests on a precipice 150 feet high. Abutting on the keep or tower are the remains of the ancient offices, such as the blacksmith's forge and the armourer's shop. These last mentioned buildings doubtless formed the ancient Castle. The other structures, excepting the church—which remained after the appropriation of the surface by Sir William Keith as before mentioned,—had been added later. The later buildings, forming a sort of quadrangle reaching the seaward cliff, comprised apartments which tradition names the ballroom, dining-room, drawing-room, dressing-rooms, and bedrooms, and an elaborate suite of what might be called kitchen accommodation, including pantries, brew-house, bake-house, cellars, and the like. Looking out upon the sea were the private rooms of the Earl and Countess, not far from the celebrated Whigs' Vault and the dungeon below it, where Covenanters and anti-Covenanters, the Earl's prisoners, and malefactors from Aberdeen in turn were immured. A bowling green is indicated by an area of sward which is smoother than the rest. Detached towers, like Benholm's Tower and Waterton's Lodging were occupied by cadets of the family. The ancient church was surrounded by a churchyard, and the earliest recorded burial is that of Thomas Roslyne, a knight in the service of Edward I.

But how was Dunnottar defended? We have the following list of cannon in the inventory of 1612; it is doubtful if there were so many in any single fortress in Scotland except Edinburgh and Stirling. They are called 'Artalzerie':

'Item—in the first at the zet (gate) lyand within ye wall twa heid stickis of irne with yair chalmeris.

'Item—mair at the northe part of the place bezond the gabriones ane great kalice irne peice.

'Item—ane long braisson pice kairtit (mounted) and stokit.

'Item—ane half falkone of brass.

'Item—ane wther litle peice of brass kairtit.

'Item—ane irne peice.

'Item—ane wther peice of irne.

'Item—in the long wolt (vault) of litle braissen peices four. (This long vault faced the portcullis or gate inside.)

'Item—at the colt chalmer ane greit irne peice kairtit.

'Item—ane haill falkone and ane half falknoe of brass.

'Item—on the mount heid abowe the pend (sally-port) twa irne peices.

'Item—ane number of yrne bullotis.'

Such were the ordnance, including 'Muckle Meg and her seven sisters,' with which the Castle was defended, and which the Earls occasionally converted into moveable batteries and lugged about with them in their military expeditions. For example, they were moved from the Castle and used with great effect at the Raid of Stanehive, as Spalding records. They were used against Cromwell's troops encamped on the Black hill half a mile to the north. The Castle was taken by them mainly on account of the Regalia having been sent to Dunnottar for safety, and the inventory of 1660 mentions amongst the articles delivered up by order of Morgan to Keith of Whytriggs, 'Imprimis, of cannon and murdering peices mounted and dismounted twenty-four.' Only seventeen are detailed in the list of 1612. The artillery was probably made in Flanders. Certainly, it was mended there. In a letter, dated March 6, 1571, of Lord Darcy to Burghley, printed in the *Calendar of Documents* relating to Scotland, Darcy mentions that there is a Scottish ship at Harwich and she has on board two double bases and two single bases of iron without any chambers, belonging to the Earl Marischal, which have been mended in Flanders. While personal decorations and military munitions are elaborately set forth in this inventory, what we should in these days desire to know more about are dismissed in this summary manner: 'Item, ye haill timber wark within the places and housses of Dunnottar, Fetteresso and Hall Forrest; item, ye haill buikis and armour within the said housses.' The docquet above quoted contains an apology that everything had been particularly set forth except 'ye timber wark, buikis & armour,' but it is promised that the inventory of these 'salbe particularlie takin up & set down heirefter,' but this was never done. Such being the splendour of this family and its appointments, well might the founder of Marischal College, in contempt of depreciating gossip, put above the gateway:

'They haf said: what say they: lat them say.'

J. CRABB WATT.

[The Editor has to thank Mr. John Fleming for permission to reproduce the illustration facing page 392, and Mr. Thomas Ross for the loan of the other illustrations from *MacGibbon & Ross' The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland.*]

Scottish Industrial Undertakings before the Union

IV

THE WOOL-CARD MANUFACTORY AT LEITH (ESTABLISHED IN 1663)*

ONE of the industries established as a result of the legislation of 1661 was a wool-card manufactory at Leith. Up to this time the instruments used in carding wool had been imported; and following the example of England, it was decided to protect the persons who would start the production of wool cards in Scotland. As early as 1565 patents had been granted in England which formed the basis of the important company known as the 'Society of Mineral and Battery Works.' From the date of its foundation up to 1662 several proclamations had been issued making it illegal to import foreign wool-cards or to sell 'translated' or trimmed-up old wool-cards. Owing to the trend of events in Scotland it was not till 1663 that a similar organisation was established in North Britain. The Scottish Act of 1661, while granting large privileges to infant industries, was quite silent as to the protecting of them from foreign competition. In this case the keen desire to rival the English wool trade led to all possible encouragement being given to a Scottish wool-card manufactory, not only, under the prevailing mercantilist ideas, to prevent the exportation of bullion, but also to improve the carding of wool by insuring the use of new wool-cards only—it having been customary for the people to buy cards which had been discarded elsewhere and re-made.¹ Accordingly, on June 3rd, 1663, a Patent under the Great Seal was granted to James Currie, Provost

* See *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. i. p. 407, and vol. ii. pp. 53 and 287.

¹ Parliamentary Papers, 1690 (General Register House, Edinburgh)—'Act anent the Manufacture of Cairds.'

of Edinburgh, and James Auchterlony, their assigns and partners (sociis), conferring the monopoly of producing wool-cards for nineteen years.² This privilege was confirmed to the same persons and two others by an Act of Parliament dated September 29th of the same year. The importation of re-furbished cards is forbidden under the usual penalties. Prohibitive duties were exacted from persons importing foreign cards, namely, £6 Scots per doz. 'stock-cards,' and £3 Scots per doz. of other [new] cards. These duties were to continue for seven years from the starting of the manufactory. For the next ten years the tax was to be reduced by one-half, and subsequently imports would be free, unless the Lords of the Exchequer saw reason to continue the imposts. These privileges were subject to the following conditions: The Company must produce a sufficient quantity of cards to supply the whole country, the price charged for the first seven years must not be more than ten per cent. in excess of that of those imported before the payment of import duty, and after seven years the ten per cent. allowance was to cease.³

During the early years of the history of this co-partnership the importation of 're-furbished cards' continued; and, for further encouragement of the undertaking, the original duties were maintained and the conditions imposed on the company interpreted generously. On June 11th, 1675, the Lords of the Exchequer endeavoured to prevent the importation of new and re-furbished cards by the connivance of the farmers of the customs, and it was ordered that all foreign cards should be seized and destroyed.⁴ This course, as well as the endeavour of the managers to enforce their monopoly by the prevention of the sale of cards except those made by them, led to considerable dissatisfaction. In 1680 there were complaints from Dundee brought before the Convention of Royal Burghs,⁵ and it is not improbable that in view of the determination of the monopoly in 1682 the patentees were inclined to moderate their demands for the time.

The financial results of the venture had so far been disastrous. The capital raised had been thrice lost—according to the tale of the company—solely owing to the continued importation of re-furbished cards. On these grounds a renewal of the monopoly

² *Reg. Magni Sigillii*, Lib. x. (1676-84), f. 142.

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vii. p. 488.

⁴ Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information of the heirs of John Hay . . . and Managers of the Caird Manufactory at Leith.'

⁵ *The Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, p. 21.

as well as more stringent prohibition of imported cards was applied for.⁶ On February 8th, 1681, an extension of the monopoly was granted for a further period of nineteen years,⁷ and on July 15th the Lords of the Exchequer repeated their previous order to the tacksmen of the customs to enforce the law against imported wool-cards.⁸ By an Act of the Privy Council of December 6th, 1689, the same prohibition, especially as affecting re-furbished cards, was again repeated.⁹

These privileges resulted in several real or alleged grievances. Like the Newmills Woollen Company, the Leith Card Manufactory had the right of compelling suspected persons to testify on oath, and in 1685 the managers compelled traders to make the necessary declaration before the supreme judicatory. This was felt to be a hardship, and a petition was presented to Parliament praying that the oath might be taken in the burgh where the person making it resided.¹⁰ As a result of a seizure arising out of the act of the Privy Council of 1689 the Company and the Royal Burghs came into conflict. John Spruel had imported cards, and when these were destroyed, he determined 'to raise the Royal Burghs to break the manufacture.'¹¹ A Draft Act was prepared which, after reciting the terms of the two patents, set forth that none or very few of the conditions of the first patent had been performed of set purpose so that the monopoly might be extended; for this reason it was proposed to be enacted that the patent should be null and void, and that wool cards might be imported as formerly.¹² The supporters of Spruel alleged that the cards made at Leith were neither good nor cheap.¹³ These charges educed a considerable amount of evidence from the manufacturers. It was stated a stock valued at £1000 sterling of cards was held at Leith, and that none could deny their cheapness 'except such as buy them as a cloak under which they sell great quantities of old re-furbished cards every year which, when search is made for the old ones, are always produced and kept unsold for that effect.' The re-made cards are declared to

⁶ Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information,' etc., *ut supra*.

⁷ *Reg. Magn. Sig.*, x. f. 142.

⁸ Parliamentary Papers, 1690, *ut supra*. ⁹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰ *Reports of the Convention of Royal Burghs*, 1677-1711, p. 59.

¹¹ Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information,' etc., *ut supra*.

¹² Parliamentary Papers, 1690—[Draft] 'Act anent the Manufacture of Cairds.'

¹³ Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information,' etc., *ut supra*.

be 'a perfect cheat and have been the ruin of the manufacture.'¹⁴ The fraud consisted in the fact that the re-furbished cards could be bought in England at 8s. a doz., and were sold in Scotland at the same price as new ones. The latter fetched from 18s. to 20s. a doz. in London, and the Leith undertaking offered cards made there for 20s. a doz., with six months' credit, thus conforming to the provisions of the Act of 1663. The quality of the Leith cards was guaranteed by the fact that they were in use at the Newmills and other manufactories, and the masters of these works had testified that these cards were as good as any they could obtain from England or abroad.¹⁵ In so far as this statement relates to the Newmills Woollen Manufactory some qualification is required, for in this case the cards required for the best work were imported, for instance, on June 2, 1686, 4 doz. Spanish wool-cards were ordered from Holland.¹⁶ The Leith Company also claimed that it could undersell any cards either made in Scotland or imported from abroad, and that exports could be made at a profit.¹⁷ Complaints were made that the tacksmen of the customs never exacted half the duties on new cards and that they admitted re-furbished ones, that large outlays of capital had been made 'on the public faith of the laws,' so that any interruption of the monopoly would be a great hardship before this outlay had been recovered. It required £500 sterling to provide calf-skins, and £200 sterling to pay the wrights who prepared timber for making the cards, besides many other expenses. In all sixty families had been maintained, and these were in danger of being reduced to beggary if the importation of cards were permitted. On these grounds the company asked that the privilege of a manufactory should be granted it for a further period of nineteen years, and that all foreign cards should be prohibited for all time coming.¹⁸ The upshot of the opposing petitions was that the Draft Act against the Company was referred to the Commissioners of Fines and Forfeitures, and nothing was done.¹⁹

¹⁴ Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information,' etc., *ut supra*.

¹⁵ Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Information for the Partners of the Manufactory at Leith for making Wool and Tow Cards.'

¹⁶ *The Records of a Scottish Cloth Manufactory, 1681-1703*, p. 123.

¹⁷ Parliamentary Papers, 1690—'Petition John Hay and others,' 'Information for Partners,' etc.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Parliamentary Papers, 1690—[Draft] 'Act anent the Manufacture of Cairds.'

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Though the Royal Burghs had suffered a check in the agitation against the Company in 1690, they were far from allowing the matter to rest. In 1691 the agent of the Burghs was directed to endeavour to obtain a suspension of the privileges of the manufactory, and in the following year he was ordered to defend any burghess inhabiting a Royal Burgh who was charged at the instance of Ewan MacGrigor, one of the managers of the co-partnery. In 1696 a Committee was appointed to hear complaints against the monopoly, and, on the Committee having reported, the Convention recommended the Commissioners to Parliament 'to discharge the great grievance of the manufacture of wool-cards.'²⁰ No result followed from these representations. The other side had not been idle, and a decree was obtaining which compelled persons requiring wool-cards to buy those made at the Leith manufactory.²¹

This decree evoked an indignant protest from the Royal Burghs in 1703, which declared that the cards made at Leith were 'insufficient,' and that there was 'one universal complaint against them.'²² In 1705 a memorial against the Company was transmitted to Parliament. It alleged that there were hundreds of complaints from persons, even from whole parishes, which had been distressed by the masters of the manufactory. To this the Company replied that all prosecutions had been directed against the unlawful importation of 'that rotten stuff of foreign old cards,' which, 'though in a manner cast away abroad and bought up for little or nothing, yet are endeavoured to be imposed on this kingdom at as high a rate as the manufactory's cards.' The whole animus against the undertaking was due to its endeavour to enforce the legislation against illegal importation of re-furbished cards. As against the attacks made 'by whispers and complaints of querulous, envious persons, importers and retailers of old cards for the alleged insufficiency of their work,' the approval of the woollen manufactories is again quoted, and any calumnies are abundantly disproved by the fact that 'the manufactory is so well settled and approved.'²³ What was the upshot of the quarrel is unknown. It is probable that the change in the wool trade after the Union made the monopoly no longer worth defending.

²⁰ *Records of the Convention of Royal Burghs, 1677-1711*, pp. 141, 155, 210, 229, 303.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 346.

²² *Ibid.* p. 346.

²³ *Parliamentary Papers, 1705*—'The Representation of John Hay, Ewan MacGrigor and Partners.'

As to its financial results during an existence of over forty years it is not possible to pronounce a decided opinion. The assertion that the stock was thrice lost early in the history of the concern is confirmed by the fact that Provost Currie, one of the original patentees, was in great pecuniary difficulties in 1695.²⁴ From that date till the Union it would appear that the considerable number of woollen works established would increase the demand for carded wool, and consequently for wool-cards. Therefore, provided the Leith Company could render importation sufficiently unattractive, large profits should have been made. That the undertaking had at least some measure of success is indicated not only by its lengthy existence, but also by the reference in the document quoted above to the envy of its opponents.

W. R. SCOTT.

²⁴ Parliamentary Papers, 1695—'Act in favour of James Currie'—*Acts of Par.* ix. p. 489. Appen. p. 124.

The Battle of Glenshiel

A PLAN of the Battle of Glenshiel, by Lieutenant John Henry Bastide, was published by Mr. A. H. Millar in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1882-3, and has been reproduced in the same author's *Rob Roy* (1883), in Mr. W. K. Dickson's *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719* (1895), and in the present writer's *The Chevalier de St. George* (1901). It is reprinted here for purposes of comparison.

The general accuracy of Bastide's plan, apart from the evidence of contemporary narratives, is confirmed by a plan of the battle by John Ross, of Aberdeen, the original of which is at Brahan Castle, in the possession of Colonel Stewart Mackenzie of Seaforth. It was exhibited by him in the Jacobite Exhibition at Inverness in 1903, and through his kindness is here published for the first time.

Ross's plan bears the inscription

'A Dispoition of his Maiesties forces comanded by Maj^r Gen^l Weghtmain and of y^e Rebels at y^e Pass of Glenshiels in Kintail North-Britain where y^e battle was fought upon y^e 10th of June 1719 drawn by John Ross Aberdeen.'

The plan presents the rough contour of the hills about the Pass of Glenshiel (marked *x* upon the plan). Towards its leftward margin, a broad streak marks the course of the river Shiel, to the right, that is the north, of which the roadway is shown, converging upon the river where both thread the Pass. Towards the right-hand top corner of the plan (marked *o*) appears a height described as 'Mount Shururan.' Upon Bastide's plan it is called 'The Mount called Skururan, the highest in Scotland except Benevis.' The mountain indicated is Sgurr Fhuaran, or Scour Ouran, which attains an altitude of 3505 feet.

At the foot of the plan a series of positions (*c*, *b*) marks the ground (*A*) on which Wightman drew up his force before the engagement. The position extends on both sides,

the north and south, of the river Shiel, as in Bastide's plan. Written in ink by a contemporary hand the various units of Wightman's force are indicated; and upon the extreme wings the same annotator apparently has added two important details to the plan. Upon the extreme left appear the 'Munro Highl^{rs}' and 'Clayton' (c). Upon their right, the river intervening, appear in order, 'Dragoons,' 'Huffell' and 'Amerong,' 'Harrison,' 'Montague,' 'Granad^{rs},' and 'Strath. Highl^{rs}' (B). In Bastide's plan these units are described from left to right as, 'The Monro's Highlanders,' 'Col. Clayton's Regiment,' 'Dragoons,' 'Huffel's Regmt. and 4 Companies of Amerongen's,' 'Col. Harrison's Detacht Battalion,' 'Col. Montagu's Regmt.,' 'Main Body of Grenadiers, 120 in Num.,' 'An Officer and 24 do.,' 'A Sergt. and 12 Grenadiers,' and on the extreme right wing, 'The Sutherland's Right.' In Ross's plan the same contemporary hand has indicated a position in advance of Wightman's front, beyond a tributary burn, and has marked it 'six Dragoons to Reconoitre.'

The published official account¹ of the engagement entirely confirms Ross and Bastide as to the disposition of Wightman's force: 'On the Right were posted all the Grenadiers under the Command of Major Milburn,² being above 150 in Number, who were sustained by Montague's Regiment,³ commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Lawrence,⁴ and a Detachment of 50 Men commanded by Colonel Harrison,⁴ the rest of his Regiment being in Garrison at Inverloch; these were supported by Huffel's Dutch Regiment, and four Companies out of Amerongen's; this [right] Wing had 56 of Lord Strathnaver's Men in the Flank, under the Command of Ensign Mac Cey, and the whole Wing was commanded by Colonel Clayton,⁵ who

¹ *The London Gazette*, 20-23rd June, 1719.

² Major Richard Milburn. His regiment is the present Devonshire Regiment (11th Foot). He had led it at Sheriffmuir (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. v. p. 237).

³ Colonel Edward Montague received the command of the 11th Regiment of Foot on 13th July, 1715, and died on 2nd August, 1738, at which time he held the rank of Brigadier-General (Note communicated by Mr. Dalton).

Lt.-Col. Herbert Lawrence received the lieutenant-colonelcy of the 11th Foot on 11th April, 1712 (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. v. p. 176).

⁴ Colonel Henry Harrison received the colonelcy of the 15th Foot on 8th February, 1715 (*Ibid.* vol. v. pt. ii. p. 50).

⁵ Colonel Jasper Clayton commanded the regiment now known as the 14th Foot. He was killed at Dettingen (Dalton, *English Army Lists*, vol. iv. p. 130).

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acted as Brigadier upon this Occasion. The Left Wing consisted of Clayton's Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Reading, and had on the Flank above fourscore Men of the Monroes, under the command of Mr. Monroe of Culcairn. The Dragoons, which were 120 in Number, commanded by Major Robertson,⁶ and had made their March from Inverness without the Loss of so much as one Horse or the least Inconvenience to them, were order'd to keep the Road,⁷ having four Cohorns plac'd in their Front.⁸ The Major-General [Wightman] himself was posted in the Centre.' His total strength was 850 foot, 120 dragoons, 136 Highlanders, in all 1106, and four mortars.'

Ross's plan is not equally detailed as to the disposition of the Jacobite force. Upon the high ground immediately to the north of the Pass is shown the entrenched position (A) occupied by the luckless Spanish contingent (B) which was involved in the haphazard adventure. On its front, facing east towards Wightman's line of advance, are shown a double line of entrenchments held by Highlanders (C), covered by three breastworks defended by the Spaniards themselves (D). On the other (the south) side of the river, upon an eminence in advance of the Spaniards' position, is marked (F) a 'Detachm^t from y^e Right command^d by L^d G. Murray.' Upon the extreme left of the Jacobite position is shown (G) a 'Body of 400 Highland^r comand^d by Ld. Seaforth.' In Seaforth's rear appears (at H) a force described as 'The body of Men to Sustain the first.' To the rear of Lord George Murray are shown (L) a body of 'Highland^r goeing to Sustain L^d G. Murray,' and close by them (O) another body of 'Highland^r Skulking about the Hills.' On the left (north) of the Spanish entrenchments is marked (I) the position of the 'Woods from whence they [the Highlanders] fired hid behind Rocks.'

⁶ Major Patrick Robertson. His regiment was the Royal Regiment of North British Dragoons, now the Royal Scots Greys.

⁷ Ross's plan shows the dragoons lying across the road.

⁸ The position of the four mortars in the attack is marked N on Ross's plan. A similar position is assigned to them on Bastide's plan.

⁹ In Mar's *Distinct Abridgement*, quoted in my *Chevalier de St. George*, p. 491, Wightman's strength is given at about 1500. Wightman, says Mar, 'placed their Horse on the low ground, and a Battalion cross the water near them, with most of their Highlanders on their left; all the rest of their foot were at a distance on a rising ground to the right of the horse.'

Bastide's plan agrees generally with Ross's regarding the Jacobite position. The Spanish contingent (A) is thereon described as 'posted on the Hill that commanded the Plain and the Pass.' Lord George Murray's position (F) is identically represented, and also that of the force of Highlanders (H) 'to sustain their [Lord George Murray's] Right.' Bastide, however, shows a detail which is not specifically indicated on Ross's plan. At about the position E on Ross's plan he marks 'The Barricade that defended the Pass on the River Side' (D). Wightman may have had such a barrier in his mind when he wrote in his official despatch: 'Their Dispositions for Defence were extraordinary, with the Advantages of Rocks, Mountains, and Intrenchments.'¹⁰ Possibly the rope-like detail immediately above E on Ross's plan is intended to represent the entrenchments across the Pass.

The disposition of the Jacobite force is detailed by Tullibardine, who was present,¹¹ in a letter to Mar from Glengarry on 16th June, 1719.¹² He writes: 'We had drawn up to the right [*i.e.* south] of our main body on the other side of the [Shiel] water upon a little Hill [F on Ross's plan] about one hundred and fifty men, including the Companys of my Lord Seaforths, besides above four-score more were allotted for that place, who was to come from the top of the Hill [O on the left of Ross's plan], but altho' they sent twice to tell they were coming, yet they only beheld the action at a Distance. This party was commanded by Lord Geo. Murray, the Laird of McDougal, Major Mcintosh,¹³ and John of Auch,¹⁴ ane old officer of my Lord Seaforths people.'¹⁵ On the north of the

¹⁰ *Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283. A letter of 22nd June, 1719, speaks of the Jacobite position at the Pass as 'fortified by strong entrenchments from one side to another, being not above two hundred paces broad' (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 584).

¹¹ His commission 'was read that morning [10th June] at the head of the army, as ample as was ever given to any subject's' (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 584).

¹² The letter is printed in *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. 269. It may be observed that Mar's *Distinct Abridgements*, printed in Oliphant's *Jacobite Lairds of Gask*, quotes it almost literally.

¹³ 'Major James Mackintosh, Borlum's brother' (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 585).

¹⁴ John Mackenzie of Avoch.

¹⁵ The letter of 22nd June (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 585) describes the right of the Jacobite position thus: 'That on the right on the opposite southern hill consisted of about one hundred and twenty Belkash and Loch-Erri men with

river, forming the left of the Jacobite position, according to Tullibardine, 'were first on the right¹⁶ the Spanish Regiment [B on Ross's plan], which consisted of about two hundred men; about fifty more of them were left behind with the Magazine, several of them being Sick.' Next in the line, on the left of the Spaniards, was 'Locheill with about one hundred and fifty.' On the Camerons' left were 'M' Lidcoat's and others, being one hundred and fifty, twenty volunteers.'¹⁷ On their left, in order from left to right, were Rob Roy and forty Macgregors, fifty Mackinnons, and two hundred Seaforth Highlanders under Sir John Mackenzie of Coull. On the extreme left of the Jacobite line, 'at a considerable distance on a steep hill,' was Lord Seaforth himself, 'posted with above two hundred of his best men.' The Earl Marischal and Brigadier Campbell of Ormidale were with him. Brigadier Mackintosh of Borlum was with the Spaniards. On the centre, at the Pass itself, 'where we imagin'd the main attack would be, it being by far the easiest Ground, besides the only way thro' the Glen,' Tullibardine and Brigadier Colin Campbell of Glendaruel took position.¹⁸

Before dealing with the battle itself, it may be well to sketch the circumstances which had brought the two forces into opposition. Jacobite effort for the most part leant upon French assistance. Simon Fraser's plot in 1703, the French descent of 1708, the risings of 1715 and 1745 establish the fact. But the haphazard effort of 1719 drew its inspiration from Spain and Cardinal Alberoni's restless and disturbing policy. England, pledged to the Treaty of Utrecht, a signatory to the Treaty of Westminster in 1716, and, with France and Holland, a party to the Triple Alliance of 1717, thwarted Alberoni's schemes. Undaunted he seized Sicily in 1718.

about fifty Camerons, and was commanded by Lord George Murray, Fairbores, John of Avoch, and Major James Mackintosh, Borlum's brother.' 'Fairbores' appears elsewhere (*ibid.* p. 587) as 'Fairburne.'

¹⁶ *i.e.* nearest to the stream and Pass.

¹⁷ Mr. Dickson, *Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. 1., conjectures that 'Lidcoat' may be a pseudonym for Glengarry. But a letter from one with the Jacobite force states categorically that 'none of Glengarry' was present (*Portland MSS.*, vol. v. p. 587). The same letter seems to refer to 'Lidcoat's' contingent as 'about eighty stragglers.' In Mar's *Distinct Abridgement* this body is referred to as '150 with 20 volunteers, from the neighbouring bounds.'

¹⁸ *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. 271.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF GLENSHIEL, 1719, BY JOHN ROSS, ABERDEEN

In August of that year Admiral Byng engaged and routed the Spanish fleet off Cape Passaro. To cripple England, or at least to hold her powerless to check the policy to which he was committed, was naturally Alberoni's aim. The Hanoverian dynasty in England was still unsettled and unpopular. To encourage latent Jacobitism in England and Scotland was an obvious measure. In November, 1718, accordingly, the Duke of Ormonde was invited from Paris to Madrid. Early the next year the Chevalier himself set out from Rome to Madrid. Ormonde's English project, however, met the usual fate of foreign fleets engaged in Jacobite adventure. James arrived in Spain to learn that an appeal to English Jacobitism was perforce abandoned. But ignorant of the fate of Ormonde's attempt, the Earl Marischal had already sailed for Scotland. His brother, James Keith, had been despatched to France to stir up the Jacobite refugees.¹⁹ Early in April, 1719, Jacobite Scotland was invited to join in the isolated adventure. But the Spanish contingent alone indicated that the brunt of the effort would not be purely local. Sheriffmuir was too recent a memory to tempt obvious immolation. The Clans were cautious. The measure of their enthusiasm has already been gauged in the roll of those who were present at Glenshiel.

Wightman, with the troops already enumerated, had marched from Inverness, haply to quell the rising, on 5th June. On the 10th he advanced westward from Strath Clunie, and found the Jacobite force covering the Pass of Glenshiel.²⁰ Ross's plan gives indications of the course of the battle. On the front of the position where Wightman halted upon coming into view of the Pass is shown (H) the 'rock' where his force 'wheeld to y^e right at 4 to atack y^e Enemy at 6,' confronted by Seaforth and the Highland left (G). To the rear (M) of Wightman's force is shown the 'Guard for y^e bagadge & place for y^e Hospitall." On the left of Wightman's line a force of 'Dragoons

¹⁹ See *Memoir of Field-Marshal James Keith, 1714-1734*. Spalding Club.

²⁰ *Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283. Wightman's letter to Roxburghe states: 'Yesterday [10th June] I march'd from Strachlony to the Head of Glenshill, a considerable Pass, which, I was told, the Enemy had resolv'd to defend; but upon my Approach they deserted that Post, and retir'd to cover their Camp, which was at another very strong Pass call'd Strachell.' Mr. Dickson remarks that the 'name [Pass of Strachell] still appears in guide-books, though it is not known in the district' (*Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. xlix). The advanced party which Wightman describes as retiring before him was commanded by Lord George Murray.

advanced on horseback' is shown at F. To the rear of that body appears the first position of the mortars, firing across the stream upon Murray's position at F. The second position of the guns (N) shows them bombarding the Spaniards entrenched at A. To the south of the stream, at the foot and on the crest of Lord George Murray's hill (both marked D) is shown 'a Platoon highl: marching up y^e hill to atack Lord G. Murray.' Finally, high up the hill upon the right (north) of the plan is marked (L) the position of 'Our [Wightman's] Army drawn up after the Action.' As to the Jacobite force Ross does no more than indicate the direction of its retreat. Naturally, in view of the presence of cavalry with Wightman's force, the routed Highlanders and their allies kept to the high ground. The Spaniards are shown retreating due north up the hill (M) to its summit (N) 'where they fled after y^e Action.' At P (twice marked) are shown the 'Highland^r broke and runing away.'

Bastide's plan confirms Ross's details. Clayton, commanding the right, led the force to 'the Rock where the Attack began' (22. See H on Ross's plan), and pushed his pursuit to the top of the hill (23, 25. See L on Ross's plan). The attack of Clayton's regiment and the Monroes (D on Ross's plan) upon Lord George Murray's position is shown by Bastide at 16 and 24. The first position of the mortars (unlettered on Ross's plan) is shown at 17. Their second position (N on Ross's plan) is shown at 18, and hard by Wightman is represented (29) 'giving his directions during the Action.' The development of the attack upon the centre of the Jacobite position, the Pass itself, is shown by Bastide with some details which make clearer Ross's confusing lettering. At 19 is shown part of Clayton's regiment, after the rout of Murray's force, engaged in attacking 'the Barricade of the Pass,' and on the other (north) side of the stream (at 20) '35 Dragoons on Foot attack the Spaniards Breast Works.' On Ross's plan these positions are indicated on either side of the river at G G. From Bastide's plan it also appears (21) that the dragoons (F on Ross's plan) and part of Clayton's regiment (26) took possession of the eminence on which the Spaniards had been entrenched.

The general features of the engagement are already clear. Wightman, instead of a direct attack upon the centre of the Jacobite position, and probably with the object of sweeping the pursuit along the valley where his cavalry could deal with it, directed his first attack upon the wings. Victorious on both

quarters, he forced the Spaniards on the centre to evacuate their entrenched position, and to join the flight of the Highlanders to the higher slopes of Scour Ouran.²¹ Such a general impression of the engagement is confirmed by the contemporary accounts of it. Tullibardine²² states clearly that the brunt of Wightman's attack had been expected on the centre, 'it being by far the easiest Ground, besides the only way thro' the Glen.' Wightman, however, merely stationed his horse 'on the low Ground,' and placed his foot partly on the south of the stream, and partly 'on a rising ground' on his right. The first attack was upon Lord George Murray and the Jacobite right. The Monroes and Clayton's regiment delivered it. Their first detachment was reinforced by a second and a third, until 'most of those with Lord Geo. ran to the other side of a steep Burn, where he himself and the rest were afterwards obliged to follow, where they continued till all was over, it being uneasy for the enemy to pass the hollow Banks of that Burn.' If Ross's chronology is correct, the attack and rout of Lord George Murray must have taken place after four o'clock, when Wightman's right moved up the higher ground against Seaforth.²³ 'When they found that party on our Right give way,' Tullibardine continues, 'their Right began to move up the Hill from thence, to fall down on our left, but when they saw my Lord Seaforths people, who were behind the steep Rock (marked 1 on Ross's plan), they were oblig'd to attack them lest they should have been flank'd in coming to us.' The inference is clear. The screened position at 'the steep Rock,' held, as one may conjecture, by 'Lidcoat,' Rob Roy, and the Mackinnons, enfiladed the direct advance of an attacking force approaching the Spaniards. Clayton, therefore, commanding Wightman's right, found it necessary to convert a frontal attack upon the centre into a flank attack upon the Jacobite extreme left. The change of direction brought him upon Seaforth and his Mackenzies (G on Ross's plan). Clayton's move produced immediate effect. Sir John Mackenzie of Coull, on Seaforth's right, in spite of the fact, as Tullibardine states, that 'most

²¹ Mr Dickson (*Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. lii) remarks: 'Far up the hill there is a corrie which to this day the shepherds call Bealach-na-Spainnteach, the Spaniards' Pass.'

²² *Ibid.* p. 271.

²³ Wightman states that he delivered his attack 'about Five in the Afternoon' (*Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283).

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of [his] men began to goe off on the seeing the enemy, mov'd up with his Battalion to sustain the rest of the M'kenzies.' Clayton, in consequence, pushed his attack on Seaforth with the greater vigour, 'on which my Lord Seaforth sent down [the hill] for a Reinforcement.' Campbell of Ormidale came up at the moment from his post with the Spaniards, 'telling it was not certain if there [Wightman's] main body would not just then fall upon our Centre.' The news spread consternation among those with whom it would go hardly if Ormidale's fear should be realised at the moment when Seaforth's position seemed precarious. It caused, says Tullibardine, 'Rob Roy with the M'grigors and M'kinnin the longer of drawing off' to Seaforth's assistance. Observing Seaforth 'give way,' however, Rob Roy 'made all the dispatch he could' to reinforce him. 'But before he could get up, so as to be fairly in hands with the Enemy, Lord Seaforth's people were mostly gone off, and himself left wounded in the Arm, so that with difficulty he could get out of the place.' Rob Roy thereupon drew off his detachment. 'Lidcoat's' men were sent to reinforce the left, but followed Rob Roy. The Camerons were then ordered to 'march up,' but 'likewise drew off as others had done.' Finally the Spaniards were 'called' to check the rout. But 'none standing to sustain them, they likewise were oblig'd to draw up the hill on our left, where at last all began to run, tho' half had never once an opportunity to fire on the Enemy.' The whole disorganised force, Tullibardine concludes, 'went off over the mountains, and next morning we had hardly anybody together except some of the Spaniards.'

In the *Portland MSS.*²⁴ two anonymous letters add some details to the story of the battle. The first, dated 22nd June, is clearly written by one who was not present at it. The second, dated 27th June, is the narrative of an eye-witness whose account is both incomplete, inaccurate, and prejudiced by its writer's animus against Tullibardine. Both, however, contain statements which bear the stamp of accuracy, and may be accepted. The first adds a detail to the attack on Lord George Murray and the Jacobite right: 'The last-mentioned wing was attacked by the forces half an hour after four in the afternoon, and though they were vastly inferior in number to those who attacked them in their bodies, yet being equal in

²⁴ Vol. v. pp. 584-87.

their courage and superior in their situation, they repulsed them thrice with considerable loss, and maintained their ground bravely for two hours, till at last by their small mortars (a new machine of General Cochorn's invention), the forces fired the heath and woods about them, and by that means smothered them out of their strongholds; upon which they retired in good order and with great deliberation to the main body.²⁵ Of the attack upon the Jacobite left the writer gives the following account: 'My Lord Seaforth was next attacked, and maintained his ground for two hours more with abundance of bravery, till at last his men, weary of so long and close fire, began to give way, upon which he stepped out before his men towards the enemy, brandishing his sword to rally them, at which time he received a shot in the fleshy part of the arm. However, he rallied them at length, and stood it out at one strong ground or other till about a quarter after nine,²⁶ when being faint by loss of blood, no succours being sent him from the main body (though earnestly and frequently desired), his hardiest men being fatigued by long action, and overpowered by numbers of forces, who by this time had scrambled up the hill, and were advanced breast to breast, he was at last forced to retire, which he did without the least disorder or confusion.' The writer adds: 'I am not to enlarge upon misbehaviour in general or particular, but certainly there was an Achan in the camp. Imprudence, cowardice, and knavery were the principal ingredients in the composition of some there, and that not without the influence of some who were old friends.' No suspicion rested upon Seaforth, who 'discharged his piece six times after he was wounded.' Sir John Mackenzie, also, 'made a notable effort to recover the reputation he had lost at Inverness.' As to Lord George Murray and the Earl Marischal, 'some of the officers . . . swear they have seen each of them fire fifteen shot.'

The letter of 27th June infers that the Jacobites retreated because 'the whole ammunition was spent.' Tullibardine comes in for criticism. 'When we expected all would act as they ought,' says the writer, 'our General refused with his

²⁵ The statement that Murray retired to the main body does not find confirmation elsewhere. See above.

²⁶ Wightman states that 'a warm Dispute was maintain'd till past Eight' (*Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283).

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body to engage, alleging he had no orders from the king to fight, and only detached Glenderuell and Rob Roy Macgregor with sixty men to a pass, which they quitted without firing one shot upon the enemy's advancing, and retired to the General.' The writer adds, that while Seaforth was engaged on the left, Tullibardine 'ordered Rob Roy to blow up the whole magazine, which he did, and to carry off his baggage, of which he took more than fell to his and the General's share, and the General marched southward with his whole body, without burning powder except firing the magazine.' Seaforth again is complimented: 'In this action, Seaforth and the few that stood by him acquitted themselves like heroes, and had they ammunition would probably have ruined the enemy He himself [Seaforth] led them on in his Highland habit, and fought amongst them at the same time without any distinction; he received a wound along the ribs, on the right side, which being slight, he concealed, and when the whole ammunition was spent, he drew his sword, and raising his hand with it, gave orders for all to fall on sword in hand, he was shot in the arm through the flesh, and his people flocking about him, and seeing much blood upon him coming from both wounds put them in some confusion, which with the enemies pressing hard upon them obliged them to retire, and march to the "Cro" of Kintail.' The writer concludes: 'Lochriel, Borlam, Glenruel, Rob Roy and some others were the counsellors about the General; how they will account for their conduct I know not. Maccougal, Fairburne, Avach, and Belmukie behaved extraordinarily well in their several stations with Seaforth.'

Keith's *Memoir* adds nothing to the details of the engagement. The official narratives are equally general in their character. Wightman's dispatch to the Duke of Roxburghe is dated 'Glenshill, June 11, Eight o'Clock in the Morning.'²⁷ He writes: 'Yesterday I march'd from Strachlony to the Head of Glenshill, a considerable Pass, which, I was told, the Enemy had resolv'd to defend; but upon my Approach they²⁸ deserted that Post, and retir'd to cover their Camp, which was at another very strong Pass call'd Strachell. I gave them no Time, but immediately view'd their Situation, and having made my

²⁷ *Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 283.

²⁸ *i.e.* Lord George Murray and his reconnoitring party. See my *Chevalier de St. George*, p. 489.

Disposition, began my Attack about Five in the Afternoon, and a warm Dispute was maintain'd till past Eight, when it pleas'd God to give us an entire Victory over them.' He announced that the Spanish troops had agreed to surrender that afternoon, and that his casualties would not exceed one hundred and fifty, including Captain Downes of Montague's regiment, who was killed in the attack. A later letter from Wightman gives the roll of the Spanish prisoners at two hundred and seventy-four including officers.²⁹ *The London Gazette*, for 20-23rd June, 1719, announced: 'About Five, the Left Wing was order'd to begin the Attack, and the Rebels, always as they had fir'd their Muskets, skipping off, and never venturing to come to a close Engagement, were driven from Rock to Rock, our Men chasing them before them for above three Hours, 'till we gain'd the Top of the Hill, where they were immediately dispers'd.' Lord George Murray, who had his revenge in the '45, was reported wounded in the leg.

The narratives of the engagement on both sides convey unanimously the impression of a Jacobite defeat. That divided counsels contributed to that result is apparent from the accounts already quoted. Mar's *Distinct Abridgement* and Keith's *Memoir* amply confirm them.³⁰ Sir Walter Scott, however, has represented the engagement as a Jacobite victory. Mr. Hill Burton holds the issue drawn and doubtful. On the contrary, the engagement on 10th June, 1719, was decisive, and, as Mr. Dickson remarks, 'a sorry celebration of James's birthday.'³¹ Nearly a generation passed before some of the actors in it, under more inspiring leadership, challenged the issue of it. And with Culloden militant Highland Stuartism expired.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

²⁹ *Historical Register*, vol. iv. p. 285. For an account of their treatment see *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 23; *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. 274.

³⁰ See my *Chevalier de St. George*, pp. 474 *et seq.*

³¹ *The Jacobite Attempt of 1719*, p. lii.

Le Château de Brix, en Normandie

LE département de la Manche, à l'extrémité sud duquel se dresse le Mont Saint Michel, s'enorgueillit aussi d'avoir été le berceau de la famille royale des Bruces d'Ecosse et d'Angleterre. Le château de Brix, dont les ruines elles-mêmes ont péri, était situé dans la paroisse de Brix, non loin de Valognes, à vingt cinq lieues environ du Mont Saint Michel.

A moitié démembré dès le treizième siècle, le château de Brix, appelé aussi le château d'Adam, ne formait plus au seizième siècle qu'un amas de débris qui servirent à l'agrandissement de l'église actuelle ; mais, par les fondations qui subsistent encore, on juge facilement de l'importance du château dont l'emplacement était admirablement choisi. A l'est, s'élève un large monticule, hérissé de rocs, tandis qu'au fond du ravin coule une petite rivière. Comme le coté ouest ne présentait pas de protections naturelles, de solides retranchements et de larges fossés suppléaient à ce défaut de protection ; au sud, l'horizon s'élargit et le regard se perd dans une plaine très-vaste.

Quel fut le constructeur du château ? Il est impossible de le dire ; mais il n'est pas téméraire de croire avec un archéologue Normand, M. de Gerville, que les seigneurs de Brix qui possédaient en Normandie et en Angleterre des domaines très-importants, furent obligés, en 1205, quand le roi de France eut recouvré la Normandie, d'opter entre la France et l'Angleterre ; comme ils optèrent pour cette dernière contrée, leur château fut confisqué et démoli.

C'est une pure hypothèse également que d'attribuer la construction de ce château à Adam Bruce qui aurait fait partie, sous Louis IX, de l'expédition des barons anglo-normands, unis aux bretons, contre le château de la Haye-Pesnel, petite localité située à quatre lieues au nord d'Avranches. Aucun document n'établit l'existence d'un Adam de Bruis, à cette époque ; mais, ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il y eut trois Adam,

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morts en 1144, 1162, 1185. Le premier des trois est mentionné dans l'histoire de Siméon de Durham, mais à notre connaissance n'est pas cité dans les généalogies anglaises des Bruces. Peut-être, ce fils aîné de Bruce, compagnon de Guillaume le Conquérant, n'aurait-il eu que des propriétés en Normandie? Dans ce cas, ce serait lui qui aurait construit le château d'Adam ou . . . celui qui mourut en 1162.

Quoiqu'il en soit, nous savons que le 12 mai 1194 Richard Cœur de Lion y coucha¹ et que le 24 septembre 1200 Jean sans Terre y passait la nuit.² Ainsi, le château des Bruce a donné l'hospitalité à deux rois d'Angleterre.

Reste à savoir si Robert Bruce, compagnon de Guillaume le Conquérant était originaire de Brix? 'De la vérité de cette assertion, dit M. l'abbé Adam, qui a consacré une petite monographie au château d'Adam Bruce, à Brix,³ dépend la vérité de toutes les propositions, tendant à démontrer que Brix fut le berceau d'une famille qui fournit à Guillaume le Conquérant un de ses principaux capitaines, à l'Angleterre un de ses premiers barons, à l'Écosse le plus illustre de ses rois.'

Il n'est pas douteux qu'il y avait un Bruce, un Brus ou un Bris, à la bataille d'Hastings. Le prologue en vers français des *Decem Scriptores Angliæ*, rapporté par Brompton, énumère

George et Spencer
Brus et Botteler.

Wace, dans le Roman de Rou et les ducs de Normandie, dit

Li Archier du Val de Roil
A maint Engleiz creverent l'oïl . . .
Cels de *Brius* . . .

D'où venait ce Brus ou ce Brius? Tous les généalogistes lui donnent pour berceau la Normandie: Dugdale, Bank, Collin, Douglas, etc.⁴

¹ In festo sanctorum Nerei et Achillei, apud Portesmuthi navem ascendens in Normanniam appulit et apud *Bruis* nocte illa quievit. (Mathieu de Paris, 1194, p. 123.)

² Itinéraire du roi Jean sans Terre, copié des Rolles de la Tour de Londres. Communication de M. de Gerville.—*Archæologia Londinensis*, xxii^e vol., 1828.

³ Cf. *Mémoire de la Société Nationale Académique de Cherbourg*, 1897-1898, p. 17.

⁴ Voir aussi *Monast. Anglic.*, ii. 18.—*The Cyclopædia Londinensis*, 1807, verbo Heraldry.

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De quelle partie de la Normandie était-il originaire ? *Incontestablement de Brix*, parce qu'il n'existe en Normandie aucune paroisse autre que celle de Brix, dans l'arrondissement de Valognes, à porter ce nom ou un nom s'en rapprochant. Dans le spicilege de Dom Luc d'Achery, relatif à la chronique de l'Abbaye de Fontenelle,⁵ il est fait mention d'un lieu appelé *Brucius* qui est décrit d'une façon si précise qu'il n'est pas douteux qu'il s'agit de Brix ; au onzième siècle Brix est appelé *Brucium*.⁶

Ce nom a été conservé en Angleterre, mais en France, il a subi les transformations de la langue. 'Le latin usité au huitième siècle fut remplacé dans les siècles suivants par la langue romane qui devint, peu à peu, la langue française actuelle. Voilà pourquoi le mot de Bruce fut remplacé au XII^e et au XIII^e siècles par Brus, Bruis ou Brius, qui, du reste, est encore entièrement identique au mot Bruce et se prononce de même en Anglais. De Brius, Brus, Bruis et Bruys, on fit bientôt Bris, Brye et enfin Brix, nom actuel de la paroisse.'

C'est donc bien de cette commune qu'était originaire le Brus de la Conquête.

Ce Brus de la Conquête, originaire de Brix, est-il l'ascendant de Robert Bruce, roi d'Ecosse ?

Nous savons que le roi David concéda à Bruce, guerrier de la Conquête, le territoire d'Estrahanent en Ecosse et que Guillaume lui donne 94 seigneuries dans le Yorkshire. Il laisse deux enfants Adam, seigneur de Skelton, et Robert, seigneur d'Annandale.⁷ C'est de ce dernier qu'est descendue la famille royale d'Ecosse.

Robert épousa Agnès, fille de Foulques Paisnel,⁸ et, en seconde noces, l'héritière d'Annandale. Guillaume fils de Robert donna naissance à Robert, lequel fut le grand père du fameux compétiteur au trône d'Ecosse.

Il n'entre pas dans le cadre de cette courte étude d'établir

⁵ L. d'Achery, iii. 123.

⁶ *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, par M.M. de Wailly, Delisle et Jourdain, x., p. 270, Note A.

⁷ *Cooke's Yorkshire*, p. 270.

⁸ Les Paisnel occupent une place considérable dans l'histoire de l'Avranchin. Foulques Paisnel, *Fuscus Paganellus*, fit en 1198 de très riches donations à l'abbaye du Mont Saint Michel. Voir le Cartulaire du Mont, manuscrit de la Bibl. d'Avranches au folio 111.

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la généalogie des Bruces ;⁹ nous avons esseulement essayé de démontrer que le Bruce, guerrier de la Conquête, était bien originaire de la paroisse de Brix, aujourd'hui petite commune de l'arrondissement de Valognes, mais il serait téméraire, nous semble-t-il, de suivre plus avant les historiens normands qui, comme M. l'abbé Adam, ont établi une généalogie complète depuis le Bruce de la Conquête jusqu'à Sa Majesté la Reine Victoria.

ETIENNE DUPONT.

⁹Cette généalogie a été l'objet de nombreux travaux. En 1864, M. Borel d'Hauterive a publié, à Paris, une notice généalogique assez estimée sur la Maison de Bruce.

[M. Dupont modestly disclaims authority to discuss the pedigree of the Bruces on this side of the Channel, his theme being rather the place than the family. There are difficulties, which are not all yet solved by the genealogists, concerning the personnel as well as the pedigree. Readers of the new *Scots Peerage* (voce Earldom of Carrick) may care to be referred by way of supplement to the present study by M. Dupont, to an examination of the succession of the early Bruces of Yorkshire and Annandale, in a paper by Mr. William Brown, which appeared in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* for 1894, on 'The Brus Cenatoph at Guisborough.'—ED. S.H.R.]

Reviews of Books

EARLY SCOTTISH CHARTERS PRIOR TO A.D. 1153. Collected, with Notes and an Index, by Sir Archibald C. Lawrie. Pp. xxix, 515. Demy 8vo. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1905. 10s. nett.

SIR ARCHIBALD LAWRIE served his apprenticeship as a Record scholar long ago. His name is associated with the most considerable task yet undertaken in Scotland in this branch of learning, the Index to the Acts of Parliament. In the present book, returning to the subject of those early labours, he gives us a work of reference, and an essay in criticism. To gather into one handy and sightly volume a corpus of documents hitherto scattered and in some cases not easily accessible, is a conception so excellent that even serious defects in execution would not be harshly judged. And on the whole the execution is fairly good. Corrections of text and notes, as well as additional Charters, could easily be indicated, but this is a task which every fit student of the book ought to perform for himself.

To turn then to the subject matter; the present reviewer is too sensible of his ignorance of Celtic antiquities to attempt to discuss either the scanty notices of the pre-Norman period gleaned from the Book of Deer and the Register of the Priory of St. Andrews, or the editor's comments thereon. These, which are to Irish what the rest of the book is to English Record, are 'beyond my last.' Following these, we have here practically all that remains of evidence, native and contemporary, of the social history of the reigns of Malcolm Canmore's sons, during which Scotland was transformed, under Norman auspices, from a Celtic to a Teutonic kingdom. We see an English society developing under the same influences which were working in England; while in the obstinate resistance of the northern clergy to the metropolitical claims of York we recognise the germ of the Scottish national spirit. It was the time when the country was being trained to discipline by the central and subordinate feudal jurisdictions, conformed to the contemporary standard of civility by the Normanized church, and initiated in commercial pursuits by the privileges accorded to the burghs. But it is solely to the second of these agencies that the mass of our evidence relates; and while we learn much of the ways in which the churchmen acquired their possessions, we are told nothing here of their methods of management. Of all the charters that must have been given to the great barons, devouring time has spared only those of Annandale to Robert de Brus; of grants to the lesser gentry, only the charters of Swinton, Riddell and Athelstaneford. Yet, from the incidental evidence of the documents here collected, antiquarian industry

has long ago gathered what can be gathered as to the early history of our institutions, and collected and assorted the authentic record of the first settlement in Scotland of our oldest families. Here we find the surnames (to confine ourselves to those houses which chose to be Scottish when it ceased to be possible to be both Scottish and English, and to those of them which attained to the peerage), of Bruce, Crichton, Grahame, Herries, Lindsay, Maule, Maxwell, Melville, Oliphant, Seton, and Somerville; and the reputed ancestors, not yet bearing the surname, of Stewart, Ruthven, Livingston and Fleming; most of them significantly represented by a single individual, several by a single mention of a single individual. Of officials we have the "pincerna" under Edgar; the chancellor and constable under Alexander; the chamberlain, sheriffs, provosts and justiciaries (not yet a high justiciary) under David. Of the burghs we learn still less; ten royal burghs (if the index can be trusted) are named as such; of two ecclesiastical burghs the foundation is recorded; in one case trading rights are safeguarded; in another reference is made to the duties of watching and warding, and special license is granted to sell burgage property. That the body of customary law known as the *Leges Burgorum* was in course of formation need not be doubted; but its reduction to writing in its extant form is assuredly long posterior to the age of David I., and the editor has done right in declining to include it.

The notes and index add enormously to the value of the volume; they bring its main results within the reach of even the hasty reader, and in the foregoing remarks I have been largely indebted to them. There is one subject on which the notes aim at novelty, and here some comment is not out of place. The collecting of so much scattered but homogeneous matter could not but suggest the possibility of arriving by comparative criticism at some scientific canons of genuineness; and to that subject Sir Archibald has devoted some space and a good deal of attention. In some cases he simply subscribes to the unanimous verdict of his predecessors; in discussing certain of the Coldingham charters he takes his side in a controversy upon which the last word is not likely to be spoken just yet; in other instances he has started new and interesting questions. Sometimes his views are given rather offhand, and for that reason are not easy to deal with. I have failed to understand what ails him (if he will pardon so homely an expression) at the 'Inquisitio Davidis,' or King David's charters of Swinton. But as to King Alexander's charters to Scone the case is different. There it is quite possible that his views may prevail. The great charter of foundation, which has hitherto been regarded or at least treated as a landmark, is now formally tried on six several counts, and condemned. These I summarize.

- (1) The charter is not in the earlier of the two extant Registers of Scone.
- (2) The original had perished at an early date.
- (3) The style is unlike that of other charters of the period.
- (4) Adelwald, who is mentioned as Prior of St. Oswald's, did not become so till after King Alexander's death.
- (5) The manner in which the King authenticates the charter is abnormal.
- (6) Most of the consenters and witnesses are unknown.

Now on five of these heads I think the defendant's task is easy. On the silence of the older Register no stress can safely be laid; what that

Register may or may not have contained when complete it is impossible to say, for the section which was devoted to royal charters is a mere fragment. The third allegation is that the charter begins with an invocation; but that form is by no means so rare as Sir Archibald represents it, even in his own collection. The forger, if such he was, did not need to go so far afield as 'a charter belonging to the early Saxon period'; he found models in the archives of the sister Abbeys of Holyrood and Cambuskenneth. If the charter is genuine, it follows the form of King Henry's charter to the parent Priory of Nostell. No. 4, which at first sight looks fatal, breaks down under cross-examination. The lists of the Priors of Nostell, on which the argument depends, is taken from a manuscript not earlier than A.D. 1400. 'Ralph Adlave' there given as the first Prior, does not look like the real name of an early twelfth century ecclesiastic. Looking closer, Adlave is only a variant of Adelofo, and Ralph (Radulphus) may well be a mere corruption of Adulphus: which brings us into line with the other account (*Monasticon*, vi. 37), according to which 'Athelwulfus, or Adulphus, confessor to King Henry I.' was the first Prior of Nostell. As to No. 5. is it possible that the editor understands, by the confirmations 'propria manu' of King Alexander and Queen Sibilla, their *signatures* in the modern sense? That would indeed be strange in the twelfth century; even in the fifteenth, when the despised later Register was written, private Deeds were signed by the granters rarely, Royal charters never. Surely the natural meaning is that King and Queen each affixed to their grant the sign of the cross—a practice too familiar to need illustration. As to the consenters and witnesses, if Beth is regarded as a mistake for Heth and Usieth for Ufieth, there are proposed and possible identifications of thirteen out of the sixteen; which, even allowing the probability that some of the identifications may be wrong, gives a large proportion of recognisable magnates, considering how scanty our records of the period are.

But the second count of Sir Archibald's indictment, which I have kept to the last, is a different matter. That the originals of all King Alexander's charters to Scone had perished before 1163 is clearly proved; and thus we are confronted with a twofold problem. (1) Did the transcripts produced to King Malcolm faithfully represent the lost originals? (2) Does the surviving text faithfully represent those transcripts? This difficulty affects not the foundation charter only, but all the four earliest charters of Scone; and it is not entirely absent in any case where (as in the great majority of monastic charters) we are dependent on the sole evidence of the Registers. It is not often that we have the means of testing their accuracy by collation; and where this is possible, the result is not always satisfactory. The *Liber Insule Missarun* is printed from a Chartulary; many of the original charters are still preserved at Dupplin, and Mr. W. A. Lindsay, who has made the comparison, informs me that he did not find one single charter copied with absolute accuracy. The foundation charter of Balmerino Abbey is in the British Museum, and was printed in the Maitland Club 'Illustrations of Scottish History.' Comparison with the copy in the Chartulary affords food for uncomfortable reflection. In most cases we

must take the Registers for what they are worth ; and the transcripts of 1163 would be in that position, if we had them. But the question of the relation of the existing copies to those transcripts is one upon which our editor has very pertinent remarks to make. In some passages the foundation charter, as we have it, varies materially from the confirmations by King Malcolm IV. and Pope Alexander III. The same remark applies to the charter by which the King granted to the Canons the 'Can' of a ship ; and in the latter case the Register of Nostell has preserved a grant to Scone to the same effect but in different terms, partly coinciding with the confirmations aforesaid, whereas the charter in the Liber de Scon agrees almost verbally with a charter by William the Lion. Of course, it is not unusual to find two charters by the same granter to the same grantee and to the same effect ; nor to find a later charter repeating the language of an earlier one. But here there is reasonable ground for doubt. As regards the other two early Scone charters, I see no cause to question the substantial accuracy of the existing text. But assuredly it is unfortunate that this important group rests on so late a copy ; and it must I think be admitted that some clauses of the foundation charter may have been badly copied or even tampered with, and that some of the witnesses' names may be corrupt. If there had been an '*Alexander* nepos regis Alexandri,' it is hard to believe that he would have disappeared from all records but this. So far I am with Sir Archibald ; and he is undoubtedly right in pointing out that the foundation of Scone Abbey must have taken place some years later than the chronicles place it. Scone was a colony from Nostell ; and the daughter cannot be older than the mother.

I cannot take leave of this book without expressing my strong sense of the obligation under which Sir Archibald Lawrie has laid all Scottish charter students ; and my hope that its reception may be such as to encourage him to further cultivation of the same field.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

THE GROWTH OF THE MANOR. By Paul Vinogradoff, D.C.L., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford. Pp. vii, 383. Demy 8vo. London : Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., 1905. 10s. 6d.

ENGLISH scholars have for years awaited with impatience the appearance of this treatise on the genesis of the manor, long promised by the great Russian historian, who has already done so much for the study of English medieval history, and whose earlier treatise on *Villainage in England*, published some twelve years ago, forms one of the leading authorities on the fully developed manor of the thirteenth century. A special interest attaches to this book, as the first the author has published since exchanging the post of Professor of History at Moscow University for that of Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence at Oxford. In this interesting volume of nearly 400 pages he grapples strenuously and successfully with that famous group of problems, which centres round

the English manor. It may be sufficient to remind our readers of the two chief theories on this controversial theme. To Kemble and Freeman, the manor was a comparatively late growth—the result of the degradation of a once independent race of Anglo-Saxon peasantry, the ‘free-necked ceorls,’ who sank lower and lower in the social scale until they became the praedial serfs or villeins of a Norman lord. Mr. Seebohm, in 1882, by his masterly work on the *English Village Community*, boldly challenged all accepted conclusions, and effectively startled the holders of the orthodox theory out of their somewhat shallow complacency. From a mass of unchallengeable facts, collected with untiring industry and marshalled with unrivalled skill, he drew conclusions of a less unquestionable nature, holding that the typical manor was the product of a mixture of Roman and Celtic elements, and that its most perfect manifestation must be sought during the Roman occupation of Britain, in the villas cultivated by slave labour. The whole institution was thus rooted in slavery; and the history of the great mass of the tillers of the soil was thereafter one of gradual amelioration, as the Roman estate, along with its dependants, passed from a Roman to a Saxon master, and finally to a Norman one—the otherwise consistent process of ascent from the status of actual slave to that of praedial villein, suffering only a temporary set-back in the troubled years that followed 1066.

Many writers have, during the last twenty years, consciously or unconsciously, set themselves to answer the arguments of Mr. Seebohm. Dr. Vinogradoff rejects his conclusions, while acknowledging with generous frequency the debt owed to his labours. The English manor, we are now told, grew up slowly during the late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman periods, and was the resultant of several distinct but convergent tendencies, all contributing to the spread of aristocratic influences and the degradation of the mass of formerly free peasants.

On two important points Dr. Vinogradoff is even more orthodox than Prof. Maitland, who also sets himself to answer Mr. Seebohm's arguments: (1) he insists that all history opens with village communities enjoying joint property in those arable fields which they till: ‘there seems to be hardly anything more certain in the domain of archaic law than the theory that the soil was originally owned by groups, and not by individuals, and that its individual appropriation is the result of a slow process of development’ (p. 18): (2) he accumulates a mass of evidence to prove that the medieval village at all stages of its growth possessed a somewhat elaborate organization and a wide field of activity. On both points Dr. Vinogradoff seems to the present writer to have proved his case.

Only a bare outline of his main argument need be here attempted. In the opening chapter on Celtic Tribal Arrangements, he scarcely displays the same easy mastery shown in the rest of the book: yet his conclusions are clear enough, namely, that nothing resembling the manor of later days can be traced among Celtic institutions, and that any tendencies which worked in that direction were held in check by

others of an opposite trend. Nor did the manor take its rise in England during the Roman period; for the few scattered *villae* which then existed could never have formed the antecedents of the complete network of manors into which England came to be parcelled out in later centuries. So far Dr. Vinogradoff is mainly negative; England was not full of manors before the English came. The Teutonic invasions effected a change; the conditions of the new settlers soon led to their concentration in villages of considerable size, as the surplus population had fewer facilities for hiving off into new hamlets of their own. The actual period of manorial origins, however, must be sought quite late in the Anglo-Saxon period, at a time when aristocratic influences were successfully asserting themselves. In Book Second these new tendencies are analyzed with a masterly precision: the growth of patronage and the grants of private jurisdictions, the need of the weak for protection, and the rise of a professional class of soldiers, especially necessary during the inroads of the Danes, all these features made for the formation of lordships as superstructures built upon the substratum of the old democratic village communities. Economic changes contributed to the same result. The wealthy capitalist furnished stock and equipment for settlers on his land, who thus became economically dependent on him as their lord. Produce-rents, again, had to be contributed even by free villagers to their King; and the local magnate entrusted with the task of collection found his authority augmented in the same ratio as his duties. The place where such rents were stored formed the central 'mansion' for that district, which became at a later date the 'hall' in which local business was transacted, and this hall became in turn the centre round which the tributary peasants were grouped, loosely at first, but afterwards with more indissoluble ties, until the circumstances of the Norman Conquest perfected the organization of the manor and rivetted its hold on the dependent tenants, restraining them as in a vice.

It was thus the Norman magnates and the Norman lawyers who completed the manorializing process, on the morrow of the Conquest; for, previously, the incipient manors, still comparatively few in number, owned by Saxon and Danish thegns, lacked solidarity, permanence and organization, as compared with the later manors of Norman owners. The Domesday Survey gave effect to the contentions of the new governing class; for its contents, though based on the communal testimony of the people of each district, were yet reduced to their final form by Norman scribes taking their orders from a Norman King. The compilers were impatient of phenomena which did not fit into their own rude but convenient generalizations, and brushed aside all local peculiarities which it was inconvenient to recognize, 'a process threatening wholesale social changes.' Every estate which exhibited any manorial traits was at once entered as a manor. Tenants who held their lands on favoured but peculiar tenures too often found themselves grouped with their less free neighbours, whose lower social and economic condition they were likely soon to share. Especially precarious was the

status of everyone who rendered such services as were usually performed by the unfree. *Domesday Book*, while professing to be merely a record of what already existed, became a powerful instrument for effecting 'a complete rearrangement of society' (p. 297). Dr. Vinogradoff lays stress upon this 'engulfing and organizing tendency of the rising manor.' It may have taken considerable time before the proprietor, to whom an estate, duly labelled by *Domesday Book* as a manor, was handed over, could organize it thoroughly, reduce its irregularities, crush out active or tacit resistance to his reforms, and so make the reality correspond with the name. In the ordinary case, however, the Norman lord would complete his congenial task within a short period after the Domesday Survey. Beneath the new manorial organization thus perfected, however, the older village organization generally persisted—a point on which our author strenuously insists.

This bare outline fails completely to do justice to the varied merits of a book which will be read, not once, but several times, by all interested in the growth of English institutions. Dr. Vinogradoff's main argument is the more convincing because it depends not merely on one or two props (which, once removed, might cause the whole edifice to collapse), but on a whole network of interlacing evidence and tendencies. He compels the manor to fall into line with the entire scheme of Anglo-Saxon social history without a single inconsistency, in a way which no investigator has previously done. He also touches, in passing, upon many subsidiary topics, on most of which he throws a flood of light. Several chapters help towards a better understanding of the mutual relations of the ranks and classes of early English society, a subject of vital importance, but of too technical a nature to be here discussed. An entirely new explanation is suggested of the terms used in *Domesday Book* to describe the various groups of the population. The names *colibertus*, *villanus*, *bordarius*, *cotarius*, etc., are used, it is urged, without any reference whatever to the social or economic status of individuals, but merely to distinguish owners of land according to the relative extents of their holdings. This ingenious theory would undoubtedly assist the interpretation of *Domesday Book* by reconciling many apparent inconsistencies, while it would also cut away the foundations on which many elaborate theories have been built. It is likely to prove a fertile theme for discussion among Domesday scholars.

It only remains to add that the scheme of arrangement of the volume is clear, that the treatment is increasingly lucid as the main argument progresses, and that the method throughout is scientific and impersonal, free alike from rhetorical digressions and unwarranted assumptions. Only in one passage does the great Russian scholar allow us to obtain an interesting glimpse of his own personal opinions. The sympathetic reader will readily follow the author's thoughts back from the land of his adoption to the land of his birth in these words: 'We know, even from our own experience, how easy it is for men to compromise with their conscience when their interest speaks loudly for

the utility of compromise, and how the sanctification of religion may be appealed to in the case of most shocking violence and despotism.' We have rarely met a volume of similar size which contains so many new ideas and fertile suggestions; and we have rarely met, it is necessary to add, a work of such prime importance disfigured by so many printer's errors, of which two or three may sometimes be discovered on one page. These trivial defects will be easily removed from a second edition of a valuable and much-needed work, to be received with gratitude by all serious students of medieval history.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

THE RECORDS OF A SCOTTISH CLOTH MANUFACTORY AT NEW MILLS, HADDINGTONSHIRE, 1681-1703. Edited from the Original Manuscripts, with Introduction and Notes, by W. R. Scott, M.A., D.Phil., Litt.D., Lecturer on Political Economy, University of St. Andrews. Pp. xci, 366. Demy 8vo. Edinburgh: Printed at the University Press for the Scottish History Society, 1905.

THE records of the New Mills Company are unique in respect that they are the earliest of the kind known to exist in Britain. Of the Bank of England, the Bank of Scotland, the East India Company, and the two or three other great commercial enterprises of the seventeenth century, the minutes are preserved, and some of these have been published. But the New Mills Company is the only manufacturing undertaking of that time whose records have survived, even in an incomplete form. The Company was founded in June, 1681, and dissolved in 1713. It thus continued for thirty-two years. The records comprise twelve years of that period. They consist of two parts. The first, extending from the formation of the Company to 1691, a space of ten years, is a manuscript folio of 36 pages which came to the Edinburgh University Library in the Laing Collection. The second, beginning 1701, ending 1703, a space of two years, was discovered at the Register House after much of the first was actually in print. Between the two parts there is an interval of ten years for which the record is lost; and the same remark applies to the decade from 1703 to the dissolution of the Company. Dr. Scott gives the first series of minutes in full; the second in summary, omitting nothing that is of any real consequence; and of more value perhaps than the lost minutes would have been are two documents discovered among the papers at the Register House relating to the estate of Sir James Stanfield, the principal promoter of the Company. One of these is a 'memorial' concerning the proposed 'manufactory of cloath'; the other is the original contract of co-partnery; and of the former it is remarked that it is the earliest prototype of the modern prospectus of which we have any knowledge—a circumstance which invests it with peculiar interest. There is much in the minutes and the accompanying documents to engage the thought of students of political economy, and makers of cloth who are curious about the beginnings of their industry will derive from their perusal more than amusement. But the general

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reader will be chiefly attracted by the admirable introduction. No one could have been chosen to edit the minutes possessed of greater fitness for it than Dr. Scott, or more competent to bring into review the industrial condition of the country at the time to which they refer. It was no part of his task to collect from the mistakes of our forefathers material for warning and rebuke for men of our own day who with infinitely less excuse would repeat those mistakes. But he could have urged the moral with a force begotten of clear thinking and strong conviction. The reader, however, will be dull indeed who fails to perceive it for himself. In the seventeenth century it was sought to foster commercial and industrial enterprises by almost every device that was to be condemned by scientific economists and rejected after failure. The Trade Guilds exercised the powers they possessed to protect their several crafts in their several districts. In England the King granted charters and monopolies to companies and individuals. In Scotland the same thing was done, but by Privy Council and by Parliament, and with a more apparent intention to safeguard the common weal. The charters in every instance conferred exclusive privileges. At one time our exports were almost entirely of food-stuffs, and the raw materials of manufacture; while our imports were of manufactures and luxuries for the table. The desire to correct this was patriotic and natural. But the methods adopted involved a conflict of interlacing interests and were a source of serious inconvenience and loss to consumers. Foreign manufactures were not only excluded, but the wearing of them was made a punishable misdemeanour. The export of raw materials required by the home manufacturer was disallowed, and for the same reason the import of such materials was completely freed from obstructive duties: manufacturing companies were exempted from taxes and local rates, their premises from having soldiers quartered upon them, and their workmen from military service; inducements in the form of easy naturalisation and immunity from taxation were offered to the ingenious alien to settle in Scotland, to instruct others in his trade; and the companies were given, if not the power of pit and gallows, at anyrate a very large measure of magisterial and police authority over their workers. They could imprison or pillory for certain offences, and it was unlawful for other employers to engage a Company's workman without the Company's consent. Notwithstanding this comprehensive and complicated scheme of protection, preference, and privilege, a scheme which included not only immunities from public burdens but the receipt of subsidies from the State, there was still a cry for more protection, preference, privilege, immunity, and subsidy; for the fostered trades could not or would not supply the public want created by the exclusion of foreign competition. Smuggling had a tempting field presented to it, and the State was under the necessity of giving special licenses to individuals to manufacture and import in order to make good the shortage in the markets. But when relaxation came in the cloth trade it was more in consequence perhaps of the conflict between agricultural and

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manufacturing interests than because of the oppression of the general body of the people. Spanish wools and Galloway 'whites' were employed in the production of the finest cloths, which were to be as good as any that our English neighbours could make: so the export of Galloway 'whites' was prohibited on the demand of the manufacturers, Spanish wool was admitted free, and English cloth was not suffered to be brought across the border. This affected the agricultural interest severely; and there was an agitation to recover the right to export wool. A small concession was granted to the extent of a permit to send out sheepskins with the wool on them; but even this was restricted on the remonstrance of manufacturers, and the export was limited to three shipping places—Burrowstounes, Newport-Glasgow, and Dumfries. In 1704 the woolmasters secured an unfettered right to dispose of their fleeces in the best markets, whether at home or abroad. But at the Union of the Parliaments, England, whose manufacturing class was highly organised, required from Scotland a return to the prohibition of the export of wool, and, as compensation to the flockmasters a subsidy was provided for the manufacture of coarse cloth. It was to produce the finer cloth that the Company at New Mills had been formed; and after struggling for some years subsequent to the Union in strenuous competition with the cheaper goods of equal quality which then came in freely from England it was resolved to wind up the business. The property was purchased by Colonel Charteris, and he changed the name from New Mills to Amisfield (after the historic tower belonging to his family in Dumfriesshire). Of the minutes of the Company Dr. Scott presents a serviceable analysis in his introduction. This will enable the reader to skim the body of the book. It is more likely to induce him to carefully peruse it. For the minutes possess a fascinating quaintness, are intensely human documents, affording glimpses of the character of the merchants concerned, and throwing curious sidelights on domestic life, as well as on social, industrial, and political conditions. Among the contracts secured by the Company was one to furnish cloth for the troops. An Act of Privy Council had just been passed for the provision of military uniforms, so, as the Act puts it, 'to distinguish sojers from other skulking and vagrant persons,' and among the regiments supplied with stone-grey stuff was General Dalziel's Dragoons. Government favours were not obtained without influence, and influence exerted by official persons and others necessitated retainers and rewards. These, which we speak of now as bribes, were in the seventeenth century more delicately alluded to as 'gratifications.' Military officers had to be considered in this way by the Company, and even the 'King's Advocat' was not above taking a tip of 'ten dollars for himself.'

T. WATSON.

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SCOTTISH PEWTER WARE AND PEWTERERS. By L. Ingleby Wood. Pp. xii. 223. With 36 full-page plates. 4to. Edinburgh : G. A. Morton, 1904. 15s. nett.

THIS is an admirable book of its kind, well arranged, and excellently illustrated. The subject has a peculiar interest as a historical description of the rise and progress of an important industry, which, though now obsolete, was once a recognised craft in all the principal towns of Scotland. Its applications in the domestic economy of our forefathers were many and various, and it had also a very considerable vogue in the ecclesiastical furnishings of Scottish churches. In these circumstances it is not surprising to find that the pewterers' art had a development in Scotland which is of distinctively Scottish character and interest. For, as Mr. Wood says, 'There is some truth in the idea that a race shows its character in the design which it imparts to articles of everyday use, and the Scottish pewter ware is, in a measure, characteristic of the people who made it, strong of line, and entirely devoid of any superfluous ornament.' Prior to the sixteenth century, however, the use of pewter ware must have been more or less of a luxury confined to the wealthier classes, the common people contenting themselves with eating and drinking vessels of wood, leather, or horn. Probably the earliest pieces of pewter remaining in Scotland are a chalice and paten of fifteenth-century work buried with an ecclesiastic at Bervie, and now preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities at Edinburgh. A pair of candlesticks are noted among the furnishings of the high altar of St. Giles in 1559. In a domestic inventory of somewhat earlier date pewter dishes and salt-cellars, a basin and laver, candlesticks and pint-pots are enumerated, but the oldest domestic pewter now known to exist is at Slains Castle, and is probably of sixteenth-century date. Wear and tear, and the natural desire for the renewal of old furnishings, are of course responsible for the disappearance of much of the earlier domestic pewter; but during the civil wars of the seventeenth century it was freely requisitioned by the forces on both sides for musket and pistol bullets. Montrose's troops ransacked the country houses for their pewter, and in the plunder of the house of Torrie by the other side in 1654, pewter vessels are enumerated to the amount of £230 (Scots), and valued at 18s. (Scots) the pound. The ecclesiastical pewter was also subjected to various vicissitudes in consequence of the frequent changes of ecclesiastical authority and custody. Thus anything earlier than eighteenth century in domestic pewter, or earlier than the middle of the seventeenth century in ecclesiastical pewter, is now rarely to be met with. It is curious that so much of the oldest ecclesiastical pewter still surviving should owe its preservation to the Episcopal churches. Mr. Wood's chapters on church pewter show the prevalence of the use of this material for ecclesiastical purposes, including communion cups of various shapes, flagons and plates; lavers and basins for baptism, collection plates, and occasionally small cups and quaichs for collecting the tokens, and the tokens themselves. An interesting chapter

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on tokens is followed by one on beggars' badges, which were sometimes issued by the ecclesiastical authority of the parish, and sometimes by the municipality. The only other piece of pewter that can be called municipal is the Dundee 'pirley-pig,' a money-box for the fines exacted from absentees, dated 1602, and engraved with ornamental scrolls and shields of arms. The list of marks on Scottish pewter, and lists of freemen pewterers with their dates, as well as the lists of pewter pieces now preserved in museums, or belonging to the Episcopal churches, will be of special advantage to collectors. What may be called the historical part of Mr. Wood's book, as distinguished from the technical and descriptive part, is also very well done. Beginning with a general statement of the early relations of the Crafts with the Merchant Guilds and the municipalities, he describes the causes which led to the separate incorporation of the Hammermen's Craft, and gives a short sketch of that incorporation, which included the pewterers, in each of the principal burghs. This section of the work is the result of considerable research among the records of the various bodies, and will be found useful for historical purposes, whether of merely local or of more general interest. A word of commendation must be given to the illustrations, which are by photography, the best medium for this material.

JOSEPH ANDERSON.

OLD HOUSES IN EDINBURGH. Drawn by Bruce J. Home. Part I. Folio, with three plates. Edinburgh: William J. Hay, 1905. 1s. nett per part.

THE first number of what promises to be a charming series of views of picturesque houses still, or till comparatively recent times, suffered to remain and carry on the traditional architecture of old Edinburgh, has been issued, with an introduction by Professor Baldwin Brown. The work is expected to extend to sixteen parts. The three plates now presented are reproductions of pencil drawings of Sir Archibald Acheson's House, Lady Stair's House, and Plainstane Close, and a short narrative accompanies each.

There is a crispness and delicacy about these illustrations which the photographer's art would fail to give, and a fidelity evinced by the reproduction of those inelegant appurtenances of modern sanitation—the outside drain pipes. But for these, one might almost imagine the view of Sir Archibald Acheson's house to have been limned ere the 'reek' of centuries had begrimed its masonry, so little does the drawing suggest the present-day squalor of Bakehouse Close. At a time when the help of every citizen who has a pride in this romantic town is required for the preservation of these remnants of a goodly heritage prodigally squandered, the publication of these drawings is particularly welcome.

A. O. CURLE.

SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS. Pp. xviii, 292. Ry. 8vo. Published by the Sociological Society. London: Macmillan & Co., 1905. 10s. 6d.

THIS volume is a sign of the growing interest in the scientific study of social questions, and marks the inauguration of a society designed to coordinate the results attained in different parts of this wide field of enquiry.

The Sociological Society aims at redeeming the specialist from his captivity to mere aspects of the wide problem of social life, and seeks to restore the sense of the oneness and interdependence of the manifold phases of human thought and acting. And the present volume, by the somewhat miscellaneous and tentative character of the papers it contains, indicates at the same time both the need and the value of the co-ordination of the results attained by different writers who approach social phenomena from widely different standpoints. If we may judge by the differences of opinion and the keenness of the criticisms, this Society is destined to have a very vigorous life.

Mr. Bryce contributes a short but comprehensive address, in which he gives an outline of the work which the Society can be expected to undertake. Mr. Francis supplies some suggestions on what he calls *Eugenics*, or the best way of improving the human stock; and he is followed by Professor Geddes with a paper on *Civics*, or the application of 'Social Survey to Social Service.' Both of these papers are ingenious and stimulating, though neither is definite or convincing.

Dr. Westermarck's paper on the 'Position of Women in Early Civilization' is very interesting, and contains data which will tend to correct the common notion of the inferiority and abject servility of woman. Woman had not only her duties, but the honour and privileges that arise from the performance of them. And the weaker vessel was neither unprotected by society nor without weapons of defence of her own. 'Among the country people of Morocco the wife only needs to cut a little piece of a donkey's ear, and put it into her husband's food. By eating that little piece, the husband will in his relations to his wife become just like a donkey; he will always listen to what she says, and the wife will become the ruler of the house.'

Amongst the most interesting of all the papers in the volume is that of Mr. Harold H. Mann on 'Life in an Agricultural Village in England.' It is the result of the application of the methods of Mr. Rowntree in York to a typical agricultural village; and these results present a 'curious commentary on the cry of back-to-the-land.' 'It is evident that the outcry against the depopulation of the country and the concentration of population in the towns must remain little more than a parrot-cry until something is done to raise the standard of life, and hence the standard of wages, in our purely agricultural districts,—to increase the chances of success in life, to make life more interesting, and to bring about a more attractive old age than at present.'

The rest of the volume is given to a discussion of the Relation of Sociology to the Sociological specialisms, such as history, politics, morality, literature, anthropology, etc. The influence of Comte is very

pronounced in these discussions, and the treatment of fresh principles is somewhat slight. Nevertheless, no one can deny the truth of the contention of Professor Durkheim (p. 279 ff.) as to the interdependence of social facts, the readiness in which this is theoretically admitted, and the difficulty of putting it in effective practice. If the Sociological Society can do something to foster the consciousness of the solidarity of the social sciences, it will deserve well of all lovers of social progress.

HENRY JONES.

THE ORIGINAL CHRONICLE OF ANDREW OF WYNTOUN. Printed on Parallel Pages from the Cottonian and Wemyss MSS. with the Variants of the Other Texts. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Glossary, by F. J. Amours. Vols. I.-III. Scottish Text Society. Edinburgh: Blackwood.

BOROUGH CUSTOMS. Vol. I. Edited for the Selden Society by Mary Bateson. Pp. lix, 356. London: Quaritch, 1904.

MEDIAEVAL ENGLAND, 1066-1350. By Mary Bateson. Pp. xxvii, 448. Cr. 8vo. London: Fisher Unwin, 1903. 5s.

SCOTLAND IN THE TIME OF QUEEN MARY. By P. Hume Brown, LL.D. Pp. xi, 243. Dy. 8vo. London: Methuen, 1904. 7s. 6d. nett.

EXTRACTS FROM THE RECORDS OF THE BURGHE OF GLASGOW, A.D. 1663-1690. Pp. xliii, 592. Cr. 4to. Glasgow: Printed for the Scottish Burgh Records Society, 1905 [with preface by Sir James D. Marwick, LL.D.].

'SLOWLY the Bible of the race is writ': many are the leaves, many the pens that make the book. The works at the head of this notice illustrate the diversity of material, method, and standpoint which characterise modern study, and concurrently go towards shaping the ultimate inferences of national history. It is a far cry from Wyntoun to these days of the re-birth of the Scottish Burgh Records Society. Wyntoun paid little heed to burghs and only by accident thought of reflecting social life: that institutions were of more account than kings would to him have been surprising doctrine; but this is only to say he was not a modern. Alike in respect of his own vigorous, facile, sometimes graceful and always expressive Scots vernacular, and of his borrowings from the Latin annals and general learning of his time, his chronicle is a faithful and most entertaining record, excellent both as poetical literature and as a mirror of the age when James I. was a captive of English kings. The first standard general Scots history in Scots, of which, as was the manner then, a history of the world at large is prelude, it is a repertory of the lore of the Middle Ages well worthy of the scientific re-editing now in progress so far that a double text of five books is now presented with variant readings. The editorial task could have fallen into no hands more sympathetic or more capable than those of Monsieur Amours, recently decorated by the French Government as an *officier de l'instruction publique*,

and long honoured in our midst here as a philologist, lexicographer, medievalist, and well-proved scholar in Scots.

Already in Wyntoun's lifetime there was criticism of history, and the standpoints were changing, although the democratic day was not yet—when the axis of national movement was perceived to be not so much royal and feudal as popular and civic. The burghs were not reckoned worthy of a paragraph from any of our early chroniclers to describe the occasion or the principle of their foundation, or the origin of their constitution. That has been reserved as a serious task for the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the recent Selden Society volume is a most notable advance in scientific analysis of the code of Burgh Laws which, expressly or tacitly, we have been prone to regard as essentially our own, and more or less peculiar to ourselves. Miss Bateson's studies of the Customals of English and Irish towns, however, following upon similar studies of those of French towns, such as those of Breteuil in Normandy, conclusively place our northern burghal usages upon a different footing, as dialectal variants of a tradition of custom prevalent among the Anglo-Norman communities, elastic and diversified, yet obviously from the same generic roots. Again the border line of Scots and English disappears, and the comparative analysis of the burgh laws of Scotland and the 'consuetudines' of early English towns brings out the far more inspiring and pregnant fact of international unity that scarce a Scots chapter is without close analogue in the registered custom of sundry English boroughs. So far the processes of examination are only analytical and comparative: even as such they are instructive to the first degree: and we must wait, with sure expectancy of many new and valuable conclusions on burghal origin and progress as manifested on the continent and in Britain, the issue of the second volume in which the significance of all the texts laid under contribution will be discussed. From a synthesis of the customals we may anticipate for the first time the true perspective of the burgh as an institution, national and international, and its tribute to common law. One first-class piece of Scottish exposition in the present volume may be noted. *Kirseth*, the mysterious privilege of our Burgh Laws (cap. 27), turns out to be the Old Norse *kyrrseta*, sitting in peace, a loan-word of technique suggestive of the mixed ancestry of our law.

'We stowpe and stare upon the shepes-skyn,' said Hoccleve, in words which might be the archivists' motto; but Miss Bateson can see beyond the records she so patiently transcribes. Her *Mediaeval England* stands out from the attractive and popular series to which it belongs by virtue of its comprehensive variety, coupled with that particularism of detail which marks the real medievalist. Not a history but a survey, it describes the conditions of old English life (with not a few side lights of Scotland) in a manner at once exact, pictorial, and entertaining. Agriculture, education, architecture, trade, church, castle, chivalry, town, court, dress, food, libraries, art, history, feudal tenure, minstrelsy, law, medicine, the Black Death, all are illustrated

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by citations so various as to reflect a degree of authentic medieval lore, probably a unique possession of the versatile author. Her general outlook is sympathetic towards the actual achievement as well as to the promise of the age, outspoken as to its coarser sides, yet more eager to preserve the memory of the things that sweetened and dignified its civilisation. Particular qualities of the book are its attention to the development of the schools and universities, its unique presentment of the facts of the life of woman in the Middle Ages and her place in its culture, and its conspicuous recognition of literature and even romance as elements of history.

Cognate in scheme, although more circumscribed both in theme and time, is Professor Hume Brown's *Scotland in the time of Queen Mary*. These Rhind lectures (reported with some fulness *ante*, *S.H.R.*, i. 221-3) reflect the democratic and social standpoint of modern study: they chiefly concern the external conditions of town and village life, trace the slow development of trade, and discuss the consolidation of national spirit. Crisp and pleasant sketches of the little communities of sixteenth-century Scotland and the ways of the inhabitants, they are in their volume-form eminently welcome, and take a useful place of authority in burghal literature.

'Burghal literature'—it is a phrase which has come to comprehend a good deal, and still it grows. We rejoice that the Scottish Burgh Records Society after a period of quiescence, only apparent, has resumed active publication with a volume of *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Glasgow*, between 1663 and 1690. They were eventful years which began with the restored Charles II., about to disappoint every honest expectation, and which ended with the Revolution. In 1670 the records show the council negotiating 'to buy for the townes use the portratouris of King Charles the First and Secund.' In 1685 they have taken the test and made oath of allegiance to James VII. and are assuring him of their hopes for his happiness—'as your Majesties great vertue deserves and as our sincere loyaltie showld inspyre us to wish.' In January, 1689, there is framed 'an address to his royall highness the prince of Orange whilk was allowed be the magistrats and tounne counsell and subscrivit be the most pairt.' And in 1690 we leave the council profoundly gratified by, if not grateful for, the charter which, in consideration of the city's firm and constant adhesion to the reformed religion and its notable service to the Revolution cause, William and Mary granted, whereby a long-sought freedom to elect their provost and magistrates was at last conferred upon the community. Glasgow had deserved well of King William, as Sir James Marwick shows in his excellent preface, which is mainly directed to an exposition of the constitutional evolution of the civic status. The original bishop's burgh, circa 1178, made a regality in 1450, and erected into a free royal burgh in 1611, was in the nomination of its magistracy subject to successive bishops and archbishops, and afterwards of the Duke of Lennox as lay proprietor of the archbishopric. It was the Revolution that completed the emancipation

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and finally gave to Glasgow what had been the immemorial privilege of other royal burghs.

'The preparation of this volume,' says Sir James, 'which records the enfranchisement of the city from subjection to the archbishop and its establishment with all the rights and privileges of the most favoured royal burghs, has been the work mainly of Mr. Robert Renwick, whose intimate knowledge of Old Glasgow is, I believe, unique. The elaborate Index, without which such a work as this is deprived of much of its value, has also been prepared by him. For such ungrudging, gratuitous labour warm acknowledgment is due.' Such acknowledgment, handsomely rendered, has been faithfully earned. Sir James's editorial headship and direction, and his introductory expositions, have through so many years of fine historical and civic service blended with the unobtrusive burghal learning and palaeographic industry and skill of Mr. Renwick that it is needless, as it would be invidious, to allocate precisely the public gratitude accorded to both, happily sharpened as it is by a lively sense of favours to come in further conjunct labours on Glasgow records.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE WAR OF THE SUCCESSION IN SPAIN (1702-1711), based on original MSS. and contemporary records. By Colonel the Hon. Arthur Parnell, R.E. Pp. xvi, 342. 8vo. London: George Bell, 1905. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a cheaper reprint of a work that first appeared some seventeen years ago. Colonel Parnell describes his volume as 'a purely naval and military chronicle,' and this is at once its merit and its defect. It is quite true that at the date when it was published the events of the War of the Succession in Spain were little known or understood: passed over by the ordinary historian as neither interesting nor important, or misrepresented in reliance on certain volumes of memoirs which more recent researches have proved to be utterly unreliable. Macaulay writes as an undisguised partisan, Stanhope hardly covers the ground. And yet the course of events in Spain was of very great importance. In an uncertain way the Spaniards were discovering that sense of national unity that enabled them to destroy the plans of Napoleon in 1810; and England was learning the art of combining war on land and sea.

Colonel Parnell's account is an accurate and careful summary of events: he has gone very thoroughly into his material, and he presents his results in a clear and businesslike way: the whole is an extremely useful piece of historical material, but not history in any true or valuable sense of the word. Facts, said Macaulay, are the dross of history. Mr. Parnell has not succeeded in extracting the gold from the dross with which he presents us. It is not possible from this dry account of disconnected campaigns to gather any general strategic principles, any understanding of the connexion and interaction of events, any appreciation of the effect of personality. Mr. Parnell makes a hero of Prince George of

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Hesse Darmstadt, a competent but distinctly uninspired commander ; but he quite fails to justify his enthusiasm by any appeal to imagination, or any proof of definite achievement. Lord Peterborough is one of the most enigmatic and remarkable men of his age : his career one of the fascinating riddles of history. Mr. Parnell dislikes him, and does his best to destroy his rather dubious reputation ; but he gives us no idea of the man and no conception of the general. Perhaps to expect this is to expect more than Colonel Parnell claims to give. His discussion of the defences of Gibraltar, Barcelona, and Alicante is excellent, and the volume as a whole contains a quantity of sound and reliable information which any future historian of the period must be only too glad to use. The maps and plans are admirable.

M. ADAMSON.

A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND. By Herbert Paul. In five volumes. Vol. I., pp. vii, 450 ; Vol. II., pp. vi, 446 ; Vol. III., pp. vi, 454. 8vo. London : Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1904 and 1905. 8s. 6d. nett per vol.

'THE extinction of a free state,' writes Mr. Paul (Vol. I., p. 49), 'is an outrage against humanity.' Yet if a patriotic Scot were disposed to quarrel with him, instead of being grateful to him for a most useful and interesting book, he might charge Mr. Paul with attempting this very iniquity on his title-page. England there stands for the Queen's dominions, and Scotland, if not relegated to the happy fate of a country without a history, is, with Ireland, extinguished under the name of the predominant partner. *A History of Modern England* does indeed go trippingly on the tongue, while a less arbitrary, if more accurate, title might not have had that merit. And Mr. Paul is nothing if not arbitrary.

While *England* is thus extended, *Modern* is, with a better right, restricted in meaning. Modern history for Hallam and the older historians began with the Renaissance. Modern England for Mr. J. R. Green dated from William and Mary. Mr. Paul's *Modern England* begins a century and a half later still, in an age which, using Mr. Disraeli's words, he describes as 'profoundly imaginative, poetical and religious.' It begins with the repeal of the Corn-Laws, the introduction of steam machinery, town drainage, Trades' Unions and Co-operative Societies ; with the substitution of railway for stage-coach travelling, and the consequent improvement in the comforts of life ; with the abolition of duelling, and the consequent decline of good manners in Parliament and elsewhere.

Of the forty-five chapters in these volumes eight are chiefly devoted to literature, theology, science, art, and the Church. The remainder contain a terse and judiciously condensed narrative of public events, with which is interwoven a vigorous commentary, and an acute criticism of the actors and their motives. Each volume covers about ten years, and we may presume that the two volumes as yet unpublished will bring the history down to almost the end of the nineteenth century.

The author deals with no obscure period. He has not penetrated into sources of knowledge hitherto undiscovered. He has little occasion to weigh conflicting evidence. The facts are patent and accessible. His book is almost entirely the fruit of trained industry, honest labour, and robust political judgment; not of exceptional information, unique insight, or lifelong meditation. It describes clearly, briefly and entertainingly the vicissitudes of party government, the passing of great measures, the actions of statesmen and diplomatists, the fights over Ireland, the Factory Acts, Education, Reform of the Law Courts, of Elections, of Taxation. It tells freshly and vividly the stirring tales of the Irish Famine, the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and other memorable events of the time, besides giving such account of the Italian struggle for independence, the French revolution of 1848, and other foreign affairs as is necessary to explain Britain's share in them. A chapter entitled 'The Expansion of England' describes the war in India of 1848-49, and the annexation of the Punjaub by Lord Dalhousie; the conflict with the colonies over convict transportation, and the beginning of their independence. On the successful resistance of Cape Colony to the landing of convicts at Cape Town, Mr. Paul remarks: 'The expulsion of the *Neptune* from South African waters was not less momentous, and far more auspicious, than the jettison of the tea in Boston Harbour.'

He tells the story of the 'Oxford Movement,' which he calls 'the ecclesiastical and sacerdotal revival of the nineteenth century.' He describes at length the English ecclesiastical squabbles in the law courts over attitudes and candles and the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed, squabbles to the mere layman as amazing and almost as pitiful as the Scottish ecclesiastical squabbles for property to-day.

These volumes, which exhibit the machinery of politics in motion during thirty years, naturally teem with incidents which illustrate the political discussions of to-day: the shifting policy of successive Governments in their difficulties with foreign states, the needless wars and the inconceivable blunders in carrying them on, the effects of fiscal and financial experiments of all sorts, the arguments used for and against many Acts of domestic legislation, and the results of these Acts when put in force.

The book is largely a history of reform, and of efforts at reform which have not yet succeeded in overcoming prejudice. Forty-nine years ago Lord John Russell proposed in Parliament that local schools should be managed, and masters appointed, by a board elected by the ratepayers. It required a famine before an English Parliament would abolish the Corn-Laws or allow a brewer to use sugar. What catastrophe will be needed before British public education is placed on a level with that of Germany or the United States?

Mr. Paul seldom makes a colourless statement. His own opinion is almost always in evidence. He does not fear to be charged with partisanship, for he says that all historians worth their salt have been accused of it. Yet if he is a partisan in politics his partiality is for principles. He is quite impartial in exposing the shortcomings of both friends and

foes, and seems to share the popular relish for the littlenesses of great men. Two of three quotations from the Duke of Wellington are forcible pieces of profanity, and in the third the Duke says that English soldiers are the scum of the earth, and many of them enlisted for drink. Of Mr. Disraeli he says: 'Literature and the showy side of politics exhausted his interests in this sublunary sphere.' And again, 'Of finance' (while Chancellor of the Exchequer), 'or any other business, he neither knew nor cared to know anything at all.' Mr. Gladstone attacks an opponent's budget 'with acrimony and on the flimsiest grounds,' and is 'guided in ecclesiastical affairs by the passionate prejudices of a mediæval monk.' 'Lord Derby' (the Prime Minister) 'was not even moderately well-informed. He knew the classics, the *Turf Guide*, and very little else. Serious political conviction, except where the Church was concerned, he had none.' Mr. Bright spoke and voted against the Act which limited the hours of labour for women and children in factories to ten hours a day, 'because,' says Mr. Paul, 'he was a manufacturer, and it would injure his own trade.'

It will be interesting to see what Mr. Paul has to say in his future volumes of the motives of the advocates of bi-metallism, and the motives of the members of the Tariff Commission. His opinion of the Upper House of Parliament is frankly shown. 'The Lords,' says Mr. Paul, 'were quite safe in rejecting the Bill (the Jewish Relief Bill), which had nothing to recommend it except reason and justice.' But in another place he says that English bishops are radical reformers compared with English judges.

Some readers will think Mr. Paul more successful in dealing with public events and politicians than with literature. His estimates (to use his own word) of authors are often, though not always, clever morsels of compressed description, of happy epithet and of pointed criticism. They are always delivered with remarkable confidence. A little less would perhaps help them to be received with more. One feels sometimes that his chapters on literature would be better if they were not quite so clever. He is seldom content to give an account, however brief, of the famous men of letters of the times of which he treats. He pronounces a summary verdict, and assigns them rather oracularly to oblivion or to immortality without discussion. It is to be feared that some of his arbitrary judgments on well-known writers may be taken by his readers less as criteria of the merits of their subjects than of the capacity of the critic. In one of the two or three sentences he gives to the historian Grote, he says: 'When he came to deal with Plato, and entered the spiritual region, he moved helplessly about in worlds not realised.' Whether this be true or not regarding Grote,—and it is unsupported by argument or citation,—it furnishes a tempting phrase for application to Mr. Paul's own movements when he enters as a confident appraiser the region inhabited by, for example, Carlyle or Matthew Arnold. After all, one looks in a history, if not always for an attempt to trace the causes of 'the molecular movements of millions of individuals,' at least for facts, scarcely for arbitrary opinions, without reason given.

Mr. Paul's own literary style is best in narrative. His accounts of the chief events of the time, clear, condensed, and yet comprehensive, and enlivened by his always able and often brilliant comments, are just what one desires in a history of the scope of this one, and his portraits of the chief politicians and statesmen are vivid and interesting. But when he passes from history to letters, he scatters his epigrams too promiscuously. His writing then lacks that sequence in thought which he himself prescribes, and which he uses in narration. His sentences are better than his paragraphs. They often have the effect of disconnected jottings from a notebook, which might have been set down just as well in some other order. That is not to say that they are not individually good. But it is to suggest the distinction, which Carlyle applied to history, between the work of the artisan and the work of the artist. The brick which the pedant in Hierocles carried in his pocket as a sample of the house he wished to sell, while absurd as a specimen of a house, might have served very well to represent a heap of bricks. Any sentence from one of these chapters would in many cases be a more favourable specimen of Mr. Paul's writing than the page from which it was taken.

Mr. Paul seems to make a mistake in placing the name of John Richard Green in the list of the original contributors to the *Saturday Review* at its foundation in 1855, as Green was then a lad of seventeen entering Oxford. According to his biographer, his first article for the *Saturday* was written in 1862. Here and there one finds trifling errors besides those noted among the *errata* for each volume. For example, Dickens's *Bob Sawyer* is called *Dick Sawyer*, from which one may judge that Mr. Paul has already forgotten his *Pickwick*. *Beauchamp's Career* is indexed under *Thackeray*. On page 108, Vol. I., Vienna is printed where it seems probable that Venetia was intended.

Each of the two volumes is separately and very fully indexed, the date is printed on every page, and the subject of every paragraph in the text is indicated in the margin. The book is thus admirably convenient of reference. The volumes are of a handy size and light in weight, and the type is large and clear. The Latin quotations are translated.

The possessor of this book cannot but be grateful to its author and publishers every time he has occasion to consult it. It yields its stores for the minimum of trouble.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE PENTLAND RISING AND RULLION GREEN. By Charles Sanford Terry, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History, University of Aberdeen. Pp. vi, 90. Glasgow: MacLehose, 1905. 2s. 6d. nett.

THE first Parliament of Charles II., held at Edinburgh on 1st January, 1661, passed a series of Acts by which that venal and profligate monarch was constituted the supreme Governor of Scotland in all causes; and the proceedings of every Parliament since 1633 were declared null and void. Thereupon the Privy Council, which, in disregard of constitutional practice, had been nominated by the King as his first official Act, set

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themselves to re-establish prelacy as it had been established by James VI. and confirmed by Charles I. Four ministers were then sent to England and there consecrated bishops, and in 1662 the second session of Parliament restored the bishops to their accustomed privileges and jurisdiction. All ministers were also required to receive presentation from the lawful patrons, and collation from their bishops, or to desert their cures—the Privy Council, on 1st October, ordering that such ministers as failed to conform to the law before 1st November should not be recognised as ministers or paid their stipends. Between 200 and 300 ministers, however, failed to comply with this legislation and order, and the period prescribed by the latter was extended till 1st February, 1663.

On 18th June of that year the third and last session of the first Parliament, legislated against separation and disobedience to ecclesiastical authority, and imposed heavy fines on those who absented themselves from worship in parish churches. This Act, known as the 'Bishops' Drag-Net,' formed the foundation of the persecution, which was established during the reign of Charles II. and James II. In the south-west of Scotland especially many ministers refused to conform, were ejected from their parishes, and were replaced by 'King's Curates,' who were generally regarded with contempt and dislike by their parishioners. The high-handed action of the Government exasperated masses of the people, who refused conformity. Troops levied under the authority of the previous session of Parliament were employed to enforce the order of the Privy Council, and on the suggestion, it is said, of Archbishop Sharpe, a Court of High Commission was established to deal with recusants. The result of all this arbitrary action was to lead to open resistance to the law, and the establishment of conventicles, the traditions and memorials of which are still cherished with veneration by masses of the Scottish people. Among the military men who were charged by the Privy Council with the execution of their odious acts was Sir James Turner, who distinguished himself by the vigour with which he carried out his orders. Professor Terry's book describes the Rising in November, 1666, of a body of from 900 to 1100, mostly west country Covenanters, their capture of Turner in Dumfries, their march thence by successive stages to the Pentlands and Rullion Green, and their attack and defeat by General Dalziel there. So says Professor Terry, 'The fifteen days' rebellion had met its hopeless and inevitable end. At the best it was a haphazard and ill concerted effort. Had it been other than sudden and spasmodic its story might have run another course. For the bitter controversies which cleft the Whigs in 1679, to the paralysis of serious military achievement, were absent in 1666. Wallace, as a leader, was incomparably superior to Robert Hamilton, and had at his back a force which, if small in number, showed qualities which compelled respect. But nine hundred devoted men, however stout their spirit, were a puny force to menace a system entrenched in authority.' 'Such an undertaking,' Kirkton admits, 'was for a man of miracles.' The Authorities took an ample revenge. The prisons and the executioner had their prey.'

JAMES D. MARWICK.

A HISTORY OF GUNPOWDER PLOT: the Conspiracy and its Agents. By Philip Sidney. Pp. 313, large cr. 8vo, with 16 facsimile illustrations from old prints. London: The Religious Tract Society, 1904. 5s.

'I HOLD,' says Mr. Sidney, 'there is room for another, and more thoroughly impartial record (of the conspiracy) than has yet been drawn up': and most readers will hold the same opinion, notwithstanding Father Gerard's reference to it as 'the tale hammered year after year into the ears of the English people.' Its recension in the light of latter-day investigations should prove an acceptable achievement, whether in the form of a popular narrative or as a text-book for the more advanced student.

Mr. Sidney's History possesses a fascination that carries us on with it from beginning to end of the book. And this is natural from the nature of the conspiracy itself, the circumstances attending its frustration, and the retribution following. In all these the 'Fougade or Powder Plot' impresses the imagination in an unusual degree. The patience shown in its preparation, the boldness of the enterprise, the great scale of its conception, the desperate nerve of its chiefs, and the shadowy appearance and disappearance of their forms in its progress are elements in the course of a grim and ghastly tragedy. And behind it and surrounding it all was the atmosphere of the period charged with calamity and presaging wrath to come. It is surely by no mere coincidence that the spirit of the time was reflected in literature by the advent of Othello, Macbeth, and Lear, when, in real life, the figures of Catesby, Tresham, and Fawkes passed across the stage of history.

'I have based the foundations of my work,' says Mr. Sidney, 'entirely upon the original evidence as represented in the mass of Domestic and Foreign State Papers, dealing with the reign of James I, preserved at the Public Record Office, and at the British Museum.' After this statement the historical student, anticipating a text-book, will be disappointed in discovering the inadequacy of references to the originals quoted. The 'history,' in fact, appears to combine the character of the 'yarn' with that of the narrative based entirely upon original research; a doubtful compromise. Notwithstanding this, we appreciate the reprint of Sir Everard Digby's Letters and of the Official Story of the Plot, which may be conveniently referred to in the volume. Mr. Sidney suppresses the super-scription of the celebrated letter from Digby to Salisbury, a most important feature of the document. 'Of this letter,' he says, 'I reproduce the greater part'; but this is not as ingenuous as it appears when we compare the lines left out; for Mr. Sidney is endeavouring to show that this letter 'must have been despatched from the Tower early in December 1605, and penned, therefore, whilst Digby was a prisoner.' And, continuing, he adds, 'Father Gerard's statement that it cannot have been written by a prisoner, because "it was sealed with a crest or coat-of-arms," is absurd in the extreme.' But this is not 'Father Gerard's statement.' Let us quote Father Gerard's own words: 'The whole tone of the document appears utterly inconsistent with the supposition that it was written by

one branded with the stigma of such a crime as the Powder Plot. Some of the expressions used, especially in the opening sentence, appear, likewise, incompatible with such a supposition, and the letter bears the usual form of address for those sent in ordinary course of post, "To the Right Hon. The Earl of Salisbury give these"; it has moreover been sealed with a crest or coat-of-arms; all of which is quite unlike a document prepared by a prisoner for those who had him under lock and key.' So far from this argument appearing 'absurd in the extreme,' it is accepted as convincing by Father Gerard's opponent, Dr. S. R. Gardiner; who says, 'Father Gerard has shown it to have been written, not in December, but between May 4 and September, 1605, and which I ascribe to May, or as soon after May as is possible.' It will be seen that Father Gerard relied on expressions used 'especially in the opening sentence'; and this and the following sentence have been suppressed in Mr. Sidney's quotation.

Whilst it would be too much to cite this as an example of Mr. Sidney's method, it is of itself sufficient to shake our confidence in other conclusions, even if these relate to such a triviality as the 'unlucky' character of the number thirteen. The grave historian may have private misgivings about ladders, and looking-glasses, and spilt salt, but we do not care to see them obtruded in print, any more than to be told that Gunpowder Plot was arranged ('manufactured,' as Mr. Sidney calls it in one place) by thirteen men, which a note explains is 'A significant number, especially as the thirteenth conspirator, the last to join, is generally considered to have been the traitor.' Again, that Mouteagle possessed a guilty knowledge of the Plot, and saved himself by betraying his confederates, is shown by what are described as 'these fatal thirteen reasons.'

After this it is not surprising to observe the inadequate acknowledgment to Dr. S. R. Gardiner and to other investigators; nor the altogether gratuitous depreciation of the present descendants of the house of Percy; nor the numerous typographical slips left uncorrected, such as the awkward hiatus on p. 169, l. 4. Whilst the format and printing itself leave nothing to be desired, the production of the illustrations in a tinted medium gives them an aspect of shabbiness. The chapters on the handwriting of the Mouteagle letter and on the part played by 'one of his gentlemen named Ward' are perhaps the most important in Mr. Sidney's book. But the opportunity that might have realised so much still leaves 'room for another, and more thoroughly impartial record than has yet been drawn up.'

R. OLIVER HESLOP.

LOGIE: A PARISH HISTORY. By R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A., minister of Logie. Vol. I., pp. 354, with 20 illustrations. Crown 4to. Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1905. 15s. nett.

AMONG the numerous Logies in Scotland, Logie-Athran (as it was anciently called) may claim pre-eminence. Mr. Fergusson, at any rate, is justified in his prefatorial statement that it is exceedingly rich in

historical associations. Three upright stones, now within the policies of Airthrey Castle, are believed to have been erected to commemorate the defeat of the Picts by Kenneth, King of Scots, in 839; while a later, and not less momentous conflict, the Battle of Stirling Bridge in 1297, was fought almost within sight of Logie Kirk, whose records afford the material for a great part of the present volume. To each of the ministers of the parish from the Reformation downwards Mr. Fergusson devotes a chapter; and one of them, Alexander Hume, gets two, notwithstanding that the author has already published a biography of him (*Alexander Hume: an Early Poet-Pastor*). It was right, however, that the sweet singer who wrote 'The Day Estival' should take his proper place in the long line of Logie parish ministers. The ecclesiastical history of the parish is given with much fulness by Mr. Fergusson, whose literary skill is attested by his success in investing even the driest of parochial and Presbyterial records with some degree of interest. The change from Presbyterian to Episcopal Church government at the Restoration is not specially noticed in the minutes of the Presbytery of Dunblane, and the Diocesan Synod under Episcopacy differed little from the Provincial Synod under Presbytery, while the parish of Logie slumbered on, undisturbed by polemics. The gentle Robert Leighton was Bishop of Dunblane till 1671, when he was promoted to the Archbishopric of Glasgow; and Mr. Robert Kirk, the minister of Aberfoyle, who wrote *The Secret Commonwealth*, a famous work on apparitions and the second sight, and who was generally believed to have been carried off by the fairies when he died suddenly in the Revolution year, was Presbytery Clerk from October, 1667, to April, 1688, during which period, Mr. Fergusson remarks, the minutes are very carefully and beautifully written. A secession in the quiet country parish, nearly a century later, was much more severely felt than any change in church government. All the elders, with one exception, joined the seceders, taking with them the Session books and utensils—the communion plate. The schoolmaster and precentor complained that he could not recover his lawful fees, and the beadle also felt the pinch, declaring that he could not serve the parish and live on account of the parishioners going by him in their marriages and baptisms, and that, unless proper measures were taken for his getting his dues, he must starve or become a burden on the Session. With the revolving years, prosperity returned to the 'Auld Kirk,' and it is fitting that the history of the parish should be written by its present minister, a poet-pastor like his predecessor, Alexander Hume. His book promises, when completed, to take a place in the front rank of parish histories, possessing, as it does, all the elements that go towards making such works valuable for future reference, as well as interesting to people living in the localities to which they relate. There is an excellent index, and the volume is handsomely brought out.

W. B. COOK.

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JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, VISCOUNT OF DUNDEE, 1648-1689.
By CHARLES SANFORD TERRY, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of
History and Archæology in the University of Aberdeen. Pp. viii,
377. M. 8vo. London: Constable & Co., 1905. 12s. 6d. nett.

It is gratifying to welcome another contribution towards the history of the seventeenth century from the pen of Professor Terry, who has already done so much good work in this field. Whatever private opinions a reader may hold about the subjects treated, he must acknowledge that the author has done his best to approach them from a scientific and not from a partisan point of view, and that he has spared no pains in collecting his information from the most reliable and sometimes from recondite sources. Not only so, but he has given the authorities for his statements in much detail, and there is not a page in the book which has not its quota of references, so that each fact may be checked if desired. With the exception of Queen Mary, it is safe to say that no two characters in Scottish History have given rise to so much debate, or as to which opinion is more keenly divided than John Knox and Claverhouse. Already this is seen by the voluminous newspaper correspondence which has taken place about this book itself: it is indeed impossible to expect that any history of Claverhouse will ever be written which will please all parties. Mark Napier's 'frenzied work,' as Professor Terry aptly calls it, has been as yet the fullest life of Claverhouse which has been published: but though containing much information it can hardly be considered serious history. Besides, to persons who believed in their Wodrow and sympathised with their Covenanting forefathers, the mere name of Napier was as a red rag to a bull. But since Napier's day much additional information has come to light, and some which Napier might have used but did not. The various volumes of the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners are in themselves full of useful matter, and Professor Terry has availed himself of many manuscripts, such as those in the Register House, which, though in existence in Napier's day, were not readily available and often indeed unknown.

Throughout this volume it is evident that the author has striven to be impartial; but a historian who has any sense at all of effect cannot altogether divest himself of his own personal predilections, and the result in this case is that Claverhouse is presented to us in a light which many perhaps will think too favourable. On the other hand, Mr. Terry's estimate of him cannot be summarily dismissed as a mere bit of special pleading: it deserves to be carefully studied, and the more it is studied the more credit will be given to the author for the patient care with which he has approached his subject, and the wealth of illustration with which he has illuminated it. He certainly is of opinion that Claverhouse has been grossly misrepresented by the writers on the Covenanting side of the question; numbers of their assertions he denies the truth of altogether; he brings also much good proof that there have been many and serious exaggerations about the man. It is doubtful whether Mr. Terry's idea that he was merely the slave of circumstances, holding duty as his ideal,

and prepared to sacrifice any mere personal feelings in order to carry out the orders which he received from his superiors in office, will ever be accepted by the general mass of the Scottish people: but the historical student who comes to these pages in search of the naked truth will find that at all events there is much more to be said for him than at one time could have been conceived possible. He was not, it may safely be said, the bloody, relentless persecutor such as the popular literature of generations has made him out to be, but he may not altogether have been merely the efficient public servant depicted in this volume, far less the poetic hero of Mr. Napier. The fact is, Claverhouse was a man of his age; he was self-seeking and determined to push his way by every means in his power so long as these were honest: but he was in modern language 'straight,' and had convictions of his own which he carried out after the fashion of his day. He was a persecutor, just as if the tables had been turned his opponents would have been persecutors of him: he had not the virtue of toleration, but nobody had till Dutch William came and pointed the way to it. But he was a gentleman and a gallant one to boot: no one who looks on the splendid portraits which are reproduced in this volume can doubt it. Proud, haughty and ambitious he may have been, but he was true to his trust, and the manner of his death casts a halo of romance over a career the merits of which will still be debated as long as Scotsmen are Scotsmen, however ably writers like Mr. Terry may deal with the subject.

There is an excellent map illustrating the campaign of Viscount Dundee during the months from April till July, 1689, and a plan showing the site of the Battle of Killiecrankie. There has been a certain amount of discussion as to this, but the author, who has evidently gone carefully over the spot personally, gives a very clear account of the battle in which Dundee used his Highland host to such advantage, and while leading his troops to victory, met that glorious death which, after all, was perhaps the most suitable termination to his career. With him the romance of the Stewart cause died for a time, to have a short awakening in the '45 and then to disappear for ever.

A piece of sound historical work, no student of the time can afford to neglect this volume, which fully maintains Professor Terry's reputation as a writer.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

ORDO ROMANUS PRIMUS. With Introduction and Notes by E. G. CUTHBERT ATCHLEY. Pp. xix, 199. Dy. 8vo. London: De la More Press, 1904. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS book, which forms the sixth volume of Provost Vernon Staley's useful 'Library of Liturgiology and Ecclesiology for English Readers' is a work of quite unusual interest and importance. It is not too much to say that of all the liturgical publications of recent years, it is likely to prove the most startling. Scottish Presbyterian readers in particular will be astonished to find how very like in some ways to their own old sacramental customs were those in vogue at Rome in the eighth century.

A certain measure also of *extempore* prayer was allowed. The *Ordo*—so its accomplished editor describes it—is ‘a directory of the ceremonies of solemn or public mass celebrated in Rome by the pope himself (or his deputy), at which all the clergy and people of the Church of Rome were present, or at least represented; and in which they fulfilled their several functions in the exercise of that royal priesthood which St. Peter tells us is the common property of the body of baptised Christians.’ To all who desire to see how this doctrine was worked out in the practice of the Church of Rome in the early centuries, and the successive steps by which it was subsequently obscured, we can commend this work. The *Ordo Romanus Primus* seems to have been drawn up by Pope Stephen III. about the year A.D. 770; but he founded it on a document of the sixth century; so that we are in the presence of that Roman rite which, about that period came into collision with the Celtic rites of the Welsh and Irish Churches. It is, of course, in Latin—the ‘vulgar tongue’ of those for whom it was intended, the Christians of the seven-hilled city. Unfortunately no ‘thoroughly critical edition’ of the Latin text exists. That given here is ‘a conflation of Mabilion’s and Cassander’s’; it is a matter for regret that, (for so learned an edition of a tract not likely to be speedily re-printed,) the opportunity was not taken to provide the most accurate text possible. The *Ordo* itself, however, is but the smallest part of the book before us. The Introduction and Notes are copious, yet never irrelevant; thorough, lucid, succinct. They deal with a great variety of topics. They explain many technical terms. They exhibit the principles underlying, on the one hand, the adoption, and on the other hand the disuse, of ceremonies and observances; and they throw much light not alone on liturgical questions proper, but upon the history and development of Church architecture, clerical dress, lay representation, and the like. The editor notes how the later history of Roman ritual, so far from being the increasing of the people’s part in the service, has been steadily in the direction of curtailing it! Nor should we omit to notice the admirable series of illustrations with which the volume is at once adorned and elucidated. JAMES COOPER.

THE PERTH INCIDENT OF 1396, FROM A FOLK-LORE POINT OF VIEW.

By R. C. MACLAGAN, M.D.: Pp. vii, 403. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons, 1905. 5s. nett.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE BRITISH ISLANDS. By CHARLES SQUIRE.

Pp. x, 446. Glasgow: Blackie & Son, 1905. 12s. 6d. nett.

SUPERSTITIONS OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS. Pp. xi, 318.; and **WITCHCRAFT AND SECOND SIGHT IN THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS.** Pp. xii, 314.

By JOHN GREGORSON CAMPBELL. Glasgow: MacLehose. Each 6s. nett.

THESE four volumes are so closely related in subject-matter as to warrant their being considered together. The title of the first, indeed, is misleading: the ‘Perth Incident’ plays the smallest part in the book, serving but as a peg on which to hang a discussion of a cryptic thesis, for any clear, consecutive statement of which we search in vain. Minor

propositions of a paradoxical character there are in abundance, apparently the *disjecta membra*, which are never fitted together into a corporate whole.

One thread of reasoning, running through the whole work, starts from the theme 'Vellaunos,' as in Cassivellaunos, with the meaning attributed to Rhys in the *Hibbert Lectures* of 'something elevated' (p. 77). Neither here nor in *Celtic Britain*, where it is fully discussed, does Rhys give any such interpretation. He says it probably meant a 'king or ruler,' with the same root as in Irish *flúth*, English *wield* (*C. B.*, 2nd. ed., p. 285 and 3rd ed. *H. L.*, as cited). But having thus got his ambiguous middle term the author next produces a Gaelic form of the Cymric syllables in 'Fellanus' (p. 78); affirms that the 'unpresentable' (p. 369) ideas connected with his 'Vellaunos' 'have passed to our own time under the guise of Fillan, made by the Church historians a saint' (p. 99); and, further, as a pillar is 'something elevated' and *columna* might pass easily into *columba*, decides that *Columba* is a 'creation in the "dove" form, for the more original Fillan; Vellaunos, the Elevated One' (p. 284). The 'unpresentable' ideas are phallic in character, but for the elusive and bewildering details the reader must be referred to the work itself.

The author does not disguise the startling character of his incidental conclusions, which, in fact, involve an entire recasting of all we believed ourselves to know of early Scottish history. Thus *Scotia* is 'a Greek word meaning darkness' (p. 120), and 'οἱ σκορτιοὶ' are, in one sense, 'illegitimate children'; so that 'the Scot originally was the progeny of the foreign occupier of the land (*i.e.* the Roman soldiers) and the native woman' (p. 356). That Gaelic was called *Scotica lingua* 'is simply to say that it was the *mother tongue* of those called Scots' (p. 122). The 'Picts and Scots were the men on the frontier' of the Roman province (p. 356). That the Pict was 'a native as opposed to a Roman defender' is only a supposition (p. 127). The name Pict is derived from the Greek *πίκτης*, 'a boxer,' and is explained by the tactics of the Batavi at Mons Graupius (p. 107). The 'Picti' were 'boxers.' This contention is not illustrated from a Chinese source, but on page 79 it is noted in connection with the phallic argument concerning Filean=*faolan*, a wolf, that 'the term "night-wolf" is applied in Turkish to what ornaments the handle of the Saint's bell.'

Where even his extraordinary philological methods fail him, the author simply has recourse to the butt end of the pistol: 'Inis Fail describes Lowland Scotland and Northumbria, let any one say as they like' (p. 119). Gaelic '*brugh*,' really cognate with the English 'march,' and '*bru*,' cognate with 'breast,' are compelled to become one; 'the spelling is a grammatical distinction' (p. 57). It is but fair to add that, though dealing in the main with philological materials, the author professes that he is 'no philologist' (p. 1), and evidently has scant respect for any such person. 'He desires to be an interpreter of folk-lore' (p. 1). In fact the one clear idea that a reader carries away from this volume is that our folk-lore is our real history, and ordinary history merely folk-lore. We

need not be surprised, therefore, that the eighteenth-century forgery attributed to Richard of Cirencester is still for the author a source 'of the latter half of the fourteenth century' (p. 243 and Bibliography). On the other hand, 'the authenticity of Adamnan's "Columba"' is gravely argued against (p. 286).

Mr. Squire attempts no such flights. His book is offered to the general reader as a popular introduction to its subject, and, on leading lines, gives a clear, accurate and well-told account of the principal figures and incidents. It seems impossible, however, to keep Dr. Matthew Arnold's sentimental 'wizardry' out of popular treatises, and so we hear once more that the 'poetic vision' of English literature comes from 'the Celtic side'; the Anglo-Saxon having to its credit merely 'the more practical qualities' (p. 3). Yet 'practical' rather than 'poetic' are the hook with which Balor keeps open his 'destroying eye' (p. 49), and the twigs with which Cuchulainn holds off his clothes from his wounds (p. 173). Arnold opened the floodgates of Celtic sentimentalising and so did much to misdirect later work in this field. That the Picts were 'probably more or less Goidelicised Iberians' (p. 23) is a proposition to which Pictish nomenclature gives no support; and that the matriarchate was a 'very un-Aryan procedure' (p. 31) is *à priori* unlikely, and has never been demonstrated. That the Druid 'creed of transmigration' was not 'merely taken over from the Greeks' (p. 36) but appears 'in the ancient Gaelic myths' (p. 37) is a superfluous plea, incorrectly stated. No creed of 'transmigration' proper appears in these myths, and the Celtic conception of a life after death had nothing in common with the ideas of the Pythagoreans. Nor does Diodorus say that the 'magnificent temple of Apollo' in Britain was 'a circular enclosure' (p. 42), but that there was such a temple 'and a circular shrine adorned with votive offerings and tablets with Greek inscriptions suspended by travellers upon the walls' (Elton as cited). The description scarcely fits the precipitate and usual identification with Stonehenge (pp. 42, 325). This work, however, is admirably done and heartily to be recommended. Mr. Squire has gone to the best sources and has used them wisely and skilfully.

Mr. Campbell's work in Highland folk-lore is well known and has the unique quality of being wholly derived from oral and personally tested sources; all others being sternly disregarded. These volumes, therefore, constitute perhaps the most important contribution ever made from the Gaelic side to their fascinating subject. What he has to say about fairy beliefs is specially interesting, though it is strange to find him, after insisting upon 'the difference in size ascribed to the race' (vol. i., p. 9), affirming overleaf that 'the true belief is that the fairies are a small race.' Certainly for Wales and Ireland, which latter country cannot have differed much in its conceptions from the West Highlands, it is clear that these beings were not normally regarded as differing in stature from ordinary men and women. The point is important in view of a certain euhemeristic theory which circles round the idea of 'a little people.'

These two vastly interesting volumes must be the ultimate 'scriptures' to the student of Gaelic folk-lore and popular superstitions, in the first place; and, for their department, equally such to the student of the subject as a whole.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

THE TAILL OF RAUF COILYEAR, a Scottish metrical romance of the fifteenth century, edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossarial Index. By William Hand Browne, Professor of English Literature in the John Hopkins University, Baltimore. Pp. iv, 164. The John Hopkins Press. 1903. \$1 net.

INTRODUCTION, notes and glossary make up four-fifths of this monograph, the *Taill of Rauf Coilyear* being the insignificant remainder. An editor does well to remember that annotations do not necessarily light up dark places, and that not infrequently *difficultatem facit doctrina*. It is only with reluctance that one suggests at the outset this general objection to Professor Browne's performance, for evidently he loves our early Scottish poetry and brings to it wide knowledge and scholarly equipment. Specially is that the case on the philological side. His introduction—a survey of Scottish literature from Barbour to Lyndsay—is orthodox, as are the text-books of a generation ago; it derives little or nothing from the criticism of our own day, and only once or twice gives the least intimation of certain questions of authorship recently mooted. The difficulty of some readers will probably be to discover what exactly is the relation of such a general introduction to the fifteenth century alliterative romance. Professor Browne, it may be said, has no doubt about *Rauf Coilyear* being 'late XVth century,' and wastes no breath on those who hold another opinion. The chapter devoted to criticism of the poem itself is on the whole good. The prelection on vocabulary, vowels, consonants, flexion, metre, versification and rimes is no less deserving of praise if only one could be sure that it will not spoil for the young student the merry tale told by the poet, who had never the plodding philologist in his mind, but wrote only for 'pleasance' of good fellows. This further, as a last word, seems necessary. There might have been, with advantage, a rather franker and fuller acknowledgment of indebtedness for text and glossary to M. Amours' edition of *Rauf Coilyear*, published for the Early Scottish Text Society. Professor Browne's edition marks no advance on that of M. Amours; and perhaps it is proper to say, makes no pretence to do so.

J. T. T. BROWN.

THE GENEALOGIST: A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF GENEALOGICAL, ANTIQUARIAN, TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HERALDIC RESEARCH. Edited by H. W. Forsyth Harwood. New series, Vol. XX. Pp. viii, 316. M. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1904.

THIS volume of *The Genealogist* is well up to the high standard of its predecessors as a storehouse of useful material for the genealogist and

the antiquary. It is perhaps not so pugnacious as some of the previous volumes, but it is not on that account less acceptable to its readers. Some of the contributions deal with Scottish history, the most notable of which is the opening article by Mr. Keith Murray, who has printed an interesting legal document of the sixteenth century relating to the manslaughter of one of the Hamilton family, with explanatory notes and a pedigree showing the connexion of the Hamiltons and Sinclairs. Ireland is represented by Sir Edmund Bewley, with a valuable account of the Folliotts of Londonderry, an offshoot of the English family of that name, who migrated to 'the distressful country' in the seventeenth century, and, strange to relate, multiplied and prospered in their new home. The articles and notes on English subjects, some of which are elaborate and of considerable interest, cannot be overlooked by the genealogical and heraldic student. Mr. G. W. Watson has completed his laborious inquiry into 'The 4096 Quarters of King Edward VII.,' compiled with scrupulous care and patient research; the pedigrees on the Plea Rolls are continued by General George Wrottesley, a most useful work; and Mr. Henry Wagner and others have contributed original documents, pedigrees, abstracts of wills, marriage licences, diaries and grants of arms.

The volume, which is handy to consult, contains a portrait of Sir Alfred Scott-Gatty, the new Garter King of Arms, and good indexes of persons and places.

JAMES WILSON.

POLITICS AND RELIGION IN SCOTLAND, 1550-1695. By W. L. Mathieson. In two volumes, Vol. I. pp. xvi, 412; Vol. II. pp. xv, 388. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1903. 21s. nett.

IN these volumes Mr. Mathieson attempts, not to retell the history of Scotland from 1550 to 1695, but to trace the development of certain tendencies in church and state. He might well have called his work 'An essay on the decay of enthusiasm in the Scottish Church'; for his object is to discuss the growth of the moderate spirit, and all his finest work is concerned with the more pacific and undogmatic episodes in Scottish Church history. By far the ablest and most original chapters in the book are the tenth and twentieth, in which he describes *con amore* the two most marked triumphs of moderatism in seventeenth century Scotland before the Revolution; and more especially his estimate of Leighton and his party seems to us to reach the high-water mark of excellence and interest. But if we are right in assuming that 'moderatism' is Mr. Mathieson's real subject, he seems to us to err gravely in dealing with so much that is really outside the scope of his work. For the unwary reader might well suppose that in these volumes he had simply another descriptive history of Scotland—although Mr. Mathieson would be the first to disclaim an intention to do what Professor Hume Brown and Mr. Lang are doing already.

In this too generous estimate of what forms his subject matter Mr. Mathieson distinctly weakens his work, and that in two ways. He

suggests, as has been said, the ordinary history of Scotland, and here, of course, he can plead nothing of the painstaking pioneering research which has made Mr. Lang's history so noteworthy. But apart from this fault of over-inclusiveness, Mr. Mathieson sins through his very virtues. The moderation which so eminently becomes him as panegyrist of the pacific party makes him fail in sympathy towards extreme men, and yet the hundred and fifty years discussed so fully in these pages form nothing but one long battle where only violent men may count. There was room for a historian of the development of moderation, but such a historian, by virtue of his calling, must deal selectively with history, and must remember that there are large spaces in history where moderation is not the directest way to historical truth. Granted factions and enthusiasms, their history may be satisfactorily written only by men more than half-sympathetic with party spirit. Mr. Lang by very force of prejudice (or sympathy) often triumphs where Mr. Mathieson is only half-successful. Wherever the irrational enters (and it was a primary fact in Scottish history and character during these years) this weakness appears. Able as is Mr. Mathieson's estimate of Knox, it fails to appreciate the most characteristic things in the man, because Mr. Mathieson has not the Carlylian faculty of estimating a man's general force apart from less comprehensive intellectual and moral standards. Thus, to notice merely an insignificant hint of this, Mr. Mathieson is surely mistaken when he speaks of Knox's earnestness being '*strangely* tempered with a sense of humour,' as if this humour were not a necessary and basal fact in the Reformer's character, and an expression of that power of ironic criticism and insight into character which made John Knox the man he was. Mary Stuart, too, Mr. Mathieson calls 'no stateswoman' at the very time when the Darnley marriage had given her complete diplomatic success in her struggle with Elizabeth; apparently because he will not appreciate one whose greatest triumphs, like her most hopeless errors, sprang as much from instinct and passion as from conscious intention. Again, in his comparison between Lethington and Montrose, Mr. Mathieson's wonder at the preference of posterity for the latter seems to spring from his unwillingness to praise men for anything but moderate and rational methods. It is here that the historian, who like Mr. Lang is willing to let his feelings (call them sympathy or prejudices as you will) have free scope, inevitably scores. The moderatist in history will fully succeed in appreciating moderate men; the heroic and the violent alike he will underestimate or wrongly appraise. Indeed, one might go further and add that Mr. Mathieson, when, in his second volume, he speaks of 'the spirit of the Renaissance' triumphing in the late seventeenth century over the Reformation and Counter-reformation, is showing, this time in the very centre of his theory of history, a misleading over-eagerness to associate Scottish politics and religion with a spirit of reason unacknowledged by any of the Scottish leaders, and that he is essentially anachronistic in attempting to trace the eighteenth century rational and pacific spirit in a time when authority and passion were the only motive

forces, and in a country where the 'tiger and the ape' had more to do with the making of history than human reason.

The general conception of Mr. Mathieson's work forbids too detailed and unphilosophic a criticism of details, but we feel inclined to question when he speaks (I. 8) of 'heretical tradition' in Scotland being 'far more nearly continuous' than in England; when he assumes (I. 93) that 'the death of Francis II. was a blow to the Scottish Reformation, because it meant the return of Mary to Scotland,' and when (I. 203) he rather sophistically argues that the Reformed Church injured and hindered national trade. In addition, the later work of Mr. Lang has made slight modification necessary at several points, and more especially in the case of Gray's negotiations with Elizabeth, and the 'mortui non mordent' episode.

But in spite of these criticisms, we hold that Mr. Mathieson has justified his claim to be considered the historian-elect of Scottish Moderatism, and we believe that in his next volume, when he enters on more civilised times, when intellect counted for more than instinct, the very qualities which have somewhat hampered him here will give him unqualified success in the rational and moderate eighteenth century.

J. L. MORISON.

THE STORY OF KING LEAR FROM GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH TO SHAKESPEARE. By Wilfrid Perrett, B.A. Lond., Ph.D. Jena. Pp. x, 308. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1904.

DIE SAGE VON MACBETH BIS ZU SHAKSPERE. Von Ernst Kröger. Pp. ix, 273. Berlin: Mayer & Müller. 1904. Marks 7.60.

'PALAESTRA' is a fit and significant title for the series of strenuous monographs of which Professors Brandl, Roethe and Schmidt are both promoters and editors-general. The two works now to be considered are capital types to illustrate not only the method, but the great critical advantage of studying 'quellen.' Dr. Perrett's task is to deduce Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and after glancing at Geoffrey's own sources as probably including some variant of the loving-like-salt folk tale, he follows the story of Geoffrey told down through some sixty intervening renderings until Holinshed is reached and, through him chiefly, Shakespeare. It is a pedigree tracked with extreme patience, insight and judgment. The diagram, which is a compendium of so much study, is itself a fine chapter of exposition, showing at a glance the course a great tradition followed. All roads of literature led to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, the Old Play of *King Leire*, the *Faerie Queen* and the *Mirror for Magistrates*, and these, especially Holinshed, were Shakespeare's sources. A question of high interest debated, we think indecisively, by Dr. Perrett is whether in addition Shakespeare used the Latin text of Geoffrey directly. He shows that until the sixteenth century, apart from the 'historical' transmissions in the *Brut* and other popular chronicles deriving from Wace's French rendering of Geoffrey, the saga of Lear had no effect on popular imagination until the sixteenth century, 'when the reading of the chronicles

had become a favourite pastime of the cultured English laity.' How intimate is the connection between the vital points of source-hunting and the *crucis* of dramatic criticism appears everywhere. It is nonsense to discuss as if it were a creation of Shakespeare's a feature of the story which Shakespeare only found, and which, had he been ever so much minded to vary it, he could not have escaped from if he had wished. If the orbit of profitable speculation is not restricted to the use the dramatist made of what he found, it is certain that serious risks attach to all criticisms omitting to mark first of all whatever lies within that rudimentary line. For a real study of the whole antecedents of Shakespeare's great tragedy Dr. Perrett's guidance is not merely sound: it is indispensable.

Dr. Kröger's examination of the sources of Macbeth brings out initially the contrast between the real Macbeth of severe history, the Macbeth of Fordun and Wyntown and their successors, and the Macbeth of Holinshed and Shakespeare. He suggests, with clear justice, Saul, and more doubtfully Tarquin, as models ('vorbilder') for the character presented by Fordun. Discussing the evolution of incidents in the play as seen in medieval chronicle and sixteenth century history, including the *Brevis Cronica*, Hardyng, Grafton, Major, Boece, Bellenden and Stewart, Lesley and Buchanan, all precursors of Holinshed, he devotes special sections to the supernatural paternity of (Wyntown's) Macbeth, to the weird sisters, to the Cæsarean birth, and last and not least to the moving wood. To the 'wandelnde Wald,' indeed, Dr. Kröger brings admirable stores of folklore fact and parallel, enough to earn for his treatise a first-class place of commentary. Passing reference may be made to notes on the subject in our own columns some years ago (*Sc. Antiq.*, 1897-98, pp. 49, 156). To the place and character of the witches Dr. Kröger's contribution is also considerable, and he merits praise for tabulating a list of sources besides Holinshed. His appendix of text from Fordun, Wyntown and Boece will be of service to readers as fully citing the foundation authorities. A point argued in opposition to Prof. Liddell is that Shakespeare did not use Buchanan. One follows Dr. Kröger with pleasure and with some confidence so long as he sticks to his last; but when he attempts to expiscate the origins of Macbeth as saga, to tell us how little saga there was to begin with, how Fordun invented and amplified one section by adapting Tarquin to these northern latitudes, and how Wyntown dealt with his matter, not as the transmitter of an existing story, but as 'the shaper of a work of art,' and transformed it by his own imaginings, it is time to stop for some of us, to 'gang warily' for us all. Still, the speculations are worth hazarding whether the moving wood was a Celtic legend, and whether the Macbeth story in general was not of savant origin. We may not all be content with Dr. Kröger's estimate of Wyntown as a poetic creator a little bolder than Fordun and a great deal bolder than Boece, but—these things apart—we may all give hearty welcome to this German scholar's able account and analysis of Shakespeare's debt to Scottish chronicle.

GEO. NEILSON.

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PEEBLES DURING THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY. By Robert Renwick. Pp. xi, 205. Peebles: The Neidpath Press. 1903. 4s.

IN a review of Mr. Renwick's *Peebles: Burgh and Parish in Early History* (*Scot. Hist. Rev.*, Oct. 1903) the present work is mentioned as being then 'in the press.' It now takes its place as the sixth of a series of little histories by the same author, illustrative of the social life of a former time in a Scottish border burgh. A few more such volumes and the proverbial 'Peebles for pleasure' will obtain a deeper significance than it has at present. Mr. Renwick is an archivist in the strictest sense of the term. He works at the sources; records, 'auld mankit and mutilait,' allure him to congenial labour; expert knowledge and strictest accuracy conjoined, make him at all times a trustworthy guide.

When Queen Mary, a week from the date of her birth, succeeded to the throne, Peebles had experienced four centuries of municipal existence, and just at that point of time the present volume begins, the story being brought down to 1573, a few months after the close of the reign. In the burghal microcosm one may study politics and war, religion, commerce, art, law and agriculture, by many examples. Indeed, considering the size of the book—205 pages—its wealth of material is surprising. It contains, perhaps, little or nothing that was not known before, but that fact does not greatly lessen its value for historical study. Scattered throughout the chapters, one meets with plotting renegade Scots, partisans of the English; Scots whose wavering patriotism needed strengthening by the threat of seizure of their estates; Scots without reproach. On the eve of the Reformation the townsfolk transact their business, little concerned about ecclesiastical reform. Covenants are still ratified at the altar; the place of payment in wadsetts is nearly always at one or other of the churches, 'upon the hee altar of the samyn.' After 1561, when altars had been removed, a creditor is notarially warned to appear in church, and there, 'in the place where the altar formerly stood,' receive payment of the debt. The 'apostata frier' is also much in evidence. John Allane, chaplain and papal notary, becomes parish minister; other 'religious' accept ordination without scruple as Presbyterian elders. Another friar, more conscientious, 'trembling and fearing,' appears before a notary and declares that John Master of Maxwell, with certain squires in his company, in behalf of the Lords of the Congregation, came to him and compelled him to change his white habit for 'a grey keltour gounne,' and to put on 'a how black bonnet'—a change of dress meant to symbolise adoption of the new faith. The Pope's notary had then opportunities of earning an honest penny far different from the 'writer body' of a later time, styling himself 'notary public by royal authority duly admitted, allowed and sworn.' Like the blessed angels, his main care and most officious endeavour was often employed about the soul's part, as one may see by the case of Sir William Tunno, vicar of Mennare, who, lying at death's door, 'in presence of three burgesses and a notary,' formally renounced 'all wardlie riches, honour

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and erdlie plesour, the devill, his angellis and all his werkis, makand it knawn that he and his angellis wes reddey all tymes to induce tentations in the tyme of his latter hour of his deid, and truble his mynd, ressonne and spreit: protestand that quhatsumevery tentationes the said innemy and his angellis inducit in the tyme, hour and article of deid suld nocht be prejudice to his saule in the tyme of the departyng thairof fra the body furth of this vale of misery, nor sould haif na power to stope his saule the heritage of hevin, but that the same wes glaidlie ressavt be the angellis of God in the bosome of Abrahame siclyke as the powr man Lazarus saule wes ressavit quhen the riche man saule wes repellit.'

To mention in detail the many interesting things handled by Mr. Renwick is impossible in this short notice: in a book so full of good things a reader may safely be left to make his own choice. The dialect of Peebles, a fine vernacular, as exemplified by the records, is perhaps specially noteworthy and well deserving the attention given to it; but the glossary is not so full as it might have been, and some readers may be puzzled to understand, among other things, the magisterial order to the burghers to walk the walls 'nychtlic quhill the mone grow to the *proud* lycht,' or to know what commodity is meant by *ter* which 'divers unfremen and chepmen' were seeking to vend by 'paking and pelying' within 'the boundes of the burgh fredome.' *Flow-bonnet* and *Keltour goun*e are other omissions. Minor defects in the glossary are, however, as nothing compared to the abounding excellencies of all other parts of the book.

J. T. T. BROWN.

THE STIRLING ANTIQUARY. Reprinted from the *Stirling Sentinel*, 1900 to 1903. Edited by W. B. Cook. Vol. III., pp. vii, 365. Cr. 8vo. Stirling: Cook & Wylie. Printed for private circulation.

A COLLECTION like this shows what useful work a local newspaper can do. Here we have a most serviceable group of original and transferred articles mostly touching Stirlingshire. Matters discussed include disputed inscriptions at Kilmadock, local finds, the history of Camelon, the bogus charter to Eleazar the Jew of Aberdeen, new light on Bannockburn, and not a few transcripts, including a French account of the Battle of Falkirk in 1746. The hand of Mr. Cook is alike apt and busy whether as contributor or editor of this creditable volume of county lore.

BY BOTHWELL BANKS: SOME CHAPTERS ON THE HISTORY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND LITERARY ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UDDINGSTON AND BOTHWELL DISTRICT. By George Henderson and J. Jeffrey Waddell. Pp. 260. D. Hobbs & Company, Glasgow, 1904.

THIS book of 260 pages is published as the joint work of the authors whose names appear on the title page, with no indication of what belongs to the one or the other, except as regards the illustrations, which have the signature of Mr. Waddell. The architectural descrip-

tions in the chapters,—Bothwell Castle under the Morays and Douglasses, Blantyre Priory, and Gilbertfield,—sober matter-of-fact statement, are valuable, and would have been more valuable had they been published alone. Much else in the volume is superficial and uncritical. Derivations of place names both in the text and the appendix shew that the authors have consulted the old and new Statistical Accounts, Johnston's *Place Names*, and such like works, rarely troubling themselves to get to the well-head. There are exceptions however—the place name Uddingston is one: and it is gratifying to observe that for certain historical points Joseph Bain's *Calendars* and the *Transactions* of the Scottish Antiquaries and the Glasgow Archaeological Society are frequently cited to good purpose. But the chapters are decidedly unequal in value, and the indolent reader when he lays down the book will, as the American humorist has it, 'know some things that are not so.'

THE MISTY ISLE OF SKYE: ITS SCENERY, ITS PEOPLE, ITS STORY. By J. A. Macculloch, Pp. 320. Illustrated. Cr. 8vo. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1905. 4s. nett.

WORD-PICTURES of Skye in all aspects are dominant in Mr. Macculloch's book, which conjoins with these highly rhetorical and occasionally over-wrought descriptions a good deal of geology, history, folk-lore, and literary and romantic association, besides a Flora and Fauna of the island. Not surpassed by the late Sheriff Nicolson himself in his enthusiasm of admiration, the author lingers over the sunsets and the glories of mountain and sea with an infectious glow. History, which is not the strong point of the work, is chiefly used to lend human colour to impressionist nature-sketches, and in this incidental fashion affords additional scope for picturesque narration. The book will charm the lovers of Skye, and will add to their number.

THE RUTLAND MAGAZINE AND COUNTY HISTORICAL RECORD. An illustrated quarterly magazine. Edited by G. Phillips. Vol. I., January 1903 to October 1904. Oakham: C. Matkin. 1904. Pp. 264.

THIS quarterly, in bound form, makes a substantial volume of pictorial and antiquarian record. Good local work is good, if secondary, national work, and the archaeological annals of Rutlandshire will reward perusal anywhere. Churches, monuments, tombs, effigies, documents, relics, trade tokens, etc., are photographed. Curiosities of local usage, such as the horse-shoe custom of Oakham, are described, bells and their inscriptions enumerated, chapters of county topography, chronicle and genealogy set down, and transcripts of old deeds preserved. An article on Anglian burials is of note, with capital pictures of a bronze *situla* or bucket and a series of *fibulae*. Under the title of 'The Queen of Bohemia in Rutland' there is a sketch of the life of Elizabeth, daughter of James VI., wife of the Elector Frederick, abortive King of Bohemia, and by him grandmother of George I.

JOHN KNOX. By A. Taylor Innes. Quater-centenary edition. Pp. 158, with frontispiece. Cr. 8vo. Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1905. 1s. nett.

THIS re-issue of a biographical and historical sketch of acknowledged worth is welcome and well-timed. It is needless at this time of day to commend the veteran pen of Mr. Taylor Innes, who writes with equal clearness whether he is recording the early life of the Reformer, the ecclesiastical crisis he was to face and indeed to resolve, and his private relationships, or his action, militant and legislative, as a party leader and protagonist of the protestant cause. That Mr. Taylor Innes scarcely avoids the charge of treating Knox much more as an institute of protestantism than as a personality is not to be wondered at : the charge is no censure for such treatment is inevitable. We notice the birth year set down as heretofore, 'probably in 1505,' without discussion of the recent re-argument of the point. As frontispiece, there appears a representation of a plaster sketch model by Mr. Pittendrigh Macgillivray, in which Knox as a preacher obviously resembles Principal Storr.

Margaret Queen and Saint, by J. B. Mackie, pp. 78, cr. 8vo, 1905, price 1s. (Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier), is a chapter of heroine-worship well suited to its Dunfermline popular meridian.

Recent issues of the King's Classics (London : Alex. Moring, Ltd.) include *The Vision of Piers the Plowman*, by William Langland, done into modern English by the Rev. Professor Skeat (pp. 151, 1s. 6d. nett.) and *Mediaeval Lore from Bartholomew Anglicus*, by Robert Steele, with preface by William Morris (pp. 195, 1s. 6d. nett). To modernise *Piers the Plowman* was a dangerous attempt, on achieving which one may not honestly congratulate Professor Skeat, although most grateful for and appreciative of the learning of a lifetime which he has devoted to this noble poem. Mr. Steele's work is equally readable and informing as a sort of handbook to the science, manners, medicine, geography, and natural history current in the middle ages. A useful list of sources and a bibliography are added.

Englische Studien (Leipzig, O. R. Reisland) has in the January issue a curious essay on 'Drunkards' English' by T. F. van Draat, whose philological analysis is based on very doubtful if entertaining examples.

Count Lützwow's *Lectures on the Historians of Bohemia* (pp. viii, 120, cr. 8vo ; London : Frowde, 1905, 5s. nett) attractively sketch the national historical literature, ancient and modern. The tenth-century legend of St. Ludmilla and the early twelfth-century chronicle of Cosmas of Prague are the first Latin works. An interesting account of the battle of Crecy in 1346 is quoted from the Latin history of Weitmil, a contemporary canon of Prague. Vernacular literature had ere then opened with the so-called chronicle of Dalimil in 1308-1316, the first work written in Bohemian. Easily first of the moderns in history

is Palacký (dead in 1876), at once the most brilliant writer and authoritative critic. An intensely national note pervades the annals, with a chronic antagonism to things German, which Count Lützow loses no opportunity to signalize.

In the *American Historical Review* (April) Mr. Goldwin Smith, discussing 'The treatment of history,' has a passing estimate of Carlyle, criticising much, but praising much, and emphatically acknowledging his 'greatness as a teacher of history.' Professor George B. Adams, one of the board of editors, agrees so far with Professor Firth that the true object of historical seminary work is to train the historical investigator.

In Part II. of *Grace Book B*, edited by Miss Mary Bateson as the third volume of the *Luard Memorial Series* of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, the proctors' accounts of Cambridge University are continued from 1511 to 1544. (Pp. xxxv, 299. 8vo. Cambridge: University Press, 1905.) The same excellent qualities noted when the former instalment of the work was reviewed are also to be found in this new instalment of Miss Bateson's careful and scholarly work. The preface throws real light on the results of the religious changes brought about by Henry VIII., notably in the decline of the number of candidates for degrees and in the increasing depletion of the University chest. The index, exceedingly thorough and detailed, is so arranged as to be a real contribution to academic biography.

T. F. TOUR.

One of the sonnets in *A Doctor's Thoughts*, by Clement B. Gunn, M.D. (Selkirk: Lewis), declares that 'the Spirit of the Makar never dies.' The collection proves this true, showing also that the servant of the Muses can still find themes of dainty verse in antiquities, whether of legend or architecture. Merlin reawakens magic memories, and the monolith Altar-stone is still a monument of Faith. Dr. Gunn has many sides, and here the thoughts of the kind physician and shrewd antiquary are mingled with the music and fancy of the gentlest types of Border minstrelsy.

Many pamphlets have reached us. *The Statutes of Iona*, by John Bartholomew, advocate (*Oban Times Office*), describes and expounds the code of 1609 for civilising the Isles. *A Gossip about Carlisle in the Early Sixties*, by James Walter Brown (Carlisle: Thurnam), answers pleasantly to its title. *Some Early Defensive Earthworks of the Sheffield District*, by I. Chalkley Gould: this describes and gives sketch plans of several mottes, continuing Mr. Gould's studies on this subject. *The Labour Day*, by M. Maltman Barrie (London: Vickers), is an argument beyond our province. *Shelta: the Cairds' Language*, by David MacRitchie, embodies a proposition that the language or jargon spoken by certain vagrants in the British Isles is mainly a perversion of the pre-aspirated Gaelic spoken anterior to the eleventh century. It is easier to admire the boldness of this flight of Romany philosophy than

to persuade oneself that it admits of argument. *Memoir of the Family of Kings of Newmill* (Elgin: Courant and Courier Office, 1904); this is a genealogy of a line of Elginshire lairds.

In *Modern Language Notes* (Jan.), Prof. Hand Brown offers a few glossarial amendments of Dr. Schipper's edition of the *Poems of Walter Kennedy*.

The Reliquary (April) has fine photographic renderings of the sculptured caves of East Wemyss by Mr. John Patrick. Other pictorial themes are Mediaeval barns, pre-Norman crosses, and Saxon churches.

The *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (April) has a description of the bombardment of Algiers by Duquesne in 1683. It has also a paper on the making of the port of Havre, the chief note being a manuscript dedication of December, 1518, to 'Michelot Feré, grand architecteur du Havre de Grace.' He is also named as 'grand maistre et architecteur de l'oeuvre.'

Queries

MINIATURES OF MARY STUART. 1572. In 1901 Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan lent a miniature on ivory, of Queen Mary, aged thirty, to the Glasgow Exhibition. Lord Leven and Melville has another copy, also on ivory, inscribed 'Maria Stuart, Anno 30,' in gilt letters. A third was picked up at Heidelberg, Mr. Foster informs me, by a member of the Powys family, a number of years ago. The copy belonging to Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan is in the best condition, and the likeness is very good, the face being quite six years younger than in the 'Sheffield' type of portraits of 1578. A fourth copy is known.

These miniatures, being on ivory, cannot well be older than the early eighteenth century. In style they affect the manner of Hilliard, the sixteenth-century miniaturist. The Queen is in black, on Hilliard's favourite blue ground; beside her, on a table with a rich cover, lie a crown and sceptre: the Royal arms, quartering England, Ireland, France and Scotland, are depicted within the collar of the Garter. In one hand Mary holds a cross, in the other a book of devotion. Now Mary, in 1571-1572, was, to Catholics, 'the good Queen that now is prisoner, in whom resteth the present right of the crown.' So a spy reports to Cecil the talk of a Jesuit (March 4, 1571-1572. *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, vol. iv., p. 141).

In defect of a better explanation I suggest that there existed a portrait or miniature of Mary in 1572, for the comfort of English Catholic adherents, and that the four extant miniatures on ivory are copies, made in the eighteenth century, for Jacobites of the old faith. The inscription in gold letters is not nearly so delicately traced as in Hilliard's miniatures of a century older, and the blue ground is not flat but stippled. The face and hands in Mrs. Anstruther-Duncan's example are beautifully drawn, and there is no more plausible likeness of Mary at thirty. Nothing can less resemble the fat, foolish, round-eyed Mary of L. Crosse, painted over a miniature, perhaps genuine, then in the possession of the Duke of Hamilton, who played such a shuffling part in the reign of Queen Anne. Crosse's miniature represents the Queen in youth, and not in mourning, as in the four miniatures dated 1571-1572. These, I think, must have had a genuine contemporary original, though one cannot guess how an artist got access to Mary at the time of the Ridolphi conspiracy. In 1575, it was dangerous to possess a portrait of Mary in England (*State*

Papers, Mary Queen of Scots, May 6, 1575, vol. x., No. 47). These late copies of a probable miniature of 1571-1572 have not previously been criticised. The presence of the Royal arms of England on her miniatures refers of course to her fatal claim of the English crown. In 1573, Nov. 13, a report of Scottish affairs says that 'on her homecoming' (1561) 'it is true that a great quantity of her plate was marked with arms bearing quarterly the arms of England, some whereof were extant within these few months, and some clothes having broidered on them the same arms' (*Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. iv., p. 629*). On July 1, 1614, Drummond of Hawthornden described to Ben Jonson a bed with broideries executed by Mary, or her *brodeur*. 'With many other devices and *impresas*, were the arms of Scotland, England, and France, all quartered' (Drummond, *History of Scotland, p. 393*). This bed was certainly wrought *after* the birth of James VI., '*unum, sed leonem*,' possibly at Loch Leven. In 1619 it was at Pinkie House, a house of the Douglasses of Loch Leven, and, when at Loch Leven, Mary asked that an embroiderer might be sent to her. He may have embroidered this bed. On a silver *tric-trac* board of Mary's, of which a photograph lies before me, the arms of England, France, Scotland, and the harp of Ireland, are enamelled at the corners. This object was obtained from France recently.

A. LANG.

M'MILLANS. The following were admitted members of the 'Buchanan Society' during the 18th century :

- 'James M'Millan, Merchant, Glasgow,' 1728.
- 'Duncan M'Millan of Dunmore, Knapdale, Argyleshire,' 1728. Married Katherine, eldest daughter of John Buchanan of Torrie (see *Register of Tailzies, vol. v. fol. 378*).
- 'Alexander M'Millan of Dunmore, W.S., Edinburgh,' 1728, son of Duncan M'Millan of Dunmore. Married, first, Margaret Campbell, secondly, Jane Campbell; died July 26, 1770 (*History W.S. Society, p. 137*).
- 'Archibald M'Millan of Curr, Knapdale, Argyleshire,' 1729.
- 'Neil M'Millan in Bariyemragan,' 1729.
- 'Neil M'Millan, younger, of Ballie,' 1729.
- 'Archibald M'Millan, cousin-german to Dunmore,' 1729.
- 'William M'Millan of Barwhinnock in Twinicholm, Gallowayshire,' 1729.
Was he the Laird of Barwhinnock who was out in the '45, and died in exile?
- 'Robert M'Millan, brother of the above William,' 1729.
- 'David M'Millan of Neitherholm of Dalquham,' 1729. One of the nine sons of M'Millan in Bradenoch. Acquired Nether Holm of Dalquhairn; died at Moorbrock before February 6, 1734 (M'Kerlie, vol. iii. pp. 303, 304).
- 'Robert M'Millan, younger, of Neitherholm of Dalquham,' 1729. Married Janet Mitchelson, heiress portioner of Moorbrock; died in 1770 (*ibid.* iii. p. 304).

- 'The Rev. William M'Millan, Minister of the Gospel at Torthorwall, Dumfries,' 1729. Born about 1701; married July 29, 1729, Anne Lawrie; died May 12, 1764 (Scott's *Fasti*).
- 'William M'Millan of Glenlagan,' 1729. Married Margaret Gordon before 1736.
- 'John M'Millan, merchant in Dumfries,' 1729.
- 'William M'Millan, merchant, Glasgow,' 1730.
- 'Alexander M'Millan, Pewterer, Glasgow,' 1736.
- 'Alexander M'Millan, Captain of the Ship *Cassandra* of Glasgow,' 1748.
- 'Daniel M'Millan, Shoemaker, Glasgow,' 1788.

I will be glad of any information with regard to any of the above.

A. W. G. B.

A CASKET OF QUEEN MARY. At the sale of Mr. Scott I bought a tract which I had long wished to see, by M. Luzarche. (*Un Coffret de Marie Stuart*. Tours. 1868.) It is a thin folio of four pages, with five reproductions of what, in the coloured lithographs, looks like a despatch box in purple brown leather, studded with fleurs de lys, of gilt bronze, with a handle at the top, and a lock, of the same material. Two plates bear the inscription: "Maria, D.G. Regina Scotiae et Franciae dotaria." The shield, beneath a crown, bears the Lyon of Scotland, impaled with a single fleur de lys within a circle of thistle heads. M. Luzarche describes the copper as covered with velvet, much worn; it is not clear whether he means that the velvet cover is a separate thing or whether the box itself is coated with velvet, not leather. In the pictures there is no sign of wear and tear. In the interior the old lining was preserved with a singular fragrance, not of sanctity, according to M. Luzarche, who accuses the Queen of "every vice"! The letter-press is of no value; the author does not tell us where and when he obtained the relic. It seems to be genuine, none the less, and seems to date after December 1560, and before Mary's marriage with Darnley, in 1565. On the other hand Mary's monogram, M, is interlaced with the Greek ϕ of her husband, Francis II. Perhaps she left it behind her in France, in 1561. Lord Brougham, we learn, the defender of another Royal lady, regarded the casket with veneration. Does any one know what became of this "depository of jewels and love letters"?

A. LANG.

DEDICATION OF KIRKINNER CHURCH. The Church of Kirkinner stands on the west of Wigtown Bay, three miles south of the county town. It was dedicated to St. Kennera and was the only dedication to her in Scotland. In his *Kalendars of Scottish Saints* (s.v. Kennere), Bishop Forbes remarks, 'The legend states that S. Kennera, the daughter of Aurelius and Florentia, who lived in the city Orchada, was invited by S. Ursula to join her in the pilgrimage to Rome, and by the protection of the King of the Rhine was alone saved from the slaughter. Living in his palace, she made herself so beloved that the king gave up to her the management of

his kingdom and of his family, which she governed with all wisdom and prudence. The queen, becoming jealous, tried in vain to poison his mind against the saint. Once, when she was carrying some bread to the poor, the queen told the king to see with his own eyes that Kennera was wasting his goods, but the loaves were miraculously turned into shavings. A follower of the queen, learning her hatred of the saint, conspired against her life, and when the king was away hunting, strangling her with a towel, buried her in a stable. The queen told her husband on his return that her relatives had carried her off; but the horses refused to enter the stable where the saint was laid, and burning lights in the form of a cross were seen over the place where she rested. Whereupon the body was found and taken up. Afterwards it was buried with great honour by Vuilbrordus.' Bishop Forbes adds: 'There are two Irish saints of this name—Cainner, daughter of Cruithnechan, at Killcullen, in Kildare, and Cainer, daughter of Caelan of Rinn h' Allaid.' 'In the churchyard of Kirkinner there are two ancient sculptured crosses.' (*Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Part III., p. 43.) Is anything known regarding the reason why the church was dedicated to St. Kennera?

J. M. MACKINLAY.

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PEDDER: PETER. Were the early Peters of Scotland related to the English family of that name? Who was Andrew Pedder, a student at Aberdeen University in 1657. A Robt. Petrie was early identified with this University, and a 'Thos. Peter, a Scottishman' dies among his probable kinsfolk at Fowey, Cornwall, early in the 17th century.

503 Lancaster St., Albany, New York.

G. A. TAYLOR.

ABERCROMBY. Can any correspondent give information about the marriage or marriages of the daughters of Alex. Abercromby of Glassaugh, who married Cath. Dunbar, probably Katharine Dunbar? He had at least two: Elizabeth, b. June 1686, Katharine, b. March 1688.

J. M. M.

Communications and Replies

JAMES VI. AND ANDREW MELVILLE. In September, 1596, James VI. had an interview at Falkland with Andrew Melville and certain other ministers, which, although not more important or fruitful of results than many other interviews, has, by dint of exaggeration and misconception, become a commonplace of Scottish history, and the recognized sample of Presbyterian manners and conduct in that distant time.

Andrew's nephew, James, who was present on the occasion, has left an account of the interview in his Diary, and he is our one and only witness for it. He tells us that after some hot talk his uncle 'uttered the commission as from the mighty God, calling the king but "God's silly vassal"; and, taking him by the sleeve, says this in effect, through much hot reasoning and many interruptions, "Sir, we will humbly reverence your majesty always, namely, in public."' And then follows a long screed of what Hallam not unjustly calls 'Presbyterian Hildebrandism,' which need not concern us here. It is the manner—not the matter—of Melville's oratory with which I propose to deal; a trifling thing, but if a story is worth telling at all it should be told correctly.

To begin with, then, James Melville's narrative makes it quite certain that between the phrase which has given such dire offence, 'God's silly vassal' and the 'taking by the sleeve,' some time was spent—how much we cannot tell—in hot discourses and interruptions. The two things were not synchronous; and if Melville had not seemed to most modern eyes (as indeed he was) an exceedingly unpleasant person, and if our propriety had not been shocked by the 'silly vassal,' no man would ever have thought of tacking two separate things together and making a *tertium quid* out of them of a very ugly shape.

First as to the 'silly vassal.' The story, as James Melville tells it, is no doubt very picturesque, and at first sight rather startling. One can quite understand all the writers of history pouncing upon it with delight; but it is strange that not a man of them (except Burton and Mr. Hume Brown) seems to have thought it worth while to remember—though he must have known—that 'silly,' as commonly used in Elizabeth's time, had no sort of resemblance to our modern use of the word. The *Homily* tells us that Holofernes was killed by 'that silly woman Judith.' Florio's *Montaigne* has 'the ants and other silly creatures' (B. ii, c. xii). Shakespeare speaks of a 'silly coat,' *i.e.* a simple

dress (*Cymbeline*, v, iv). Orsino, in *Twelfth Night*, calls the lovely song he asks for 'silly sooth.' Spenser has 'silly virgin' and 'silly man'—innocent in one case, plain in the other, and so on. Many more illustrations might be collected, but let these suffice. Hence, it is obvious that all that Melville meant, translated into modern speech, was: 'You are only, merely, simply, God's vassal,' a statement of the king's position in the universe which James himself would not have challenged or thought improper. 'Your majesty is only a ceremony,' said the Spanish courtier to his master. Burton, who knew this quite well, unhappily contented himself with telling us that 'silly,' as used in Scotland, is generally applied to physical weakness. And no doubt this is so, but Melville was speaking in the ordinary language of his time, not in modern Scots—still less in modern English. Mr. Hume Brown, very fairly explains 'silly' by 'feeble.'

Next as to the 'taking by the sleeve.' 'Take' is a colourless word, and not only connotes no violence, but *may* be perfectly gentle. In this case the gesture, which seems to be the natural accompaniment of petitionary vehemence, was associated, as James Melville distinctly implies, not with the 'silly vassal,' but with a humble expression of loyalty to the person of the sovereign.

Now, let us see how James Melville's narrative has been treated by all the historians. Burton alone quotes the whole passage at length, and with absolute accuracy; but it fares badly with the rest, in an ever-increasing scale, and the colourless 'take' vanishes into limbo. Thus even Mr. Gardiner, the most careful and trustworthy of men, in his great *History*, has: 'seized him by the sleeve, and, calling him "God's silly vassal," told him,' etc. 'Seize' decidedly connotes violence, and the two things which, as I have shown, belong to different stages of the controversy, are here forcibly joined together, and out of their proper order. So also Mr. Hume Brown: 'Telling James he was "but God's sillie (feeble) vassal," he seized him by the sleeve and added,' etc. And so also Mr. Trevelyan in his *England under the Stuarts*. But the writer of Melville's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* betters the phrase: 'He plucked James by the sleeve, calling him God's silly vassal.' If seizing is violent, 'plucking' is rough and rude. Lastly, Mr. Andrew Lang easily distances all competitors with: 'He seized James by the sleeve, "he laid his hands on an anointed king," and called his sovereign,' etc. The king, he adds, was 'collared in his own house by a furious college don.'

Andrew Melville was certainly not an engaging character. With his hot temper—'his heart in his mouth,' as the king said—and his precious balms always ready to break the head of anybody who ventured to differ from him, he must have been as disagreeable a creature as ever trod this earth. Here is Dr. M'Crie's account of him. It looks as if it had been 'wrote satirical,' but the good doctor is quite serious, and is no doubt telling the plain truth: 'Provided those who were about him could bear with his "wholesome and friendly anger," and allow him freely to censure what he thought wrong in their

conduct, he assumed no arrogant airs of superiority, exacted no humiliating marks of submission, but lived with them as a brother among brethren.' (*Life of Andrew Melville*, ii, 464.)

He was the Laud of Scotland. In his bigotry, his intolerance, his fierce assertion of ecclesiastical supremacy, and his fatal lack of humour and good humour, he is the counterpart of the English prelate; and his work did not die with him. His scholarship is admitted on all hands, and Scotland owes him much for his strenuous efforts on behalf of a higher education. But Scotland also—country, people, and Church—suffered many things from him and his fellows and successors—the inheritors of the worst features in Knox's character, but not of his redeeming virtues; of his opinions, but not of his spirit; the hidebound pedants, whom Cromwell vainly besought 'to think it possible they might be mistaken.'

However this may be, we must remember that, with all his faults, Andrew Melville was, by birth and education, a gentleman, and it is, to me at least, incredible, even if we have not, as I have endeavoured to show, direct proof to the contrary, that he could have been guilty of the intolerable rudeness which later historians lay to his charge; or that James, who, however wanting in real dignity, had an overweening sense of his own importance, would not have resented it. But, on the contrary, even after this stormy interview, 'silly vassal' and 'collaring,' and all the rest of it, James Melville records that 'the king settled and demitted us pleasantly,' much to his credit, as Burton rightly says. Moreover, in spite of much squabbling and many serious quarrels, when James went to England Andrew fired off a valedictory poem, styling his majesty 'the best of kings,' unwitting of what lay hidden in the coming years.

H. W. LUMSDEN.

Langley Park, Montrose.

SIR ARCHIBALD LAWRIE AND THE SWINTON CHARTERS. Every student of the dawn of Scottish history must be honestly grateful to Sir Archibald Lawrie for his *Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D. 1153* [Glasgow, 1905], and I hope I shall not be considered as striking a discordant note when I express my regret that before condemning certain charters he did not examine the originals. A visit to the Treasury at Durham would have made him pause before writing 'forgeries' against King David's charters to Hernulf and Arnolf, for he would have seen that there can be no question of their genuineness. The character of the handwriting, the seals and every feature connected with them, afford the most conclusive evidence that they are authentic documents. He might then have reconsidered the suspicions which the peculiarity of their contents engendered in his mind. Naturally they are peculiar, for, so far as Scotland is concerned, they are the first of their kind. In them we are in at the birth of one of its earliest territorial surnames, and certainly of the earliest grant of inheritance which has been preserved to us. Incidentally it is the first appearance of Walter Fitz Alan, the founder of the royal house of Stewart, and perhaps the first mention of a Scotsman bearing knighthood.

For all these reasons it is of historical importance that they should be quite above suspicion. If the contents require explanation it may be as follows:

Before 1098, when King Edgar came to the dedication of the church at Coldingham, Swinton was held by Liulf (ch. xx)—the earliest contemporary record of land held by a subject—just as Paxton was held by the King himself (ch. xxi). Edgar gave 'villam totam' to the monks, with Liulf's approval, but the adjacent 'terra,' called in the next century and ever since 'Little Swinton,' remained first with Liulf and then with his son Odard, in turn Sheriffs of Bamburgh and of the Northumbrians. It is possible that these lands formed part of the endowment of the Sheriffdom in the days when its jurisdiction extended north of the Tweed. King Alexander, David, both as Earl and King, and Earl Henry looked after the interests of the monks. There was some trouble, and we should be grateful for it, as it gives us so many documents. Odard died c. 1132, being succeeded by his son William. I think that when Sir Archibald disagrees with Mr. Round's identification of the early owners of Swinton with the Sheriffs of Northumbria, he must have overlooked the fact that the Duchy of Lancaster record of William Fitz Odard's possessions includes both Bamburgh and Swinton. On the death of William, his brother Adam was his heir, another brother, Ernulf, being interested in the inheritance. Adam carried on the family tradition, being Sheriff under Earl Henry. He also would appear to have been childless. The trouble about Swinton cropped up again, and King and Earl determined to finish it once for all. By these charters they succeeded. The trouble never recurs. In 1235 'Alan de parva Wintona' (sic) heads the list of those owing homage to Durham, while the duty to the monks is acknowledged by successive de Swintons over and over again up to the dissolution of the monasteries. Sir Archibald need not be surprised at these documents being at Durham, for not only were the lands confirmed to Ernulf and his heirs, but a charge on them was given to the monks. Naturally both parties received charters. Every important point is amply corroborated elsewhere.

So much for the genuineness of these two charters. Now for the thin old descent with which Sir Archibald also quarrels. It is an axiom that if you keep almost anything long enough it will become of value.

The Swinton pedigree is not so frail as Sir Archibald imagines. It is unnecessary to argue all over again the question, threshed out in the *Genealogist* in 1899, as to whether Ernulf de Swinton was or was not identical with the contemporary Ernulf of the 'Sheriff' family. Mr. Round thought that the sons of Odard took sides against Scotland. Sir George Sitwell showed that it was the other way, and in summing up quoted the teaching of science as applicable to the building up of a genealogical certainty that 'mony a mickle maks a muckle.'

I can bring no further conclusive proof that our Ernulf was Odard's son, but nothing fresh has been brought into the scale against the tradition, while in its favour the following contributory evidence may be worth recording.

In your columns last January (p. 179) I showed, first, that the story of the old family of Arbuthnott is that in the twelfth century their Swinton progenitors held high territorial rank on the march; secondly, that their connection with an hereditary sheriffship may find support in the fact that c. 1230 Alan de Swinton is seen in possession of a mill which even then 'Vocatur Shireuif milne,' as if it had belonged to bygone sheriffs. Sir George Sitwell's argument that the sons of Odard remained friends with Scotland is aided by Canon Greenwell, who points out (*House of Gospatric*, p. 44) that John Fitz Odard and his descendants held Shipley by grant from the third Earl Cospatric, and in three out of the five existing charters of this Earl our Ernulf appears as a witness, high up among the witnesses too, as becomes a 'miles,' who holds 'as a King's baron,' not a mere 'dreng' as Sir Archibald suggests. This connection may help us to our next link, for the succeeding de Swinton whom we meet, ante 1177, presumably Ernulf's son and heir, bears the distinctive name of Cospatric. He and three Alans, his son, grandson and great grandson, are proved up to the hilt. The second Alan died some time after 1247, and c. 1271 the third granted the Kirkcroft of Swinton to St. Cuthbert (Raine, ch. ccccxxxix). When he died we know not, for at the end of the century and all through the weary years of the successive English invasions and occupations, a darkness as of night settles down upon the eastern Border. It is unlikely that many charters were granted; certainly but few remain. Of the Swintons all that we can say is that they were always on the ground. Henry swore fealty in 1296 as a Berwickshire man. He or another of the same name went on to 1331 (Raine, ch. ccccxxxii). In 1335 John de Swinton was forfeited by Edward III., who, after Halidon Hill, entirely dominated the Merse, and afterwards his lands of Little Swinton, 'devastated by war,' appear in English documents as in the hands of Edward of Letham (Bain's *Cal. Scot. Doc.*, vol. 3). Probably they so remained until the final retirement of the English forces, and this usurpation may account for the disappearance of the earlier family charters. During these years a fourth Alan carries on the special family name (Raine, ch. dcxx) until, with a King once more seated firmly on the throne of Scotland, we find the Borderland cleared of the 'auld enemy,' and a second Henry de Swinton holding the possessions of his forefathers. By a happy chance he settles any doubt of his own descent by a charter in which he makes over all his lands of Little Swinton to be held 'as freely as he or any of his ancestors have ever held them.'

This brings us face to face with our last difficulty. The recipient of this charter was Sir John de Swinton, but unfortunately the relationship is not mentioned. Sir Archibald Lawrie calls Sir John 'the ancestor of the family,' and says that in the fifteenth century he bought the land from Henry de Swinton's daughter and heiress. If Sir Archibald will look up his reference—the original document is in the Register House—he will see that the transaction was concluded in 1379, and that there is no word of daughter or heiress. Admittedly Little Swinton was handed over for value received in the shape of land elsewhere, but,

only to quote one instance in the same collection, Swinton charters X. and XI. show that this is a common form of family arrangement. In them Joan, Countess of Douglas, when exchanging land with her eldest son and heir, uses practically identical terms. I do not think that Sir John was Henry's son, but there is no reason whatever that he should not have been his heir. There is no sign of any other claimant at the time, or of any competing branch later, and there was no other family of Swintons. He was certainly a man of birth. Eight years earlier, when truce having been declared many Scots went to France with the English, 'Johan de Swynton' took service with John of Gaunt. He must have been a youth, and was then only an esquire, but Mr. Armitage Smith points out that he received double pay and the privilege, reserved only for those of the highest rank, of having a chamberlain eating with him in the hall (*Duchy of Lancaster Mis. Books*, No. 13, fol. 118). To this indenture the two Johns set their seals. On his receiving knight-hood his pay was again double that of an ordinary knight. Two years before the exchange of land he is called 'Johan, Sire de Swyngton d'Escoce' (*Chanc. Scot. Doc.*, file 7). In later charters he is always called 'dominus ejusdem,' and when the vernacular came into use his son appears as 'Lord of that Ilk' (*Coldstream Chart.*, p. 42). Whether heir or not he was certainly of the old male line. From him to his descendants of to-day every link is proved ten times over.

Such is the pedigree of a small family, with all its faults; mainly interesting because it is quite genuine and because it has this peculiarity, that on every vital point it stands, not on tradition, not on the romantic tales of chroniclers writing long after the events which they record, not even on writs copied into chartularies by monks with a quite human tendency to error, but on original documents which can be tested, as I hope Sir Archibald will shortly test King David's charters to Ernulf.

Admittedly we should like to discover, c. 1160, a reference to 'Ernulf son of Odard and Cospatric his son,' and, c. 1380, Sir John speaking of the forfeited John de Swinton as his grandfather or of Henry de Swinton as his uncle. Perhaps in the future volumes which we hope to see from Sir Archibald Lawrie's learned pen we shall find what we require.

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

THE ALTAR OF ST. FERGUS, ST. ANDREWS (*S.H.R.* ii. 260). The interesting Rental printed in the April number sets forth that William Cubbs the first chaplain of the altar of St. Fergus served it seven years, and left it because its revenues were insufficient for his maintenance; that William Malwyin (Melville?), the second chaplain, resigned, and that thereupon James Braid became chaplain, and this was on 2nd May, 1409. The year is printed: Millesimo quadringentisimo nono. Is there not some mistake?

As James Braid who did so much for the honour of St. Fergus is only referred to in a note at the end of the Rental as 'quondam,' it may be inferred that the compilation was made under his own eye in 1525.

It would thus be impossible that he should have succeeded to the chaplaincy in 1409.

Moreover, we are told that 'Dean James procured from James the Fourth a bone of St. Triduan Virgin and gave it to the altar': [This relic must have come from Restalrig] and that 'he procured from David Lyon, tutor of the Lord Glammys, a part of the collar bone and one of the joints of St. Fergus Bishop.' Now James IV.'s date is 1488-1513. Then Sir John Lyon (father of Sir Patrick, made a lord of Parliament in 1445), who was at the battle of Harlaw in 1411 and died in 1435, was thirteen years of age in 1382, so that in 1409 he was a man of forty. But his great grandson, John, the fourth lord of Glammis, succeeded his father in 1497 and died in 1500 survived by two sons; (1) George, fifth lord, who was in minority when he died in 1505, and (2) John, sixth lord, who died on 8th August, 1528, aetat 36, and was thus 13 years old when he succeeded. Surely this fifth lord or this sixth lord is the person whose guardian David Lyon gave the chaplain at St. Andrews a portion of the relics of St. Fergus. The church of Glammis is dedicated to St. Fergus, that of Rescobie in the same part of the country (and in which the family of Lyon used to be landowners) to St. Triduan whose name has been there corrupted into Trodlan. David Lyon, the tutor of the young lord, had a grant of Cossans, part of the Glammis estates in 1492: from him descended the Lyons of Glenogil, part of the thanage of Tannadice anciently held by the house. The local antiquary calls him 'second son of the fifth lord,' but that is impossible. He must have been a son of John the third lord's.

Has 'octogesimo' or 'nonagesimo' not been left out?

GEORGE LAW.

[The rental and inventory of St. Fergus's altar, St. Andrews, contains not a few things that require explanation, and I have written several notes on the difficult points with which it abounds. These notes I am holding back for the present in the hope that some local antiquary may throw more light upon the various people and places mentioned in connection with St. Andrews. The document was printed *verbatim et literatim* as it appears in the MS., and I attempted no more than a careful description of it and a synopsis of its contents. I am obliged to Mr. Law for his interesting discussion of the difficulty of the date of James Braid's appointment. The MS. is clear enough in both places, but it is certain that there is a mistake somewhere: probably *nono* is a mistake for *nonagesimo*: this would make the date of Braid's appointment 1490 instead of 1409. The other possibility is that James IV. might be a mistake for James I., and this might receive some support from the fact that the service books mentioned are MSS. and not printed books. It ought to be quite possible to settle the question definitely, as so many names are mentioned in the document. If the MS. itself is the original, the clause where Braid is spoken of as *quondam* is no later note, but part of the rest. There is, however, some doubt as to whether the MS. is not a later copy in a sort of *facsimile*. I pointed out (p. 260) that the hand 'is very modern in

character in many places,' and now the Rev. P. Henderson Aitken, who has a special knowledge of water marks, supports this by telling me that the 'Honig' mark belongs to Dutch paper of a very much later period. This would go to prove that the MS. is a later copy in a kind of *facsimile*—a very careful copy, certainly, but one in which mistakes would not be unlikely to occur. Hence 1409 for 1490, and certain hard words, whose difficulty may be due to errors in transcription, *e.g.* perhaps *solium* for *solarium*, which I rendered as 'bath'—a meaning which the Bishop of Edinburgh considers too unlikely to be possible. He suggests *upper room* or *left* as being probably correct. Several difficulties arise in regard to some of the liturgical ornaments mentioned, but I will not take up any more of your space on the present occasion by discussing them.

F. C. ERLES.]

ROB STENE (ROBERT STEVIN) (*S.H.R.* ii. 253). The interesting article on this worthy in the April number brought to my mind several documents preserved among the Mackintosh Writs at Moy Hall in which he appears.

On 13th July, 1602, at Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Stevine witnesses two documents—one a bond by Alex. Dumbar of Tarbet, Mark Dumbar of Durres, and Robert Dumbar of Burgie to Thomas Stevin, writer, for 700 merks; the other, the assignation by the said Thomas Stevin to Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunnachtane of a bond made to him by Donald M'Angus [Macdonald] of Glengarrie, for 1600 merks of principal and £600 of expenses, and of a decret thereupon. In each of these documents Mr. Robert is described as 'brother to the said' Thomas.

On 14th Jan., 1603, 'Mr. Robert Stevin, one of the masters of the Grammar School of Edinburgh,' gives a discharge to Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton for 235 merks, part of a sum due; and on 14th July, 1603, he gives to John Mackintosh, son of the Right Honourable Lachlan Mackintosh his father, a receipt for fifty-two buttons and a knap [stud] of gold, weighing six ounces and a half, in pledge for 300 merks of borrowed money: in this he is described as one of the teachers of the High School of Edinburgh. Another document of the same year is of interest as showing something of the rate of payment to a 'house master' of those days. It is an obligation by the chief of Mackintosh to pay to Mr. Stevin 'for entertaining in meat, drink, and bedding' Allan Mackintosh, one of the chief's youngest sons, and another youth of the clan (a son of Angus 'Williamson' of Termit, ancestor of Sir James Mackintosh) the sum of £180 yearly, or £45 every quarter, while they were boarded by him, with 'a young tydie cow or else plaids of the like value' for each of the boys. This obligation does not appear to have been fulfilled, for an Act of Council was passed on 23rd Feb., 1614, at the instance of Mr. Robert Stevin, 'master of the Grammar School of the Cannogait,' ordaining its registration with a view to enforcing payment by Mackintosh's grandson and successor.

A. M. MACKINTOSH.

[Probably the financial dealings of Rob Stene will prove to be much better recorded than his literary performances. Mr. Mackintosh's valuable excerpts which I hope may be followed by others are not only interesting in themselves. They reflect light on the Privy Council proceedings taken on a somewhat unpoetic charge of usurious money-lending against the witty schoolmaster. And they quite fall into line with the long list of debts due to him in loans and school bills at his death as these are registered in his Testament Testamentar.

GEO. NEILSON.]

HONEY STEALING AT HADDINGTON, 1704. Dr. J. G. Wallace-James, Haddington, has found the following curious record of an Offence and Punishment two hundred years ago.

At hadingtone the 12 day Janry 1704.

THE whilk day in presence of Richard Millar sherrife substitute of the Sherrifdome of hadingtoune. Compeared personaly Helen Wood born in Woustershyre now spous to James Wood vagrant and hes not residence and as she says hes been in and about this country these thre years bygon who being apprehended at the abay bridge of hadingtoune with acane and stoupe full of hony bies and hony combys. Confest that she and her husband quartered in the dwelling house of James Darling fermorer in Linnplume for two nights tyme and that about nyne a clock at night ane munday she went to the country and came to Garvald Kirk where she stealled out of ane yaird thear two bies sceps with hony combs and bies quharof are in the cane and stoupe.

20 Janri 1704.

The Shereff having considered ye above confessioun ordains the above Helen Wood to be taken from the Tolbooth (quhair she is prisoner) to the Mercatt Cross of Hadintoun by the hand of the hangman. There to stand with ane old bee skep on her head for half ane hour, about twelve of o clock of ye miday and afterwards to be scourged threwe the toune and banished the Shyre never to returne under ye pain of burning and scourgeing.

Notes and Comments

MUCH serviceable south-country work is recorded in the *Transactions and Journal of Proceedings of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Dumfries and Galloway Antiquaries. Natural History and Antiquarian Society*, Sessions 1900-1901, 1901-1902 (Standard Office, Dumfries, 1905, pp. 236, 3s.). Mr. George Irving sets down some interesting—if occasionally rather ill-vouched—family history about the Carlyles, the Irvings of Luce and Hoddom, and the Douglasses of Dornock. Mr. William Dickie uses the town records of Kirkcudbright to good purpose to illustrate the burgh life between 1576 and 1682. Mr. James Barbour in one paper describes the excavation of a crannog in Lochrutton and in another deals with the market cross of Dumfries. A paper by Mr. J. C. R. Macdonald from the manuscripts of his father, the late Mr. James Macdonald, LL.D., is a resumé which the latter had prepared of Dr. George Archibald's *Account of the Curiosities of Dumfries* and his *Account anent Galloway*, written (before 1682?) for the information of Dr., better known as Sir Robert Sibbald, author of *Scotia Illustrata*. From the valuable descriptions given of the Ruthwell Cross and of the method of salting used on the Solway, it is evident that the additions to Camden's *Britannica* made by Bishop Gibson in his edition of 1695 derive ultimately from the Dumfries physician, Dr. Archibald. It is pleasant thus to find Dr. Macdonald posthumously still at work as it were upon the Scottish antiquities he loved. Mr. Frank Miller writes interestingly on 'Lag's Elegy,' a vigorously satirical lament by the Devil for his trusty friend the Laird of Lag. Mr. Miller's evidence leaves little doubt that Carlyle was in error about its authorship, and that William Irving, schoolmaster of Hoddom, wrote this covenanting epitaph of the persecutor.

THE Scottish Ecclesiological Society abundantly justifies its existence and finds a wealth of matter in church lore of all kinds—*Scottish Ecclesiological Society.* architectural, historical, biographical, and topographical. Originally an Aberdonian society, it is now triple-headed, having sections in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, with all Scotland for its diocese. Its service to ecclesiastical history is obvious from the variety and value of the papers contained in *Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society*, vol. i. part 1., 1903-4 (pp. xx. 102), part II., 1904-5 (pp. xx. 103-206), the latter of which is just issued. They include descriptions of St. Michael's Church, at Linlithgow, of the parish churches of Abercorn, Dalmeny, Longforan, Cromarty and Forgandenny,

and of the cathedral kirk of Ross at Fortrose, besides articles on Lairds' Lofts, on the old Greyfriars Church at Aberdeen, and on the prayers used at the deathbed of James VI. There is also a contribution concerning the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem. Well-known antiquaries and ecclesiologists are contributors, including Prof. Cooper, Rev. Messrs. J. Ferguson, Dr. M'Adam Muir, D. Watson, and A. M. Philip, and Messrs. J. Honeyman, Macgregor Chalmers, W. M. Mackenzie, and A. Hutcheson, and the pages are full of human as well as church interest. Omar's mosque is the text for an eloquent sermon. Very divergent are the kirk memories: sometimes the sanctuary appears as at Aberdeen as a 'court de garde' for dragoons; sometimes, as at Inverness, the steeple is taken down to build the citadel. There is pathos in the death scene of King James as described by Bishop Williams in his sermon published in 1625, telling how after the reading of the sentence, *In manus tuas, Domine*, the end came and, painlessly, '*Dormivit Salomon.*' Among the papers in the second part are Royal Pilgrimages in Scotland by the Lyon King, a note illustrating the *Cultus* of S. Ninian by Bishop Dowden, and the History of Introducing the Usage of the Lord's Prayer in Dumbarton from an unpublished MS. of 1705.

UNDER the editorship of the Rev. P. H. Ditchfield, the *Berks, Bucks and Oxon Archæological Journal* has from time to time *A* contributions of note regarding the three southern counties. *Memory* Its April issue, besides an account of the tombstone of *of* a canon of Guisborough, who was also a 'Pylgrym of *Halidon* Jerusalem,' and papers on the Templars, on Norman *Hill* tympana and on the poet Gray, has a particularly valuable article by Mr. Mill Stephenson on Palimpsest Brasses in Berkshire. One brass of unusual moment is from Denchworth, Berkshire, the memorial of one 'Wyllm Hyde, esquier, decessyd the seconde day of Maye in the yere of our lorde God MCCCCLVII,' which had on the back of it another and much earlier inscription:

Edward Roy Dangletere qe fist le siege deuant, la Cite de Berewyk & conquest la bataille illeqs & la dite Cite la veille seinte Margarete lan de grace MCCCXXXIII mist ceste pere a la requeste Sire William de Mountagu foundour de ceste mesoun.

This plate had been originally attached to a foundation-stone of the priory of Bisham, in Berkshire, which Sir William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, founded in 1336, and endowed by charter of 1338, recorded in the *Monasticon*. Originally a preceptory of Knights Templars, Bisham was re-founded by Montagu as a house of Augustinian canons regular in honour of Christ and the Virgin.

Most interesting is the glimpse into the Edwardian time which this brass affords. Edward III., not yet the victor of Crecy, had begun his career of fame as a soldier. The siege of Berwick was a long and arduous enterprise, and its final success by the crushing defeat of Scottish arms at Halidon Hill on the 'vigil of St. Margaret' was a military achievement of the first order. Edward's own thanksgiving

took the shape of the endowment of an altar to St. Margaret in a Nunnery near Berwick—an endowment of £20 a year out of the county and burgh issues of Berwick (*Foedera*, 28th July, 1333). Sir William de Montagu was present with the king at the siege, and doubtless at the battle as well (*Foedera*, 15th and 16th July, 1333). His foundation of Bisham three years later associates him again with the king in a memorial dedication ample and generous. The Denchworth brass is a remarkable reminiscence of English victory and Scottish disaster, as well as of the relationship of Edward III. and Montagu, the earl who played so prominent a part in the suppression of the usurpations of Roger de Mortimer, Earl of March, his capture in Northampton Castle by night with Queen Isabella, and his final condemnation and execution in 1331.

It would be of high interest to see worked out and grouped the series of religious dedications of the same kind in England which owed their origin to the wars in Scotland. Bisham registered the victory of Edward III. Edward II., it will be remembered, was less fortunate, and it stands on record that he, too, after his return from Bannockburn, endowed a place for Carmelite Friars at Oxford, in fulfilment of a vow made when he was in peril—presumably during his flight to Dunbar with Lord James of Douglas galloping at his heels. The endowment is recorded in the *Patent Rolls*, 28th Dec., 1315, and 1st Feb., 1318, and is curiously commemorated in a seal of the Carmelite house, engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., p. 438, showing the virgin, three friars and the king identified as Edward II., by the three armorial leopards he bears. The good offices of the Carmelite Robert Baston, the rueful poet of Bannockburn, have been accredited (*Monasticon*, vi. 1577) as instrumental in procuring both the making of the vow to the Virgin and its ultimate accomplishment. The vow itself, though without details, is vouched for unimpeachably by the King's own words in the *Patent Rolls*.

The Rhind Lectures for 1904 by Mr. George Macdonald, M.A., LL.D., delivered in March, had for subject, 'The Origin and Development of Coin Types.' Coinage dates from the eighth century B.C., and had its origin in Western Asia Minor, probably among the Lydians. A knowledge of the art spread with great rapidity. By 600 B.C. the practice was general throughout the civilised world, except among the Phœnicians. The almost bewildering variety of Greek coin-types is due to the fact that each city was a separate political entity, and prided itself upon its possession of the right of striking money. Various theories have been advanced to explain the origin and essential nature of types. The religious theory may fairly be said to represent numismatic orthodoxy. It insists that there is an intimate connection between religion and the minting of money, and that coins were impressed with divine symbols in order that the gods might witness the quality and weight of the metal. The commercial theory endeavours to establish a direct relation

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between the devices on the most archaic coins and the primitive barter-units, such as the ox, which were superseded by a metallic currency. Neither view will bear detailed examination. The true point from which to start is the fundamental identity between type and symbol, the symbols being subsidiary devices which indicate the responsible magistrates, just as the types proper indicate the issuing cities. The practice of sealing was of great antiquity, and it is probable that the minting of money was originally nothing more than the act of impressing a seal upon a piece of metal as an official guarantee of its weight and quality. The clue to the origin both of types and of symbols is thus to be sought for in heraldry. Just as a magistrate might employ his hereditary crest as a symbol, so a city might employ its coat of arms as a type. As coinage developed, various other influences came into play. The types of one city, for instance, were occasionally copied by others through admiration of their beauty. But the fact that coins enjoyed a high reputation commercially was sometimes sufficient to single them out as desirable models. This is the ultimate basis of what are called 'barbarous imitations.' Commemorative influence was often responsible for the selection of coin-types. There are many ways in which this influence might betray itself, as in canting badges and the adoption of local plants, local animals, local sports like bull-fighting or chariot-racing. The most striking characteristic of a city was frequently an intimate connection with some deity. Athens was a case in point. The types in use there were the head of Athena and her sacred bird, the owl. This was an obvious opening for the growth of religious associations, a growth that was subsequently fostered by feelings of a quite different kind. An examination of a number of separate series showed a transition to purely religious types which was practically completed about 350 B.C. The connection of portraiture with coins was a direct result of the operation of this religious influence. It was in virtue of their divinity that kings came to have their portraits used as types. The Roman coinage was borrowed from the Greek at a time when the religious motive was absolutely supreme. The commemorative influence, however, gradually reasserted itself, with the result that the types of Roman coins reflect in a most interesting fashion the general history of the State. Julius Cæsar, for instance, the founder of the Empire, was also the first living Roman whose portrait appeared on the State money. At the close of the third century A.D. the triumph of the Roman coinage over the Greek was complete. As far as the arm of Rome could reach there was room for Roman money only. Although much of that money was actually struck in the provinces the mints that issued it were Imperial mints. The coins with the marks of London and Colchester, for instance, are as truly Roman as those that bear the mark of Rome itself. In the course of Constantine's reign the symbols of the Christian religion began to appear as heraldic devices—on the Emperor's helmet or shield, on the labarum or Imperial standard, and so on. By and by they were employed as independent types. In spite of a temporary eclipse under Julian the Apostate, in whose reign the emblems of the Egyptian gods came into prominence, they grew steadily in popularity as a result of

the increasing importance of Christianity as a social and political force. In Byzantium, about the year 450 A.D., the figure of Christ was used for the first time on a coin. He took the place of the Pagan goddess Juno Pronuba in a group representing the marriage of the Empress Pulcheria to Marcian. The coin in question is known to us from a unique specimen now in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow. Rather more than two centuries later, the bust of Christ holding the Gospels began to be used as an ordinary reverse type. This coincided with the development of image worship in the Christian Church, and it is significant that the same period saw the birth of the Mohammedan coinage, which eschewed all types as necessarily idolatrous. To this day orthodox Mohammedan coins have nothing but inscriptions. After the fall of the Western Empire, the imitative influence was supreme for two or three centuries. The Merovingian and other coinages were little better than barbarous imitations of the Roman. A new era was inaugurated by Charlemagne, who abandoned the gold standard which Europe had inherited from Rome, and struck a silver denarius. Very remarkable gold coins were minted by Frederick the Second, 'The Wonder of the World,' before 1250. But the real signal for a general numismatic renaissance was the issue at Florence in 1252 of the first gold florin. In the choice of medieval coin-types, the reappearance of heraldic devices, especially of 'canting badges,' was a striking feature. Somewhat later came the revival of portraiture.

FROM Tuesday, June 27th, until about the middle of July, an exhibition of unique character and of first-rate importance is being held at St. Albans in Hertfordshire. It illustrates church history in all its many phases in this country. Some of the finest liturgical MSS. are shown, ranging in date from Saxon times until the sixteenth century, and there is a practically complete set of English liturgical books, including Sarum and York missals, *horae* and primers, with all the important editions of the Book of Common Prayer. There will be a representative collection of church plate: medieval English church plate is very very rare, but some fine examples are shown at St. Albans, including two cruets and a censer. There is also the lid of a censer of Saxon date. Of medieval embroidery there are several examples, including the Hessett pyx-cloth, two palls or herse-cloths, and some fontals and vestments. Among the later documents are a very fine copy of the National Covenant, some scarce Coronation services, printed copies of the oaths of supremacy and abjuration, and some curious 'penance papers' of the eighteenth century.

A FOOTNOTE to Lord Hailes's account of the battle of Stirling Bridge in his *Annals of Scotland* gave rise to a prolonged controversy as to the site of the ancient bridge. The annalist remarked that 'it is the general tradition of the country that in these times the bridge was about a mile higher up the river than the present bridge is.' Nimmo, in his *History of Stirlingshire (1777)* improved on Lord Hailes by locating the bridge at a place called Kildean,

and later writers have named Cambuskenneth Abbey ferry, Manor ford, and other places on the river Forth as more probable sites, there being a strange inclination on the part of historians to look everywhere for Stirling Bridge except at Stirling itself. The mythical character of the Kildean theory was proved in a paper read last January before the Stirling Natural History and Archaeological Society, in which it was contended that the ancient bridge must have been erected at or near the site of the present Old Bridge, in order to make the contemporary narratives of Wallace's victory consist with the topography of the district. A remarkable confirmation of this view has been furnished by the discovery, early in June, of the foundations of two piers in the bed of the river about sixty-five yards above the Old Bridge and nearly parallel to it. The low state of the water owing to the drought allowed of measurements being made by Mr. James Ronald, an expert in building, and also a keen antiquary and author of a valuable work on *Landmarks of Old Stirling*. The piers are about 28 ft. long by 14 ft. broad, and have been constructed in a similar manner to those of the present Old Bridge, having a jacket of dry stones round them for support and protection from floods. The centre of the north pier is about 25 yards from the river bank, the piers are the same distance apart, and from the centre of the south pier to the south bank is between 25 and 30 yards. Mr. Ronald is of opinion that the bridge was not arched, and was supported by a wooden superstructure on the piers, with strong trestles between the openings to shorten the spans. The depth of the river between the piers at low water is 7 ft., and at high tide 15 ft. This interesting discovery may be regarded as reconciling tradition with history in a satisfactory manner.

THE annals of poisoning in Scotland from the fourteenth century to the year 1625 have been set in order by Mr. A. Francis Steuart in the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*. It was not a crime to *Poisoning in Scotland* which the Scot at his worst has ever been addicted, and the instances are few. Notable examples, real and suspected, which Mr. Steuart discusses, are the case of the Regent, Earl of Moray, in 1332; that of Margaret Drummond, mistress of James IV., and her two sisters in 1496; the attempt on James V. by Lady Glamis, the witchcraft and poison conspiracy of Lady Fowles, and the murders by magic and poison of the laird of Pumphreston, and of John Erskine of Dun, all during the reign of James VI. To the case of shooting 'with ane poysonit bullet' of Alexander Stewart of Schuttinglass in 1580 may be added the charge to the same effect against Lord Maxwell for the slaughter of Sir James Johnstone in 1608. A curious feature of the systematic association of witchcraft with poisoning in the criminal trials is the repeated evidence that poisoning seems, under James VI., to have been regarded as an offence less grievous than witchcraft. In this connection Mr. Steuart may be referred to a passage in Johnston's *Historia* (p. 151), commenting on the witchcraft trials of 1590, and ranking poison first among the corrupt products of the witch's laboratory. James VI. was moved to write his *Daemonologie* by the occasion of these trials, and his majesty's learning

on this head enabled him, in book ii. chap. 5, to describe the Devil's *modus operandi*, as well as to appreciate his scientific equipment. 'To some,' says Epistemon, instructing Philomathes regarding witches, 'hee teacheth kindes of uncouth poysons which Mediciners understand not for he is farre cunninger then man in the knowledge of all the occult properties of nature.'

This part completes the second volume of the *Scottish Historical Review*; the Index is being prepared, and will be issued, with the Titles and List of Contents, with the October part. In closing this second volume, the Editor would again cordially thank all those who have made this enterprise possible. Any communications for him should be addressed to The Editor, *Scottish Historical Review*, 61 St. Vincent Street, Glasgow.