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Power Traction in Peace and War: a Historical Sketch

THE wheeled vehicle has a long history. Probably the war carriage was the first development of it. We read of Pharaoh's chariots losing their wheels as they drove heavily on the bed of the Red Sea. We read of Jehu, the son of Nimshi, as furious a driver as the greatest offender against the 'speed limit' of to-day, and of the ark of the tabernacle being borne on a new cart. But, doubtless, all the use of wheels in those days was confined to the low-set chariot or the lumbering cart, and for three or four thousand years those who travelled did so, if not on foot, by riding on horse or ass or camel. Time was of little consequence. We read of the divine who divided the Bible into chapters—and not doing it very well—accomplishing the whole work as he moved along on his horse or mule on a long pilgrimage journey to Rome.

Of course the absence of anything that could be called a made road, except where the Romans had done paving work for military purposes, was much against the use of wheeled vehicles, which were lumbering and heavy, and without even a pretence of springs. It may give an idea of the difficulties of wheel locomotion down as far as the beginning of the fourteenth century, to mention that in an old record there is found an order regarding the transit of some military vehicles from Bothwell to Stirling for the siege, and the time allowed in the accounts is from 24th September to 5th October inclusive. And curiously enough, in an entry at the same time (1301), the word 'hakenei' (hackney) is found in the description:—('per expensis unius hakenei balistas portantis inter Dunbar & Domfras, per ii days, xiid.'). What a difference it would make to-day if a hackney carriage could be hired for a two days' journey for a shilling!

One of the earliest records of a carriage in this country is to be found in the account of a journey made by Queen Elizabeth in a coach that was sent to her from Paris, in regard to which she is found complaining to the French ambassador that her body was full of 'aches and pains for days,' caused by her first ride of two hours through London. And for more than two hundred years there was little improvement. He who desired to move about in or near London, sought the river, to travel smoothly by barge, if the Thames passed anywhere near his place of destination. So much was this the case that when the use of carriages became more common, the crowd of bargees were brought to ruin. As their poet laureate, John W. Taylor, says for them:

> 'Carroches, coaches, jades and Flanders mares,
> They rob us of our shares, our wares, our fares;
> Against the ground we stand and knock our heels,
> Whilst all our profit runs away on wheels.'

Mainly by the efforts of these wherrymen, a royal proclamation was made, declaring that 'No hackney carriage or hired coach be used or suffered in London or Westminster, or the suburbs thereof.' Then, and for long after, a journey by road must have been a terrible experience. Given the best of weather, such a journey as from Edinburgh to York could not be accomplished in less than eleven or twelve days, and those who had to travel from London to Dover had to give up two days to the journey.

So far down as 1671 Sir Henry Herbert declared, without dissent, in the House of Commons: 'If a man were to propose to convey us regularly to Edinburgh in coaches in seven days, and to bring us back in seven more, should we not vote him to Bedlam'!

Far into the eighteenth century the road and the road vehicle were unspeakably bad, so that a hundred miles in four days was all that could be done, and at the penalty of intense discomfort and fatigue. When later the mail-coach was introduced, matters improved in some degree, but even then Sir Henry Herbert's seven days between Edinburgh and London was a speed not attainable, until Macadam and Telford came upon the scene, and brought it about that four days and nights—and later three—were sufficient in good weather for that journey. It is amusing to read that this speed was considered dangerous to life, a certain bishop being warned on no account to attempt to make the journey without having a break at York, 'as several people had died of apoplexy caused by the dangerous speed at which these coaches were driven'!

Until the improvement of roads took place in the early years of the nineteenth century, it would have been hopeless to attempt to use power traction. The same carriage which at one part of the journey could be hauled by four horses, at another part of the road or when weather proved bad, required six or even eight horses to force it through the seas of mud, and over the boulders with which the impassable ruts were supposed to be mended. But when the Macadam road was established for all important routes, enterprising people endeavoured in the thirties—and did so successfully—to put mechanically driven carriages on the highways. Steam coaches were run at a speed of ten miles an hour from London to Bath, and London to Birmingham, and in Scotland a steam service was conducted between Glasgow and Paisley. On several other short routes practical services were carried on. But all these enterprises fell before the obstruction of the short-sighted squires and farmers, and the jealous boards of railway directors. Stones were piled on the roads, and ruts cut into them to bring the steam coach to destruction. The squires and farmers hated the railways, but they joined with the railroad directors, and using their power in Parliament, succeeded in getting such monstrous tolls imposed upon the steam vehicles that commercial success was made impossible, and ruin fell upon these ventures, which had proved their efficiency to all but the selfish and the prejudiced.

No other attempt was made until Thomson, who first used rubber tires on road vehicles, and who was the first inventor of the pneumatic tire, put a rubber tired omnibus on the route between Edinburgh and Leith in the sixties. But the police soon laid their paralysing grip upon his enterprise, founding upon the law applied to traction engines, and once again the passenger carriage moved by mechanical power disappeared. No power vehicle was permitted to use the road, except the great lumbering traction engine, limited to 3 miles an hour of speed, and forbidden to move on the road without having three men in attendance, one of whom was ordained to march in front at forty yards distance, bearing a red flag.

Thus it came about that it is not yet a quarter of a century from the time when power traction began to be developed on roads, and it is but twelve years since the date when a reasonable amount of liberty was granted for its use in this country. Such a time is but short in which to establish a history. Yet the motor movement has already a right to claim a place in history, such as no other development of transit on land or sea attained in less than twice that number of years. And that history was not made without a struggle. The British characteristics—holding on to existing things, and refusing to look otherwise than askance at any novelty—asserted themselves determinedly against the introduction of the motor driven vehicle on our roads.

It is amusing now to recall the things that were said and done when the movement was in its early stages. 'Indignant citizen' wrote letters to the newspapers, denouncing motor traction in unmeasured terms. One such letter contained these words: 'Nothing but absolute prohibition will meet our just requirements.' Such an idea as that power traction could ever become a useful improvement on locomotion was scouted. The autocar was denounced as a sporting fad of the rich. One gentleman plaintively asked, 'Why cannot we be content with the horse that *we can trust* (?)' instead of adopting uncontrollable machines. Indignant protests were made against their being allowed to be used on the roads, and the objectors loudly demanded that if these 'Cars of Juggernaut' were to be used at all, those who used them must have special roads made for their own traffic. Such an idea as that business people would ever adopt power traction for ordinary purposes was rejected as too absurd for consideration. It was freely prophesied that the motor vehicle was a thing born of passing fancy, which would have a short day like roller skating or ping-pong. A friend of the writer, a shrewd sensible man, said seven or eight years ago, in solemn and impressive tones: 'My dear fellow, in another ten years there won't be half the motor cars on the road that there are now'! Evidence was given before Royal Commissions, that eight miles an hour was the highest speed that could be allowed, and that anything higher would have most disastrous results. It was stoutly maintained that the vehicles could never be practical, as they would constantly break down, and get out of control, that horses would never become accustomed to them, and thus they would be perpetually causing accidents, and destroying the nerves of all other users of the highway.

The newspapers took their tone from the opponents. Everything that could be thought of against the power vehicle was said in acrid terms. The paragraph that in the case of a horse vehicle would be headed as 'Carriage Accident' was in the case of an autocar headed 'Motor Smash,' however trifling the incident might be in itself. The magistracy displayed similar extravagance. Where the drunken carter was fined five shillings, the sober motorist who had left his licence at home, or whose lamp went out, was fined five pounds. The motorist was the Ishmael of the road—every man's hand was against him. If it had been possible to crush him out of existence, it would have been done. For to crush him was a consummation aimed at by a large section of the public, and by very many official persons—police, magistrates, and road authorities. The few who were discerning and saw that there was a great future before the auto-vehicle were alternatively laughed at and scolded, no language of contempt was too cutting, and no words of anger were too strong, when the new invention was to be sneered at or denounced. But the few always felt certain of triumph, and were ready to face a long period of struggle; although even they did not realise how short a time would elapse before power traction would become the dominant mode of road locomotion.

Gottlieb Daimler of Cannstatt was the father of the petrol motor. The gas engine had been in use for more than a quarter of a century before his invention, but it could not be utilised for road vehicles, as to store compressed gas in a vehicle was both cumbrous and dangerous. But when the idea came to Daimler to carry fuel in the form of a volatile liquid and to draw the gaseous vapour off its surface as required, the difficulty of the gas locomotive was at once solved, and it was seen by some that a revolution in road transit was certain in the immediate future. And so it has been. In Great Britain it is not twenty years since the date when the light motor vehicle was permitted to traverse the roads, and that under such extreme restrictions, that it was quite impossible to use it in successful competition with horse haulage. It was only in 1903 that the bonds were in degree relaxed, and something like reasonable opportunity was given to the power vehicle to compete against animal traction. Who does not know now that, in the twelve years that have passed since then, it has made a history for itself, a history of obstacles overcome, popularity attained, and overwhelming success in competition against the horse-drawn vehicles of the past? Everyone knows how the croaking prophecies have been falsified, and the raucous denunciations put to silence, how day by day horse traffic is diminishing, and yet the volume of road traffic is increasing, so that the mileage daily run by vehicles upon the road is many times greater than it was on the day when the motor vehicle was given a chance of competing for a share of street and road traffic.

It may safely be said that where twenty miles were run formerly, at least a hundred are run now. And not only so, but the number of vehicles using the road is increased and ever increasing week by week. It may be taken as absolutely certain that, given the same number of vehicles upon London streets as there are now, but that all of them were drawn by horses, there would at busy hours be long lasting and hopeless blocks of traffic. One can remember in the days when there was no power traffic, how at times the string of vehicles in Holborn or the Strand was brought to a dead stand for as much as a quarter of an hour at a time. The writer has had to pay off his cab on one side of the block, creep through below horses' noses to the other side, and try to get another cab to carry him on to his appointment. Such a thing does not occur to-day. Whenever the constable moves aside now, the traffic can flow quickly in the open road which had emptied itself while the hold-up for the cross traffic lasted, and practically very little time is lost, even at the busiest hour of the day. The writer can recall an occasion about twenty years ago, when a block of vehicles took place in Paris, not one vehicle being able to move an inch for five and twenty minutes. Of course Paris was not so cleverly managed as regards traffic as is London, but such a block would never have lasted half that time even in Paris, had the great mass of the vehicles been motor driven.

It may be interesting to refer to some figures which graphically illustrate the extraordinary development which has taken place in less than fifteen years. The writer, who was strong in faith that the power vehicle was the coming king of the road, began in 1900 to take statistics of the private and public vehicles conveying persons, these being taken in London, as being the best test of progress. In that year, if six motor vehicles were seen in one day on the London streets there was satisfaction. Any less number was a disappointment, and such a figure as ten caused elation. It would be tedious to go over the steps of progress as indicated by the many observations that were taken down. Suffice it to say that at the end of three years there was disappointment if the number of power vehicles did not reach one quarter of the horsed vehicles. Three years later nothing less than one half gave satisfaction. In 1909 practical equality was reached. This is illustrated by figures taken on several days in May of 1909, as follows, the figures applying only to speed vehicles—carriages, gigs, omnibuses, cabs, etc.:

			Power Vehicles.	Horse Vehicles.
May 6th,	-	-	2,563	2,558
May 10th,	-	-	1,095	1,096
May 11th,	-	-	1,345	1,334
May 19th,	-	-	358	359

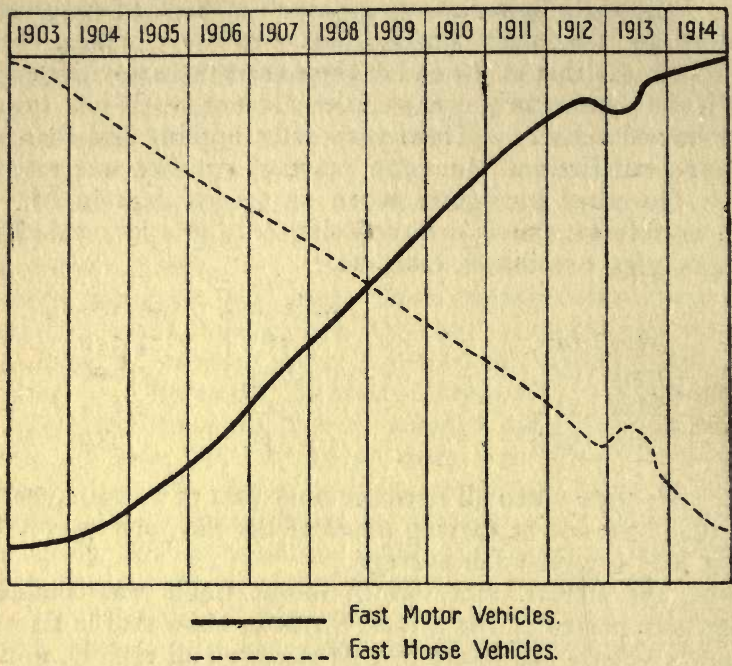
These tests were taken all over the busy part of London, west of Charing Cross, and at varying hours of the day, and may therefore be held to give a fair average.

Thus, the statute under which motor traffic was conducted having been passed in 1903, these statistics show that in six years the power vehicle had asserted itself steadily and rapidly, until in May, 1909, there were as many power carriages on the streets as there were horsed carriages. Truly an amazing progress in so short a time, indicating that another six years' time would probably show the power vehicle in absolute predominance. And so it has proved. For in 1915 the horsed traffic has sunk very nearly to zero, as the following figures, taken also in London, show conclusively:

			Power Vehicles.	Horse Vehicles.
March 22nd,	-	-	600	8
April 14th,	-	-	600	7
April 15th,	-	-	600	7
April 22nd,	-	-	600	6

It may be added here that, on one occasion, 241 motor vehicles passed the point of observation before one horse-drawn vehicle was seen, and on the same occasion 412 motor vehicles passed before a single horsed cab was seen.

The rapid increase of the one class of vehicle, and the correspondingly rapid decrease of the other may be illustrated by a simple diagram, giving the curves of each for the twelve years between 1903 and 1915 :



It will be observed that at one point in both curves the regularity is broken, the proportion of motor vehicles diminishing and there being a corresponding rise in the horse vehicle curve. This was the result of the great taxi-cab strike of January, 1913, when every old cab that had been derelict, every horse that could still go on four legs, was once more brought out, to take advantage of the dearth of taxi-cabs. Comparing a date when the strike was over with a date during the strike, the figures appear thus :

During Strike.		After Strike.	
Motor.	Horse.	Motor.	Horse.
600	88	600	23

This little variation of the curves serves to emphasise the demonstration of change brought about by the success of the petrol driven carriage. And now, as is made plain by the above given figures, the horse vehicle is but a shade more than one in a hundred as compared with the power vehicle.

In no particular have the prophecies of the objectors proved to be so utterly fallacious, as when it was declared that the motor vehicle would only be a toy of the rich, to the disadvantage of the other classes of the community. In particular it was confidently asserted that autocars would never be used by business men. The event has been in exact contradiction of this. No better proof could be found than in statistics taken at what may be called the 'Go to Business Half Hour'—9.30 to 10. The following figures were taken during eight days in Edinburgh, in a walk of a mile during that half-hour in the spring of the present year:

Motor Carriages.	Horsed Carriages.
23	0
20	0
20	1
24	0
22	1
20	0
24	1
34	0
187	3

Would it have been possible for the most sanguine votary of power traction to anticipate such a state of things in twelve years after liberty was accorded to use autocars at speed?

These statistics, as has been mentioned, refer only to fast going vehicles of both classes. It was not to be expected that the supersession of the horsed vehicle, used for trade and carrying purposes, would be as rapid as it had been in the case of the higher speed carriages. The motor lorry and the motor van had a greater struggle to find favour with the trading community. This can be easily accounted for. The trader must be cautious in adopting a new mode of transit for his goods, involving the outlay of additional capital in making the change, while taking the risk of its being found unsuitable and more expensive than the plant he has already in use. And much mischief was done, and delay caused, by the foolish attempt to introduce trade vehicles by putting mercantile bodies on to engine frames built for passenger traffic, overloading and overstraining them. In many cases the disappointment caused by these inefficient makeshifts, led to commercial traders abandoning power traction and going back to horse haulage. The power vehicle got a bad name and progress was stayed. But in this department the progress, though not so rapid, is as sure and certain as was the case with the speed vehicle. The following figures indicate the present state of matters, all of them being taken during the present spring :

Commercial Vehicles.	
Motor Power.	Horse Power.
136	203
135	175
52	53
48	55

These figures show that already the power vehicle is rapidly superseding the animal driven vehicle, and there is no reason to doubt that, although it will take some years longer for the commercial motor vehicle to reach the same commanding position as has been taken by the motor speed vehicle, a very few years will suffice to bring this about.

The breaking out of the greatest war that the world has ever seen has brought the power vehicle into prominence in a very marked degree. Before the commencement of the war, our Authority at the War Office took up the subject of military power traction in a very half-hearted and unenergetic way. There were schemes for securing the use of vehicles, by engaging owners to provide certain waggons, the inducement of a subsidy fee being given. But nothing was done on such a scale as to constitute a real preparation. In the emergency of the Boer War, Colonel Crompton, who had many years before been associated with Thomson in working steam traction in India, was employed to work transit of heavy guns by means of traction engines, by which most excellent service was done, heavy guns being promptly moved from one position to another, as exigency might require, thus in many cases doubling their effectiveness. But little was done to organise transport either of troops or munitions by road. The old military and unthinking objection was put forward. 'Of course,' was the *ex cathedra* utterance of the so-called war experts, when any one urged the importance of employing the fast-running motor vehicle in road transit for war purposes—'Of course,' they said, '*the* way to move troops, etc., up to the front is by the railway.' The argument headed 'Of course' is very often thoughtless and inconsiderate. And so it was in this case. Scarcely was the war opened when it became manifest that the combatant who did not use power traction by road would be hopelessly handicapped, and this particularly on the side of the Triple Entente. The railroad is a most valuable means of conveyance in war, but it has its limitations, and it has its disadvantages, when it is the only mode available. When a battle front extends over two hundred miles, the railways behind the line may in many cases not provide access to many parts of the front, and may, where they are available and are trusted to do all the long distance transit, become hopelessly congested, looking to the masses of troops, with their artillery and horses, and the bulky convoys of munitions which it is necessary to move on such a scale as is called for by the enormous forces now engaged at one time.

No better instance can be found than is furnished by the present war of how one combatant might obtain an overwhelming predominance if the opponent entered into the contest obsessed with the idea that his transit could be done best by trusting to the railway. Germany had for many years been adjusting her railway system, both east and west, so as to have the best advantage of railroad transit, not only forward to the front, but also laterally, so that great forces could be moved along the rear of the line of fighting contact, and so concentrate rapidly at any point where decisive action might be aimed at. France was in no such position of preparedness. It at once became certain at the very opening of the campaign that unless the Allies in the western theatre could utilise the road as well as the railway, their chances of successful manœuvring would be much less than those of the enemy. Thus it came about that very soon the roads leading up to the front from the Allies' bases were covered with London and Paris omnibuses, just as they were taken off the streets, with all their glaring advertisements of Bovril and Cadbury and Monkey Brand, and troops were moved by many roads in probably as quick time as would be possible for troop trains, and were in many cases delivered more near to the exact place where they were required than they could be by going to a railhead. It is very plain, too, that if troops must be brought forward by rail, the enemy is well aware of the line by which they must come, and of the number of troops that can be moved in a given time, and this knowledge will be of advantage to him ; whereas if there are numerous roads available this advantage is denied to him.

A remarkable demonstration of the valuable work that can be done in moving troops by road in motor vehicles was given when General Joffre turned round upon the Germans at the Marne and drove them back to the Aisne. At that time many thought that but a few days would elapse before the Kaiser's army would be at the gates of Paris. General Joffre, seizing the psychological moment, executed a movement which surprised friend and foe. His peremptory order went forth that all the thousands of taxicabs in Paris should assemble at various points of the city on the morning of September 1, 1914. The detail had been secretly and efficiently worked out. On that morning the taxicab drivers were seen rushing along, shaking their heads to the citizens who hailed them, desiring to take wife and family to the railroad stations for Tours or Orleans or Blois, fleeing in terror from the enemy. In an hour or two all the cabs, with five soldiers as passengers in each, were on the road for the front.

Thus, more than twenty thousand troops were carried to the line of battle in a few hours, the cabs returning to Paris for more. The troops that had been fighting in strenuous retreat were reinforced by fresh comrades from the garrison of Paris, and General Joffre, turning on his enemy, drove him off, and so freed Paris from all present danger. The stroke was magnificent, and owed its possibility and its success to the use of motor vehicles suddenly requisitioned and pushed forward without an hour's delay. Had the attempt been made to move these troops by rail, the proceeding would certainly have been known beforehand through the efficient spies of Germany, and the time occupied would most certainly have been very much greater. The force went by many roads, and direct to every point required, while the railroads were but few and in some cases ill-adapted by their direction to bring the troops to places where they were most needful.

In considering the application of power traction to the exigencies of war, it is necessary to be delivered from all preconceived notions derived from the history of wars of olden times. In days gone by war consisted in the employment of comparatively small armies. The combatants organised a limited number of troops, and sent these to the scene of conflict to represent their nation, not as an embodiment of the nation itself, but more as a selected force to champion the country's cause, the king being willing to stake his kingdom on their prowess, even although their battles were fought out on small fields of action. A battle such as Waterloo, fought out in a corner of Belgium on a terrain of three or four miles, settled the fate of Europe for the time, although but a small number of combatants, according to our present ideas, were engaged. The comparatively small forces on each side were the champions of the national cause of each, just as in earlier times two combatants would select a few men as their representatives, leaving the fate of their cause in the hands of those champions. The splendid account of the two-handed sword fight given by Sir Walter Scott in the *Fair Maid of Perth*, in which the Gow Chrom came off as the final victor, is a notable instance of the fights of the olden day, the championing of a cause by a few representing the many. The contests in the wars of the last century were similar in character, although greater in degree. The professional soldier fought for the great body of the nation, and by his success or failure the national issue was decided.

To-day all this is changed. The nation which leads an attack does so with all its resources. The lines of battle are spread over vast regions. Not here and there do compact forces endeavour to penetrate an enemy's country. The whole frontier bristles with armed men. A front which formerly would have been represented by a dozen of miles now extends to hundreds. Thus we see a war being waged on two hundred miles of front in Western Europe, and as many miles in the East. And now that Italy has entered into the struggle, and it is likely that ere long some of the Balkan States, at present neutral, will join the combatants, now that European Turkey is involved, there will probably be a vast crescent beginning at the sea in Belgium and curving round through France and along Italy up through Russia to the Baltic, thus presenting a continuous battle area extending over some seven or eight hundred miles, along the whole of which great bodies of troops will be facing one another in deadly contests, the numbers engaged being measured by millions, as against the tens of thousands of the campaigns of the past. And when to this it is added that the munitions of war which are now necessary are many times heavier than formerly, and expended in millions of rounds, where formerly the number used was but a small fraction of what it is now, the whole view of the situation makes it plain that transport, whether of men or of war material, is a matter requiring very different organisation from what in former days sufficed for efficiency.

One thing is quite certain. This war could never have been carried on, as is now being done, had all the means of road locomotion been confined to animal traction. When it is remembered that no fewer than 260,000 horses perished during the South African war on the imperial side only, it is very certain that if the road work that has had to be done in supplying our force in France had been conducted by horse-drawn vehicles over the awful roads of France and Belgium, the number used up already would have required to be put down in millions. Over the whole area on both sides many millions would have been necessary, and it may be said that the world's product of horses would not have been sufficient to provide for the wastage. It is due to the fact that a road vehicle has been produced which does not require the use of horseflesh that the war is conducted on a scale which the world has never seen before. The petrol vehicle has revolutionised war and made what would formerly have been impossible of accomplishment at all, a weekly occurrence. Where one hundredweight was conveyed in former wars a ton is conveyed now to the same section of war front, and that front is infinitely greater than was the case in the time of Napoleon and Wellington. Again, where a vehicle could compass twenty miles in a day, it can now compass a hundred and fifty miles. Where fatigue made recuperative rest imperative, the question of fatigue does not require to be considered. Given a relay of drivers, the modern war vehicle can, on emergency, do work continuously for long periods of time. It has also a reserve of power, which will force it through difficulties which would hold up the horse-driven vehicle absolutely. If the saying is accepted that the army marches upon its belly, then there can be no doubt that facility for bringing up supplies quickly must make its marching power greater. Slow transit of food supplies means poor speed in the army's movement. And more battles are won by troops being brought quickly to the point of decision, and in good fettle because well fed, than by any other means.

When the matter is looked into, it is seen that the influence of motor traction on the conduct of war shows itself in very many particulars. It asserts itself in the actual combat, in the transportation of men and materials preparatory to the combat, and in dealing with the wounded. On the field itself is seen the motor fort, a vehicle closed in with steel plates, in which machine guns can be carried, and from which soldiers can fire through loopholes. This is the successor of the armoured railway train, a moving fort which has this disadvantage that it is confined to a fixed line, known to the enemy, unable to move in both directions, and being, when brought into action, an obstruction preventing the line from being used for any other traffic. The road power-driven fort can be moved in any direction, and is available where there is no railway. This is a great advantage. The railway motor fort is helpless if a rail before it, or a rail behind it, is taken out, or if the opposing artillery can break up the line by shell. The road motor fort has many more chances. The railroad fort may be unable to get on to another line without going a great distance back to reach a junction, and even then may not be able to cross country to the best advantage, whereas the road motor fort can make its way anywhere, there being in most cases many more cross roads than there are railroads.

A most valuable development of the motor vehicle for fighting purposes has taken place in the extended use of the motor-bicycle. Not only can a skilled shot be often much more useful if he has a motor-cycle to take him from place to place, but with a side-car attached he can carry a machine gun, the gunner being protected by a steel shield, and this arrangement has been found to be most efficient. The motor-bicycle is also found to be of great service in the conveying of orders during an engagement.

But it is behind the line that the motor vehicle shows its greatest value and efficiency. Never before have supplies, both of food and of munitions, been brought to those engaged at the front with such regularity and certainty as in the present campaign. The testimony to this comes from all quarters, from generals and staff, from regimental officers, and from the 'Tommies' themselves. History tells us of the disappointments of commanders and the sufferings of soldiers in former wars, from the failure of transport. In the Peninsula and in the Crimea gruesome things happened, troops half starved, with the consequent breakdown in health depleting the ranks, and weakening those who did not actually breakdown, and so diminishing fighting power, protracting contests, and causing greatly increased losses.

No such tale is told of the present war. The work of the Army Service Corps performed by power traction has been from the first till now preeminently efficient, with the consequent result that health has been excellent, the proportion of sick being very greatly less than it has ever been before in the case of an army engaged in a campaign. No one can deny to that service great praise for their efficiency, but that such efficiency could have been attained without the aid of power traction, it is not possible to believe. As regards munitions, which also are brought to the front by the same department, unfortunately a great deal has been heard lately of insufficient supply at the front. But it has never been suggested that the blame of this is to be laid at the door of the Army Service Corps. No one has ever said the munitions which were lying ready at the base have not reached those requiring them at the front, because of failure of the transport. If shells and cartridges have not been available to the fighting troops, it has been because they were not provided, not because they were not brought forward. And we may be sure that when, as we hope may be the case, a greater supply of war munitions is provided, the transport service will bring them up with promptitude. Thanks to the possession of the power vehicle, the duty of bringing them forward will be easy of accomplishment.

A further development is taking place in motor transport. In past wars the guns used in the field were all of a comparatively light weight, drawn by horses. But to-day guns of very great weight, such as would formerly have been used only in fixed fortifications, are now used in the field. Their weight is so great that horse haulage, though it might be possible, would require to be by very long teams, and moving at very slow speed. But now, these great guns, firing shells of enormous weight, are in daily use as mobile artillery. They can be handled quite easily. Some of these guns from their great length, if the barrels are allowed to be without support when they are subjected to violent jolting in being moved, tend to droop at the muzzle, and so to have their efficiency for accurate fire seriously affected. To meet this, two motors may be used—one to carry the main weight of the gun, and the other to sustain the muzzle and thus save it from jolting shocks. The heavy siege guns that are brought up to batter down fortresses as was done at Liège and Namur can be aided in the same way.

To move very heavy vehicles or guns, a device is being adopted, which is called the Pedrail. Its purpose is to enable transit of very heavy loads to be accomplished, and to overcome steepness of roads, or unevenness of ground in going across country. Instead of driving the vehicle only by the hind wheels, a heavy flexible chain is passed over both the front and back wheels, the links of the chain working onto sprockets on the wheels, the hind wheels thus directly driving both wheels, as the driving wheel of a locomotive moves both wheels by the crank-rod fitted between them. On the chain there are a series of discs or feet of six inches or more in diameter, and all of these feet come on the ground in succession, there being several on the ground below and between the wheels, thus giving a good hold of the surface, preventing slip, and keeping the wheels from sinking in soft ground, and as each foot is separate from the others, and the chain is flexible, the feet can accommodate themselves to the ground, and pass over obstacles without shock. Such an arrangement enables a vehicle, even though the load be very heavy, to pass over rough ground or mounds and other obstacles, and to make its way through mud or sand into which the ordinary driving wheels would sink, and, loosing grip, would revolve without making progress. The nickname for this vehicle is 'The Caterpillar,' and it is proving itself highly useful during the present war.

Besides all movement of men and material, there is another department of war service in which the motor vehicle is giving necessary and excellent service in conveying officers from place to place, outside the actual range of the battle. At home, much expense and delay is saved by officers, both of the combatant branches of the service and the non-combatant, having vehicles which can convey them rapidly from place to place. Supply officers, remount officers, and officers on staff duties may be seen daily throughout the country moving from place to place with rapidity in the course of their duties. The presence of the motor carriage enables prompt action to be taken where without it action would be delayed, or not possible at all. An instance of this occurred a few weeks ago when the terrible military disaster occurred about ninety miles from Edinburgh, when the troop train was smashed. Sir Spencer Ewart, the Commander-in-Chief in Scotland, hearing of the calamity, at once mounted a military motor car, and was on the scene in about three hours. At the time of day at which he was able to start, he could not have got a fast train for several hours, and probably would have found the line blocked some miles back from the accident, all the traffic for the south being diverted at a junction many miles back from the scene of the accident.

At the seat of war, where the lines extend for distances so immense, generals can no longer attend to their duties efficiently by riding on horseback. But with the autocar they can cover many tens of miles in an hour, with their staff officers, being able to consult and discuss the situation as they go with a freedom not possible if they were riding. Consultation of maps in particular is not easy from the back of a horse. A notable instance of the efficient work which can be done in difficult circumstances, when the motor car is available, is that of the German General Hindenburg, who being effectually crippled by a violent attack of gout, was nevertheless able to visit his whole widely-spread command in one day, he remaining seated in his motor car during the whole time of the journey.

There is one military service to which the motor vehicle is specially adapted, a service which only comes into operation when casualties have occurred. But its importance is enormous from three points of view. The transport of the wounded is a humane work primarily, but is, if efficiently carried out, of vast importance to the successful conduct of war, and this in three particulars—first, it may save the wounded man from death; second, it may aid in minimising the loss resulting from wounds or sickness, which may, if the sufferer is kept some time in unfavourable circumstances, result in permanent disablement, rendering future service at the front impossible; third, it may aid in securing that there shall be rapid recovery by prompt attention in the less serious cases, enabling the sufferer to return to duty in a much shorter time than would be the case if efficient attention could not be given at once. Thus the service under the Red Cross may not only have its humane aspect, but may be a very effective instrument in the work of diminishing the actual losses of the fight by restoring the human instruments of war to efficiency, and so making a large proportion of losses only temporary.

It is the experience of those engaged in the present war that the substitution of the mechanically driven vehicle for the horse-driven increases in no small measure the chances of cancelling losses, by repairing the human machine that has been injured and once more presenting it to the commander at the front as fit as ever for duty. By it, when the wounded are given first aid at the dressing-station, they can be moved to the hospital, or to the railhead leading to the hospital, in a third of the time, and with infinitely less cruel swaying and jolting as in the old lumbering, iron-tired waggons, different only from goods waggons by having a dirty canvas cover and a dirty red cross painted upon it. One sees these waggons still on the road here, and they suggest inefficiency and squalor. Even if the discomfort and suffering were the same, whether the conveyance was horsed or driven by a motor, nine hours in the jogging waggon might be fatal, while the patient brought to the hospital in three might do well, not to speak of the mere suffering, protracted as it is in the horsed vehicle, from which the auto-vehicle would relieve the wounded man of two-thirds, during which he would be in the fair sheets of a comfortable hospital bed, and ministered to by the deft hands of a skilled nurse, instead of being knocked about in the gloom of the dirty canvas, and suffering it may be from intense cold, or intense heat, or cruel draughts, without a kind word to help him to bear his suffering. Let to-day be compared with the wars of the past. What wounded soldier of Wellington's army came through his troubles without going through horrors, hopeless of early relief, and having no such thought before him as that in but a short time he would find himself on his own side of the Channel, comfortably housed, and with the certainty that in his convalescence he would be nursed and tended by kind hands, and have his airings in kindly lent motor cars? The poor wretch probably never saw a kindly woman's face as he lay in discomfort and pain for weeks and even months. And the saving of his limbs cumbered the surgeon little. 'On with the tourniquet and off with the limb,' was the too common formula in a time when things had to be done drastically and quickly. Too often, when the unfortunate wretch reached a base hospital after an awful journey, there was nothing else to be done. The wound had become incurable, and only by amputation could life be saved.

To-day, with the aid of the autocar, the soldier who is wounded in the morning near Ypres or Neuve Chapelle may in fifteen or eighteen hours be comfortably housed in an English hospital, with a certainty of as great care being given him as if he were a Prince of the Blood, and with the highest surgical and medical skill at his command, free from all risk of gangrene or tetanus, and with every cheering influence that devoted ladies can render him, whether by skilled nursing or by kindly attentions. It is not to be wondered at that the percentage of recoveries is in marked contrast to those of former days. Thus humanity has its reward, and the nation has many a son returned to duty who formerly would have succumbed or been made unfit for further service, and so the actual losses being substantially diminished.

An idea may be got of what the work done by the ambulance services that have gone voluntarily to France, by quoting from one or two letters from one who, with a friend, took an ambulance to the front, and who was, after a short time, made a quartermaster in charge of thirty-four ambulance waggons. The first day the two friends were sent forward, their orders took them to Albert, beyond which a great battle was raging. They made three trips with a full load, the distance being 13 miles between station and front. There being still some wounded to be removed, they made a fourth trip, and, on approaching Albert, saw that it was in flames. Going on, they reached the hospital, to which the fire had not yet come forward, although the heat was already great. Most of the patients, being able to hobble, had left the hospital to escape being burned to death. They put the two that could be moved into the ambulance and drove off. On the road some distance outside the town, the men who had left on foot were found exhausted, sitting at the side of the road with their feet in the ditch. They were got into the ambulance, which reached the railhead as darkness closed in. This car brought in no less than 200 men in its first week of work, emptying the hospital near the front every day of all wounded that could be moved.

From the same pen which supplied the above account, the following may be quoted, being both instructive and amusing :

'One afternoon we heard a tremendous banging and popping, and presently we got an urgent call for as many ambulances as we could spare. I got together six ambulances and a station bus capable of carrying eight sitters, and set off at 7 p.m. It was pitch dark and raining hard, but a map, an electric torch, and the fighting line brilliantly illuminated by magnesium flare rockets, kept us straight, and we found our way *via* a network of bad roads to the Poste de Secours. I was leading up the lane, and was told to turn sharp into a still narrower one, which I did, with the result that my ambulance fell into a shell hole exactly at the corner, a funnel-shaped affair and about 4 feet wide, and how deep I do not know, as it was full of liquid mud and quite invisible from the driving seat. Nothing happened to the car luckily, but I used language about the German gentleman who put it just there, because the side lane was so narrow that if one missed the hole one met the wall across the way. This meant reversing into a seething mass of horse carts, hand ambulances, wounded men on stretchers, etc., all which were arriving continuously from further up the main line.

'Round the corner we came to a door in the wall, waded through it across an unspeakable yard into various barns and outbuildings where wounded men lay and sat, literally in heaps. One stable lantern from a beam only served to disguise the pitiable state of these poor fellows, caked all over with mud and chalk, boots mere sodden lumps, shrapnel wounds, shell wounds, rifle and machine gun wounds—and worse than all to look at—bomb and hand grenade wounds and burns. It was a night of hand-to-hand fighting when the hand grenade was making close acquaintance with many an unfortunate face.

Loaded up, we had a hard struggle to get away through the crush, then on past the curious holes dug out of the bank at one side off the road, which held heavy guns, though we did not discover the fact till dawn, as they were not in use owing to the nature of the fight. We deposited our wounded at various places, several of which we had to discover. This took time, as there were no 'natives' about these parts at night, so one's only friends are the map and the electric torch. Most of these outlying places were not expecting a visit, and we lost a lot of time digging the staffs out of their beds in all corners of the villages, and then getting places arranged for in a hospital which was generally overfull already. But for these delays we could have about doubled our tally, for you may be sure we made these cars hum going back empty.

'I forget how many trips we made, but just before dawn we had the satisfaction of picking up the last movable man in the shed, completing our load direct out of the horse ambulance into our cars, out in the mud in the lane. 'That finishes it for the present.' Back once more by the pits on the roadside, where we saw the big guns poking their ugly noses out over the top of the bank. Back to *X* with seven cars fully loaded. At the church we pulled up, and there deposited our wounded ; but before they could find room on the straw, which replaces seats in the body of the church, others who were there already, and had their dressings, had to be carried out and loaded into our cars.

'Broad daylight now, and every one concerned beginning to feel sleepy, so we were not sorry to know that we had only about eight miles to run to an evacuation hospital at a railway-station, where they know their business. Unloading finished, a rush to the nearest *estaminet* for the never-failing coffee and rum, and then home, seven miles, just in time for morning parade, at which we were *not* present. A huge breakfast, and so to bed, having carried exactly 144 wounded in the night, bringing our total for the twenty-four hours up to 235. 'Good work ! Give us more of it !' is what we all say.'

Such a letter, in its own humorous way, brings the horror of war most graphically before the mind. It may be poor comfort, but still is some comfort to know, that power traction does something to mitigate the horrors, which would be infinitely worse, were animal power the only means of locomotion.

J. H. A. MACDONALD.

The Preservation of the Tolbooth Steeple of Glasgow

Remove not the ancient landmark, which thy fathers have set.
—Prov. xxii. 28.

GLASGOW in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was a singularly attractive place. Its situation was romantic. The old town, clustering around the Cathedral, stood high above the adjacent country and commanded a magnificent prospect. On the one hand it overlooked the Clyde valley stretching away to the high lands of the Mearns and of the Gleniffers; on the other it was bounded by the Campsie Fells,—memorable in the history of St. Mungo,—by Dungoyne, and in the far distance by Ben Lomond. The High Street, aligned by houses and gardens, led to the Market Cross, and from thence the traveller passed by the Saltmarket and the Briggait to the Clyde, then a beautiful clear-flowing stream something like the Shannon at Athlone. The immediate neighbourhood was charming. Glasgow, says Camden, was famous for its 'pleasant situation, apple-trees, and other like fruit trees much commended.' The Rev. James Brome, an English clergyman, who visited us in 1669, records that 'for pleasantness of sight, sweetness of air, and delightfulness of its gardens and orchards, enriched with most delicious fruits, Glasgow surpasseth all other places in this tract.' Sixty-seven years later it was the same; Glasgow, we are told, was in 1736 'surrounded with corn-fields, kitchen and flower gardens and beautiful orchards abounding with fruits of all sorts, which by reason of the open and large streets send forth a pleasant and odoriferous smell.' Dr. Arthur Johnson commends the beauty of Glasgow in some stately Latin verses, of which John Barclay's rendering give but an imperfect idea:

Thine Orchards full of fragrant Fruits and Buds
Come nothing short of the Corcyran Woods,
And blushing Roses grow into thy fields
In no less plenty than sweet Paestum yields.

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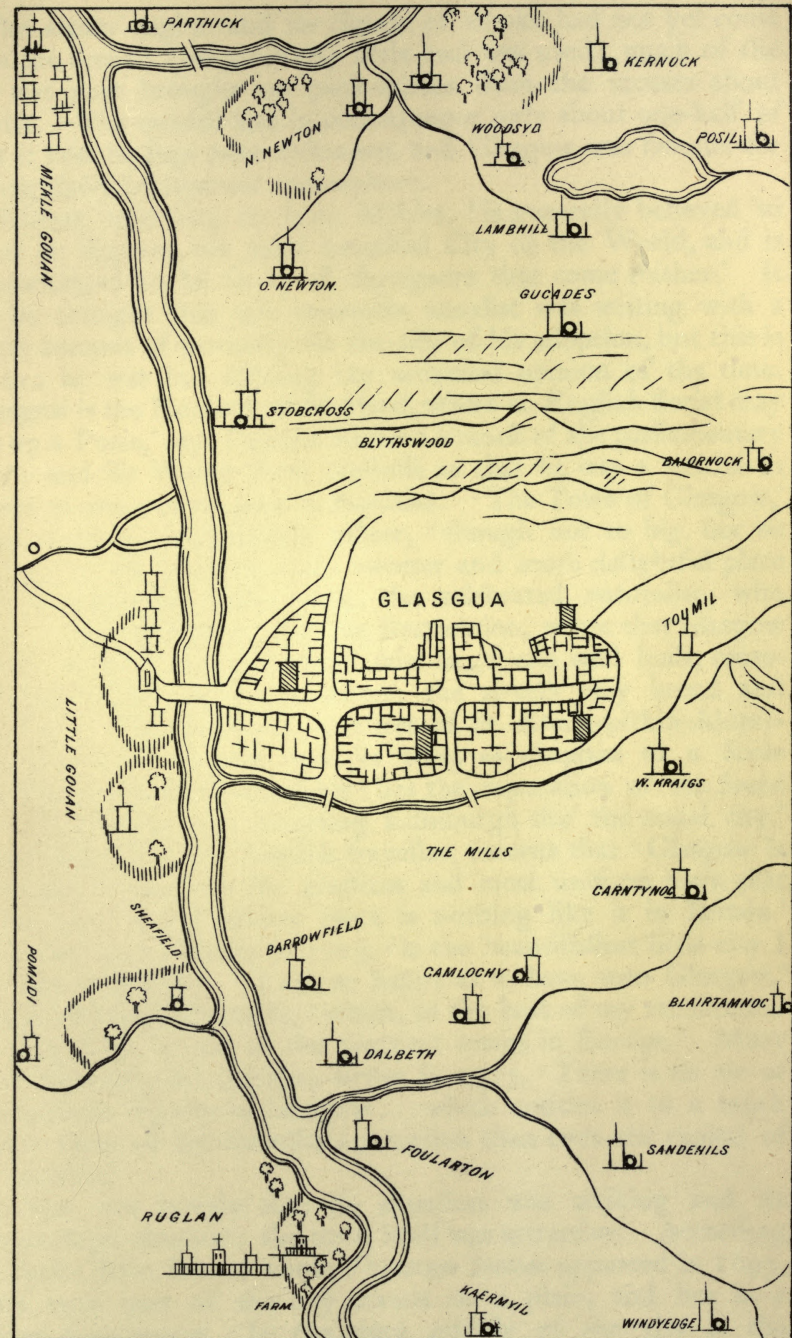


GLASGOW AND NEIGHBOURHOOD ABOUT 1641

From Blaeu's Atlas, Amsterdam, 1654

It is probable that this is a reproduction of the 'portrait' of the town, prepared by James Colquhoun in 1641 to be sent to Holland

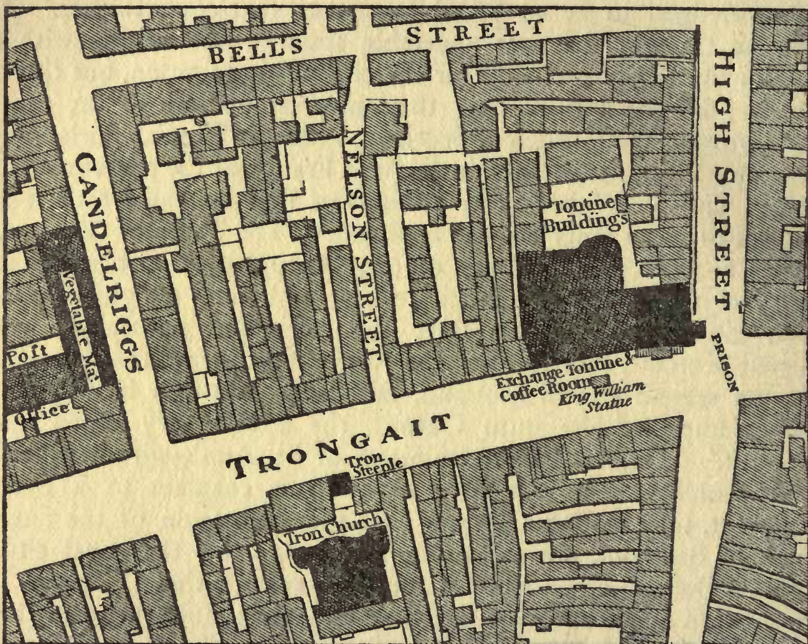
The steam engine and its clouds of smoke had not yet come upon the scene; comparatively little coal was used; much of the fuel was peat brought on pack-horses from the mosses about Cadder. The rainfall was in consequence only about one-half of what it now is, fogs were unknown, and Glasgow was famous for its singularly transparent atmosphere.

Glasgow, according to John M'Ure, 'is generally believed to be, of its Bigness, the most beautiful City of the World, and is acknowledged to be so by all foreigners that come thither.' It may be thought that our venerable annalist was writing with a certain amount of partiality for the city of his adoption, but this is not so; he was but echoing the universal opinion of the time. 'Glasgow is the Nonsuch of Scotland, where an English florist may pick up a Posie,' says Captain Richard Franck of the parliamentary army; and Sir Walter Scott reminds us that he was a satirist in respect to every other place in Scotland. 'The Town of Glasgow,' writes another parliamentary officer, 'though not so big, nor so rich, yet to all seems a much sweeter and more delightful place than Edinburgh.' John Ray, the celebrated naturalist, who visited Scotland shortly after the Restoration, wrote that Glasgow 'is the second city in Scotland, fair, large, and well built, cross-wise, somewhat like unto Oxford, the streets very broad and pleasant.' Thomas Morer, minister of St. Ann's-within-Aldersgate, London, who was here in 1689 as chaplain to a Scots regiment, tells us that Glasgow 'has the reputation of the finest town in Scotland, not excepting Edinburgh tho' the royal city.' Captain Burt, another English traveller, records that 'Glasgow is to outward appearance the prettiest and most uniform town that I ever saw; and I believe there is nothing like it in Britain.' 'Glasgow,' says Mackay in 1723, 'is the beautifullest little city I ever saw in Britain.' 'I am so happy as to have seen Glasgow,' exclaims Matthew Bramble, 'which, to the best of my recollection and judgment, is one of the prettiest towns in Europe.' Mary Anne Hanway, the novelist, writes in 1775, 'There is an air of metropolitan dignity in Glasgow . . . which entitles it to a much greater share of the traveller's attention than even the capital of the country.'

It was not merely that its situation was striking and its surroundings pleasant; the town itself was attractive. According to Captain John Slezer, whose *Theatrum Scotiae* appeared in 1693, 'The most part of the city stands on a plain, and lies in a manner four-square. In the very middle of the city is the

Tolbooth, magnificently built of hewn stone, with a very high tower, and bells which sound melodiously at every hour's end. At the Tolbooth four principal streets crossing each other do divide the city as it were into four equal parts, every one of which is adorned with several publick buildings.'

The four streets were the High Street and the Saltmarket, the Trongait and the Gallowgait. The High Street led northwards,



PLAN OF THE CROSS ABOUT 1800

past the College and the Cathedral, to Cadder, Kirkintilloch, and Stirling. The Gallowgait, running east, was the high road to Edinburgh and to London. The Trongait, anciently St. Tenew's gait, led to the little chapel of Sanct Tenew, now the site of St. Enoch Square, and westward, through the villages of Anderston and Partick, to Dumbarton and Inveraray. By the Saltmarket and the Briggait one reached the old bridge across the Clyde for which Glasgow was so long famous, and the highways to Ayrshire and Renfrewshire.

The crossing of the four streets was the centre of Glasgow, the heart of its life and activities. The city had suffered severely by two great fires, one in 1652 and the other in 1677, and many of the houses in the neighbourhood of the Cross had been substantially and elegantly rebuilt according to the fashion of the day. Here is how Daniel Defoe describes it in 1727: 'Where the four principal streets meet, the crossing makes a very spacious market-place, as may be easily imagined, since the streets are so large. As we come down the hill from the north-gate to this place, the tolbooth and guild-hall make the north-west angle, or right-hand corner of the street, which is now rebuilt in a very magnificent manner. Here the town-council sit, and the magistrates try such cases as come within their cognisance, and do all their other business; so that, as will be easily conceived, the tolbooth stands in the very centre of the city. It is a noble structure of hewn stone, with a very lofty tower, and melodious hourly chimes.' It also contained the prison, and about the time of which Defoe speaks the Dean of Guild's old hall had been converted into two additional 'prison houses for prisoners of note and distinction.'

As time advanced the commerce of Glasgow expanded, her trade grew, her manufactures increased, and the steam engine multiplied her industries to an enormous extent. Her population rose by leaps and bounds; her streets were filled with ever swelling traffic.

At the Cross civic and commercial life still converged. The magistrates deliberated in the Council Chamber in the Tolbooth; there they held their courts, as did the Sheriff and the Justices of the Peace, and the Lords Commissioners of Justiciary on their half-yearly circuits. Bailie Nicol Jarvie dwelt in the Saltmarket, the rival MacVittie, MacFin & Co. had their counting-house in the Gallowgait. The Campbells of Blythswood had their mansion in the Briggait; Sir Patrick Bell, a notable provost, lived in the same street, as did his son, Sir John Bell, who was also provost, and entertained the Duke of York—afterwards James VII.—in 1681 in his house in the Briggait; Oliver Cromwell took up his abode in the Silvercraigs mansion in the Saltmarket, and in that street the Crawfords of Cartsburn and Provost Walter Gibson erected large and handsome residences. Robert Wodrow, the celebrated minister of Eastwood, and Sir John Moore were born in the Trongait. Prince Charles Edward, in 1745, occupied the Shawfield mansion on the extension of the Trongait, beyond the West Port—our Argyle Street.

Merchant booths, stalls, and crames used to fill all the streets around the Cross, and in these all marketing was done, as we still see in many towns on the continent and in some places in England. These gradually gave way to the increasing street traffic, and the traders either opened shops or transferred themselves to one or other of the new markets provided by the magistrates.

As the American trade expanded the Virginia Dons, or Tobacco Lords, as they were styled, became a numerous and important body. As the merchants of Venice congregated on the Rialto, so the Tobacco Lords, arrayed in scarlet cloaks and carrying gold-headed canes, paced the plainstanes of the Trongait, representing in their persons the dignity and magnificence of commerce. The fine equestrian statue of King William, presented by Governor Macrae in 1735, was placed upon the north side of the Trongait, as being the busiest spot in the city, and the inscription it bears was cut upon the south side, as it was upon the street, not upon a side walk, that the stream of pedestrians passed.

The Tolbooth had stood little more than a century when its accommodation was found inadequate for municipal purposes. The land immediately to the west was purchased, and the Tolbooth was extended by the erection of a new Town House, which was completed in 1740. On the front there was a piazza, rendered remarkable by the grotesque figures cut upon the keystones of the arches, familiarly known as Mungo Nasmith's Heads. This building contained a spacious Council Hall and a fine Assembly Room.

For the convenience of the merchants a portion of the street immediately opposite to the Town House was paved and fenced off, and was known as the Exchange. In wet or stormy weather they found shelter in the adjoining piazza. Later they found a home in the Tontine Coffee Room, which was erected towards the end of the eighteenth century in close proximity to the Town Hall, and was 'universally allowed to be the most elegant in Britain, and most probably in Europe. . . . Here you are not offended as in London, and several other towns, upon entering places of this description, with clouds of smoke and fumes of tobacco, or with that brutal noise, proceeding from the too free use of liquor; neither of which are allowed to be used in this room.'

In 1795 a further extension of the Tolbooth was made, but the prison did not meet modern requirements, and the other accommodation was insufficient for the growing wants of the Town

Council. It was resolved, therefore, to provide a new building on a different site, fronting the Green at the foot of the Saltmarket. This building was ready for occupation and was opened in 1814, and included a jail and court-houses, Council chambers, and municipal offices.

The old Tolbooth being deserted, the site and structure, except the steeple, were sold by auction, subject to the condition that new buildings should be erected on the site in accordance with a plan prepared by Mr. David Hamilton, architect. James Cleland, the superintendent of public works of the city, became the purchaser, at the price of £8000, equivalent to £45 per square yard, and erected new buildings in accordance with the prescribed plan, and these buildings, on the lapse of a century, are in turn about to be demolished.

The removal of the Tolbooth injured the stability of the steeple, and it was suggested that it should therefore be demolished and a *facsimile* erected. The proposal met with strong opposition, common-sense prevailed, and this ancient monument was repaired and preserved.

In a curious broadside of the period, *The Humble Petition of the Cross Steeple to the Magistrates of Glasgow*, this episode is thus referred to by the steeple itself:

> 'I hae stood here nearly three hunner year, muckle respeckit an' admirt by a' that saw me—their heads are no sair that ornamented me wi' my thretten gilded vanes—my arched top—my clock—my music bells—my spears (now ta'en down) for martyrs' heads, my day-o'-the month brodds, an' a' that cou'd be thocht upon to mak' me the brawest an' the usefu'est about the town—an' sae I was—an' sae I hope to hae been, but now there's sae muckle competition and partiality gawn, that naebody can tell what's his ain till he gets it, nor how lang he can keep it even *than*. . . . I can swear there has nae been twenty punds laid out on me, either inwardly or to adorn my outward man, since they took awa my consort frae my side, about twal years ago. Then wi' their deep howked foundations for the new lan' put in her place, I was like to tummel down a'thegither had na' they set a clever fallaw wi' his dumcrafts to prapp me up wi' lumps o' cast iron at the wast corner—what car't he for my feelings!'

The whirligig of time has brought us face to face with the same situation. Again the Town Council has resolved upon the removal of the Tolbooth Steeple, and once more the voices of the citizens of Glasgow are raised against such wanton and ruthless vandalism.

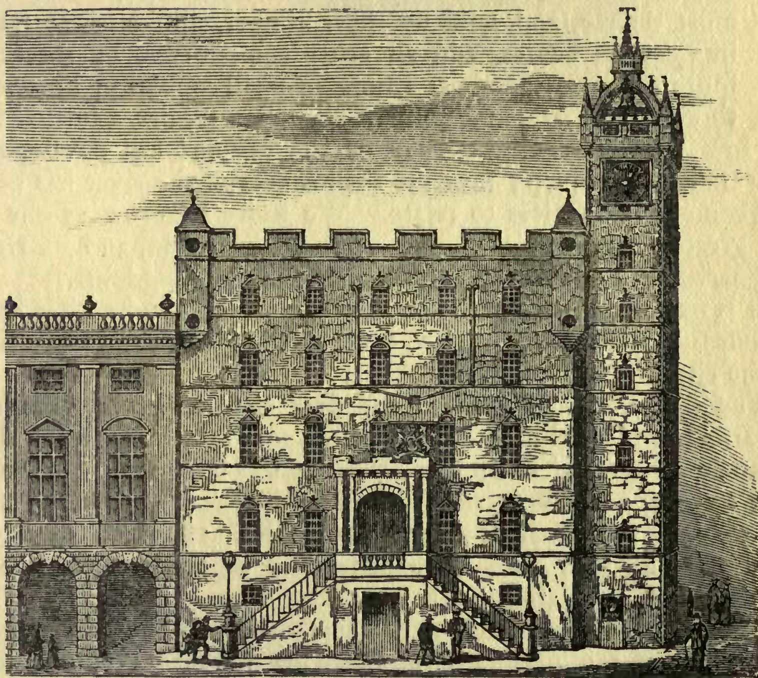
The magistrates of Glasgow have ever had a praiseworthy zeal for the improvement and adornment of the city. Their efforts have, as a whole, been successful, but in some cases they have been the reverse. At present the Town Council have before them a scheme for the improvement of the Cross, and it is as part of this that the removal of the Tolbooth is suggested. In 1737 the Town Council of the day had a similar scheme in contemplation, and obtained a plan of a square at the Cross from William Adam the elder, the leading architect of his day, and father of four sons who all achieved eminence in the same profession. The scheme was not carried out, but we may be certain that it did not contemplate interference with the steeple.

The Tolbooth to which we have been referring was erected in 1626, but it took the place of an older building which had occupied the same site for about two hundred years. This old tolbooth was also a lofty building, with a clock-tower and bells, and booths or shops on the street level. It was at this point that the trade of Glasgow pivoted itself when the commercial community moved down from the old town above the Wyndheid.

When the new Tolbooth was built its steeple became the most prominent feature in commercial Glasgow. Sir William Brereton, who visited Glasgow in 1634, says, 'The Tolboothe, which is placed in the middle of the Town, and near unto the Cross and Market-place, is a very fair and high-built House, from the Top thereof, being Leaded, you may take a full view and prospect of the whole City. . . . This Toleboothe is said to be the fairest in this Kingdom.' 'Here,' writes Captain Franck, 'you may observe Four large fair Streets, modell'd as it were, into a spacious Quadrant; in the centre whereof their Market-place is fix'd; near unto which stands a stately Tolbooth, a very sumptuous, regulated, uniform Fabrick, large and lofty, most industriously and artificially carved from the very foundation to the superstructure, to the great admiration of strangers and travellers.'

The tower, or steeple as it was called, was specially commended for its height and stately form. It carried the town clock, which was long noted for its chimes or music bells. The present passage-way through the tower is modern. In old days the entrance to the jail was by a door in the south wall on the street level, within which the turnkey sat. The jougs were attached to this side of the steeple beside the door. The platform, on which delinquents condemned 'to stand on the stairhead'—a kind of pillory—was above the door. On the High Street front were the spikes from which the heads of those who suffered under the axe were exhibited.

When the steeple reared its head above the town in 1626 the population of Glasgow was from 8000 to 9000; at the Revolution it was nearly 12,000, and was not much greater at the Union.



THE TOLBOOTH OF GLASGOW

Two hundred years ago it was about 14,000; forty years later, that is in 1755, it was 23,546; in 1801 it had reached 77,385, and we know its enormous growth within the following century.

Trade has increased in corresponding proportions. In 1655 Thomas Tucker reported that the inhabitants were traders and dealers; some for Ireland with small smiddy coales, in open boates; some for France with pladding, coales, and herring; some to Norway for timber. 'Here hath likewise beene some who have adventured as farre as the Barbadoes; but the losse they have sustayned by reason of theyr goeing out and comeing home late every yeare, have made them discontinue goeing thither any more.' Then he adds:

> 'The scituation of this towne in a plentifull land, and the mercantile genius of the people, are strong signes of her increase and groweth, were she not checqued and kept under by the shallownesse of her river, every day more and more increasing and filling up, soe that noe vessells of any burden can come neerer up then within fourteene miles, where they must unlade, and send up theyr timber, and Norway trade in rafts on floates, and all other comodotyes, by three or foure tonnes of goods at a time, in small cobbles or boates of three, foure, five, and none of above six tonnes, a boate.'

How 'the mercantile genius of the people' has developed; how trade has thriven; how the shallowness of the river has been overcome it is needless to relate. We know Glasgow as one of the greatest commercial communities of the world, and its river and harbour as one of the greatest ports in the kingdom.

It is well to have a beacon to direct our vision in looking back on our full and stirring history, to mark the growth and expansion of the city.

The old Tolbooth marked the first step taken by Glasgow towards commercial life; its successor came into being when that 'mercantile genius,' which Tucker notes, was beginning to unfold. The steeple we now prize stands the witness of the steady and unbroken development of that genius. All that has made Glasgow what it is, all that gives it character and reputation, has passed before this silent watch-tower.

The steeple stood sentinel at the crossing of the four streets which formed the market-place, where her merchants congregated, where the commercial life of two hundred years strove, and strove successfully, to give Glasgow that pre-eminence in action which in former times she had enjoyed by reason of her romantic charm and sweetness.

The steeple was the focus and gathering point of that busy life which streamed around it. It was the pride of the city; it was the admiration of strangers, and it is right and proper that we and those who come after us should still look upon it as our fore-elders saw it. The son generally thinks himself wiser than the father, the people of to-day are apt to think that the present is better than the past, that what does not commend itself to them is of no value. They should remember that fifty years hence, to say

VIEW OF THE TOLBOOTH AND TRONGATE TOWARDS THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY nothing of a hundred, another generation will be saying the same things of them.

In 1658 the Tolbooth was described as our 'Western Prodigy, infinitely excelling the model and usual built of Town Halls.' A century later, in 1769, Thomas Pennant thought it 'large and handsome'; and Robert Saunders was of the same opinion in 1771. The quidnuncs of 1915 may challenge these judgments, but it is clearly our duty to preserve what appealed so strongly to our ancestors.

Scott was familiar with the Tolbooth, and it stands out crisp and clear before us in his pages—the low wicket in the basement of the steeple, the bolted door, the wild Highland turnkey behind it, the small, strong guard-room, the narrow staircase leading upwards to the jail, the narrow gallery, the connecting passage and the prison rooms. The picture of that singular gathering, Owen and Frank Osbaldistone, Bailie Nicol Jarvie and the faithful Mattie lantern-in-hand, Rob Roy, Captain Stenchells, the jailer, and the Dougal Cratur, stands for all time and casts the glamour of romance around the old, time-worn tower, as Scott knew it, and as it was in 1715. As travellers in former days came amongst us and admired our city, so travellers in days to come are entitled to see that feature of Glasgow which Scott has so characteristically delineated in imperishable lines.

The claim and title of an ancient building to preservation, to be invested with a sanctity that must not be invaded, has never been better put than by a great modern writer:

> 'The greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity. It is in their lasting witness against men, in their quiet contrast with the transitional character of all things, in the strength which, through the lapse of seasons and times, and the decline and birth of dynasties, and the changing of the face of the earth, and of the limits of the sea, maintains its sculptured shapeliness for a time insuperable, connects forgotten and following ages with each other, and half constitutes the identity, as it concentrates the sympathy, of nations; it is in that golden stain of time that we are to look for the real light, and colour, and preciousness of architecture; and it is not until a building has assumed this

character, till it has been entrusted with the fame, and hallowed by the deeds of men, till its walls have been witnesses of suffering, and its pillars rise out of the shadows of death, that its existence, more lasting as it is than that of the natural objects of the world around it, can be gifted with even so much as these possess of language and of life.'

Mr. John Keppie, architect, was employed by the Corporation of Glasgow to prepare plans for the improvement of the Cross, upon the footing of the steeple being retained as it now stands. Mr. Keppie's plan seems to deal adequately with the problem. The only regret is that the building line of the west side of High Street having been recessed, it has been thought necessary to keep the east front of the new building, on the tolbooth site, to the same line. This building will consequently be detached from the steeple, and a footwalk is proposed to be carried between them. The steeple will thus be somewhat isolated. This isolation is intended to be moderated by connecting the new building and the tower by an arch. The idea is good, but the effeet would probably be better if the arch was carried higher and made deeper, so as to contain a passage which would give access, by the staircase in the tower, to the new building, as it used to do to the old Tolbooth. The room or rooms so connected could be made attractive and interesting as an Old Glasgow museum. It would be appropriate to have there such objects as the Tolbooth bell of 1544, and the old Council table, across which Major Menzies shot Town Clerk Park in 1694.

After this plan had been prepared the Tramway Department seem to have imagined that more street space was required, and the architect was instructed to prepare new plans providing for the taking down of the steeple and its re-erection elsewhere. This was done, and the plans have been submitted to the Town Council and approved, but not finally adopted.

Anything more monstrous it would be hard to conceive. To pull down the tower would be an outrage; to re-erect it on another site would be a fiasco. The attitude of mind of such improvers is aptly described by Lord Cockburn in his caustic *Letter to the Lord Provost on the best ways of spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh.* There are some, he says, 'who see nothing valuable in a city except what they think convenience. To these people, taste, or at least the abstinence from desecration which taste sometimes requires, is ridiculous and odious. They hold a town to be a mere collection of houses, shops and streets; and that, provided there be enough of these, duly arranged on utilitarian principles, all anxiety as to whether the result shall be a Bath or a Birmingham, is mere folly and affectation.'

Referring to the removal of Trinity Church in Edinburgh, his Lordship says:

> 'The presence of such a building honours a city. It was imputed to it that it was ill formed and ill placed for modern use. Both true; but they are objections that enhanced its importance. They disconnected it from modern times, and uses, and associations, and left it to be seen and felt solely as a monument of antiquity. Of what *use*, in the sense of these objections, is any ruin? Yet this church was sacrificed, not to the necessities, but to the mere convenience of a railway. The railway had been finished, and was in action. But it wanted a few yards of more room for its station, and these it got by the destruction of the finest piece of old architecture in Edinburgh. The spirit that did this, or that submitted to it, would carry a railway through Pompeii.'

Then turning to the proposal to reconstruct the building, he proceeds:

> 'The old stones have been preserved, and we may have the original structure after all. We are to build a new old building. The reverence of four centuries, attached to a structure on one spot, is to be transferred, according to order, to the materials of a similar structure on a different spot. Are not the stones the same? And what is a building but stones? Provided we have the materials, what does it signify whether the Temple be left in Jerusalem or removed to Paisley?'

Nothing could be more apposite to the present situation in Glasgow.

That there is any want of room at the foot of High Street no reasonable person will maintain. There is a double line of tram rails on the street, and the tram cars run past the steeple on these lines daily without a hitch, and have done so for forty years. The existing width of the street is ample, and it will be considerably increased by the rounding off of the corner on the east side, as is proposed in the present scheme. If more space were wanted it could easily be had by keeping back the line of the east side of the street still further.

Even were it the case that the street is narrow that is no excuse for destroying a time-hallowed relic which stamps individuality upon the city. The contour of the High Street—the Great Way leading to the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow as it used to be called—alongside the steeple is now what it has been for five centuries, and we of to-day should pride ourselves that we still use the very roadway which so many generations of Glasgow citizens have trod.

A glance at the plan shows that the traffic question is a mere blind. The real object in view is to get rid of the steeple. If it is retained, it is the dominating factor in the reconstruction, and necessitates the old lines being adhered to. If it were swept away the City Improvements Committee would have a free hand to rearrange the Cross according to their own fancy, without reference to sentiment, to tradition, to historical association. In other words, the Committee desire to efface historic Glasgow and to substitute a twentieth century creation of their own, after the somewhat debased type of Piccadilly Circus.

Were the present improvement being carried out under a Town-planning scheme the steeple would be safe, as one of the conditions of such a scheme is that objects of historic interest shall be preserved. It would not be in keeping with the dignity and reputation of the City of Glasgow to disregard public sentiment as expressed in an Act of the Legislation merely because it so happens that it can carry out the proposed work without reference to the Town-planning Act.

There has already been far too much tampering with our old streets. After the fall of Orr's Land, at the corner of Gibson's Wynd, there was a crusade throughout the city against old houses. The Dean of Guild Court for more than a year was occupied with the destruction of tenements. 'It was often suspected,' we are told by Sheriff Barclay, 'that many of these time-honoured edifices, often the dwellings of aristocracy, obtained scant justice. The condemning architects were said to have had the benefit of builders in their view. Be this as it may, many houses in the High Street stretching up to the Cathedral, and the Trongate, Gallowgate, Bridgegate, and especially in the Saltmarket, fell victims to the panic.' The alterations carried out under the great Improvement Act of 1866 were undoubtedly of great benefit in so far as sanitation is concerned, but they might have been carried out with some regard to the preservation of the street characteristics of Glasgow. The Briggait, the Saltmarket, the Gallowgait, and the High Street have been 'improved' almost beyond recognition. It is time that the hand of the destroyer were stayed.

A more reverent and reasonable spirit now prevails, and we confidently hope that the improvements at the Cross will be carried out as originally intended on the footing of preserving the Tolbooth steeple and allowing it to dominate the architectural treatment.

The destruction of the steeple would bring indelible disgrace upon the city, and would load the memory of those who wrought it with eternal shame. It would be incredible to the next generation that such an astounding folly could have been perpetrated.

DAVID MURRAY.

Edinburgh during the Provostship of Sir William Binning, 1675-1677

SIR WILLIAM BINNING of Wallyford belonged to a family which claimed descent from a legendary hero, William Bunnock, who figures in Barbour's *Bruce*.[1] The story goes that in 1311, during the War of Independence, an English garrison held Linlithgow Castle, and Bunnock, a local peasant, who was employed by them to bring in a load of hay, contrived a stratagem to capture the Castle for the Scots. He hid eight soldiers in his waggon, and as it was passing through the gateway he cut the traces, so that the portcullis could not be lowered. The men leaped out, others rushed in from an ambush, the garrison was overpowered, and the Castle was taken. Tradition rounds off the story by making Robert the Bruce reward Bunnock with a grant of the lands of East Binning, which lie about five miles south-east of Linlithgow.

It is true that from 1429 for about a century East Binning is found in possession of Sir William Binning's ancestors, but there is no evidence to connect them with Bunnock, nor Bunnock with the lands. However, in 1675 he and his half-brother did not find the Lyon King punctilious about evidence, and they were granted coats-of-arms displaying the veritable waggon, with a demi-horse for a crest.

To come to historical facts, Sir William Binning's father, James Binning of Carlowriehaugh, was confidential 'servitor' to three successive lairds of Cranstoun Riddell, Midlothian, namely James Makgill, a Lord of Session, and his sons, David, and James who was created Viscount of Oxfuird. He had a house on their property at Fuird, six miles south of Dalkeith, and there the future Provost was born on March 11, 1637, the only child of his father's second marriage, his mother being Euphemia, daughter of Alexander Baillie, brother of Robert Baillie of Jerviston in Lanarkshire. When he was born his father was fifty-seven and his mother fifty years of age.

[1] Book x., lines 150 *seq.*

His father's first wife was Marion, daughter of James Addinstone of Addinstone (now Alderstone) near Haddington, and by her he had three sons and two daughters, but by the end of the century the issue of all the sons had failed and Sir William became heir male of the family.

He was apprenticed on January 10, 1655, to his cousin by marriage, Alexander Brand, merchant, afterwards of Baberton and Redhall, and on April 27, 1664, he was admitted a burgess and guild brother of Edinburgh in right of his father-in-law, Laurence Scott of Bavelaw.

He took to foreign trade, importing wheat from La Rochelle, timber and tar from Norway, and wines, brandy and sack from French and Spanish ports. During the Dutch wars of 1665-7 and 1672-4 he joined with several other merchants in fitting out from Leith some privateers called 'capers,' which enriched their owners at the expense of the enemy's trade.

At this time he generally lived at Leith, where he bought in 1669 a house in what was afterwards called Logan's Close.

He quickly rose to wealth, and in March 1675 he paid 56,000 merks for the property of Wallyford near Musselburgh. He afterwards spent 20,000 merks more on improvements and in acquiring from the Lauderdales the superiority and the teinds. The mansion-house had been lately embellished with a handsome Renaissance doorway, bearing date 1672,[1] at which time the property belonged to Sir John Falconer, Master of the Mint. The house was burnt down about the year 1885. The coal-working at Wallyford dates back at least as far as 1561, when it is mentioned in the rent roll of Dunfermline Abbey, to which the lands had been granted by Malcolm Canmore (1057-1093).[2]

At Michaelmas, 1666, William Binning was elected to the Town Council of Edinburgh. He was re-elected a Councillor for the next two years, and from 1669 to 1671 he was Treasurer. He was then a Bailie for a year, and a Councillor for the next two years, and in August, 1672, he was also appointed one of the burgess representatives on the Commission for Plantation of Kirks.[3] At Michaelmas, 1675, the Town Council elected him Lord Provost, and he held office for two years.

[1] Macgibbon and Ross, *Castellated and Domestic Architecture*, iv. 64.

[2] *Registrum de Dunfermelyn* (Bannatyne Club), pp. 446, 482.

[3] *Thomson's Acts*, viii. 79 *a*.

The elections of 1675 took place under abnormal conditions. For years past there had been a tradition of rioting and drunkenness on these occasions, and a specially bad outbreak took place in October, 1672, when 'a great convocation was made of the meaner sort of tounes people round about the toun councill house in the parliament court and in the oppen streets,'[1] as a protest against the election as Provost for the eleventh successive year of Sir Andrew Ramsay of Abbotshall, a corrupt and oppressive magistrate.

The demonstration had no practical result, but it was considered officially to be a sign of disaffection, as the choice had been sanctioned by the Crown. An action was also raised in the Court of Session to have the election declared invalid, on the ostensible ground that Sir Andrew had been appointed a Lord of Session, and that the two offices were incompatible.[2] The action was withdrawn on an undertaking by the Town Council to pass an Act limiting the term of office to two years in the case of the Lord Provost, Treasurer, and Dean of Guild. This Act was passed, and Sir Andrew was then induced to resign the Provostship.

Next autumn, as election time drew near, the Privy Council made arrangements to prevent disorder, and appointed three of their number to superintend the proceedings. These precautions were ineffectual, so in the autum of 1674 the King, professing to discover 'a factious designe' in the elections being fixed for Michaelmas Day instead of the following Tuesday, sent a letter to the Privy Council requiring them 'to lay our positive commandes upon the magistratts and Councill of our good towne of Edinburgh not to proceid in this new election, but to continow the present lord provest' and council 'untill wee shall declare our further pleasur.'[3]

In July, 1675, the King, on the representation of Sir George Mackenzie, withdrew the embargo on condition that the Council took the advice of His Majesty's Ministers in conducting the election. A party in the Council, led by Robert Baird, Dean of Guild, made a strong opposition, and 'they refused to name either Francis Kinloch to be Provost, or Bailie Hay or Bailie 'Binnie' to be Councillors; and having

[1] *Privy Council Register*, 3rd ser. iii. 605.

[2] Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, i. 53-81.

[3] *Privy Council Register*, 3rd ser. iv. 282.

most injuriously treated the King's letter, they proceeded to a new election.'[1]

The King's reply was to send a further letter on August 25, ordering the removal of Baird and nine other members from the Council, and directing the rest to fill up the vacancies till Michaelmas, when the elections were to take place in the ordinary way. They were warned 'that they be carefull to proceid this year in electing such as are loyeall, sober, and weill affected to our government in church and state, as they would wish incouragment from us.'[2]

William Binning seems to have answered this description, and on October 5, 1675, he was duly elected Lord Provost, with the approval of the Crown, which was represented by the presence of three high officials.

The Town Council sent an address of abject servility to His Majesty, with a covering letter to Lauderdale[3] acknowledging 'the deep resentment (*sic*) we have of ye constant kyndnes you have showen to ye good toune.'

The address set forth:[4] 'Wee doe presume with most thankful hearts humbly to acknowledge your Majesties princely favour and clemencie in takeing off the restraint lying upon the Election of Magistratts of this your antient Citie of Edinburgh, which is ane eminent testimonie of the transcendent goodnes of so mercifull a Prince . . . and Wee being called to your Ma[ties] service as your Magistratts in this place doe humblie profess that as it is our dewtie so it is our greatest ambition and shall be our constant care therein to demean ourselves obedient, duetifull and faithfull servants to your Majestie, and to this effect with sincere hearts at all tymes to prosecute your Majesties service in all matters, both ecclesiastick and civill; In order to which Wee doe resolve to make such Acts and to take such effectual courses and apply all our outmost endeavours for preventing and suppression of seditions, conventicles and all other disorders.'

His Majesty closed the incident with a letter which stated: 'Wee doe now assure you that wee are verrie weill satisfied with these ample expressiones of your dewtie and loyaltie.'

Whatever success the Council may have had in suppressing

[1] Sir George Mackenzie, *Memoirs*, p. 313.

[2] *Privy Council Register*, 3rd ser. iv. 470.

[3] John, Duke of Lauderdale, Secretary for Scotland, 1660-1680.

[4] British Museum, Add. MSS. 23137, fol. 85.

sedition, they conspicuously failed with conventicles. In the following February the Provost and Bailies were summoned before the Privy Council and fined £200 sterling for allowing four conventicles to be held within the city, and in the subsequent December they were fined another £50 for a fifth case. The last penalty was a great hardship, as they had discovered the offence themselves, but they were allowed in all five cases to recover the fines, if they could, from the persons who were present.[1]

Binning possessed the cardinal virtue as Provost of being able to keep on good terms with Lauderdale, and in 1677 his services were rewarded with a knighthood at the hands of Lord Chancellor the Earl of Rothes, on a warrant signed by Charles II. at Whitehall on January 8.

The two years of his Provostship were full of incident. In those days the Council busied itself with every detail of life within the city, even to fixing the charges at penny weddings, and the prices and proper weights of 'comfeits, whytt sweities and sugar biskitts.' Moreover, there were no standing committees, and the general rule was that all subjects were discussed in full council.

The meetings were held every Wednesday and Friday at ten o'clock throughout the year, but there was often a difficulty in getting a quorum, so on March 17, 1676, an Act was passed imposing a fine of half a merk upon absentees and four shillings upon those who were 'sero and after readding of the prayer . . . and apoynts the saids fynes to be exacted without favour.' The Provost himself was certainly not an offender : he was only absent seven times in the two years, and on four of these occasions he explained that he was attending the arrival of Officers of State.

One of Binning's first acts as Provost was to get his own accounts as Treasurer passed by the Council. The auditing committee had refused to credit him with two items in an account of £8000 Scots spent by the town on a banquet to His Majesty's Commissioner, namely £1660 8s. of 'incidents' and £2287 10s. given to the servants that waited and to the Commissioner's own servants 'be way of gratuitie and drink money.' These items undoubtedly called for comment, but the Provost persuaded the Council to pass them.[2] Contrary to modern notions of propriety, he twice obtained dispositions in his own favour of

[1] *Privy Council Register*, 3rd ser. iv. 540-2 ; v. 83, 84.

[2] *Town Council Register*, vol. 28, fol. 116.

certain waste lands at Leith, belonging to the city, and no doubt found them profitable investments.

At the outset a great deal of attention had to be given to the new water supply from Comiston, which had been laid on during the previous twelve months by Peter Brauss, a Dutch engineer, at the cost of £2900 sterling. The supply proved inadequate, so arrangements had to be made for bringing in additional springs from Swanston, and the Provost took an active part in the negotiations with the proprietor of the lands and with the contractor.[1]

The question of fire engaged as much attention as that of water. In April, 1674, a large portion of Parliament Close was burnt down, and early in 1677 there was an outbreak in the Canongate-head, 'which fyre wes be gods providence extinguished before it seassed upon the foir Streit.' On October 25, 1676, the Council 'considering the great hazard that dayly is threatned by fuill [foul] chiminies, which is occasioned be the sloathfulnes and cairlesnes of the inhabitants in not sweping the lumes,' directed that chimneys must be swept twice a year under the penalty of £20 Scots, or £100 if they caught fire,[2] and on September 12, 1677, it was enacted that for the future houses might not be built or repaired with timber, 'but allernarlie with ston work, and that they be only thacked with sclait or tyll, under the penaltie of fyve hundered merks and demolishing of the buildings.'[3]

Binning set a good example in this matter. In 1678 he acquired the two top storeys in a fore-land on the south side of the High Street opposite the Cross, and he arranged with the other proprietors of the tenement—his brother-in-law, Hew Wallace, W.S., and Mr. Walter Pringle, afterwards Lord Newhall—to rebuild them in stone.[4] But his example was not rewarded by fortune. He was living in the fifth storey of a 'land' in Parliament Close when the whole close was burnt in the great fire of 1700, and the family then moved to a house in the Canongate, which, by a piece of ill luck, was burnt down too in 1708.

The Council were very active during his Provostship in improving the public buildings. In May, 1676, they ordered the erection of a new fish market in Fishmarket Close and a timber hoof [warehouse] at Leith. These were ready by April, 1677.

[1] *Town Council Register*, vol. 28, foll. 123, 124.

[2] *Ib.* fol. 192.

[3] *Ib.* vol. 29, fol. 7.

[4] *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), Jan. 1 and April 19, 1680.

On September 6, 1676, the Provost produced 'ane draught of ane Exchange drawen be Sir William Bruce'[1]: this was adopted and a contract let for erecting the building in Parliament Close. Two months later the Treasurer was instructed to have the pudding market at the foot of Marlin's Wynd repaired for use as a corn market, 'the present meall mercat being so strait and narrow that it cannot both be a meall mercat and a corne mercat.'[2]

More important still was the removal of the fleshers' slaughter-houses to the Nor' Loch Side 'in regaird of the prejudice the citizens sustained by the pestiferous smell occasioned by the killing of their slaughtered goods and casting furth the intralls in the high streets and vennalls, which was a great reason of the nestiness and freshnes [wetness] of the streets.'[3]

Another project which dated from the year 1676 was the establishment of the first botanical garden in the grounds of Trinity Hospital, and on January 5, 1677, the Council voted a salary of £20 per annum to Mr. James Sutherland, 'a person of knowen abilitie,' whom they had 'pitched upon for overseing the culture and for demonstratting of the plants . . . considering that this designe will not onlie contribut to the good and ornament of the citie, but also prove exceidinglie profitable for the instruction of youth in that most necessary, tho hitherto much neglected pairt of the naturall historie knowledge, wherein the health of all persones, whether it be for food or medecin, is so nearlie concerned.'[4] A committee of seven visitors was appointed, and Sir William Binning's was the first name on the list: Sir Robert Sibbald and Sir Andrew Balfour were also included.

Several new regulations in the interest of public safety were made at this time. On June 23, 1676, the Council decided that two sentries should be posted at night at the West Bow Port, 'being informed be the nighboures that they are nightlie in hazard of haveing y^r chops [shops] broken, and some of them are reallie broken.'[5]

Another regulation as to speed limit has quite a modern sound. 'No hackney coatchmen shall dryve at anie higher rait than step softlie, and that they ney^r trot nor gallop with y^r horses and coatches at anie tyme under the pain of ten pound Scots *toties quoties*; and farder if any of the s^d coatchmen shall be found

[1] *Council Register*, vol. 28, fol. 181. [2] *Ib.* foll. 124, 200.
[3] *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), Feb. 5, 1685.
[4] *Council Register*, vol. 28, fol. 215. [5] *Ib.* fol. 165.

dryveing yr coatches after fyve of the clock in ye winter tyme without a lighted linck, whereby they may see how to dryve, they shall pay the lyke unlaw of ten pound *toties quoties*.'[1]

Far the most important transaction of the period, from the Council's point of view, was the negotiation for the continuance of the city's ale tax. The right to levy a tax of two pence per pint on ale and beer brewed or sold within the city and its suburbs had been originally granted by the King in 1666, to enable the city to pay off certain capital debts incurred for the erection of public buildings—particularly the Parliament House, which was built between 1632 and 1640.

The grant was renewed for eleven years in 1670, a privilege for which Lauderdale got a gift from the city of £5000 sterling, but soon afterwards the Town Council were induced to enter into a contract with the College of Justice and the Commissioners of Excise for Midlothian, whereby the right was restricted to six years' duration. The interest which the College of Justice had in the matter was that it claimed for its members immunity from all local taxation, and this was an indirect tax which they could not escape.

As the date of expiration drew near the City Fathers realized that their debts had not been liquidated, and that bankruptcy faced them if this source of revenue dried up, so it became a matter of urgency to get the contract rescinded, and their right to the further five years restored.

Formal resolutions were supplemented by private dealings with the authorities. On March 1, 1676, the Provost reported that he and one or two of the Magistrates, 'having solicit the Lords of Session at yr own housses, fand them verrie frank, and accordinglie did apoynt some of there number to considder the mater.'[2] Eventually the negotiations were successful, and the contract was rescinded, whereupon the Council passed 'An Act impowering the Magistrats to gratifie persones who hes bein instrumentall in procuring the prolongation of the last imposition upon aill for five yeares after Marts 1677.'[3]

The Act narrated that the loss of this lucrative branch of revenue 'would have rewined the toun in its credit and reputation, being lookt upon now as the best debtor in the kingdom,' but that 'by the dexterous and laborious deallings of some

[1] *Council Register*, vol. 28, fol. 195. [2] *Ib.* foll. 143, 144.
[3] *Ib.* fol. 176.

persones, the good toun's friends,' all parties had agreed to the removal of the restriction, 'which wes lookt upon as a work of almost ane insuperable deficultie to obtain the consents of such colective bodies.'

It then proceeded: 'The Councill being highlie sensible of so great a favour, the lyke never having formerly bein don to the said good toun in this age, nor yet the paralell extant upon record; And the Councill being fullie satisfied and convinced that a work of such import and profitable advantage for the interest of the good toun could not be caried on in its seaverall steps and circumstances without considerable expenses and charges, *in many particulars not necessarie nor possable to be mentioned*, which they find and judge reasonable to be honorablie defrayed to the satisfaction of the pairties concerned, and that in a way becoming the honor and interest of the good toun; Therefore the Councill grants and hereby gives warrand and comission to the present Lord Provost, four Bailies, Dean of Gild and Thesaurer, togither with Deacon Hamilton, to take such effectuall and speidie cours for defraying and reimbursing so necessarie expenss *without taking any writt from the receavers*, provyding the said charges and expenses doe not exceid a yeares rent of the s^d imposition.'

It will surprise no one to learn that a financial deal had to be arranged by corrupt methods, but the amazing thing is that the Corporation should engross on their minutes a formal recognition of bribery. Moreover, if they needs must bribe, one would have thought that they could have managed the business more economically than by paying twenty per cent. of the benefit to be received.

The Council did not scruple to record in black and white a particular manifestation of their gratitude. On December 8, 1676, they enacted as follows:[1] 'Considering the many signall good offices done by Sir James Dalrymple of Staire, Lord President of the Sessione, to the common weill of this city in its just concerns, which ought never to be forgotten by us nor our successors.... Therefor we ordain and appoynt our present Town Thesaurer and his successors in office to pay the house rent and maill of his Lordship and succeeding Presidents of the Session their dwelling-house within this city yearly in tyme comeing.'

In case any of his Lordship's successors should wish to take advantage of this enactment, it may be pointed out that 'this

[1] *Acts of Sederunt* (1553-1790), p. 133.

city' within the meaning of the Act includes the High Street, Cowgate and adjacent closes, but does not extend to the West End.

It is refreshing to find some traces of sound finance. In October, 1676, the Council resolved that in order to reduce the town's debt certain items of revenue were to be ear-marked for a sinking fund—namely, the shore dues at Leith, and the dues on the eleven common mills and the public weigh-houses:[1] moreover one can detect a sign of grace in the principle being laid down that no member of the Council should be tacksman of any of the town's revenues.

In the autumn of 1676 the Council adopted the policy, recommended by a committee, of letting by public roup the town's taxes and market dues, instead of managing them through their own officials.[2] The impost of £50 per tun on French wines and per butt on sack and brandy was let to Robert Mylne, Provost of Linlithgow, for 51,500 merks per annum,[3] while the impost and excise of two pence per pint upon ale and beer fetched £33,000 Scots.

The most troublesome situation with which Provost Binning had to deal arose out of a resolution of the Town Council to revive the 'weapon-shawing' by the merchants' and trades' youths on His Majesty's birthday, May 29, 1677. The Privy Council represented that these demonstrations cost at least £5000 sterling, and that on the last occasion, eleven years before, there had been fighting between the two contingents, with fatal results. The Magistrates stuck to their plan, 'thinking theirby to gain the reputation of loyalty, and to make a parade and muster during the tyme of their administration,' but they so far gave way as to order the show to be confined to the merchants, promising the trades that they should get their turn next year. This infuriated the trades, and about a hundred of their young hot-heads attacked the merchants as they were returning from a drill. The Magistrates sent for the Town Guard, six of the rioters were arrested after fierce resistance, and the disturbance was quelled for the time, but on May 18 the young traders assembled in the King's Park to the number of nearly two thousand, and the situation looked very serious. The Town Council sent Bailie Boyd and Bailie Charteris to remonstrate, but

[1] *Council Register*, vol. 28, fol. 187.

[2] *Ib.* fol. 193. [3] *Ib.* fol. 202.

the crowd was in no mood to listen. The unfortunate bailies were seized, and were not allowed to go until they signed an undertaking to release the six prisoners from the Tolbooth and to allow the trades a place in the weapon-shawing. After a hasty consultation between the Provost, Lord Linlithgow, Lord Colinton [1] and Sir George Mackenzie, the King's troop of horse was summoned and ordered to charge. The rioters then dispersed, but the trades continued to threaten violence if they were not allowed to take part in the show: 'wheirupon the Magistrats being frighted, complyed so far with their insolencies, and in a manner justified and approved them, that they pittifully past from all their former acts and proclamations, and consented the Trades youths should muster likewayes, which was look't upon by some for no act of moderation but of fear.' [2]

The Provost wrote a report on the riot to Lauderdale, who replied: [3] 'His Majesty was very satisfied with your good carriage, and commanded me to give you his hearty thanks for your care and diligence in dispersing that rude barbarous rabble.'

In recognition of Lord Colinton's services in helping to suppress the tumult the Town Council some months later resolved 'to propine [present] his Lordship with ane suite of good armour.' [4]

The Privy Council met on May 24, and again tried to induce the Town Council to abandon the show altogether, but 'the Magistrats, knowing that to discharge it was a downright reflection on their conduct, and prudence, and contrivance, delt with great earnestnesse with my Lord Chancelor and other members (whom they treated and feasted) to give way to it, and offer'd to engage their wholle estate if their should be the leist disorder committed, and brought many of the youths themselves to plead for it; and the 14 Deacons engadged themselves for their Trades.'

Fountainhall, as a Privy Councillor, was strongly prejudiced against the Magistrates, and was only too ready to attribute oblique motives to them. He says: [5] 'The deacons of trades concerning themselves in the difference did interpose, which proved so effectuall, the Magistrats durst not refuse them; for it is they who rule and influence all the elections; and he who expects ane office does not weell to disoblidge them.'

[1] Sir James Foulis. [2] Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, i. 151-5.
[3] *State Papers* (*Domestic*), 1677-8, p. 156.
[4] *Town Council Register*, vol. 29, fol. 11. [5] *Historical Notices*, i. 158.

The ceremony passed off on the appointed day without any actual disturbance. The following official account appeared in *The London Gazette*,[1] but Fountainhall discounts it by saying that 'many things ware advanced a litle beyond what was true.'[2]

'The Magistrates and Council of Edinburgh, remembring that they owed their Peace and Liberty to His Majesties Restauration, and being resolved to testifie their joyful resentment thereof, so that every year should exceed that which preceded it, in new additions of Zeal and Expence, with some proportion to the new and yearly favors which they owed to His Majesty, did unanimously ordain: That the two Companies of the Merchant Youths and Trades Youths, should for this year, make a distinct appearance from the Cities Trained Bands, and according to the Method set down by the Magistrates and Town Council, the 29 instant that happy Anniversary day was solemnized as follows:

'At ten of the Clock that morning there were several learned and pious Sermons adapted to the design of that day, which being ended, the Magistrates retired in their scarlet Robes, and other Formalities, with the Sword and Mace carried before them, to the Town-Council House: and betwixt 11 and 12 of the clock that morning, 47 old men (according to the number of His Majesties years) came in blew Gowns, from the Abby of Holyrood-House to the Cross. At one of the Clock in the afternoon, the Merchants and Trades Youths consisting of 2000 men, under two Captains and two Colours, with sixteen Companies selected out of the City Trained-Bands marched along by His Majesties Castle, and the Ensign of the Merchant Youths having flourished his Colours so soon as he came in view of the Castle, it did answer this signal with a complete round of Cannons; after which they entred the City by the Water-gate, each Captain having his compleat Armour carried before him, most of all the Officers, and many in each Company (especially amongst the Merchants) having Scarlet, and other fine Coats, all richly-laced, and bearing very rich Plumages, Scarfs, and Embroidered Belts. These being all orderly drawn up in their respective Stations upon the chief Street of the City, the Magistrates did about five of the Clock pass through a Lane of their own Guards to the Cross, the Magistrates being in their Scarlet Robes, with white Staffs in their Hands, and the Council being in rich black

[1] June 7, 1677. [2] *Historical Notices*, i. 157.

Gowns, the Sword and Mace being carried before them. The Cross was covered with rich Hangings, adorned with variety of Flowers, and with an Arbor of Orange and Lemon Trees, upon it were also placed great variety of Wines and Confections. After the Magistrates had drunk His Majesties Health, and the Health of the Royal Family (at each of which they were answered from the Castle) they did throw down among the people all the Confections and Fruits, and by several Conduits the Cross did run several sorts of Wines for many hours together. The Magistrates having descended from the Cross were saluted by the Musqueteers of each Company. And the Companies being dismissed, the people did by their Bonfires, Joy and Acclamations, testifie (almost all the night over) how happy they acknowledged themselves in living under the peaceable, and happy Government of their Gracious Prince and Dread Sovereign, whil'st the rest of the World lies bathed in bloud, and distracted by a thousand confusions.'

The Lord Provost was *ex officio* Colonel of the Edinburgh regiment of militia, and commanded it at its annual training on the Links of Leith.[1] Sir William Binning was not ignorant of martial affairs, for he had been Captain Commandant of the City Trained Bands, a regularly-drilled force of 1600 men.

As Provost he also presided at the meetings of the Convention of Royal Burghs, but no business of importance was transacted during his chairmanship.

His Provostship ended at Michaelmas, 1677, but he continued to sit as a Councillor for two years more before finally giving up municipal work. During these two years he only figures once in the records. In December, 1676, he had been authorised as Lord Provost to grant passes to merchantmen going abroad, giving protection from armed vessels belonging either to the French or Dutch, who were then at war with one another. It had been arranged by treaty with both combatants that *bona fide* British ships provided with passes should be free from search or seizure.

When Francis Kinloch succeeded to the Provostship the merchants of Edinburgh and the district petitioned the Privy Council to allow Sir William Binning to continue responsible for signing the passes, 'since he was knowen, and the present Provest was not versant in such affairs. The Councell granted it, tho their oune former act bore they should be subscryved by the Provest

[1] *Privy Council Register*, 3rd ser. iv. 343; v. 146.

for the tyme being; but this was a bafle to Francis Kinloch in the very entry of his office.'[1]

His grandson, Mr. William Binning, advocate, who wrote a manuscript history of the family, sums up Sir William Binning's record fairly: 'He gave many proofs of his great concern both for the safety and ornament of the city, the convenience of its inhabitants, and the improvement of its revenue.'

It is easy to criticise the nefarious methods by which the Council gained some of their ends: it can be pleaded in defence that he did not as Provost offend against the moral standard of his day, but his later career does not encourage the belief that he helped to raise it.

He had an annual allowance of £200 sterling 'for wines, house-rent and burgess-tickets': other sources of profit may be inferred from the preamble of an Act of Council of 1718 raising the allowance to £300.[2] It narrates 'the inconveniencies which have arisen to the Good Town, and to the office of Lord Provost thereof, from the practice of giving earnest-money at the roup of the Common Good; from the secret acknowledgments made in money, or otherwise, by persons who come into lucrative offices; and from the gratuities of the same kind, given by those who obtain feus or tacks of houses, lands, and other branches of the Town's revenue.'

Sir William Binning was only forty when he ceased to be Provost, and he then applied himself assiduously to the business of making money. His experience in the Council had suggested the great possibilities which lay in contracts with Government and with the City, but he was by no means proof against the temptations incidental to such transactions.

In March, 1679, when Holyrood was being rebuilt, he was paid £2212 16s. Scots for '29 dozain of great geasts [joists] furnished and delyvered in by him to the works.'[3]

At the end of the year 1679, when the Duke of York was in Scotland, Sir William Binning and Sir James Dick of Prestonfield made His Royal Highness a comprehensive offer to farm the whole Scottish revenues of the Crown. The proposal was declined, according to his grandson's account, owing to the

[1] Fountainhall, *Historical Notices*, i. 177; *Privy Council Register*, 3rd ser. v. 82, 259.

[2] *Historical Sketch of the Constitution of Edinburgh*, 1826, p. 51.

[3] *The King's Master Masons*, R. S. Mylne, p. 200.

machinations of the Treasurer-Depute, Lord Halton, who favoured another group of financiers headed by Robert Mylne of Barnton. However, the competition led to the revenues being exposed to roup, and though the Mylne group were the successful bidders, the services of Binning and Dick were recognised, on the Duke's recommendation, by a present from His Majesty of £500 each.

Next year he was more successful on a smaller scale. He and Sir John Young of Leny obtained a three years' tack of the City's ale tax for £33,000 Scots per annum, and of the Government's excise duty within Edinburgh and Mid and East Lothian for £35,184.[1] They formed a syndicate, including Robert Mylne, Sir James Dick, who was then Lord Provost, and Magnus Prince, who had been Treasurer when the tack was granted. This was in flagrant violation of the Council's self-denying ordinance.

The syndicate were soon involved in litigation. They began by levying two merks per boll of malt, which the brewers maintained was a higher rate than twopence per pint of ale. The Court of Session repelled this plea,[2] but the brewers then presented a petition to the Privy Council setting forth further charges of extortion and corruption against their natural enemies, in particular that they had made a 'corner' in barley, which they sold to the brewers at exorbitant rates, and that they had obtained their tack by giving a bribe of 14,000 merks to the Treasurer-Depute, Lord Halton, who was a Commissioner of Excise.

The accused were found guilty of attempted bribery, and ordered to forfeit the 14,000 merks;[3] 'and in regard the said Sir William Binnie and Robert Miln's parts, by the probation appeared to be hellish and foul, and that they prevaricated in their depositions, and that they confess they received that sum from the rest, to be given as a bribe to the Treasurer-depute, and that he refused to accept of it, and yet they keeped it up, and concealed the same as if it had been received, and made the rest believe that Halton had taken it, till after the intenting of this process; and that they had in a high measure abused and traduced the said Treasurer-depute in his same honour and reputation, being a Privy Counsellor and Officer of State;

[1] *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), June 12, 1683, and Nov. 4, 1685.

[2] *Decreets* (Durie), June 14, 1681.

[3] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, i. 190.

therefore the Secret Council, for their personal crime, fined the said Sir William Binnie in 9000 merks, and the said Robert Miln (whose house in Leith had been burnt a night or two before) in 3000 merks, and this over and above the 14,000 merks, whereof they were to pay their shares.'

Sir William Binning, in partnership with Sir Robert Dickson and Sir Thomas Kennedy, got another tack of the customs and excise for five years from 1693 at £20,300 per annum, and again got into trouble—this time because he and his partners were over-scrupulous about bribery. They objected to a charge of £2000 for wines to be given as gratuities to the Officers of State, and Dickson appealed to the King's protection. So far from getting sympathy, he was promptly charged with traducing these high officials, this 'donative' being a customary and recognised form of extortion, and he had to purge his offence by asking pardon on his knees.[1]

Whether he bribed or refused to bribe Sir William always seemed to do the wrong thing. His most notorious offence arose out of a contract, which he entered into in 1693 along with Sir Alexander Brand of Brandsfield and Sir Thomas Kennedy, to supply the Government with 5000 stands of firelocks at £1 each.[2] Brand went abroad to buy them, and wrote that 26s. was the lowest price at which they could be sold at a profit. To induce the Privy Council to give the extra price Kennedy and Binning promised Brand that they would offer a bribe of two hundred and fifty guineas to the Earls of Linlithgow and Breadalbane. In point of fact no such sums were paid to them, 'they being persons of that honour and integrity that they were not capable to be imposed on that way.'[3] Nevertheless, Kennedy and Binning disclosed the whole story in a subsequent action before the Court of Admiralty, 'to the great slander and reproach of the said two noble persons.' For the combined offences of defamation and of contriving bribery they were fined—Kennedy £800, Brand £500, and Binning £300—and were committed to prison till the fines were paid.[4]

Six years later Binning sued Brand for his share of the £1500 profit on the firelocks. Brand replied that such a dishonest

[1] *Edinburgh Merchants and Merchandise*, Robert Chambers, p. 18.

[2] *Register of Deeds* (Mackenzie), March 20, 1703.

[3] *Privy Council Register*, March, 1697.

[4] His grandson says the fines were remitted.

contract ought not to be enforced, and that Sir William Binning and Sir Thomas Kennedy were 'infamous cheats, not worthy to be conversed with, and who ought to be ashamed to show their faces in public again.'[1] The taunt received additional point from the fact that Binning and Brand had married half-sisters.

The Court held that, as Brand was equally guilty, these 'reflecting indiscreet expressions' went beyond the limits of fair pleading, so they protected Binning's reputation by fining Brand 900 merks, 'to be applied to pious uses,' and committing him to prison till he paid the fine and craved pardon of both the bench and the aggrieved parties. The result of the action was that Brand had to pay Binning £416 13s. 4d., and an appeal to the House of Lords failed.[2]

In fairness to Sir William Binning's reputation it must be recorded that he was engaged in many reputable and useful enterprises. He was one of the merchants on the Committee appointed by the Privy Council in 1681 to investigate the decline of Scotland's export trade, and to recommend amendments of the Navigation Acts and similar repressive legislation.[3] His grandson states: 'He was concerned with others in carrying on the Royal White Herring Fishery to a very great extent, and they arrived to that perfection in curing and packing, that their herrings were sold at greater prices than any others in all foreign markets. But this prosperous company was dissolved upon some political grounds to the great prejudice of the country. . . . After the Revolution he gave up much of his foreign trade, and entered into an agreement with George, 1st Earl of Cromarty, to prosecute the herring fishing at the Lewes. But there having for some time been no great plenty of herrings to be had, they dropped that project and set up a lead shot manufactory, which did not succeed.'

In 1683 he and some of his financial associates—Kennedy, Young, Prince and others—obtained from the Town a tack of the old building of Paul's Work, which they converted into a linen factory. It had originally been a religious foundation dating from 1479, and in 1619 it was rebuilt as a woollen factory where poor boys were to be educated and taught the trade. Sir William soon became sole partner, and conducted the linen business till the Revolution, 'when,' says his grandson, 'a

[1] Fountainhall's *Decisions*, ii. 191. [2] *Lords' Journals*, xix. 135.

[3] *Privy Council Register*, 3rd ser. vii. 651 *seq.*

new set of magistrates envying the success of the work endeavoured to reduce his tack upon frivolous pretences.' The litigation lasted five years, and the pleas, as the reports show,[1] were certainly frivolous, such as, that the institution was dedicated for training boys in the woollen trade, and it was therefore illegal to allow it to be used for teaching them the linen trade. The action was decided in Sir William's favour, but in 1699 he gave up his tack in disgust.

'Sir William was likewise concerned in a silk manufactory with several other merchants, which became a profitable branch of trade.... He also engaged with William Morison of Prestongrange in a glass manufactory, which failed by Prestongrange's bad management, to whom he sold his share with considerable loss.'[2]

In 1697 he became a Director of the Bank of Scotland for two years, and he supported the Darien Scheme with a subscription of £500 sterling.

He was in great request as a juror in important criminal cases. In 1681 he was on the great assize which convicted on a process of error the jury which had previously acquitted certain prisoners charged with complicity in the murder of Archbishop Sharp and the Bothwell Bridge rising;[3] and in 1683 he helped to convict William Lawrie or Weir of Blackwood for treason in befriending the Covenanters in Lanarkshire.[4] He was also on the juries which tried John, Master of Tarbet, for murdering a French Protestant refugee in 1691,[5] Sir Godfrey M'Culloch for murdering his neighbour William Gordon,[6] and Charles, Lord Fraser, for treason in the Jacobite cause.[7]

It is to be remembered that in those days service on a jury implied political allegiance to the ministry in power, who made no pretence of empanelling an impartial tribunal, least of all in political trials.

At various times between 1678 and 1704 he was a Justice of the Peace and Commissioner of Supply for Midlothian.

He was twice married. On December 27, 1662, he married Elizabeth, daughter of Laurence Scott of Bavelaw, and had a family of seven sons and three daughters. Lady Binning died

[1] Morison, *Dictionary of Decisions*, p. 9107.
[2] William Binning's MS.
[3] Cobbett, *State Trials*, xi. 91, 95.
[4] *Ib.* ix. 1040.
[5] Arnot, *Criminal Trials*, p. 157.
[6] Mackenzie, *History of Galloway*, ii. app. p. 54.
[7] Arnot, p. 76.

on December 4, 1698, and on April 28, 1701, Sir William married Mary Livingstone, daughter of George Livingstone of Saltcoats, East Lothian, and widow of Alexander Menzies of Coulterallers, Lanarkshire. She survived him, but had no family by him.

Sir William Binning died on January 7, 1711, aged seventy-three, and was buried in Greyfriars Churchyard.

Three of his sons married, and two of them had one son each, but with these the male line ended. Charles Binning, Sir William's fifth son, was Solicitor-General for Scotland from 1721 to 1725, and in 1755, when he was eighty-one years of age, he was elected Vice-Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. He lived till 1758.

None of Sir William Binning's letters or private papers seem to have survived, but the external facts of his career illustrate the municipal life of Edinburgh during one of its periods of development, and they reveal some of the methods of one of the leading Scottish financiers of his generation.

JOHN A. INGLIS.

A Journey in Belgium and Germany a Hundred Years Ago

IN the year 1814 Mr. William Anderson, of the Advocates' Close, Edinburgh, had occasion to make a journey to Saxony. It was necessary to go and return as quickly as possible. The quickest travelling then possible in this country we should not now consider rapid, and on the Continent there were peculiar difficulties. Napoleon, after his disastrous failure in Russia, had returned to France followed by the few survivors of his expedition. Wellington had driven his armies out of Spain. Russia, Austria and Prussia had leagued themselves with Britain against him and defeated him in battle after battle. In March, 1814, the Allies entered Paris. Napoleon abdicated, and was banished to the island of Elba. He landed in Elba on the 4th of May.

It was just a week later that Mr. Anderson set out on his journey from Edinburgh at five in the morning. He went by coach to London, and arrived there in time for dinner on the 14th. From his setting out till his return to Edinburgh he kept a careful and minute journal. Part of his journal was published in this Review last year.[1] The following embodies further extracts from it.

What he learned in London was discouraging.

'The various accounts I received,' he writes, 'of the length of the journey and the perturbed state of the Continent, were not at all calculated to make me anticipate any pleasure in the Excursion. The half of the population of Towns through which I must pass was reported to have been swept away by a contagious fever, still raging with unabated fury: whole districts on the same route were said to be desolated by Cossacks, Conscripts and other murderous Banditti: the Roads and communications between the Towns where the Battles had been fought, were stated to have been destroyed, and not yet re-established: every representation in short which happened to be made to me on the

[1] *S.H.R.* xi. p. 376 *seq.*

subject, was of the gloomiest character: and at this moment I would gladly have given a hundred guineas to have been allowed to return to Scotland, if I could have done so, with any credit to myself.'

However, he got a passport, in the French Language, signed by the Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, and decorated with an engraving of my Lord's Coat of Arms,

'praying and requiring, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, all Admirals, Generals, Governours, &ca., of the Princes & States, friends and Allies of his Majesty, not only to allow me to pass with my clothes & Baggage without any interruption, but also to give me any assistance of which I might stand in need in the course of my Journey.'

He paid for this Passport £2. 7s. 6d.

From London he took the coach to Dover. There he arrived cold, wet and tired to find an excessive crowd of travellers whose affairs in France or England had been stopped by the war, and who were hastening to take advantage of the peace, and many freed prisoners returning home.

He had scarcely set foot in the inn at Dover when he was, he says, 'furiously attacked by many captains of the packet boats, each of whom boisterously praised the superior excellence of his own accommodation.' On the recommendation of a French chambermaid, he decided to go by *La Parfaite Union*, Captain Mascot, who, she assured him, understood the difficult entry into the Harbour of Calais better than the Dover men, 'And besides,' added she, 'the English Captains charge a guinea, but Mascot will carry you over for half the sum.'

They were detained at Dover for two days by foul winds.

'On the morning of the 23d. of May,' he writes, 'the weather was still boisterous, but the wind being a little more favourable, we were informed by Captain Mascot that he would sail about 11 o'clock.' He was astonished to find that there were more than 100 passengers.

'In a very short time after we left the Harbour all the foreigners, both below and on deck, became mortally sick, and expressed their sufferings in the most unmanly manner. Few of the English were affected, and not in the same degree with the French and other foreign officers, some of whom were actually frantic and bellowed with pain.

'The women I could only pity sincerely, but the writhings and twistings and loud outcries of the French officers compelled me to laugh heartily, at the hazard of my life.'

He had been recommended to a certain inn at Calais. 'The moment I landed,' he writes (23rd May, 1814), 'I inquired my way to the Street of the Prison, where I found Mr. Dutent, & was mortified at the shabby appearance of the house. The Landlord however was so extremely civil, that I determined to stick by him, and he immediately went with me & got my Portmanteau cleared at the Custom house, which was not at all searched.—He then carried me before the Mayor of the City, where they imposed another passport upon me, & took an accurate account of my person, such as my age, size, colour of my hair & eyebrows, forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, visage, complexion, etc. and made me pay 3 franks for this ceremony, notwithstanding Lord Castlereaghs recommendations in the paper I got from Downing Street.—Returning to the Inn I was shewn to my bedroom, in a corner of the Court, up one pair of wooden Stairs. The door had no lock. The floor was covered with sea sand. A thing like an old Tureen was the wash hand basin. There were two chairs one without a back; and although the small Bed seemed to be quite clean, there was neither comfort nor security in the place, & I cursed Messrs. Mar & Vickery from the bottom of my heart.—I dined in a large public room, the floor of which was also covered with sand. I had three or four good little things, very well cooked, with a desert of Apples, dried fruit, & cake. This cost 1/8d. A bottle of ordinary Bourdeaux cost the same. The best Claret cost 3/4d, and for good table Beer, very like what we have in Edinr., nothing was charged.

'A person of the name of Jean Malmendier a Mill Stone Merchant from Malmedy in the 'department de l'Ourte,' had crossed with me from England, and drank his coffee at the same table at which I dined. This man's advice changed the plan of my journey, & I gave up the idea of going by Paris, resolving to proceed straight through the Netherlands.—He had been lately at Dresden, and plausibly assured me, while he drank my claret, that it was a Journey of great ease and safety.—We had now a visit from Capt. Mascot & his Mate, who called to receive payment of their freight.—I was here a little vexed to be obliged to pay a guinea, while Mr. Malmendier got off for 7 francs, but this was his Bargain, and on the Continent, particularly in France, the price of every thing should be previously agreed on. The most reputeable Innkeepers, Shopkeepers, dealers in short of every description, scruple not to ask the double or triple of what they would take, a practice unknown in Britain, except among the Fishwomen of Edinburgh whom one would think from this circumstance had received their education abroad.

'We went to the Theatre which is mean and dirty. In the pit there are no seats. On the drop scene, which was much tattered, we saw inscribed on the drawing of a pillar 'aux six Heros de Calais' meaning Eustace, St. Pierre, &ca., who offered themselves as Sacrifices to save their fellow citizens. The piece was 'Le fils Juge de son pere,' which I understood very tolerably and did not dislike the acting. The audience was scurvy. Several women of the Town dressed in an odd like uniform occupied a particular range of the high boxes. A large Chandelier suspended from the roof did not afford sufficient light to enable us to read the play Bill. We did not wait till the conclusion of the piece, but returned to Mr. Dutent's to supper, where we found him presiding at table, and serving out Soup, fish, roast veal & Salad, to a number of mean & butcher like men and women. We were obliged to join this company; but I soon left them, and withdrew to my miserable bed room.

'Next morning (24th May) Leaving the Ramparts and ditches of Calais we trotted pretty quickly by a good road, through a low country.

'At Nieppe (25th) I entertained a young Lady from Dunkirk (a fellow passenger) with a glass of Beer, which cost 3 half pence. She begged of me, in return for my attention, to take care of myself, saying that one of the Prisoners from England before we joined them at Cassel, had sworn that he would insult & kill the first British subject he met with, in revenge for the injuries he had suffered from that nation. I am sure the fellows were cowards, for from the moment I began to keep my eye on them, they did not venture upon one disagreeable observation.

'Between Nieppe and Armentiers we crossed the River *Lisse* or *Lis* which is here a deep looking Stream about 150 feet broad. They cultivate in this Country all along the Lisse great quantities of Colzat or rape, at present in yellow flower, the seed of which is crushed into oil for burning. They make great quantities of Barrel Hoops, from the large shoots of the pollarded Willows with which the Country abounds. The Rye was at present in ear, and patches of Barley in great forwardness which they were cutting for their cattle, and it appeared to be a very heavy crop. The peasantry all seemed quite comfortable, covered snugly with their blue linen frocks, which at the Necks were finely ornamented with white needlework.

'After crossing the *Canal of Douai* we were stopped at the Barrier of *Lille* about four oClock, where our passports were taken from us, examined attentively, & the substance of them copied & registered. In a short time I was set down with my luggage at the Hotel of Portugal, a House of no extraordinary merit. At the common table I found no one but a French Officer just arrived from Flushing which he told me was now *impregnable*. I was resolved to have at least a peep at this celebrated city, which like Brussels, is called 'Little Paris.' The city of Lille on the River *Deulle* is said to contain 70,000 Inhabitants, but I think this cannot be the case. The Streets are rather narrow & crooked. The Houses are large, built of Brick, painted chiefly cream colour, & highly ornamented in the old Style with Pillars & Stucco Ornaments. The *grand place* or Square, the Exchange & the Town House, are worthy of notice. I went to the Theatre, a fine capacious Building, with three rows of Boxes, besides the parterre & Slips. The drop curtain was of light blue stuff of the appearance of Satin, with gilded ornaments at the bottom, producing a rich effect. A grand Chandelier, with numerous Argand lamps suspended from the roof, in the middle of the House, gave abundance of light. The play was called 'Les Heretiers' with 'Felix, ou L'Enfant trouvé.' Every place, particularly the unseated Pit, where I stood, was crowded with Military, from all quarters of the Empire, loud & empty, recognizing & kissing each other, & rendering the performance totally unintelligible. I never witnessed such coarseness & brutality of behaviour. A poor child began to cry, which displeased these loquacious gentlemen ; & though every one of them made ten times more noise than it did, they called out imperiously 'l'enfant a la porte,' and actually drove the child and its Mother out of doors.

'At Ghent (26th May) I got into a very good Inn called the *Paradise*. This great Town is situated at the Junction of the *Lisse* and the *Scheld*. The Buildings public & private, the Squares, Market places & Quays are on a great Scale, but very old. The Towers of the Cathedral and another large Church containing admirable Bells, playing every quarter of an hour, are particularly remarkable.

'I went into the Theatre where '*Le Calif de Bagdat*' was performing. It was large, neither elegant, nor very clean. The Parterre, & the Parquet, were seated. There were three Rows of Boxes besides the Slips. They had a capital Orchestra, with 20 or 25 performers. Prussian Officers composed the principal part of this Audience, respectable men in their appearance and behaviour, very unlike the French Officers whom I met with at Lille. At supper in the Paradise we had a number of Prussian Officers, some Dutch merchants, & French & Belgian Officers in undress, descriptions of People who did not mix or amalgamate well together. The Prussians at the head of the table contrived to keep the best dishes to themselves, not allowing them to circulate among the French Belgians or Dutchmen, which somewhat altered my opinion of their politeness, especially as I likewise was excluded from a share of the delicacies. At this Inn I had an excellent Bed. The floor of the room was covered with Sand to be sure, but there was a carefully swept avenue from the door to the bed, & from the Bed to the wash hand Bason &c.— My sleep was uninterrupted, except by the exquisite music Bells of *St. Bavon*, which sometimes broke in divinely upon my repose.—

'At Brussels (27th May) I went to the *Hotel d'Angleterre*, where they have a very fine large public Room, in which, in a very short time, my dinner, or rather Supper was on the Table. They gave me Vermicelli Soup, Cabillou or *Morue*, *Coutelets*, *pigeons*, Quails, Asparagus, pastry, &ca ; and after I had a bottle of good *vin de Grave*, I was shewn into a large insulated Bed room entering from the Court, with a good clean Bed, & every thing pleasant, except the sand on the floor.

'My supper, (which would have been excellent if the Prussian Officers had been at Berlin) a pint of Rhenish, a tumbler of Gin Toddy, My Lodgings & breakfast, including a Franc for the Domestics, cost 5/- Str.—

'After Breakfast I went to inquire about the conveyance to Liege, & I was vexed to learn that the Diligence did not start till tomorrow Evening. Having secured a place I proceeded to deliver a letter from Mr. Degacher the Inn keeper at St. Omer, to a Mr. Kerr a Scotsman settled here as a Bijoutier at No. 1014, Rue de la Montagne. It was no easy matter to execute this commission. Almost every person I addressed could speak only Flemish. I thought myself lucky in meeting a Highland Soldier, but tho' he had been here three weeks he knew nothing about the Streets, saying he never quitted his Quarters, except when he went to parade, for fear of losing himself. I discovered notwithstanding, the place of Mr. Kerr's residence, after having trudged through half of the Streets, Squares, & Market places of the Town. The Streets like those of most of their other Towns, are bent & rather narrow with the gutter generally in the middle, & no side pavement.

'I found it necessary on my return to the Hotel to employ a commissionaire, & got a civil old fellow who carried me to Messrs. Dunoot & Son Bankers, on whom I had a credit from Coutts. For my draft on London of £25 Str. I only got 22 Napoleons of 20 francs, being about £18. 6/- str, suffering thereby a loss of 24 or 25 pr. cent, & had also to give a praemium for gold instead of silver crowns, with which they wished to pay me, but which I could not conveniently carry.

'On Sunday (29th May) the Whitsuntide fair was still going forward with encreased spirit, & was enlivened by the presence of a new Regiment of Belgian Horse, who seemed to be very proud of their uniforms and other equipments.—Between one & three oClock the *Parc* is the fashionable resort of the Beau monde of Brussels, & there we went accordingly. Here there were in waiting great numbers of handsome equipages, & very elegant Hackney Coaches. The walks were crowded. At least twenty different Uniforms, of all colours, were sported by the Officers. The dress of the Ladies appeared to me to be very unbecoming. They were all of low Stature, & wore very large Straw or silk bonnets ornamented with immense bouquets of all kinds of artificial flowers, & great shawls. A heavy shower put the whole to flight, & the Military run faster than the Ladies to preserve the lustre of the gold & silver frippery with which they were covered.—I dined by invitation at the mess of the 78th Regiment. Seventeen or eighteen officers were present & they treated me with every possible degree of attention. They complained that their dinner was unfortunately not so good as usual, & they certainly had some reason.—It was the worst entertainment I had seen, since I landed on the Continent.

'Passing the Town of *Overwenter* we arrived (1st June) at *Remagen*, a place with old fortifications where we stopped to dine. A number of people besides ourselves were present in the public room, and a plentiful dinner was placed on the Table. Among other things we had Eel & barbel from the Rhine. A Lady in the complete dress of a common Cossack sat next me, & it was some time before I discovered her sex. She was very beautiful, and was attended by a real Cossack who sat at Table with us, & whom she ordered to eat when he appeared reluctant. Some one of the Cossack Officers had entrusted her to this slave's care, &, as she spoke the language well I concluded that she was a Parisian Adventurer who wished to visit the Banks of the Don. We had a great deal of Rhenish wine both red & white, & went off in high Spirits. Two Germans elevated with the good fare, & the Conducteur of the Coach, vied with each other in singing drinking songs, which, altho' I did not understand much more than the repeated admonition 'drink wine, drink wine,' must have been extremely agreeable to a Bacchanalian.

'At Coblentz the first thing pointed out to us was a grand well or fountain with this inscription

AN. MDCCCXII
MEMORABLE PAR LA CAMPAGNE CONTRE LES RUSSES.
SOUS LA PREFECTURA DE JULES DOAZAN.
VU ET APPROUVE PAR NOUS COMMANDANT RUSSE
DE LA VILLE DE COBLENTZ.
LE 1er. JANVIER 1814

The sneering addition is highly relished by the Allies & their friends, & thought clever. The Town in fact was at this moment filled with Russians, & Count Orloff Denezow commanding the Cossacks, lodged in our Inn. He was, if it was really he whom we frequently saw, a grave looking, stiff, formal, stout built man of 50, in a blue Uniform, more like a Pastor & a Judge, than the Leader of such troops.

'I strolled towards the Banks of the Rhine, & found myself environed by the Troops who had marched past the window of the Inn at Breakfast time. It was now about one oClock & rained horribly. Their Artillery & baggage & themselves were so numerous that they had not nearly crossed at this hour. They were braving the Tempest without seeking any shelter though at hand; & the Regiments who had got over were standing firm on the opposite bank in the same way. The passage was effected on an immense machine composed seemingly of two great barges connected by a platform, which they support. This huge vessel swings like the pendulum of a Clock from the one side of the River to the other, the swiftness of the motion being encreased or diminished according to the strength of the current. It is fixed to an adequate support several hundred yards up the Stream by chains & cables, which rest upon & are upheld by six or seven interjacent moveable little boats. More than 700 men, perhaps a whole Regiment had embarked on this vessel when I first saw it, & it was soon flung off from its moorings having a large boat attached to it, & also swinging across under its lee, containing a Band of Music, playing a march. They were landed on the opposite side in six or seven minutes, although the Stream is 5 or 600 yards broad; and in about a quarter of an hour more, the vessel returned bringing back French Capitulants & people of the Country.

'The number & diversity of the Troops which filled this Town and its environs at this time was inconceivable, & the Inhabitants knew nothing at all about them. They were however beginning to feel a disposition to throw off the political lethargy under which they had so long laboured. They had got two newspapers of liberal sentiments, the *Rheinischer Mercur* & *Frankfurter*, which gave them some knowledge of what was going on in the world. The Westphalian Lady had the goodness to read & explain to me several Articles in these papers. The whole mass of the people here seemed to detest the French, & exult in their liberation, while at the same time they were by no means freed from their sufferings. Every description of Troops, Russians, Prussians, Poles, Cossacks, Kalmucks, Baskirs, & French returning, annoyed the Inhabitants of the Town & the Country; & it was mentioned to me by Traders that untill all those Troops were gone, & untill proper regulations were established, that no merchant would consign any goods into these Countries. At this time, such were the prohibitions on Mercantile intercourse that Muscovade Sugar was selling here at 6 franks per pound, & coffee of the Colonies at the same rate; while in other places not distant, these articles did not yield a fifth part of these prices. The inconsiderate & illjudged oppressions of Bonaparte & his Generals commanding in the new departments, or Countries in the temporary occupation of his Troops, had totally ruined a number of the best established Houses. The conscription had either carried into the army or dispersed the Clerks & Apprentices. The pressure of the war had always fallen heaviest on the Merchants, either by requisitions of money or goods; & in consequence of all these things the links of the great mercantile chain throughout Europe were broken, the Communications were stopped in a great many places, & a general want of confidence prevailed in these districts, evils which the absence of foreign Troops, a general peace & some length of time, can alone remove.

'In the morning of June 2 the public room was filled with Russians and their subject allies; at dinner time we had a number of Prussians, & at the Supper Table we had six or seven French Officers belonging to the Garrison of Magdeburgh. This variety was very amusing. These Officers said without disguise that they were so much alarmed for the Cossacks, that they would not travel Post, but preferred to march on foot all the way with the Garrison. They said they had been very badly used on the Road;—that although they had got orders on Villages for Lodgings & bread that the Peasants would not comply with these Orders nor the magistrates enforce them; that even their sick were obliged to ly on the ground in the Streets, without straw & victuals, & that although they, the Officers, offered to pay for bread, the Peasantry refused to sell it. They said that their commanding General had made six sorties during the blockade of the place, which they considered absolutely unnecessary & blameable, as they could be attended with no good result; while they had at the same time too few Soldiers to man the Works. When the Gazettes or Newspapers announcing the dethronement & abdication of Napoleon were sent to them by the Allies, they believed that they were forgeries. Their opinion now was that they were to have peace with all the World but England. They admitted her generosity & disinterestedness in restoring their Colonies, which was at this time talked of; but the dominion of the seas, the monopoly of Commerce, & *delenda est Carthago*, were words & phrases which they had got by rote, & all the ideas connected with them, created in their minds & fostered by the Emperor, continued to flourish with undiminished rancour against Great Britain.

'At St. Goar there is a very good Inn. I entertained the *Conducteur* with a little Bottle of very good white wine; and here a Lady entered the Carriage accompanied by a beautiful young Girl, the first as a Traveller, the latter to escort her friend only to the outskirts of the Town. This young Lady was very entertaining; & I was surprised to remark the thankful & warm gratitude with which she wished to repay any little civility on my part; so unlike a saucy English woman, or a prim Scots Miss, who consider themselves entitled to every attention on the Road, without returning the slightest acknowledgement to their fellow Travellers.

'At Botler (June 7) they had a large box to receive contributions for 'the unfortunate sufferers of Botler' & I gave them half a crown without reluctance because I witnessed the necessity of the case to a certain extent. The loss however in point of magnitude was extremely trifling. I do not think the number of houses & families burned out exceeded fifty, & such houses as a beggar would scarcely inhabit. The Post house alone, & the wooden building which had escaped the flames were of any value, and I am sure that the whole damage would not amount to £1,000 Str. Yet in the English Newspapers, accounts from Germany announced the destruction of this beautiful village, as one of the greatest calamities of the war, & the circumstance was held out by the German beggars in London as one of the most powerful motives to induce the People of Great Britain to part with their money.

'Every body has heard of the great fairs which are held at Leipzig to which Merchants from every Nation in Europe resort in numbers. There are three of these fairs in the course of the year, of which that of Easter is the most important & best frequented. It begins three Weeks after Easter, & sometimes lasts till near Whitsunday. The Fair of St. Michel or Michaelmas Fair, begins on the first Sunday after the 29th of Septr, & lasts about three weeks. The Fair of the New Year which is the least important of all, begins on the first of January & likewise lasts about three Weeks. Properly speaking the duration of these Fairs is only one week, but during the Week before & the Week after each, a great deal of business is done. Bookselling is one of the principal branches of Trade at these fairs, & you are always sure to find an immense number of Works, ancient & modern heaped up in their Warehouses of Literature.

'Leaving Leipzig (June 11) our Carriage was a sort of Gig drawn by two horses. The Road was very good, but the Postillion a sleepy, lazy rascal made slow progress. Not far from the Grimma Gate stands the *Potence*, on which some daring Leipziger suspended an effigy of Bonaparte on the second day of the great battle. All along for several Miles, the Houses & Villages were more or less injured, but the buildings were as bad as can be imagined, all built of wood, & have either been very rapidly rebuilt & repaired, or had not been utterly consumed & destroyed as represented in Britain. Every thing in the way of Agriculture was looking very well. I remarked that the Peasants were planting potatoes at this late period of the season, but in very small quantities. This excellent root does not appear to be a favourite on the continent.

'On the left we saw *Taucha* situated upon a height, a Village particularly noticed in the History of the battle. We stopped at the Village of *Porstorff* on the Partha, a place celebrated for the excellence of its apples, where Mr. Hopffgarten entertained me with ale & rye bread, which is universally used in Germany. I did not at all like it, as well on account of its brown, dirty colour, as a sourness in its taste. They commonly feed their Horses with great quantities of this bread. Our Postillion regaled himself & his horses with slices off the same loaf.

'At Meissen (June 12) the Inhabitants are principally Lutherans & have two grand churches besides the Cathedral, one in the higher part of the Town and another more magnificent one in the lower part. We visited each of these Churches. They were both quite full of People chiefly Women; the greater part of whom wore for their head dress a heavy Polonese Bonnet of black Bear skin, with a large gilt knob or Tassel on the Top. Both of these Churches had organs and splendid altar pieces. That in the lower part of the Town had a number of boxes for the higher classes, glazed in, which had a good effect though somewhat incompatible with the equality of the Christian reformed religion. These Churches were seated like ours; but neither in point of cleanness nor magnificence do they bear the least resemblance to the Churches of the Roman Catholics. Taking away the Organs, the Tunes & mode of singing their psalms were very like the best we have in Edinburgh. We now travelled along the right Bank of the Elbe clothed with Vineyards, Corn, Woods, Country houses, & Villages. The River embellished the scene, presenting at every reach a number of Vessels in full sail.

'At a Village hereabouts we saw a marriage party coming out of Church. The women, all powdered, accompanied the Bride in procession & the men adorned in the same manner followed the Bridegroom; but how the ceremony was to be finished, I cannot tell. They were common Labourers, & seemed to be very happy.

'Mr. Hopffgarten informed me that all the peasantry & Labourers of Saxony eat flesh twice a week or oftener, & have always abundance of vegetables of all kinds, & good bread & beer; that they are, as I saw, perfectly well clothed and not unfrequently enjoying themselves in the Public Houses; that the Country in short is plentifully supplied with every necessary of life, & consequently that the Population is great. It is true that when the French & the other armies ravaged the Environs of Dresden & Leipzig, many of the Peasantry were maltreated, & a few individuals actually died of famine, because what they had was taken from them in consequence of the pressing necessities of the Soldiers, & they were not immediately enabled to withdraw from those scenes of devastation; but this lasted no longer than the presence of the hostile armies. Every thing soon flowed in its common course, & our accounts of the distress of these people must have been highly exaggerated. Our subscriptions therefore appear to me to have been quite unnecessary. They were solicited through the medium of some Germans of consideration to save themselves, & that too in the most debasing terms of supplication; but on the Continent beggary is a system inculcated from Childhood, as every Traveller may see from Calais to Dresden. More universal, & as poignant distress must have recently been felt in Scotland, occasioned by selling the Furniture of the poor, for payment of their Taxes, than has been experienced in Germany from the partial presence of the Combatants. No subscription however was ever thought of to alleviate these sufferings at home. A poor Family stripped of all it possesses by the Officers of its own government, must surely entertain as resentful feelings against these Officers & their Employers, as they would against a foreign enemy who might happen to pillage them to the same amount. It is shamefully impolitic to throw away our money for the relief of people abroad, when we have so much distress at home to provide for, and that too among People whom the difficulties of Government obliged them to train to arms.'

Mr. Anderson reached Dresden on 12th June, and set out on his homeward journey on the 17th. He returned by a different route, crossing France instead of Belgium.

'If I had not been frequently accustomed to the sight, the long Spears of the Cossacks, the trampling of their horses, and their irregular advance, all appearing indistinctly between us & the departing rays of light, would have been somewhat alarming. We met about fifty or sixty of these Stragglers at various places, when it was almost completely dark, pushing after their companions whom we had left at Naumburgh & Weisenfels; but they were perfectly obliging, making way for the Carriage, & touching their caps as they passed. I would rather have encountered a thousand of these poor fellows, than one smart Gentleman of the Road on his blood Gelding in the vicinity of London. For the last twelve miles of the Stage it was perfectly dark, without Moon or Stars, & we did not meet one Carriage or a single Soul the whole way. It was nearly twelve o'Clock when we got to *Weimar*. All the people belonging to the Inn were in bed; notwithstanding which in less than ten minutes, I had a very excellent Supper put on the Table, in a more comfortable Bed room, than any I had seen at the smaller places on the Road since leaving England.

'On Saturday morning the 18th of June I left Weimar.[1]

'At the first toll bar after Erfurt the Postillion passed me off for an English Courier—Couriers pay nothing, & the Driver told me that I had thus saved 6 Groshen 8 fennings; of which sum it appears I had accordingly cheated the Subjects of his Prussian Majesty. The same thing was repeated at another toll; & the Vagabond insisted on being paid the half of what had been thus saved by way of praemium. I lent a deaf ear to his entreaties & representations, alleging that I did not understand him, which was partly the case. I was the more inclined to refuse him any extraordinary allowance, as he first took up two blackguard looking Lads who were going to hunt, & afterwards, what was much worse, he placed beside me in my little Carriage an old Saxon Woman who was going to Gotha to sell eggs. On the way, we met a fine Regiment of Russian Lancers on horseback, with little flags at the end of their spears, & all wearing green boughs in their helmets, & singing national warlike airs. We next fell in with another Regiment of Russian horse, & many troops of Cossacks. The whole Road in fact was covered with different Corps of Russian Cavalry.'

On the morning of 26th June he reached Paris. 'I intended by a great effort to visit the Church of *Notre Dame* before dinner, but was arrested by the *Palais Royal*, certainly a very odd place. It is an oblong Square about 200 paces long & 100 broad, with terrace walks, lined with 8 Rows of lime Trees, furnished with an immense number of chairs for the convenience of those who frequent the place. It is surrounded with lofty buildings 4 or 5 Stories high, & a broad covered way or Piazzas goes round the whole Square. This little square in the centre of Paris almost, is the focus of every thing that is profligate in the French Empire, &

[1] Goethe, now sixty-five, and engaged in publishing his Collected Works in twenty volumes, had in 1814 been settled in Weimar for thirty-eight years. Mr. Anderson's friend, 'Mr. Walter Scott, Advocate,' had published his translation of *Goetz* in 1799. But our traveller, highly accomplished in most things that interested his Scottish contemporaries, records his short stay at Weimar without a sign that he has ever heard of Goethe's existence.—A. M.

to an idle man affords an eternal round of all sorts of amusement. There is no such other place in the whole world. In London & other cities there may be as great wickedness & folly & luxury, scattered & spread over the whole extent of the place, but in the Palais Royal they are compressed into one point, & reign paramount to every other consideration. This place was formerly the Garden of the Palace of the Duke of Orleans, & there was a report that to oblige the virtuous Louis who now reigns, the present Duke intended to remove all these abominations, which disgrace the vicinity of his princely mansion. It was quite fair, & this was the first summer day they had had at Paris this season, but the water flowing from the fountains into the Kennel, which is in the middle of the Street, soon becomes perfectly abominable; & being splashed about on all sides by the horses feet, & the wheels of a thousand Fiacres, & Cabriolets, it is impossible to avoid being bespattered with the filth. Add to this, there is no flagged pavement on either side, so that the foot passenger is compelled to travel along on the causeway, which slopes from the walls of the houses into the gutter, and is often obliged to escape into a shop to save himself from being squeezed to death by a Cart or a Carriage.

'My first object in the morning of Monday the 27th of June, was to secure a place in the diligence from Paris to London, & as soon as I rose I repaired to the *Rue Notre Dame des Victoires*, from which I was told it started. I was here grieved to find that every place was taken till the 29th of June at 12 oClock, & I got the 6th place in the *Voiture* which set out at that hour. My place cost me 110 francs.

'My friends carried me to the museum at the Louvre, where we first went into the low Rooms containing Statues, Busts, & Bas reliefs consisting principally of what they called the 'fruit of the conquests' made by their Armies in Italy. Agreeably to the treaty of *Tolentino*, these fine remains of antiquity were selected at the Capitol & at the Vatican, by Berthelemy, Bertholet, Moitte, Monge, Thouin & Tinet. These rooms thrown almost into one are denominated '*La Galerie des Antiques du Musée*.' The Statues of Venus (that imaginary Goddess of Love) ever since the early days of Greece, have held the highest rank. That Statue 'which enchants the world' is here, the Venus called '*La Venus de Medicis*.' I went prepared to admire, but could not, so great is the misfortune of not being a man of taste, nor an artist. This statue (No. 123 of the Catalogue) is very indistinctly described. It is said to be executed in Parian marble of the finest quality; that it was first shewn at Rome in the Garden of the Medicis, & afterwards placed in the Gallery at Florence. The figure is small, the marble is vilely discoloured, & every part is disfigured by modern amendments. The head, separated from the Body is badly replaced; in the same way, the arms are re-organised, the joinings being too palpable; the thighs are broken, as well as the legs, & the ancles. Three or four plugs of Marble, of a brighter colour than that of the body of the statue, penetrate & support the divine hips of the Goddess;—& on the whole it is impossible for any body, but a rapturous Amateur & artist, to fall in love with these *beaux debris* of this celebrated Image. If an opinion durst be hazarded, I would say that it was not the real Venus de Medicis, & certainly it is not like any cast of that statue which I have ever seen. Exposed to every censure, I simply state what I felt. The catalogue says it was the work of *Cleomenes* an Athenian, which is marked in Greek characters on the plinthe of the Statue, but it is admitted that this inscription is modern. We were told in the same way by the catalogue that 'La France a du l'Apollon aux victoires de Napoleon, pendant sa premi̇ère Campagne d'Italie;—sa *munificence* a valu aux arts ce second chef-d'oeuvre.' I never exactly heard what they meant by this munificence, excepting that the one as well as the other was carried off by force of arms. The Picture which of all others most attracts the attention & admiration of the Parisians, is No. 85 of the Catalogue which we got here, being 'Cambat memorable, du 24 frimaire an 7, de la corvette francaise la Baionnaise armée de 24 Canons de 8, commandee par le Capitaine Edmond Richer, prenant a l'abordage la Fregate anglaise L'Embuscade, portant 40 Canons dont 26 de 16.' This is a subject of great exultation to the French. My Friends, from an excess of politeness, thinking the subject would be painful to my feelings, did all they could in the most artful way, to prevent me from looking at the picture; but I was by no means affected in the manner they supposed. I recollected the accidental capture of the Ambuscade, which was principally owing to the revolt of a great part of the Crew who were united Irishmen.

'I went into a great number of their shops, & Coffee Rooms, & as I was not to dine till past six, I took this opportunity of looking at a few more of their eating Houses, and at length fixed *A la Salamandre*, *Palais Royal*, *Galerie Montansier*, No. 44.

I tasted here by way of lunch *Boeuf au choux*, and *langue de veau aux petits pois*, both of which were exquisitely dressed and I almost regretted my engagement to dinner. I ordered a Bottle of Beer or ale, which was remarkably clear and tolerably strong, being very brisk at the same time. I had also several glasses of *vin chably première qualité*, a weak cheap white Wine, which I liked extremely ; and for all this I was charged as follows :

	f.	s.
Pain - - - - - -	—	4
Vin chably, et Bierre - -	1	5
Boeuf aux choux - - -	—	10
Langue, aux petits pois - -	—	12
	2	11

No man could wish for a better dinner, & in this most expensive district of Paris the price was exactly as above stated, being just 2/1½ str. Omitting the wine & the Tongue, the charge would have been 7½ ; and if a person can dine on a large loaf of the finest Bread, a complete platefull of excellent Beef & Cabbage, & a full quart of pretty strong ale, he may do so every day of the year for the trifle I have mentioned. If he chuses to give 2d. to the waiter and indulge in a large Bumper of Cognac, his dinner will be handsomely paid for with a shilling sterling ; nor would there be any necessity always to call for Beef & Cabbage, as the House affords twenty or thirty other good dishes equally cheap, besides half a dozen of Soups which cost 4d. per bason. It is also to be recollected, that this place bore no resemblance to the shabby Beef à la mode & Chop Houses in London, where Clerks, & Journeymen Tailors, and Gentlemen's Servants on board wages, regale at a cheap rate. The rooms were large & light, & splendidly furnished, attended by many well dressed waiters, & the Company at the different little Tables were quite genteel.

'On 29th June, exactly at 12 o'clock, we set out from Paris.

'On the 30th we arrived at the great Town of *Amiens* on the River *Somme* at eight oClock. We breakfasted here, & met with several English families travelling towards Paris. The King of Prussia & his son passed through at the same time, on their way from London. After breakfast we visited an inconsiderable Church hung with black, where they were performing a funeral service for Louis XVI, a most ridiculous ceremony and highly impolitic, in so far as it conveyed a direct censure on many people at present high in office, who had voted for his death. We then visited the great Cathedral Church which is very large, beautifully ornamented and its spire is fully four hundred feet high. We were told that it was built by the English while they governed in this part of France. The swarms of Beggars of the most abominable & audacious description which infested this Town were unequalled in any part of the Continent through which I had travelled. They seemed to be encouraged, rather than checked by the police, & if they got nothing they insulted you with the most abusive language & grossest gestures.'

A fellow-passenger in the Diligence here was a French Captain, who, says Mr. Anderson, 'afforded a sad specimen of Napoleons army. He was a tall handsome young man, who had been besieged in Glogau, where the Garrison was reduced to great distress for want of provisions. He shewed us an order on the Commissary dated 22d. Decr. last, for 4 oz of fresh horse flesh for his Christmas dinner. He told us that the clothes he wore had been furnished to him by a very honest woollen draper at Glogau, & that he had given him his address in full payment, 'for' added he 'it will never now be possible for me to give him any thing else.' He extolled the quality of the cloth & the civility of the Shopkeeper. He said that during the blockade, he was ordered to go out of the Garrison to seize on some sheep in a penn in the suburbs, which belonged to a Lady with whom he was acquainted & who had behaved to him with particular hospitality & politeness. When he told her his errand she entreated that her sheep might not be carried off, & offered him 60 francs in their stead. He held out his hands for the money, put it into his pocket, & at the same moment commanded his men to drive away the Animals. The English Lady who was listening to this horrible story, exclaimed 'Ah thou villain!' The Frenchman quite at his ease, replied 'Villain Madame, by no means; General Laplanne did the same things; & when I gained only 60 francs, he was making 60,000. Madame, I had not seen so much money for a long time. It was a happy moment. Oh! I should like to be a General of division for six months.' These were his very words, delivered without any feeling of shame; & at the same time, this man was extremely accommodating pleasant & well informed. He told us a number of anecdotes of the same nature; and said that the thing which shocked him most in the course of his travels, was to see the Emperor shamefully caricatured at

Dresden. Now I had seen these same caricatures, & they were quite tame & inoffensive, when compared with ours in Britain. It is a great proof of the power of Bonaparte's Party, that nothing of the kind existed in France. In Paris, there were hundreds of abusive pictures of Cambacerès, Regnaud St. Jean d'Angely, & others who had been dismissed from office, & of the English in general, but no pencil had ventured to vilify the great Napoleon.

'We left Montreuil at half past twelve o'clock & passing through *Cormont*, we arrived at *Samer* about three oClock in the morning of Friday the 1st of July. At half past five we reached *Boulogne sur mer*. This Town is situated at the mouth of the small River *Lianne*. It is divided into the high & the low Town. We breakfasted at an Inn in the latter, where the French Officer left us. We walked up through the high Town, where we had a fine view of the sea & the Road-stead, where the paltry Flotilla of the Emperor had been stationed. The wooden work of the great projected Tower is still standing. Its appearance from the sea when I passed at Dover was striking, seen from the Land here it is nothing; but Bonaparte had determined to erect an immense stone building on this spot, from the top of which he might have the pleasure of looking over the straits into England. A great proportion of the stone work is laid down & prepared.

'At 12 o'clock on 1st July we reached Calais. After dinner we walked to the end of the long wooden pier, where there were a number of British transports lying to receive some of our Troops from the South of France. We here entered into conversation with a genteel, thinnish man in black, whom I suspected to be Mr. Cochrane Johnston. He told us he had just been dining in company with one of the Prince of Eckmuhls commissaries at Hamburgh, by whom he had been informed that the Prince (Davoust) had threatened to order him to be shot if he did not produce 150,000 francs in an hour. He also said that the Commissary informed him that £500,000 str. had been taken from the Bank of that city all of which went to pay the Troops, & that no part of it was pocketed by Davoust. Walking along the Pier we saw upwards of one hundred & fifty young *poissardes* returning from digging bait on the sands, all very pretty, very well dressed and bare to the knee. The Girls of Picardy in general were prettier than those of any other French district through which I had passed. They are however accounted to be rather silly, & it is said of a Picard, that if you tell him his house is on fire, he will answer 'it is impossible, because I have the key in my pocket.'

'At Dover we saw in the Harbour the Royal Sovereign Yacht, a splendid but clumsy vessel, which had carried over the King of France, & which had just arrived for the purpose of conveying Blucher to Calais. We had a very good dinner at the Paris Hotel & set out about half past four o'Clock in a four Horse Coach for Canterbury.'

He arrived in London on the morning of 3rd July. 'After breakfast I walked through the entry at St. James' Palace into Pall Mall, & in passing a court many people were looking at three Gentlemen smoking. One of them was the renowned *Blucher* apparently not above 60 years of age though he is said to be much older. He was dressed in black with mustachios, & very good naturedly exhibited himself to the Spectators. His appearance was a little savage owing merely to the *Costume* of his face, which is common to almost all the Prussian Officers, of whom I saw so many on the Continent. Every print I have seen of him is like the man, but the artists have thrown more of the savage Hero into the picture than the reality allows. I confess I saw him only in the dress of a private Gentleman, & if a Soldier is stripped of his feathers & Epaulets, and other ornaments, he certainly sinks considerably in the Estimation of the vulgar. It was nearly nine o'Clock before I got to my lodgings at the White horse, where I met with a gentleman from Paris, who would talk of nothing but *La Belle Limonadière au café des mille colonnes* at the Palais Royal, & assured me upon his word, that Bonaparte when he went to Battle always sung as well as he could '*Malbrouk s'en vat en guerre*' &c. The entertainment at supper was poor & dear, & I had no worse bed in the whole course of my journey, than I met with at this Inn.

'On the morning of Monday the 4th July we left Fetter Lane in the Highflyer about half past six . . . and on Friday the 8th of July . . . reached Edinburgh about nine o'clock.'

Scotstarvet's 'Trew Relation'[1]

[P. 21] *Reasons against the infeftments granted to the Erle of Lauderdales father and grandfather.*[2]

1. The infeftment granted on the dimission of the Master of Gray as abbot of Dumfermlin is null the master not being laufullie provyded abbot be dimission or deprivation of the incumbent but be the contrair Henry Pitcarne was standing laufull abbot for the tyme and continued so many yeirs after. 2° altho the m^{r} of Gray had been laufullie provyded abbot yet he could not dilapidat his benefice & dispone the lo[rdschip] of Mussilburgh & others to the E[rles] grandfather in prejudice of the kirk. 3° the other infeftments granted to the chancellour's lady and sone anno 1583 upon his awin resignation was null he having no laufull infeftment of before qhilk could be the ground of any such resignation and our dearest father having no power be the act of annexation to grant any such new infeftments for the reasons befor deduced, and as to the last infeftment granted to his father the samyn is null not only for the reason above rehersed but also was granted *ex falsa causa suppressa veritate, falsitate expressa* for qheras it beares relation to the infeftments granted to his predecessours the samyn could be no trew nor valid ground of granting the last infeftment being null for the reasons above specifeit and lykwise our dearest mother Q[ueene] Anne was be an heretabill infeftment proceding upon ane dimission of Abbot Pitcarne laufully & heretabilly infeft in the haill lo[rdschip] of Dumfermling comprehending the lordschip of Mussilburgh *per*

[1] Continued from *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xii. p. 183.

[2] The docking of the manuscript has cut away the upper half of 'and grandfather,' but enough remains for those words to be read. John Maitland, second earl (afterwards Duke) of Lauderdale, born at Lethington 21st May, 1616, receives a full share of Scotstarvet's ill word about him in the *Staggering State of Scots Statesmen*, ed. Rogers, p. 45. 'And albeit his estate was great' (wrote Scot, *circa* 1652-60, when Lauderdale was a prisoner in the Tower) 'by the conquests of his grandfather, yet it is well known at this day that if all men were paid their lawful debts there would be little or nothing left thereof.'

expressum and be vertue therof our umqhill dearest mother and we being infeft as air to her were in peaceable possession of the sds lands & lo[rdschips] be the space of 50 yeirs and swa had undoubted rycht therto notwithstanding the sd two pretended infeftments granted to him and his predecessor qhilk right is no ways mentioned but supprest as it had never bein *in rerum natura* but be the contrare makis only mention of a lyfrent chartour granted to our dearest mother qheras she was heritor of the sd abbacie be vertue of the sd infeftment cloathed with continuall possession since and ratified in parl[t] anno [ ].

2. Albeit the infeftments granted to the erle & his predecessors might have bein in law found more valid than the infeftment granted to our dearest mother yet it is manifested *falsum* that then was resting to the sd erle the bygone rents of the sd lo[rdschip] for many yeirs intrometted with by us qhilk bygone rests are the ground & motive qherfore we were induced to grant the forsd new right because we being *bona fide* possessors and having medled with the sd byrun rests be vertew of our infeftment cloathed with so long possession in no law or reason could we have bein subject to the sd byrun rests Lykeas the sds infeftments would not only have defended us from the bygone rests but in tyme coming untill they had bein reduced.

3° the sd former infeftments albeit hereby the erle might have pretended right as he could not to the bygone rests yet in swa farre as therby he could pretend any right to the superiority and entry of vassalls the samyn were surrendred be him for himself and in name and behalff of his sone in the generall surrender and declared null be the act of parl[t] 1633. Lykeas the forsd resignation necessarly imports a tacite passing fra and renunciation of all bygone rests alledgit auchtand be us there being no reservation of the samyn in the generall surrender, and farder be the surrender it is manifest that the sd erle reserved to himselffe no right at all to the lo[rdschip] of Mussilburgh nor to the few maills fewfermes or rents therof bygone or in tyme coming there being only a reservation to the surrenders of the few maills few fermes ay & qhill they receive satisfaction in maner therin contened and expresly therin provyded that they sould brooke & possesse the sds few maills and few fermes be vertue of there pretended rychts and infeftments of the samyn ay & qhill they ressave satisfaction as sd is, but swa it is that the tyme of the sd surrender the sd erle brooked no new fermes or few maills at all of the sd lo[rdschip] of Mussilburgh be vertue of any infeftment qhatsumever bot be the contrair they were peaceably bruicked be us and our umqhill dearest mother and consequently any pretended old title he had therto was purely & simply surrendred without any reservation in favours of the sd umqhill erle.

4° the pretended ratification granted to the sd umqhill erle in parl[t] of the forsd infeftment aucht to be reduced *in consequentiam* as being granted of a null right and swa null in the selffe and can nether prejudice our right nor the vassals right of the sd lo[rdschip] qho were not called therto and swa it is *salvo jure cujuslibet* Lykeas the samyn ratification was privatly purchased Lykeas the infeftment of bailzierie granted to the sd Erle of Dumfermlin is null as being granted be the m[r] of Gray qho had no right and is prescryved we and our predecessors and the Erle of Dumfermling having right fra him being long above 40 yeirs in possession notwithstanding therof: and sicklyke the old bailzierie of Mussilburgh and the erection of a regalitie in Mussilburgh granted to the Erle of Lauderdales predecessors are null for the reasons before deduced against regalities qhilk is here repeated and as being against our act of parl[t] anno 1633 Item the tack commission & bailzierie lately granted to the Erle of Dumfermlin is null for the reasons following first the tack called for sett to him of the dait above writtin is an assedation of our propertie without lawfull dissolution and in diminution of our rentall and is in effect a free gift of our propertie and an alienation of the few ferme belonging therto contrare to the generall lawes above writtin and in manifest prejudice of the vassals qho if any unlawfull tack were not granted would be comptable to our treasurer & exchecker and yet such discharges of there bolls & pryces as is in use to [be] given to the rest of the vassals Lykeas the sd tack is null becaus upon ane supplication upon sindry important reasons presented be Sir Jon Scot against the passing of the sd act in exchecker the commissioners of exchecker be there act daited the 5 Jan. 1642 ordained that the sd tack sould naways passe qhill Sir Jon were acquainted therewith and heard for our entress and the vassals of Dumfermlings entress qhilk was not done and therfore the sd tack as being surreptitiously carried throw aucht no ways to be respected seing the sds vassals conceived themselffs to be *in tuto* be the sd act of exchecker And last all sindry the forsds chartours infeftments and securities above writtin at leist some ane or other of them are false and fenzied in themselffs forged fabricated invented & devysed be the forsds persons defenders there authors and predecessors as our sd advocat is informed and therfor offers to improve the samyn civillie & sufficientlie *per testes insertos et omni alio modo quo de jure* qhilk being done the forsds persons forgers feyners & devysers therof sould be punished in there persons guids & geir with all rigour in example of uthers conforme to the lawes etc and therfor all & sindry the sd pretended chartours infeftments etc aucht, and sould be reduced etc and in lyke maner it aucht to be found & declared that we have good & undoubted right to all & sindry the forsd lands etc and that the sds vassals auch & sall be vassals to us and that all chartours past be vertew of these pretended ryghts & all services & retoures not retoured to our chancellarie declared to be null *ipso facto* and the receivers therof ordained to take new chartours holden of us be way of signatour and all services laufully led to be retoured to our sd chancellarie aswell for the tyme bygone as in tyme coming acording to justice *in communi forma* dated the 19 June 1647.

When this processe was readie to be dispute in the inner house the lords produced the kings letter discharging them to goe on in that processe qherupon they obtened the act of parliament following—

[P. 22] [1] the [26] March 1647 the estats of parl[t] taking to consideration the petition of Jon E[rle] Lauderdale shewing that the parl[t] had bein pleased to imploy him abroad in the publick affairs of the kingdom seing that he may not remane in the same for his awin necessare affairs but most repaire to England to attend the forsd imployment and therfor desyring warrand to the lords of session and exchecker and all other judges within the kingdome that they nor none of them proceed in any action or processe persewed against the supplicant and that the llo. [*i.e.* lords] of exchecker passe no signatoures nor precepts nor receive any resignations qherin he may be concerned or prejudged during his absence furth of the king-

[1] About six words here half guillotined away and illegible. The act of parliament here quoted is the act 1647, cap. 372. Collation with the text of the act as edited in the Record (Thomson's) edition of the *Acts Parl. Scot.* (vol. vi. part i. p. 782) reveals many slight variations, mostly of mere spelling, though some are verbal. The record text gives authority to 'haveing taken' instead of 'taking'; 'abroade' following 'kingdome' instead of following 'him'; 'sua' instead of 'seing'; 'this kingdome' instead of 'the kingdome'; 'processe or action' instead of 'action or processe'; 'quhill' instead of 'till'; 'upon the sd Erle of Lawderdaill' instead of 'upon him'; and 'desire abonewritten of his supplicationne' instead of 'desyre above mentioned, etc.'

dome but to stay the same till his returne and if any thing be done be any judicatory to the supplicants prejudice that the parl[t] would be pleased to declare the samyn voyde as the supplication beares The sds estates of parl[t] finds the forsd desyre above mentioned just and reasonable and therfore in respect of the imployment put by them upon him they do hereby grant the desyre abovementioned etc.

Notwithstanding of qhich act Noll Cromwell was moved for maintainance of the college of Glasgow to grant to them the superiorities of all the bishopricks of Galloway Tonglands Whittorne & Glenluce.[1]

[1] This is a very partial statement of the case. What Cromwell did was a natural sequel of the act of Charles I. in November 1641, who made by signature and charter of mortification, the original grant of which the confirmation by Cromwell is here criticised. The deed of Charles I. dissolved 'All and sindrie the foirsaid fewmailles fewfermes teynds teynd dueties and otheres mentionat in the said signatour from his Majesties croune and patrimony therof and fra the bishoprike of Galloway abbacy of Tungland priorie of Whithorne abbacy of Glenluce and fra all other benefices whatsomevir,' and disponed and transferred them to the University and College of Glasgow. This grant was ratified by the Scottish Parliament immediately afterwards (*Acts Parl. Scot.* 1641, cap. 230, vol. v. p. 477). Some protests were taken by objectors (see *Acts Parl. Scot.* v. 577, 582, 586). The 'Ordinance' under Cromwell's administration, dated 8th August, 1654 (*Acts Parl. Scot.* vi. part ii. p. 831), repeated the grant and was confirmed by charter under the great seal on 17th November, 1654 (see further, Coutts' *History of the University of Glasgow*, pp. 99-135).

(*To be continued.*)

The Sharp-witted Wife[1]

(*A' Chailleach Bheur*).

THIS old wife, *Beura* or *Bheura*, whose name means 'shrill, sharp, cutting,' is probably of Irish origin. She is associated with places along the whole west coast of Argyllshire, each district claiming her as a native, and pointing to the spots she frequented. Sometimes the *Beur* wives are spoken of in the plural number, as staying in lochs and among rushes, and as having been very dangerous to come near. A tall reed found beside lochs is called 'the distaff of the Bera wives,' and a species of flag or water-plant 'the flag,' and sometimes 'the staff' of the same sarcastic dames.

The word *beur* is not in ordinary use. It is applied to a razor in the expression:

> 'Like a razor keen and cutting,'

and to a woman, who uses bitter and piercing words, in Ross's 'Ode to the Toothache':

> 'Many a sharp, satiric old wife
> and sportive hussy,
> Require to have their jaws and gums,
> Grievously afflicted.'

On the lands of Knock in Mull (*an cnoc Muileach*), at the point of *Sròn na Crannalaich*, near Loch Ba, there is a well, reputed to be 'The Well of Youth.' Thither Bera went regularly at 'the dead of night,' before bird tasted water or dog was heard to bark, and by then drinking from it kept herself always at sixteen years of age. At last, when making her way to the well on a calm morning (and such mornings

[1] This paper was written about thirty-five years ago by the late Rev. J. Gregorson Campbell of Tiree, author of *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.* It is now published for the first time.—Ed. *S.H.R.*

are very beautiful in the West Highlands), she heard a dog barking. She exclaimed:

> 'Little knows any living wight,
> When mischance may befall him;
> For me early has the dog called,
> In the calm morn above Loch Ba.
> I had enough of spells
> To serve the seed of Adam,
> But when the mischance was ripe
> It could not be warded off.'

Having said this, she fell, crumbling into dust. She lived so long that she had above five hundred children. These were buried by her in the 'Burial Place of Hosts' in Ireland, according to one version of the rhyme, and according to another in Cill-mo-Neacain in Iona. She buried

> 'Nine times nine by seven,
> In the Burial Place of Hosts in Ireland.'

The latter place is said to be the same as the stony patch of ground, not far from the cathedral, called *Cill-mo-ghobhlain* or *Cill-mo-ghobhannain*.

The last of her numerous children was the most cross-grained and peevish of the lot, but when she had none left but him she said, 'I am thankful to-night for little Churl' (*Is buidhe leam a nochd Doirbhein*).

She stayed at first on the hill tops, till one day a high wind blew the froth from the milking-pail (*an cobhar barr na cuaiche*). After that she retired to the lower grounds.

In Ardiura, in the parish of Torosay in Mull, there is a small tarn or mountain loch called *Crù-lochan* (*i.e.* the Horse-shoe Lakelet), which she said (and her long life must have made her a good authority) was the deepest loch in the world.

> 'The Horse-shoe tarn, little, dark, and deep,
> The deepest lake in all the world;
> The great sea reached my knee,
> And the Horse-shoe Tarn reached my haunch.'

In Tiree it is said that when her age was asked by the Prior's daughter (whoever she was) she said her memory extended back to the time when the Skerryvore rocks, where the lighthouse is built, and which are now covered by the stormy Atlantic, were covered with arable fields, and that she had seen the waters of

Loch Phuill in Tiree, and of Leinster in Ireland (another proof of her Irish origin) before they had attained any size.

'Little sharp old wife, tell me your age.'
'I saw the seal-haunted Skerryvore,
When it was a mighty power;
When they ploughed it, if I'm right,
And sharp and juicy was its barley.
I saw the Loch at Balefuill
When it was a little round well,
Where my child was drowned
Sitting in its circular chair;
And I saw Leinster lake in Ireland,
When children could swim across.'

In Loch Phuill, which is the largest sheet of fresh water in Tiree, there is said to be a small spot that never freezes, however hard-bound the rest of the loch may be, and from this eye the loch took its rise. Bera spoke in terms of great affection of places on the farm of Valla, in the other end of the island.

'The little dune and the big dune,
Dunes of my love;
Odram and the Raven's Mound,
Where I was young a girl,
Though I am to-day an old woman,
Bent, and decrepit, and sallow.'

She expressed an earnest desire to have a drink from the well of *Creagaig*, on the farm of Mannal, in Tiree. On the west margin of Loch Phuill there is a bare and stony rising in the ground, which becomes an island when the loch is flooded. It is called the 'Roofless Walls of the Bera Wives' (*Totachun na Cailleacha Beura*). On the south side of the Ross of Mull there is a natural enclosure in the rocks that goes by the same name. Here Bera folded her goats at night. In the daytime she drove them to pasture, where there is now no trace of land, beyond the dangerous Torrin Rocks, stretching away to the south-west of Iona (*Na Torrainnean Itheach*). At Sword Point (*Rutha Chlaidheamth*), on the north side of the same peninsula, there is a round mark in the face of the granite rocks, called 'Bera's Cake' (*Bonnach Chailleach Bheur*), produced by a cake thrown by her. So also a natural enclosure in the rocks above Gorten, in Ardnamurchan, is called 'The Old Wife's Byre' (*Bàthaich na Caillich*), it being said that she folded her cattle there.

Curious natural appearances of another kind have suggested other fancies in connection with her. She set about building a bridge across the Sound of Mull, commencing at the Morvern side, and was on her way, with a creelful of stones on her back for the purpose, when the creel strap (*iris mhuineil*) broke, and the burden fell to the ground. The stones with which the basket was filled (and it must have been one of no small capacity) form the remarkable cairn called *Càrn na Caillich* (the old wife's heap of stones). She intended to put a chain across the Sound of Islay, to prevent the passage of ships that way, and the stones are pointed out on the Jura side to which the chains were to be secured. *Beinn na Caillich*, a hill in Kildalton parish, Islay, is called after her, and a furrow down its side, called *Sgrìob na Caillich*, was made by her, as she slid down in a sitting posture. In the parish of Stralachlan and Strachur, in Cowal, Argyllshire, there is also a hill called after her, *Beinn Chaillach Bheur* (the Cailleach Bear or Bera of the *Statistical Account*, p. 105). The writer in the *Statistical Account* renders her name 'The Old Wife of Thunder,' having evidently mistaken *beur*, sharp-tongued and sharp-witted, for *beithir* (pron. *beïr*), a thunder-bolt. He adds: 'She could (according to popular stories) with ease and incredible agility transfer herself from one hill to another, command terrific thunder and desolating deluges at pleasure; and hence the dreadful apprehensions of incurring her ire that generally prevailed.'

She is 'the aged Bera' (*Beura aosmohr*), daughter of 'Crabbed the Wise' (*Greannan Glic*), referred to in legend. She had charge of a well in a valley on the top of Ben Cruachan (*Coire Chruachain*), and was to cover it every evening at sunset with a flagstone. She failed one night to do so, the well overflowed all night, and before morning Loch Awe was formed.

It is told that a man once went to see her (it is not said where) and test her wit. She had the reputation of being inhospitable and sullen. He said he would make her give him meat and lodgings for a night. He found her a very old woman, in an empty house, with nothing to sit upon, a bare floor, not overly clean, and full of holes. At first she was churlish and uncivil, but after an exchange of witticisms became more hospitable, and gave him a sheep's head to singe. The following version of the conversation bears repeating:

She. Whence has come the man with the flowing plaid and the flaunting kilt at the evening's close?

He. I came from the flag-stones near the narrow Sound, to see my lady-love at the evening's close.

She. What is your name ?

He. William Sit-down.

She (in amazement). William Sit-down !

He. Why should I not sit down, when the mistress of the house asks it ? (Sits down.)

She. Though you sit, it will not be to your benefit.

He. What should suffice for yourself during your life-time, will not that suffice for me for a night ?

She. There is nothing here but bare floor, earth full of holes, and fleas—sharp ground fleas, that will bite your two haunches most uneasily.

He (when he gets the sheep's head to singe). What is the portion of the man who singes the head ?

She. As much as he can take with him in one verse.

He.
Ear from the root is mine,
The loud babbler of the head,
The jaws and two cheeks,
Eye, and snout, and brain.

Having thus secured the whole head, he made minced meat of it, to which he helped himself in large spoonfuls.

She. The load is heavy for the weakly neck.

He. The road is but a short one.

She. Though short, it is ascent.

He. Ascent is not quicker than descent.

Having said this, he swallowed his last spoonful and went away.

J. Gregorson Campbell.