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David Laing, Antiquary and Bibliographer

DAVID LAING was born in Edinburgh on 8th May, 1793, and died there on 18th October, 1878, in his eighty-sixth year. He was one of the most eminent Scotsmen of his time, and probably did more than any other single man to elucidate the history and literature of Scotland and to settle them on sure foundations. 'He was,' says Professor Masson, writing in 1874, 'easily the prince of living authorities in all matters of Scottish history and biography.' 'The early literary history of his native country,' says Dr. John Alexander Smith, 'together with its ecclesiastical history since the period of the Reformation and the history of Scottish art were his special spheres of research, and in these departments he may be said to have stood almost alone.'

Five and thirty years have gone since he died, and although his work remains, a monument of his genius and industry, the man himself is becoming but a tradition to a generation who knew him not, 'for there is no remembrance of the wise more than of the fool for ever, seeing that which now is, in the days to come shall all be forgotton.' Mr. Goudie's exhaustive biography will therefore be welcomed as an authentic record of his life and of what he accomplished.¹

What manner of man was David Laing is a question which will be put to those who come after us. Friends who could fully and

¹ *David Laing, LL.D.: A Memoir of his Life and Literary Work.* By Gilbert Goudie, F.S.A.Scot. . . . With Introduction by Lord Guthrie, Edinburgh. Printed for private circulation by T. and A. Constable, 1913, 8vo, pp. xlvi, 318; 5 illustrations. [250 copies printed.]

adequately have replied have passed away without doing so. He was so well known, he was so much appreciated, and bulked so largely in the eyes of his contemporaries that it seems never to have occurred to anyone that a time would come when his personality might disappear and he should be known only as a worker and master of his craft. As one of those who admired and honoured him while he lived, I may perhaps be allowed to say something regarding him.

I knew David Laing for the last fourteen years of his life. My acquaintance with him began in 1864; when he was one year beyond the three score and ten and I was two and twenty. How he looked at that time may be seen in his portrait by Sir William Fettes Douglas; but the later painting by Herdman is more as I remember him. 'His general bearing,' writes one in 1864, 'is erect and dignified'; honest manliness, says another, was one of his characteristics. This was so. He was genial, bright, active and alert, and singularly accessible; always pleased to see you, always willing to help. He was apt to learn and ready to communicate. He saw your point at once, placed himself in your position, and explained your difficulty not as a mentor but as a fellow student. His information was vast and extended over a wide range of subjects. All of it was at his finger tips. He spoke as if the subject you introduced was the one uppermost in his thoughts, and answered your question without hesitancy. Whatever he knew he knew accurately and could state clearly and precisely. I never met anyone who could handle a book as he did; he knew its place, whatever it was, walked straight to the shelf, took it down, and was at your side again in a trice; the book seemed to open at the place wanted, and with a slight swing he laid it before you and put his finger to the passage. He was never impatient, gave you the attention that was required, but did not waste time on irrelevant discussion, and when he had disposed of your problem he went on with his own work as if there had been no interruption. Always busy himself, he had always time for others. He was consulted by scores of inquirers in my time, and was then, as he had been during the preceding fifty years, adviser general of all those interested in the early literature and history of Scotland.

From Sir Walter Scott downwards everyone consulted David Laing, and everyone did so to profit. In 1843, when Carlyle was engaged on *Cromwell*, he came to Scotland to visit the scene of the

Protector's victory at Dunbar. He wrote to his wife from Haddington on 4th September : 'Before quitting Edinburgh I had gone to David Laing and refreshed all my recollections by looking at his books, one of which he even lent me out thither.' 'His love for all letters,' says Professor Cosmo Innes, 'his willingness to assist all study have brought it to pass that, sitting in that fine Signet Library of which he holds the keys, he is consulted by everybody in every emergency.' 'He was,' says Mr. Thomas Constable, 'the courteous, painstaking, and efficient helper of all who need literary aid.'

Looking back over the work of his long life, we can see that he was the same man at the beginning as at the end. He grew and ripened, but the characteristics of his mature years were plainly visible in the young man.

His father William Laing (1764-1832) was an eminent and successful bookseller, with an extensive knowledge of books, particularly of those relating to Scotland. He was on terms of intimacy with all the literary men of Edinburgh, and with all the bibliophiles in Scotland and many of those in England. In his mother's portrait one recognises the features of the son, and can reasonably conjecture that it was from her that David Laing derived the genial manner, the even temper, the brightness and alertness which distinguished him. From his father no doubt he had his business aptitude, his exactness, his industry, his sagacity, and his common sense.

Introduced to his father's business at an early age, and with his father as instructor, he acquired without effort an extraordinary knowledge of books and of their contents. His father's knowledge seemed to pass to him by absorption ; it was assimilated and made his own and added to day by day. When he was but sixteen years of age he had already achieved a reputation for bibliographical knowledge. He was at that time sent to London by his father as his business representative, and attended the sales of the libraries of Richard Porson and Alexander Dalrymple. In the following year he was in Dublin at the sale of Burton Cunningham's books. In 1812 he was present at the Roxburghe sale, for long one of the most famous in the annals of bibliography. Three years later Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe acknowledges his indebtedness to him. In 1818 John Gibson Lockhart celebrates him in verse :

David the most sagacious and the best,
As all old Reekie's erudites opine,

Of Scottish bibliopoles, who knows the zest
 And name of every title-page Aldine ;
 A famous bibliomaniac and a shrewd,
 Who turns his madness to no little good.

Next year he writes of him in prose : ‘ David Laing is still a very young man ; but . . . he possesses a truly wonderful degree of skill and knowledge in almost all departments of bibliography.’ He had already in 1815 published his first book, and this was of a bibliographical character, being a reprint of the Catalogue of 1627 of the books presented by William Drummond of Hawthornden to the library of the University of Edinburgh. At the close of his life a writer in the *Athenaeum* says : ‘ Mr. Laing’s knowledge of bibliography was immense. Hardly anything of importance since the invention of printing had escaped his notice, and he was always ready with an answer to anyone who inquired about the best editions or the most perfect copies, and about their value.’

Laing, like Sir Walter Scott, had a deep affection for ‘ his own romantic town,’ and did much to illuminate her history, and to create a living interest in her old streets and buildings and the men and women who peopled them, and gave them colour and story. Amongst the books and documents bequeathed by him to the University of Edinburgh there is a large collection of illustrations of Edinburgh antiquities.

The early literature of Scotland appealed strongly to him, and his best energies were devoted to its study and to bringing it before his countrymen. In 1821 he published the poems of Alexander Scott from a manuscript of 1568 ; at the time of his death he was engaged upon a new edition of the poetical works of Sir David Lyndsay, which appeared in 1879. In the fifty-seven intervening years he produced a long series of books of a similar character. This work has now been taken up, and is being carried on on the co-operative plan by the Scottish Text Society. Their aim is to provide a correct text, but chiefly as a philological instrument, as a means for studying the Scottish language. David Laing’s object was to place before the people of Scotland the writings of her early authors and to interest them therein. ‘ They are valuable,’ he remarks, ‘ no less in enabling us to trace the history and progress of our language than in assisting us to illustrate ancient manners and amusements, of which they often contain the liveliest representations.’ He was particular about his texts

and painstaking in their elucidation, and his editions are a marked advance upon those of his predecessors. There is a tendency at the present day to deprecate his work and to underestimate its value. It was he, however, who laid the foundation upon which later scholars have built, and without which they could not have built. 'To publish the early remains of our national poetry with the correctness and fidelity which is requisite, recourse must be had to ancient and discordant manuscripts where the obscurity of the language, or the labour of decyphering them, is,' he says, 'the least perplexing or difficult part of the undertaking.' Our point of view is continually shifting. Laing's idea of editing differed from that of his precursors just as the ideas of fifty years hence will be different from those of to-day; the opinion then will probably be that the work of to-day is altogether out of joint. Laing's work requires no vindication; *unus vir non cernit omnia*, says the proverb, but in everything that he did he was thorough, conscientious, and illuminating. His care and accuracy have been frequently commended by scholars of the highest eminence. If he did not emphasize points which now seem important it was merely because he was viewing the problem from a different angle. He lighted the lamp and kept it burning brightly during his long life; it was he who stimulated and to a great degree created the interest in the language and literature of Scotland which now prevails.

No country owed more to the Reformation than Scotland. It developed and determined the national character. The life of the Scottish people was profoundly influenced by ecclesiastical questions. Laing, as a Scotsman, was deeply interested in these. His edition of the works of John Knox is monumental. He also edited Row's *History*, Scott of Cupar's *Apologetical Narration* and Forbes of Alford's *Records concerning the Church*, Calderwood's *History*, and the *Letters and Journals* of Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow. He was warmly attached to the Church of Scotland, and, though a Liberal in politics, remained faithful to her in the great secession of 1843. On his death the General Assembly recorded their deep sense of the loss the Church had sustained and their appreciation of the services he had rendered in connection with her history and literature. It is to David Laing that patriotic Scotsmen are indebted for the small tablet

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let into the causeway of Parliament Square, to

mark that it was within this area, formerly the old burying-ground of St. Giles, that the great Reformer is buried.

We are so accustomed to societies and co-operative organizations of various kinds for the publication of historical, genealogical, and topographical manuscripts for reprinting rare books, for providing calendars, inventories and lists of literary and historical documents that we can with difficulty realize how important a part the older Book Clubs played in preserving and rendering accessible literary and historical material. The first and most important of the Scottish clubs was the Bannatyne, founded by Sir Walter Scott in 1823. David Laing was its first and only secretary, or more correctly honorary secretary,—as there was no remuneration,—and an *ex officio* member of the committee of management.

He was present at the inauguration of the club, being its fourth member, and was present at its dissolution in 1861, thirty-eight years later. Sir Walter Scott was the first president, and held office till his death in 1832. Thomas Thomson, who had been vice-president, was then advanced to the chair, and remained president until he died twenty years later. Scott's personality gave life to the club and made it a social success. No two men were more fitted than he and Thomas Thomson to direct its course, and, while preserving the general idea of the Roxburghe Club, after which it was modelled, to make its publications more generally useful and more national. David Laing, with the same knowledge and the same enthusiasm, was their faithful ally, and to him it fell to carry out the arrangements and transact the business of the club. It was a remarkable trio ; they were the three men of the day most conversant with the literature of Scotland ; each was an accomplished antiquary ; Scott and Laing were unrivalled as bibliographers and bibliophiles, and Thomson was not undistinguished in the same pursuits ; all were distinguished for sagacity, shrewdness, and geniality ; but Thomson lacked the exactness, method, energy, and business capacity of the other two. The idea of the club had been in Scott's mind for some time. 'I have long thought,' he writes to Robert Pitcairn, 'that a something of a bibliomaniacal society might be formed here, for the prosecution of the important task of publishing *dilettante* editions of our national literary curiosities. Several persons of rank, I believe, would willingly become members, and there are enough of good operatives. What would you think of such an association ? David Laing was ever keen for it ; but the death of

Sir Alexander Boswell and of Alexander Oswald has damped his zeal. I think if a good plan were formed, and a certain number of members chosen, the thing would still do well.' The plan was no doubt arranged between Scott and Laing, and in a note prefixed to the Rules of 1823 was explained thus: 'The express object and design contemplated in this Association is, by means of an annual sum contributed by the members, to print in a uniform and handsome manner, a series of works illustrative of the History, Topography, Poetry, and Miscellaneous Literature of Scotland in former times.' The long list of works issued by the club shows how well the scheme was carried out. It is to be remembered that the selection of publications did not rest entirely with the committee of management. Many of the books were printed at the expense of individual members, and their personal fancies and wishes had to be humoured. It lay principally with the secretary to find a donor and to guide his choice in a suitable direction. Some of the members were Philistines, and, although pleased to belong to a select literary society, took little or no interest in its objects. Lord Cockburn was one of these. He was an original member, and along with Thomas Maitland, afterwards Lord Dundrennan, his brother-in-law, presented Hector Boethius' *Lives of the Bishops of Morihlach and Aberdeen*, reprinted from the edition which appeared at Paris in 1522. In 1832 he was elected vice-president of the club, when he records in his Journal: 'Very few of us can read our books, and still fewer can understand them; yet type, morocco, and the corporation spirit make us print on, and this quite independently of the temptation arising from the marketable worth of what we get being far beyond what we pay.' His own contribution, printed without preface or note, he probably never read. Maitland was, however, interested in Boece. He reprinted Bellenden's translation of the History in 1821, to which he prefixed a biographical notice of the author. He was for some years a member of the committee of management of the club, and had a high appreciation of David Laing. An ardent bibliophile, he is referred to by Dibdin as 'the folio-aspiring Maitland.' For the Maitland Club, Cockburn and Maitland reprinted the interesting Works of George Dalgarno of Aberdeen on the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, sympathetically noticed by Sir William Hamilton in the *Edinburgh Review* of July, 1835.

The office of secretary was no sinecure. 'I have no wish,' says David Laing, 'to exaggerate the extent of my continuous labour;

but no one can imagine how much of my time was so spent—days and nights, with frequent and sometimes distant journeys—on matters more or less connected with the Club; and wearisome enough work besides, with doubts occasionally springing up in my mind whether a person like myself, having always a very limited income, was justified year after year in thus spending the best period of his life.' Having undertaken the work, he performed it as no other person could have done, and the success of the club was largely due to him. It must be kept in view that down till the year 1837 he was actively engaged in business in Edinburgh as a bookseller, that thereafter, until the date of his death, he was keeper of the Signet Library, a duty which engrossed the whole business day, and he never neglected either his own business or his duties as librarian. On the other hand, he enjoyed excellent health, he worked with great rapidity, he was a master of method, he took each thing in its turn and finished it, he acquired information quickly and accurately and assimilated it at once; he had it all before his mind in orderly fashion and could reproduce it on the instant. Notwithstanding the many calls upon his time and his 'limited income,' he contributed to the publications of the club from its foundation. In 1823 he edited *The Buke of the Howlat*, from Asloan's manuscript collated with the copy in George Bannatyne's manuscript, and presented it to the members. He dealt fully with the poem in a long and carefully written preface, to which Scott contributed an interesting note. The volume was printed in black letter, and was furnished with a quaint title-page designed by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe.

In the same year the club resolved that a Miscellany 'be printed in successive numbers and parts, under the joint superintendence of the President and Secretary,' probably 'the tome miscellaneous' referred to in Scott's Club song, to be mentioned presently.

Then hear your Committee, and let them count o'er
 The deeds they intend in their three volumes more.
 They'll produce you King Jamie the Sapient and Sext,
 And the Bok of Dumblaine and the Bishops come next;
 One tome miscellaneous they'll add to your store,
 Resolving next year to print four volumes more.

Four volumes more, my friends, four volumes more,
 Pay down your subscriptions for four volumes more.

The first tome of the Miscellany appeared in 1827, containing twenty-four tracts relating to Scottish history and letters, and

among them the description of Edinburgh, in 1550, by Alexander Alesius or Alesse, a native of Edinburgh. All of these were furnished with introductory notices and explanatory notes by Laing, which contain a great store of valuable historical, biographical, and bibliographical information, much of which could have been provided by no other person. The account of Edinburgh is copiously annotated and illustrated with a reproduction of an old plan of the city of 1544 and of Gordon of Rothiemay's view of the old palace of Holyrood house engraved by De Witt about 1650. The Miscellany is referred to not as in itself remarkable, but merely in order to show the amount of work which Laing performed anonymously, and as part of his secretarial duties.

Thomas Thomson's besetting sin was procrastination, and a morbid reluctance to commit his opinions to paper. The various books which he presented to or superintended for the club he allowed to go forth without any worthy preface. He took no care 'to put a staff in the hand or a hat on the head' of the stranger, as Scott used to say of his own stories. He promised, made good resolutions, but failed to accomplish. The 'Gray Papers' were printed for the club under his superintendence, and were then kept on hand for five months. The distribution, as explained in a slip issued to the members, 'was delayed from time to time, in the hope that the volume would be accompanied by a short Prefatory Notice, which, considering the quarter from which it was expected, could not fail to have added much to its value.' This note was no doubt from the pen of the secretary, and indicates the character of his troubles. The value of club publications depends to a large extent on the manner in which they are placed before the reader. Laing always endeavoured to provide all the assistance necessary to enable one to take the author's standpoint and to follow his narrative. Thomas Carlyle, speaking of his edition of Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, which was edited for the club, says Mr. Laing 'has exhibited his usual industry, sagacity, correctness in this case, and done his work well. The notes are brief, illuminative ever in the right place; and what he will praise withal, not over plenteous, nor more of them than needed.'

The club was not, like the big societies of to-day, composed of persons who, as a rule, have no acquaintance with each other and only meet to pass accounts, adopt reports, and elect office-bearers. The Bannatyne was a small body of men all known to one another and all on terms of intimate friendship. It met as a

social body quite as much as a business body, and dinners and song helped to give them solidarity.

Laing was as punctual in his attendance at these functions as at business meetings. The club was inaugurated by a dinner in Barry's Hotel, Princes Street, at which Scott presided. As they were separating he recited two or three lines extempore, 'Assist me, ye lads, who love books and old wine.' Being asked to write down the words, he produced in a couple of days the famous Bannatyne Garland, fitted to the tune of 'One Bottle More,' which thus began :

Assist me, ye friends of old books and old wine,
To sing in the praises of sage Bannatyne,
Who left such a treasure of old Scottish lore
As enables each age to print one volume more.

One volume more, my friends, one volume more,
We'll ransack old Banny for one volume more.

At the annual club dinner, it was wont to be sung with full effect by Sir Walter's old friend, James Ballantyne, one of the original members, the whole company joining in the chorus.

'Ane Bannatyne Garande, brevit be Maister Patrick of the Kingis Chekar,' that is Patrick Fraser Tytler, at that time crown counsel in Exchequer causes, opens thus :

Chairman dear, since we're here,
Once more met in Barry's hottel,
Let us hear, chairman dear,
What we've got in hand ;
Take your claret—never spare it,
Wet your Antiquarian throttle,
Then in glory tell your story,
What's been done or plann'd.

Scott records that at their *gaudeamus* in November of their first year, that is 1823, they drank their wine *more majorum*, with disastrous results to the famous John Clerk, who had just been raised to the bench under the title of Lord Elden.

David Laing in 1824 presented as a garland at the anniversary meeting, *The Poems of George Bannatyne*, a prose tract describing the manuscript, and ending 'Finis, quoth the Secretary.' He also essayed 'A Bannatyne Song for the Anniversary Meeting, 1825—To be sung to its own proper accompaniment.' Whether it was sung does not appear. At any rate, it was not enshrined in James Ballantyne's black letter, as were many of the other songs. Of a club dinner in January, 1827, Scott records : 'We

drank to our old Scottish heroes, poets, historians, and printers, and were funny enough.'

The meetings of the committee of management were likewise social functions. 'My dear Peter,' writes Scott to Tytler, 'Not seeing you last night, I had no opportunity to say that a meeting of the Bannatynian Committee takes place tomorrow at five o'clock for business; at $\frac{1}{2}$ past five for a haggis. *Avis au lecteur.* Yours truly, W. Scott.' Again to the vice-president: 'Dear Thomas, The committee of Bannatynians dine here on Friday first, meeting at five for business, and dinner at half past five. Without you we are a tongueless trump.' Without Laing they would have been a knotless thread. Scott continued to take a lively and active interest in all the affairs of the club until the day he set out from Abbotsford on his last journey to the south of Europe on account of his health. At that time he wrote to David Laing: 'I am going away sad enough, as I feel no great certainty of ever returning again; in which case my Presidency shall another take. Always, dear Mr. Secretary, most faithfully yours, Walter Scott.'

Although a hard worker and wasting no time on frivolity, Laing was eminently social, always glad to meet his friends, to entertain and to be entertained. 'When you see my dear friend David Laing,' writes Allan Cunningham, 'greet him kindly from me. He is kind, honest, straightforward and forgiving.' Lockhart, in his account of 1818, says: 'This old gentleman [William Laing] and his son are distinguished by their classical taste, in regard to other things besides books—and, amongst the rest, in regard to wines—a subject touching which it is fully more easy for them to excite the sympathy of the knowing ones of Edinburgh. They give an annual dinner to Wastle, and he carried me with him the other day to one of these anniversaries. I have seldom seen a more luxurious display. We had claret of the most exquisite Lafitte flavour, which foamed in the glass like the cream of strawberries and went down as cool as the nectar of Olympus. David and Wastle entertained us with an infinite variety of stories about George Buchanan, the Admirable Crichtonius, and all the more forgotten heroes of the *Deliciae Poetarum Scotorum*. What precise share of the pleasure might be due to the claret and what to the stories, I shall not venture to enquire; but I have rarely spent an evening more pleasantly. P.S.—They are also very curious in sherry.'

Thomas Frogmire Dibden was an early friend. In describing

his visit to Edinburgh in 1838 he records : ‘Dining one day with Dr. Lee at the suburban villa of our common friend Mr. David Laing, we were regaled in the evening with a sight—yea a sniff—of some of the rare pieces of the Reformer in possession of our host, of which *Ane Admonition, &c.*, 1554, 12mo, is considered to be his first publication. Most cruelly did Mr. Laing flicker the gilt tooling upon this morocco-coated tome in the eyes of his reverend guest, Dr. Lee. ‘Name your price,’ said the Doctor, unable to sustain the shock of such a battery any longer, ‘and I will give it.’ The quondam Bibliopolist was obdurate ; said nothing ; smiled ; and passed the book into his inner coat pocket. But Dr. Lee is a match for his host ; for he possesses what is *Most Rare*, the *autograph* of the Great Reformer.’ In an account of a bibliographical dinner given by Mr. W. B. D. D. Turnbull, none of the speeches, it is said, ‘came up to the impassioned eloquence which seemed to flow spontaneously from the lips of Mr. David Laing when he toasted ‘The immortal memory of Chapman and Millar, the first printers of Scotland.’ I thought the ceiling must have dropt—from the intensity and long continuance of the ‘hurrahs’ which immediately ensued.’ The sobriety of the party is vouched for by the fact that at the conclusion of the banquet there was not one who could not read the most diminutive colophon.

‘It was only the other day,’ writes one shortly after his death, ‘that he gave a dinner to a number of his brethren of the Society of Antiquaries on the occasion of the visit of his friend Professor Daniel Wilson of Toronto to Edinburgh, and it was curious to see the old man sipping his Madeira with as much relish, and enjoying his old-world talk as keenly as Lockhart in his ‘Peter’s Letters’ records his doing some sixty or more years ago.’ ‘In company,’ says another, ‘he was extremely happy and could both give and take a joke.’ He had a merry laugh. One day I had been to the Edinburgh University Library to examine their manuscript of Fordun. On my way back I looked in at the Signet Library to see David Laing. I told him what I had been doing, and that Mr. Small had pointed out the *Ballad of the Nine Nobles*, which, he said, he had just discovered, and proposed to publish. He chuckled and remarked with a smile, ‘Mr. Small is always making some discovery. Why, I printed it more than fifty years ago,’ and put his *Select Remains of Ancient Popular Poetry of Scotland* into my hands.

It might have been thought that the management of the

Bannatyne Club, in addition to the care of his own business, would have been sufficient to absorb the energies of one man, but David Laing found time for a great deal more. He was a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland for over fifty-four years. He acted as treasurer, vice-president, and secretary. He placed its financial affairs upon a sound basis, and enriched its proceedings with a long series of communications of the highest importance, beginning in March, 1824, and ending in May, 1878. He did not confine his labours to the Society or to the Bannatyne Club, but did much excellent work for the Abbotsford Club, the Wodrow Society, the Shakespeare Society, the Spalding Club of Aberdeen, and the Hunterian Club of Glasgow.

Besides all this, he prepared and published a large number of books on his own account, principally relating to the early literature of Scotland. His *Select Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of Scotland*; his *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*; and his *Early Metrical Tales*, published between 1822 and 1826, are of the same character as the reprints which Professor Arber provided for English students fifty years later. The first of these he inscribed 'as a slight but sincere tribute of respect to THE DISTINGUISHED AUTHOR, to whom, of all others, the Literature of his Native Country is most deeply beholden.' For the last Sharpe etched a characteristic frontispiece.

Laing was also deeply interested in the fortunes of the drama in Scotland, and in the early history of Scottish art, and did much to illustrate both of these subjects. In 1854 the Royal Scottish Academy elected him their honorary Professor of Antiquities, and in 1861 he was translated to their honorary chair of Ancient History. During that year and the next he delivered three most interesting lectures on Scottish art and artists. He bequeathed to the Academy an important collection of drawings and sketches by the Old Masters, which were arranged by a committee of the Academy and bound in nineteen folio volumes, and were in 1910 transferred to the trustees of the National Gallery. To the National Gallery itself he left several pictures. In 1855 he advocated a national exhibition of Scottish portraits, in which he was supported by Thomas Carlyle, who wrote him a long letter upon the subject; and the formation of a National Portrait Gallery for Scotland was a matter which he had very much at heart. Although he did not live to see the project carried into effect, he bequeathed to the Society of Antiquaries a large number of portraits to be held by them until they could be properly exhibited

as a contribution to such a collection. His friend, William Douglas, afterwards Sir William Fettes Douglas, P.R.S.A., painted his portrait in 1863 and presented it to the Academy, and it is now in the National Gallery.

This and the portrait by Herdman bring vividly before us the personality of David Laing, and present the aspect of the inner man as seen by two great artists. Carlyle, in the letter referred to, says that in all his historical investigations 'it has been, and always is, one of the most primary wants to procure a bodily likeness of the personage inquired after ; a good *Portrait* if such exists : failing that, even an indifferent if sincere one. In short, *any representation*, made by a faithful human creature, of that Face and Figure, which *he* saw with his eyes, and which I can never see with mine, is now valuable to me, and much better than none at all. This, which is my own deep experience, I believe to be, in a deeper or less deep degree, the universal one ; and that every student and reader of History, who strives earnestly to conceive for himself what manner of Fact and *Man* this or the other vague Historical *Name* can have been, will, as the first and directest indication of all, search eagerly for a *Portrait*, for all the reasonable *Portraits* there are ; and never rest till he have made out, if possible, what the man's natural face was like.' A portrait, he says, lights up biography and puts some human interpretation into it. Remembering how David Laing lived and wrought, and how he bore himself in his intercourse with the world, these portraits enable us to look beyond the surface and to get a glimpse of the inner man.

Reference has been made to David Laing's proficiency as a bibliographer. He was likewise an unwearied, skilful, and successful book-hunter. With unrivalled knowledge and untiring energy he was able to bring together and place upon his shelves almost all that was worth having in a collection of early Scottish printing and literature. He had in perfection the qualities which distinguished the thrice-honoured 'Snuffy Davy' ; 'he had the scent of a slow-hound, and the snap of a bull-dog. He would detect you an old black-letter ballad among the leaves of a law-paper, and find an *editio princeps* under the mask of a school Corderius.'

Booksellers' catalogues of a hundred and a hundred and fifty years ago were more serious affairs than those of our day. As a rule they appeared but once a year ; they were divided into

sections something after the style of the French catalogues, and embraced many thousands of volumes. William Laing issued such catalogues from 1786 onwards. In 1795 he published David Macpherson's excellent edition of Wyntoun's *Orygynale Chronykil of Scotland*, and on the editor's death, in 1816, he purchased his library. In 1819 he issued a Supplement to his Sale Catalogue of 1818, 'containing several recent purchases and importations from the continent, with an extensive collection of books connected with the history and literature of Scotland, including, with some other libraries, that of the late David Macpherson, Esq.' The Scottish section extends to 105 pages and contains 1554 numbers; the portion relating to 'Literature preceding the Union with England, A.D. 1707,' has 338 numbers and 39 pages. There can be little doubt that David Laing assisted in the preparation of this Supplement, if it was not actually his work. I have his own interleaved copy, in which many additional Scottish books are noted. He must have passed everyone of the books through his hands, and have made himself acquainted with their character and contents. There is a copy of the Supplement in the Signet Library which was evidently used in the shop, as in many cases the names of the purchasers are noted. Amongst them were Sir Walter Scott, George Chalmers, Dr. John Lee, Patrick Fraser Tytler, Dr. Hibbert, Richard Heber, the Right Hon. Thomas Grenville, Lieutenant-General Munro, Governor of Madras; R. P. Gillies, Archibald Constable, George Ticknor, of Boston, the historian of Spanish literature, who was in Edinburgh in 1819; the Royal Library, Copenhagen; the Advocates' Library, the Signet Library, Ogles & Co., booksellers, London, for many years the agents and correspondents of William Laing; E. Charnley, bookseller, Newcastle-on-Tyne; A. Brown & Co., booksellers in Aberdeen, and the well-known John Wylie & Co., booksellers in Hutcheson Street, Glasgow. David Laing was thus in a position which enabled him to cultivate and mature to the highest point his inborn taste for books. The catalogue of 1818 contains an excellent collection of works on bibliography, and other catalogues had the like, so that the best bibliographical information was in his hands.

Besides several journeys to London in addition to those previously alluded to, he visited the Continent professionally in 1816 and again in 1819. In the latter year he extended his journey to Copenhagen 'to arrange some long outstanding accounts with Dr. Moldenhawer of the Royal Library'—which, as we have seen,

was a customer of William Laing—and likewise to Sweden. James Wilson, the well-known zoologist, brother of 'Christopher North,' accompanied him on both occasions, and on the former Adam Black was of the party. The latter records that in Paris they spent most of their time in the bookshops and on the Quais, 'where they secured many valuable books in beautiful old bindings, remains of the noble libraries of princes and aristocrats, confiscated during the great Revolution.' Laing also carried off a quantity of prints. In Paris he had an adventure. Locked into the Tuilleries by accident, he was challenged by a watchman, who struck him a whack on the side of his head, knocking off his hat. 'Fortunately David had learned at the High School how to use his fists, and he now did so.' Adam Black was a lifelong friend, and when in later years the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* had passed into his hands, David Laing wrote a number of articles for it.

William Carew Hazlitt records that 'there was a time, and not so distant, when Edinburgh, and even Dublin, yielded their proportion of finds, and the Duke of Roxburghe and General Swinton, David Laing and James Maidment, obtained no insignificant share of their extremely curious and valuable stores from their own ground.' The capital of Scotland, he adds, 'has lost its ancient prestige as a cover for this sort of sport, and is as unproductive as an ordinary English provincial town.' The latter statement may be questioned, but the former is true. Glasgow in those old days was also fair ground for the book-hunter. William Blackwood spent a year, 1798-99, in Glasgow as agent of Mundell & Company, the publishers, and writes to Archibald Constable of his finds of rare old books.

David Laing paid visits in quest of books to all likely places. Shortly after his death a London bookseller told me he had served his apprenticeship in a town in the north of England and remembered him well. When he came to the shop he took off his coat, and ransacked the shelves from floor to ceiling, and generally carried off a large parcel.

William Laing, as we learn from Mr. Goudie's memoir, was not a collector. His son must have been one from an early date, no doubt from the time he could afford to pay for his purchases. Dibdin's narrative indicates that he had a good library in 1838, and it was only in the previous year that he abandoned book-selling as a business. He then disposed of his stock by auction, but he probably retained for his private collection whatever was

worth taking and which was not already there ; and during the next forty years he can have lost no opportunity of making additions, and no one had ever a greater gift of what Horace Walpole styled serendipity, the luck of falling on what you want, by which, for instance, Scott dropped on a Leipsic collection of Spanish Ballads recommended to him by Ticknor.

In 1818 the librarianship of the Faculty of Advocates fell vacant. Sir William Hamilton strongly urged the appointment of Dr. Benecke, then professor and librarian in the University of Göttingen, but after some negotiation he declined nomination. David Laing then offered himself as a candidate with the support of Sir Walter Scott, but in the meantime other candidates had been in the field, and the electors had to some extent committed themselves, and after much delay the appointment was given to David Irving, a man of considerable erudition and bibliographical knowledge. He had been a law tutor or coach for many years, and had written a good Introduction to the Civil Law, and it may have been thought that a man with a special knowledge of the literature of law was desirable. Irving was sent to Göttingen to learn something of library administration, but his management of the Advocates' Library was not a success, and gave rise to much complaint.

In 1821 David Laing was assumed by his father as a partner and so continued until the death of the latter in 1832. He thereafter carried on the business until 1837, when he received the appointment of keeper of the large and admirably selected library of the Society of Writers to the Signet.

David Irving retired from the librarianship of the Advocates' Library in 1848, when David Laing was again a candidate, but withdrew when he became aware of the duties proposed to be assigned to the librarian, some of which he considered to belong to the position of a subordinate. Speaking forty-six years later of his failure in 1820, he says : 'I did regret my want of success, feeling at the time, and ever since, that I could have done much for the Library which it required and still requires.' This will not be questioned. His knowledge of books and of literature, his exactness and long business experience, would have been of the greatest benefit to the Faculty, and, on the other hand, the position would have been very acceptable to Laing, for, although private property, the library is after all a national institution.

When the University of Edinburgh required assistance in the re-arrangement of their library, it was to David Laing that they turned, and he carried out what they desired in an admirable manner. Sir Alexander Boswell laments, in 1819, that the Advocates had not long ago seen their way to form a collection of books relating to Scotland. ‘Even now, as a national library, they ought to direct their attention to such books as relate to the history and progress of the literature of Scotland, for there should not be a book in existence connected with either that is not to be found in that collection.’ This was Laing’s idea, and he sought to carry it into effect as respects his private library. Had he been at the head of the Advocates’ Library, his energies would have found scope in making it what Sir Alexander pictured. James Maidment, speaking of the dispersion, in 1827, of the extraordinary collection of Broadsides which had been formed in the preceding century by the indefatigable Robert Mylne, says : ‘It is a subject of regret that so singular a collection should have been divided, and it affords one proof amongst many of the inexcusable neglect of those who at the time had charge of the interests of the Advocates’ Library, as the entire mass, many articles of which were unique, might have been deposited in that national establishment at the expense of a few pounds.’ Certainly David Laing would not have allowed them to slip, and, as it was, he purchased a portion on his own account.

The Scottish section of George Chalmers’ library was ‘one of the most valuable collections of works on the history and literature of Scotland ever formed by a private individual’ prior to his time, and he was loathe to see it dispersed. He had it in his mind to bequeath it to the Advocates, but he was so much disappointed by the appointment made in 1820 that he did not do so, and it was ultimately sold by auction in 1840. Had Laing been keeper of the Advocates’ Library it is highly probable, therefore, that they would have become the possessors of this collection, and that he himself would have followed his old friend’s example, and bequeathed to it what of his was characteristically Scottish. When, upon Laing’s death, it became known that his library was in the market it seemed to me that it would be a national misfortune if it was broken up. Sir William Hamilton’s library had been acquired a few years before for the University of Glasgow by twenty citizens subscribing £100 each ; I went accordingly to the late Mr. A. B. M’Grigor, LL.D., and

suggested that we might try to find a hundred men or more to subscribe £100 each to buy David Laing's collection. He entered warmly into the plan, and I wrote to the law agents of the estate asking at what price the executors would dispose of it by private treaty. The reply was that the trustees must sell by auction, and the scheme accordingly fell through. It now appears that by codicil dated 19th June, 1875, he directed, after certain bequests of manuscripts and other collections, that the whole of his printed books should be sent to London for sale by public auction, where he says 'such books are more highly appreciated and more carefully catalogued than in this place.'

What ailed him at the Edinburgh auctioneers does not appear. They were a notable fraternity. John Ballantyne, Scott's 'Rigdumfunnidos,' presided in the rostrum for several years, and, amongst other libraries, sold in 1813 those of James, second Duke of Queensberry, and Alexander Hunter Gibson of Blackness. His sales by auction, he advertised, 'are conducted on the most liberal principles.' Then came D. Speare, who sold several large libraries, and prepared some good catalogues. He was succeeded by Charles Tait, 'the sententious Tait,' as Burton styles him, 'a man of taste and a collector.' It was he, or rather his firm of C. B. Tait and Son, who disposed of Thomas Thomson's library. The firm then became C. B. Tait and T. Nisbet. Thomas Nisbet, 'the great Nisbet,' was a celebrated auctioneer of literary property, whose catalogues were quite equal to any produced in London. C. B. Tait and T. Nisbet sold the libraries of W. B. D. D. Turnbull, of Lord Dundrennan, of Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and of C. B. Tait himself: Nisbet disposed of those of Lord Cockburn, Lord Rutherford, and Principal Lee (the sale of 1859-63). Nisbet's successor, Thomas Chapman, was just as competent, and passed under the hammer a large number of libraries rich in books relating to Scotland. Just about the date of the codicil, Mr. Chapman assumed his son as a partner, and Laing may have thought that T. Chapman and Son might not maintain the reputation of Thomas Chapman and Thomas Nisbet. What might have been the fortune of a sale in Edinburgh one cannot say; the London one was an eminent success, the books realising £16,537 and the prints £270.

The Laing catalogue, prepared in London, does not rise above mediocrity, and gives an inadequate view of the library as a

Scottish collection. The sale catalogues of the libraries of James Gibson-Craig (1887-88) and of John Scott (1905), also sold in London, are much better, but assistance in the preparation of the latter was obtained in Edinburgh. The catalogues of Lord Rutherford's library by Nisbet (1855); of Professor William Stevenson, by Thomas Chapman (1874); of Maidment (1880) and of Whitefoord Mackenzie (1886), both by T. Chapman and Son, are quite as good, and more useful as aids to Scottish bibliography than the London ones.

The Laing sale attracted an unusual amount of attention and the books brought excellent prices. The character of a library is too apt to be judged by its money value. David Laing possessed some rare and some very remarkable books, but they were acquired not on account of their rarity or other accidental qualities, but because they were necessary to form a Scottish collection, or related to some other subject, e.g., early printing, in which he was specially interested.

Barbour's *Bruce*, Edinburgh 1571; Blind Harry's *Wallace*, Edinburgh 1661; Sir David Lyndesay's *Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour*, [St. Andrews 1554]; his *Works*, Paris 1558; Roland's *Seven Sages*, Edinburgh 1620; Lauder's *Compendious Tractate*, [Edinburgh 1556]; *Psalmes in Meter*, Edinburgh 1596; Archbishop Hamilton's *Catechisme*, Sanct Androus 1552; *Confession of Faith*, Halyrud House 1580; Nicolay d'Arfeville, *Navigation du Roy d'Ecosse*, Paris 1583; King James' *Essayes of a Prentise*, Edinburgh 1585; The Edinburgh Bible of 1633; are all books of the greatest rarity, and together sold for £743 15s., but are all such as should find a place in a typical Scottish library.

The differences in the values of books is remarkable. Henry Balnaues' *Confession of Faith*, Edinburgh 1584, was sold in Chalmers' sale in 1840 for 24s. and at Laing's fetched £7 2s. 6d., and its description in the Chalmers' catalogue is the better. In the Scott sale a copy—presented by Boswell of Auchinleck to Archibald Constable—made £5 10s., but was afterwards returned as imperfect. Laing's copy of Zachary Boyd's *Last Battell* sold for £52 10s.; Whitefoord Mackenzie's for £48 6s.; and Scott's for £13 15s. (slightly imperfect), while Chalmers' copy with two others of Boyd's works brought only £2 3s.; Nicol Burne's *Disputation*, Paris 1581, produced £24 10s. at Laing's; £14 at Scott's and 18s. at Chalmers' sale. Laing, through Thorpe, purchased Chalmers' copy of *The Confession of the Fayth*, Edinburgh 1561, for £5 15s. 6d.; and Knox's *Exposition upon the Fourth of*

Matthew, London 1583, for £2 10s.; at his own sale the former produced £62 10s. and the latter £20 10s. Knox's *Admonition*, [from Wittenburge by Nicolas Dorcaster], which Laing flickered before the eyes of Dr. Lee, he bought at the Heber sale for £6 11s.; it realised £65 at his own. Another of Laing's books referred to by Dibdin was Knox's *Liturgy* (Geneva) 1561, which, he says, was presumed to be the only perfect copy known. At this sale it brought £45 10s.

Laing had many books interesting from association, e.g., the *Metrical Psalms* of 1603, with the autograph of Sir David Lyndesay; Pinkerton's *History* with notes by James Chalmers, and a letter from Ritson stigmatising Pinkerton as 'a forgeér, impostour, and the greatest lyeér of all'; Ritson, it will be remembered, had peculiar views upon spelling; Cicero's *Academicae Quaestiones*, Paris 1544, with the autograph and notes of George Buchanan and the autograph 'D. Lyndesius'. This I purchased, and have now presented to the library of the University of Glasgow that it may again join the stately row of books which also bear Buchanan's autograph, and once formed part of his library, and were presented by him to the University in 1578.

Another interesting book was the first edition of Lord Stair's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland*, the dedication copy to Charles II. bound in red morocco with the Royal Arms on the sides. The late Earl of Stair was naturally anxious to get it, and, in his eagerness to make sure, he inadvertently instructed two agents who bid against each other, until it was knocked down to the sturdier at £295. A similar contretemps occurred recently in Edinburgh, over an old chair, of doubtful genealogy, which a deceased peer coveted, and for which two spirited agents made him pay a ransom.

The auction room, says Caillot, 'est tout à-la-fois le mont de piété, et la bourse de la librairie.' The dispersion of a library such as Laing's is a harvest for collectors, but its retention for national objects would be better for the community. Lord Cockburn regrets the inevitable sale. 'In Edinburgh at least the pleasure of collecting seems to be the only pleasure that collectors are destined to enjoy. Glenlee, I understand, made a sort of entail of his library by a strange but effective trust, so that his heirs cannot sell, having only the use of it. This has saved his library as yet, but, with this exception, all the considerable Edinburgh collections have been dissipated by the hammer of

the auctioneer. Thomas Thomson's, so rich in history, went first. Then Macvey Napier's, small but very choice, in moroccoed literature. Next Kirkpatrick Sharpe's, which is announced, composed chiefly of antiquarian oddities. A few days ago that of a strange person called Turnbull, gorgeous in local histories, went; and in a few days more that of my friend Thomas Maitland (the late Lord Dundrennan) will be separated into its atoms. His, to my taste, was the best of them all, consisting of above 5000 of the most readable volumes, in the most beautiful order. And there was Principal Lee's (the sale of 1842), loaded with historical and chiefly Scotch varieties, but all in abominable condition. I could name some more that must one day be sacrificed, one very fine one in particular. Scott's made the narrowest possible escape.'

The library at Abbotsford was arranged according to a classification made by Sir Walter, which, although defective, was retained, as he had accustomed himself to it. In and prior to 1827 he had a catalogue, with index of subjects, prepared by George Huntly Gordon, his amanuensis and librarian. After Scott's death the additions between 1827 and 1832 were incorporated by J. G. Cochrane, librarian of the Loudon library, and the catalogue was then printed and presented in 1838 by Major Sir Walter Scott, Bart., to the members of the Bannatyne Club, 'as a slight return for their liberality and kindness in agreeing to continue to that [the Abbotsford] Library the various valuable works printed under their superintendence.' At the same time copies were provided for the Maitland Club, as the contribution of John Gibson Lockhart. The descriptions of the books might have been made fuller, but the catalogue was intended for Sir Walter's own use, and not as a contribution to bibliography. It is, however, of value as a record of many rare and curious books relating to Scotland, and is of much interest as indicating the material with which Scott worked, and from which he acquired his marvellous knowledge of Scottish history and life.

Lord Neaves, in his Memoir of Principal Lee, refers to the then recent sale of his library of upwards of 20,000 volumes, and adds, 'I believe there was not one of his books he did not know, as well as it could be known, the authorship, the occasion, the object, and the import. The subject of Bibliography had been from his early years a favourite study; and his habits of assiduity and perseverance, as well as his capacious and retentive memory, enabled him to prosecute it with singular success. Nor was his

intellectual power overlaid or paralysed by the immense mass of his acquired knowledge.' This applied still more exactly to David Laing. He had all the erudition of the Principal, his skill in bibliography, and thorough acquaintance with the insides of his books and turned all to the best account, which we must regret that Dr. Lee did not do. His long projected work on the ecclesiastical and literary history of Scotland, for which he had collected material for more than forty-five years, never appeared. A catalogue of Laing's library would have been of no use to himself, but it would have been of immense service to scholars. He could not personally have undertaken so great an enterprise, but it could have been carried through with proper assistance. The idea, however, probably never occurred to him.

Other scholars were alive to the value of a catalogue. It was the anxious wish of Dr. Parr that his library should remain entire, and that it should be purchased by some opulent and liberal nobleman, or, preferably, by some public body. Dr. Edward Maltby, his pupil and friend, and afterwards bishop of Durham, pointed out that it might be difficult to keep the books together, and that, if they were, they might be absorbed in some mightier mass, such as the British Museum, and so lose their individuality. He accordingly recommended him 'to prepare a *catalogue raisonnée*, with such observations upon any book as his well-stored mind and accurate memory would readily suggest.' Parr acted on this suggestion, and a catalogue was drawn up in which he inserted a few observations here and there. These were mostly of a desultory character, and few of them are of any real importance, but they indicate how valuable such a catalogue could be made by an owner possessed of discrimination and learning, who could at first hand tell something of the books and their authors.

The sale catalogue of Laing's library is helpful as regards the more costly books, but is of little or no use as regards thousands of others which have not a similar market value, and which are quite as necessary for purposes of research. It is the latter which require to be recorded. Had they been described as carefully as Laing would have insisted on, and had he added notes on the more interesting articles, we should have had a pharos to Scottish bibliography and a monument worthy of the library, and less cause to regret its dispersion. When speaking of a catalogue of the projected Scottish National Portrait Exhibition, Carlyle writes to Laing: 'What value and excellence might lie in such a catalogue, if

rightly done, I need not say to David Laing ; nor what labour, knowledge, and resources, would be needed to do it well ! Perhaps divided among several men (with some *head* to preside over all), according to the several *periods* and classes of subject ;— I can perceive *work* enough for *you*, amongst others, there ! But, on the whole, it could be done ; and it would be well worth doing, and a permanently useful thing.' This is quite as appropriate to a catalogue of a library such as that which David Laing had formed.

David Laing was not a gossip, he did not deal in reminiscences, or retail stories to casual listeners. He had met most of the interesting men of two generations ; many of them he knew intimately. From his father he had heard much of those of an earlier generation, and had a fund of information regarding them, which he was quite ready to communicate on proper occasions. He would, however, have thought it a breach of confidence to write about his friends and acquaintances. Even had he thought otherwise, 'Recollections' are generally unsatisfactory ; the writers seem to miss the point ; they tell what is of little moment, and omit what we want to know. His reticence as to Thomas Thomson is remarkable. He was on the most intimate terms of friendship with him ; their tastes and pursuits were the same ; they had worked together for many years ; Thomson had been one of his father's executors, yet when it came to providing material for his life he told nothing. Cosmo Innes acknowledges his assistance, but Laing gave us no picture of the man, no anecdote, no side-light of any kind. One of the most striking features of Boswell's immortal biography is the store of curious information that he obtained from Johnson about the many literary men, distinguished and obscure, with whom he had come in contact. Talker as he was, Johnson would not have communicated it had he not been forced to yield it up by the quick wit of Boswell. David Laing was always ready to give information and to answer questions, in order to clear up a difficulty or the like ; but it is a question whether he would have responded even to a Boswell.

No one has more fitly answered the question, What manner of man was David Laing ? than the Rev. Dr. William Robertson, in words addressed to the congregation of New Greyfriars after his death : 'He lived in great measure withdrawn from the eyes of

the world, and owing to his modesty and retiring disposition, few, except those who were themselves walking in the same path of literature, or were interested in its results, were acquainted with the singular talents he displayed in his own department, with the successful labours which he prosecuted, and the untiring zeal almost up to the moment when the sands of his glass were to be counted by grains, or with the singularly voluminous evidence of his genius and his industry which he has left behind him. Widely known beyond the brilliant circle of literary men and archaeologists he was not. It is strange how completely his own retiring habits excluded him from general fame, and it may be that comparatively few even of this congregation were at all aware that the grave, unpretending old gentleman whom they were accustomed to see for long years in his place among them, was unquestionably in his own selected walk the most distinguished man of his generation. . . . He did not work either for money or for fame. . . . Utterly devoid of noisy ambition or love of notoriety, his life was one of singular industry, and honour, and usefulness. . . . Not only his latter end, but his whole life was peace. . . .

Let me add in the words of the poet,

From his cradle
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one ;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken and persuading ;
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.

DAVID MURRAY.

Layamon's Knowledge of Runic Inscriptions

IN a recent monograph¹ I endeavoured to show that the runic crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle were erected in the twelfth century, in opposition to a traditional opinion, dating from the middle of the last century, that they are to be ascribed to the seventh. In support of the latter view Dalton² has recently said: 'Runes would have been unintelligible in the twelfth century.' As I remarked in my monograph:³ 'That runic inscriptions were carved in England in the twelfth century is generally admitted. Such are those on a tympanum at Perrington (1150 or later), the so-called Dolfin runes at Carlisle Cathedral (doubtful), those on the Bridekirk font, and those on the Adam grave-slab at Dearham'; and I cited, by way of substantiation, such scholars as Collingwood and Vietor, who favour the early date for the two runic crosses.

That a writer of the early thirteenth century was familiar with the idea of runic monuments is clear from a passage in Layamon's *Brut* (*ca.* 1205), where he describes a stone erected to commemorate the victory of a mythical British king, Marius, over an equally mythical Pictish king, Rodric, as carved with 'strange runic letters' (*sælcude runstaven*). This same word for runic letters had been used three times in Old English poetry, in its plural form *rūnstafas*. Thus in the epic poem of Beowulf⁴: 'And on the guard of shining gold was rightly graven, set forth and told in runic letters, for whom the sword had first been made, that best of blades.' The other two instances are in the poetic riddles. *Riddle 42* (43), the *rūnstafas* mentioned are those that spell the words *hana*, 'cock,' and *hæn*, 'hen'; in *Riddle 58* (59), the runic letters in question are said to be three in number. The passage from Layamon is as follows (9946-9975, written as long lines):

¹ 'The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses': *Trans. Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* 17. 213-381; cf. *The Bewcastle Cross*, New Haven, Conn., 1913.

² *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 236, note 3.

³ P. 32 = 244.

⁴ 1694-7, Tinker's translation.

Pis folc wes isomned, and þe king fusde ;
 Ferde into Scotlonde, þere he Rodric king fond.
 Heo fuhten swiðe feondliche, and feollen þa Peohtes,
 And Rodric þer wes ofslazen, and seoððen mid heorsen todrazen.
 Per dude Maurius þe king a wel swuðe sællech þing :
 Uppen þen ilke stude þer he Rodric vordude,
 He lette aræren anan enne swuðe sælcuð stan ;
 He lette þeron graven *sælcude runstaven*,
 Hu he Rodric ofsloh, and hine mid horsen todroh,
 And hu he þa Peohtes overcom mid his fæhtes.
 Up he sette þene stan ; zet he þer stondeð,
 Swa he deð al swa longe swa þa woreld stondeð.
 Nome him scupte þe king, and hehte þene stan Westmering ;
 A muchel dæl londes, þe þer lið abuten,
 Nom þe king to his hond, and hæhte hit Westmerelinge lond.

Layamon's verses are ultimately founded upon Geoffrey of Monmouth (A.D. 1139-1148) 4. 17, who makes Marius the son of Arviragus, and thus refers the event to the first century of our era :

'Successit ei in regnum filius ejus Marius, vir miræ prudentiæ et sapientiæ. Regnante postmodum illo, quidam rex Pictorum, nomine Rodric, de Scythia cum magna classe veniens, applicuit in Aquilonarem partem Britanniæ, quæ Albania appellatur, coepitque provinciam illam vastare. Collecto igitur populo suo petivit eum Marius; illatisque præliis ipsum interfecit, et victoria potitus est. Deinde erexit lapidem in signum triumphi sui, in provincia quæ postea de nomine ejus Westimaria dicta fuit; in quo inscriptus titulus ejus memoriam usque in hodiernum diem testatur.'

Geoffrey's account was soon paraphrased by Wace (1155), *Brut* 5294-5307, but in neither writer is there any question of runic letters.

Geoffrey and Wace are the only predecessors on whom Layamon could have drawn for his statements regarding the stone, for William of Malmesbury, in the prologue to the Third Book of his *Gesta Pontificum* (1125), has a quite different account :

'In aliquibus tamen parietum ruinis, qui semiruti remansere, videas mira Romanorum artifitia; ut est in Lugubalia civitate triclinium lapideis forniciibus concameratum, quod nulla umquam tempestatum contumelia, quin etiam nec appositis ex industria lignis et succensis, valuit labefactari. Cumbreland vocatur regio, et Cumbri vocantur homines, scripturaque legitur in fronte triclinii: "Marii Victoriæ." Quod quid sit hesito, nisi forte pars Cimbrorum olim his locis insederit cum fuissent a Mario Italia pulsi.'

As William of Malmesbury is somewhat scornfully told by Geoffrey to keep to his Saxon kings, about whom he knows something, and not meddle with Geoffrey's British kings, since

he has not 'that book in the British speech which Walter, Archdeacon of Oxford, did convey hither out of Brittany' (12. 20), one can readily understand why Geoffrey declines to follow him here. William knows of a refectory, made by the Romans, still standing at Carlisle, in Cumberland, bearing on its façade the legend *To the Victory of Marius*, who is assumed by William to be the Marius of the Roman civil wars. Geoffrey, on the other hand, tells of a stone, still standing in Westmorland, erected by Marius, a British king of the first century, to commemorate his victory over Rodric, a Pictish invader.

After Layamon's time, we hear nothing of either the stone or the refectory for nearly a century and a half, but in the fourteenth century the chroniclers again take sides. Higden (*ca. 1342*) corrects William of Malmesbury by an appeal to Geoffrey.¹ In the *Brut*, or *Chronicle of England*, written not far from 1350, which was of great reputation till after the time of Caxton, and was followed by Fabyan and Holinshed, Marius has become Westmær, and the location of the monument, Steynesmore (Stanemoor, Stainmore). Thus the story runs :²

'Hit biselle so þat tydynges come to him [Westmer] oppon a day, þat þe Kyng Rodrik of Gascoigne was comen into þis lande wiþ an huge noumbre of peple, and was duellyng in Steynesmore. . . . And after this bataile þat is above-saide, when Rodrik was dede, Kyng Westmer, in remembraunce of his victorie, lete arere þere, bisides þe way, a grete stone in hye—& zitte it standeþ, and evermore shal stande—and lete grave in þe stone lettres þat þus saide : 'The Kyng Westmere of Britaigne quellede in þis place Rodrik his enemy.' . . . And at þat stone bigynneth Westmerland, þat Westmer lete calle after his owen name. And when Westmer hade so done, he duellede al his lityme in þat contre of Westmerland, for he lovede þat contre more ; and when he hade regnede xxv. ȝere, he deide, & liþ at Karleile.'

About 1367, the *Eulogium Historiarum* gives a substantially identical account, but calls Gascony Aquitaine (Geoffrey's Scythia), and presents a different text of the inscription (ed. Haydon, Rolls Series, 2. 261-2) :

'Successit ei in regnum filius ejus Marius, vir miræ prudentiæ et sapientiæ. Ipso regnante venit quidam rex de Aquitania, nomine Rodrik, cum magno exercitu in partibus Boreæ ad ipsum debellandum ; quod ille audiens exercitum copiosum Britonum colligit, et versus regem alienum se dirigit, et ei obviavit in quodam vasto quo vocatur Staynesmor. Illis coeuntibus cædes fit magna, sed victoria Britonibus remisit. Rex Marius regem Rodericum propriis manibus trucidavit, unde lapidem magnum erexit in titulum, in quo usque hodie visa est talis scriptio : 'Her the king Westmer

¹ Rolls Series, 2. 70 ; cf. 4. 416.

² Ed. Brie, E.E.T.S. 131. 36-7.

slouth [var. slow] the king Rothinger.' Primo vocabatur Marius, deinde victoria habita vocabatur Westmarius a quo dicitur Westmerland, nam illam partem patriæ multum de cætero dilexerat.'

Fordun (2. 28), writing before 1384, paraphrases William of Malmesbury concerning the refectory, though he calls Marius a patrician of the Britons, as well as general of the Roman legions. Hector Boece,¹ John Leslie,² George Buchanan,³ and others, celebrate Stanemoor only for the supposed meeting there of William the Conqueror and Malcolm Canmore, though, as Collingwood points out,⁴ this meeting actually took place at Abernethy.

Camden⁵ reproduces William of Malmesbury; Marius he strangely thinks to be either Arviragus, or that Marius, one of the so-called Thirty Tyrants, 'who was saluted Emperor in opposition to Gallienus.'⁶ He also favours the reading *Marti Victori*, rather than *Marii Victoriae*.

Milton, in his *History of Britain*,⁷ after referring to Geoffrey's story, adds: 'But these things have no foundation.'

Hutchinson⁸ refers to William of Malmesbury's triclinium at Carlisle, and adds that it 'is now so perfectly destroyed as not even to have left the site, or one memorial where it stood, remaining.'

It appears significant that no one who follows Geoffrey, with the single exception of Layamon, refers to the inscription as written in runes. Geoffrey and Wace would no doubt have thought of Latin or Celtic, perhaps rather the former. The fourteenth-century writers seem to assume that the inscription was written in the English of their own period. The author of the *Eulogium* even makes out a kind of rhyme, or at least assonance, by changing 'Rodric' to 'Rothinger.' His version gains a certain plausibility from the consideration that it might readily be transposed into Old English :

Hēr se cyning Westmær
Slōg ðone cyning Rothinger.

Run(e) is a fairly common word in Layamon, and is mostly employed by him in such senses as 'communing, converse,' 'counsel,' 'instruction,' 'rumour,' 'whisper,' but in at least three

¹ 12. 10; A.D. 1527.

² Bk. 6; 1578.

³ Bk. 7; 1582.

⁴ *Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 265.

⁵ *Britannia*, 5th ed., p. 705; ed. Gibson, 1722, 2. 1025.

⁶ Cf. Milton, *Hist. Brit.*, ed. Bohn, p. 225.

⁷ Ed. Bohn, pp. 220-1.

⁸ *Hist. Cumberland* 2. 650.

instances (3196, 25340, 32000) is used for 'letter, character.' In the first of these, the 'runes' of a letter written by Lear are precious to Aganippe, the future husband of Cordelia; in the second, the Roman senators counsel the emperor to write 'runes,' and send his messengers with them through many kingdoms; in the third, Æthelstan establishes hallmoots and hundreds, and the names of the towns [on the Welsh border?] in Saxon 'runes' (*Saxisce runen*), just as the Saxons renamed London (7111-2), and Æthelstan gave men Saxon names (32007-8). One of the two meanings of the compound *leodrun(e)* in Layamon is 'charm, incantation'; thus Vortigern, when in sorry straits, bade his wise men (15498-9) cast lots and try incantations (*fondien leodrunen*), and accordingly they proceeded to cast lots *with* their 'folk-runes.' Two hundred years before, the word had been used in the same sense, for in the *Saxon Leechdoms* (2. 138) there are directions how to counteract an 'evil folk-rune' (*yfelre lēodrūnan*) by writing a certain writ in Greek letters, and by other means. Even *rūn-stafas* is to be found in this sense in Old English. Ælfric,¹ in retelling Bede's story of Imma, the Mercian soldier who, having been taken captive, was enabled to burst his bonds through the efficacy of masses sung by his brother, tells how the earl who had Imma in charge asked him whether he had broken the bonds by magic or 'runic letters' (*ðurh rūnstafum*); here Bede² has the earl inquire whether the prisoner knew the liberating rune (*ālys-endlice rūne*), and had with him the letters (*stafas*) written out, about which stories were current (*litteras solutorias, de qualibus fabulae ferunt*), where the *rūne* and these *stafas* are equivalent.

Something of magic or mystery, then, may still have been connoted by Layamon's *runstaven*, and the notion would be still further intensified by the word *sælcūðe*, 'strange, marvellous.' Considering his extensive journeys through England (27-8), it is tempting to conjecture that the then recent erection of our two runic crosses on the Border, each within twenty-five or thirty miles of Westmorland, suggested the traditional old term to Layamon, when elaborating the story that originated with Geoffrey, three-quarters of a century before; but whatever we may think of such a hypothesis as that, it is certainly interesting that he describes the inscription on a monument in this region by a term for runic letters which we first encounter in the poetry of four hundred years earlier. With this in mind, we shall hardly think it surprising that there was sufficient knowledge of runes at

¹ *Hom.* 2. 358.

² *Eccles. Hist.* 4. 22.

the command of a powerful leader, fifty or sixty years previous, to enable him to secure the carving on the Ruthwell Cross of a few phrases from such an early poem as *The Dream of the Rood*, especially as it is well known that Old English works were still copied and studied in the twelfth century.¹

ALBERT S. COOK.

¹ Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, p. 11.

Narrative of a Journey from Edinburgh to Dresden in 1814

HAVING undertaken,¹ in the way of my profession, to execute some business at Dresden, & in its vicinity, I resolved to travel unattended, with a small Portmanteau, containing nothing but a few Shirts, Stockings & Neckcloths, &c., and some papers connected with the object of my Mission.

It was necessary to proceed by London, and on the 11th of May 1814, I set out from Edinburgh at 5 o'clock in the morning, in the Union Coach. Among others I was glad to find as a Companion of my Journey Mr. Pr. John Playfair, a man not less celebrated as a Literary Philosopher of the first rank, than remarkable for the elegant affability of his manners and conversation. This Coach travels with much expedition. Passing through

¹The writer of this Narrative, William Anderson, was born in Edinburgh about 1765, the youngest son of James Anderson and Sarah Cargill. He married in 1808 Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James Grahame of Mugdock Castle, Dunbartonshire.

He served his apprenticeship to the Law partly in the office of Messrs. Hill in Glasgow and partly in Edinburgh. He practised as a lawyer in Edinburgh for over thirty years. He was an accomplished scholar and transcribed from Black Letter numerous chartularies of ancient Scottish Abbeys for the Advocates' Library. In politics he was a strong Whig, and among his intimate friends were Lord Cockburn and Sir Adam Ferguson.

His journey to Dresden and back in 1814, on which he travelled as quickly as he could, partly post, partly by *Diligence*, and faster than the mail, occupied fifty-nine days, of which, however, in consequence of enforced delays, only thirty-six were spent in actual travelling, when his progress was at the average rate of eighty-eight miles a day. The journal, in which he recorded the events of each day from his leaving Edinburgh till his return, is a MS. of 138 closely written folio pages. The passages here given amount to considerably less than a fifth of the whole.

The winter of 1813-14 had been one of the longest and coldest on record. The war had now, for the time, ceased on the Continent. Napoleon, defeated at Leipzig in September, 1813, and pursued into France by the Allies, who entered Paris on 31st March, abdicated at Fontainebleau on 11th April, and was banished to Elba. He landed there in the week before that in which Mr. Anderson set out on his journey.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

Musselburgh and Haddington, we breakfasted at Dunbar, and leaving behind us the early and rich lands of East Lothian & the Northern Corner of Berwickshire, we entered on Coldingham Moor.

At half past ten o'Clock we found ourselves in the Turf Inn at NewCastle, kept by Loftus & Coy., Collingwood Street. In the course of this day we travelled one hundred & sixteen miles ; and we could not help remarking that all Northumberland was very far behind the Lothians in vegetation and in agriculture ; and the Malt liquor once so desirable here, & of late so highly improved in Scotland, is now in this part of England, either very execrable, or not at all to be had.

After looking at the old Castle and Church, and having breakfasted, we left NewCastle on the twelfth of May at nine o'clock in the morning.—Our Bill for supper & lodging & breakfast, was 10/6 ;—

The Country, still bleak & backward, displayed however the broader features & character of England in the distance ; while the ragged Hedges making a bad fence, & composed of Hawthorn, Honeysuckle, Crabs, Hazel &c^a. formed a strong contrast to the well dressed Hedges which we had left in the North. The rapidity of our movement prevented us from paying much attention to the various modes in which steam is here applied to the Carriage of Coals. In some, machinery is necessary to move the waggons along the rail ways.— In others, a small Engine self-propelled drags after it many Carts without foreign aid.—

We were set down in York about 10 o'Clock at the York Tavern & Hotel, kept by Pulleyn, a very good House, with an abundant Larder. Although we had travelled between 80 & 90 miles to day I was glad to find that Mr. P. was quite vigorous ; & we took tickets to Stamford in the Highflyer, which was to start for London at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning.—

We arrived, by Hartford, Hoddesdon, &c^a, at London about 4 o'Clock (May 14), and were driven furiously through the narrow & crowded Streets of the city, to Rickards Hotel, the White Horse, Fetterlane, where after dining on bad Soles and very indifferent Beef Steak, the worthy Professor went in search of Lodgings ; and I went to pay a visit to my Brother at Hammersmith.

After proper recommendation, and on payment of £2. 7. 6 str., I got from the Foreign Office an ample passport signed by Lord Castlereagh.

I also got a document of as important a description, from Messrs. Coutts, being a letter of credit for £1000 Str. on Brussels, Cologne, Frankfort, Dresden and Paris, by which means I would never be obliged to carry much specie in my pockets at one time. Mr. Coutts likewise procured me a little foreign coin, for which I paid at the rate of 20 guineas in paper, for 18 Napoleons in gold. This was extremely high, the Napoleon being only worth 16/8d, if we suppose our Guinea to be worth no more than 21 shillings. Being thus fortified and having a sufficient quantity of Notes of the Bank of England for immediate use, I repaired to the White Bear in Piccadilly, where I took a place for Dover in what they called the Paris Coach, & prepared to leave this great city without having even attended the Theatres, or seen Mr. Kean, or the Indian Jugglers, or any thing of Interest, except the Exhibition, which, with the exception of a very few paintings by Wilkie, Nasmyth, and Raeburn, contained nothing at all remarkable ; but was perpetually crowded (notwithstanding the meagre entertainment it afforded) with the whole fashionable & vulgar World of the Metropolis.—

At seven o'clock in the morning of the 21st of May we set out for Dover. At Canterbury I found myself set down to dinner in a public room with ten or twelve French people returning from captivity. We reached Dover about 9 o'clock. The 22nd of May was excessively cold, and so boisterous that none of the packets could leave the Harbour. I was thus condemned to spend a Sunday at Dover.

On the morning of the 23rd as I stood on the Quay a genteel little man requested me to purchase a large Bag of French Crowns. I was somewhat suspicious of them, but agreed to take a few.— He said they would cost a guinea for six, & I produced some notes of the Bank of England. He refused these, & said he would only take guineas. When I told him I had none, he disappeared. This man was a Custom House Officer who wished to discover by this *finesse* whether or not I was carrying Gold out of the Kingdom, contrary to Law, that he might have seized it. A short time before a traveller was congratulating himself to his Companion that he had forty guineas in his pocket, which had escaped at the Custom House. A revenue Officer was unfortunately at his elbow, who immediately requested with a low bow that he would have the goodness to give him those forty guineas which he had been talking of, & this requisition was unavoidably complied with.

About 2 o'clock we saw the spires of Calais, and in half an hour entered its harbour. I secured a place in the Diligence to St. Omer, for which we set off at 5 oClock in the morning of the 24th of May. The conveyance was a kind of deep Gig, covered with canvas, containing three and the driver, on a front & back seat, drawn by one Horse. The harness was of common ropes. Beside me on the back seat sat a French Officer returned from England, with a long rapier & a pair of Horse pistols double shotted, '*pour se defendre contre les voleurs*,' & for which he had paid at Chatham four fifths of his whole fortune. The other who sat with our *conducteur*, was a travelling Merchant from the centre of Paris. The conversation of these gentlemen was horribly hostile to the reign of Louis. The Soldier declared that there must be a civil war, & avowed himself openly for Napoleon. The Merchant was a pure democrat of the fiercest cast, whom nothing would please but the overthrow of all Kings.¹ We met many conscripts travelling home through the mud, perfect boys & scarcely able to crawl with fatigue ; quite tame, nothing terrible about them.

At Cassel (May 25) the Dunkirk diligence made its appearance, a monstrous Machine carrying nine inside passengers, drawn by four Horses, with a *conducteur* or Guard, besides the Postilion. We were shifted into this Vehicle, in which there were already five passengers, two officers who had been severely wounded, & taken by the troops of Blucher at Chalons sur Marne, & Craone, a sort of Lady, & two fellows from Norman-Cross. These Gentlemen from England treated me with much insolence, & complained bitterly of their wage while prisoners. The only point of hardship however that they could specify was, that women were not allowed to enter the *depot*, and they found great fault at the same time, that an English Girl valued a guinea as lightly as a lass of Flanders would a ten sous piece. The wounded Frenchmen were extremely polite, and drew very feeling pictures of the battles where they suffered, and of the hardships they endured while in the hands of the enemy. What eyes! What shrugs! What contortions, & selfish lamentations!

It was nearly ten oClock before we left Cassel, and entered on a Country finer still than any we had travelled through. I was told with a triumphant sneer '*que ce pays vaut bien l'Angleterre*,' & certainly there can be no comparison. The whole road however was disgraced by marks of Catholic Superstition, & the bigotry of the people. Everywhere we saw crucifixes, virgins, & Saints of

¹ Ils sont tous des scelerats. Il faut les mettre à bas.

every description. We soon entered what was formerly Austrian Brabant (May 26), and at the Village of Roncq were met by a great Body of French Soldiers returning from Holland, with their Cannon & Tumbrils, looking as proudly as their situation would permit ; but it had rained incessantly for several days, as it did now ; and nothing can be conceived more wretched than the appearance of these men. Many of them, very young, not above 14 years old, could scarcely drag their naked legs after them. Leaving Menin the country is not so much wooded, but extremely beautiful. The Lint crops resembling carpets of velvet were most carefully weeded. On a little field of not more than two acres, I counted upwards of a hundred Weeders, sitting in one straight line, close to each other, dressing the rich sandy loam with a kind of knife round every stalk of the lint. Every one of these people had a basket on their back into which they threw the minutest weed.

Numberless Jesus & Marias still occurred along the Road, as we passed through the Communes of Beveren & Desseleheim. The Forest Timber here is chiefly Oak and Poplar. Beans are less frequent, for which Lint seems to be substituted. The Houses and Hamlets are all better & more substantial than those in England. I observed with regret every Cottage marked with a particular number in figures, evidently to facilitate Conscription, contributions & other purposes of Military despotism. Coming nearer to Ghent we encountered a large Transport of miserable French sick & wounded from the North whom it was painful to look at.

I observed occasionally in the plantations hereabouts, Scots firs, larches, & Silver firs, which are uncommon in the Netherlands, and appeared to have been introduced as rare trees.

About 7 o'Clock we entered the great & ancient city of Ghent or Gand.

On the 27th of May I rose early, & was waited upon by a *Commissionnaire* offering his services. A *Commissionnaire* is much the same as one of that class of People called Cadies in Edinr. who are now with us mostly extinct.— Their business is to hang about Inns & Hotels, & attend at Coffee Rooms & Market places, soliciting Strangers, in the most engaging manner to use their assistance in viewing the curiosities of the Town, saying that they know every fine thing that deserves to be seen, & insinuate in a sly whisper that they can introduce you to a very pretty Girl not more than sixteen years of age, who sings charm-

ingly, & whose Aunt is just gone to spend a day or two in the Country.— It was one of these convenient gentlemen who conducted me through the Streets of Ghent this Morning.

My Commissionaire carried me to look at an immense Cannon in the middle of a Street, supported upon three grooved stones placed under it, at equal distances.— It was made at Mons. Its length is upwards of 20 feet & the diameter of the Calibre about 2 feet. In Edinr. Castle there was a large gun of this description called Mons Meg, which Town, I suppose, was long ago celebrated for the manufacture of these large pieces.

This guide of mine was an intelligent Conscript, who had lost his hand at the battle of Hanau during the French flight from Leipzic. He affected to be very well pleased with Bonaparte's overthrow ; but when I questioned him as to the truth of the story that eighteen Citizens of Ghent had been shot for insurrection, he assured me it was not so ; that General Maison, though entitled by the laws of war to have given up the place to be sacked, had behaved ‘en brave et honnête homme’ & had killed none of the Citizens.—

We arrived at the Barrier of Brussels between six & seven oClock in the evening. A Revenue Officer carefully searched the Vehicle for Contraband goods, and a young soldier dressed in a kilt, or ‘jupon’ as they called it here, hating excisemen as all Highlanders do, reviled him very bitterly during his search, in good plain Scots. I called out ‘where do you come from?’ & the Soldier thinking he had been detected in a fault answered very sheepishly ‘from Bamff.’

A Deputation had just returned from Paris, where they had been to wait on the allied Sovereigns, anxious to learn the fate of their Country. They had got no satisfactory answer, but some how or other a rumour prevailed this morning that the Netherlands were to be united to Holland. With this the people were greatly dissatisfied. Enemies in religion, and rivals in commerce, & hostile from long opposed Interests, the Brabanters hate the Dutch ; & a great ferment was excited by the idea of this Union. I am told the people are equally averse to their old Masters the Austrians.— The French had squeezed & pillaged them into a detestation of their sway ;—and too weak to stand independant, the presence of a British Army commanding in their capital behaving in the most exemplary manner, had created in all ranks an eager desire to be placed under the government of England.— This was the report of my guide ; & I knew perfectly, from observation as well as

information, that the Inhabitants were happy & proud to have our officers in their houses, at the same time that they dreaded a visitation of the Prussians as a curse. On our common Soldiers, particularly the Highlanders, the effects of the kindness of the Natives were singularly marked. From sinewy, lean, raw-boned fellows, they had become fat & pursy with the good & greasy feeding of the Country ; & the seams of their clothes seemed as if ready to burst with their increased size & plumpness.

Journeying by way of Liége and Aix la Chapelle, about half past five on 31st May we were stopped at the gates of Cologne, where I was obliged to make a declaration of my business.

For the great extent of the Town the present population is small, being estimated at 40,000 ; but its adventitious Military Occupants filled the Streets at this moment. They swarmed with Russian Troops of all descriptions. As I walked along, five Cossacks, foaming with fatigue & intoxication, rode straight up to me, the first having his pike within a foot of my head. He called out '*Snaps*' '*Snaps*' with a threatening attitude & aspect. Luckily a person behind pointed cross the Street to a Tavern, to which they immediately repaired to get what they wanted, which was neither more nor less than a dram. As I did not answer their enquiry, which I did not understand, these drunkards might have abused & stabbed me on the spot. When intoxicated they are very ungovernable, & quite the reverse when sober. Besides their pikes, these men had each two horse pistols stuck in their belts fully 20 inches long, a short Gun slung over their shoulders, a sword hanging at their side, & their thick short whip, which of itself is no inconsiderable weapon of Offence.

At Coblenz (June 1) we found ourselves in the midst of 1000 Cossacks just arrived to bivouac. We filed through them with difficulty & some danger ; owing to the quickness of their motions & the length and sharpness of their confounded pikes, which they were handling with no regularity, as their different Tartar-like Bands manœuvred and wheeled about in search of their positions for the night.

Finding it impossible to sleep, as soon as the day broke on the 2d. of June, I opened my Window looking into the Court or Square of the Hotel, which I saw filled with Cossacks, some of them lying asleep along with their Horses in the open air, others sharpening & polishing the points of their pikes, & others more innocently employed, drawing & carrying water for the Kitchen maids, with the greatest alacrity.

We had no sooner ordered breakfast than the Infantry of the Russian General Winzingerodis Corps, accompanied with their Artillery & baggage, began to march off through the Town, & defiled by a narrow part of the Street, almost level with the Window of our Room. They consisted of many Regiments each having fine Bands of Music. Their banners were almost all in tatters, shot to pieces;—some of them carried nothing but the staff with a fragment of the flag tied round it. Almost all the plumes of the Grenadiers had suffered the same fate. Their cannon, muskets, bayonets & every piece of metal about them was pure & shining. Their coats were all sufficiently patched & colourless but quite whole. They all wore loose white pantaloons perfectly clean, and seemingly new. Some of the Regiments had whiskers, &c. & others none. The sound of their drums was harsher & more terrible than ours. These Instruments were struck by men not by dwarfs; and indeed in this great body of Infantry, consisting of 14 or 15,000 there were not fifty who had the appearance of boys. My Companion observed that these were very different troops from the *Carmagnols*, a nickname given by the Germans to the French Soldiers, an opinion to which I readily assented, altho' I had never seen any French Regiment in a state of Organisation. My Companions ranged farther, & I durst not, however partially I felt, say that any British Battalion looked like those men who were passing before my eyes. For strength, determination & fierceness of Countenance, and steadiness & quickness of March, all combined, they exceeded any thing I had seen. I strained my memory, but nothing would do, unless perhaps I might be allowed to cite our 42d. Regt. in the year 1789, who were then all picked men, & who passed me at a trot on their route from Perth to the Forth, travelling loose at the rate of five miles an hour. The waste of war has not left us these, nor their equals. The immensity of the Russian Empire enables its ruler to supply the Havoc of a battle with men of the same description with those who have fallen.

It cleared a little, & we proceeded to the water side. Here the same bustle continued to prevail. A rear guard of Cossacks & Tartars to the number of about 2,000 men with their baggage & disabled Horses, still remained on this side, & half the population of the Town had turned out to look at them. It was a sight certainly worth while. Some of the Cossacks were drunk, others in deep distress lamenting over their lame horses that crawled beside them,—many of them were naked swimming about &

diving under the water. The greater part, driven by their Officers, were embarking with their booty, which appeared to be very trifling; while a number of others, some completely naked, others in their cloathes dared the great River & swam over on Horseback. The distance was such, that we saw with difficulty the heads of the Horses & their Riders, when they approached the opposite bank. I considered this as a wonderful exertion, not called for from necessity, but denoting the confidence & impatience of these men. Besides the horse on which they sat, some of them drove five or six loose Horses before them; others led the same number behind them, & they all crossed safely without an accident. One of these Cossacks offered to sell me his poor lame Horse for a crown.

At this moment the French Garrison of Magdeburgh was returning occupying all the boats they could get below, without venturing to encounter the Cossacks on the great flying Bridge. A great proportion of them, wretched & maimed spectres without legs or arms, found great difficulty in getting out of the boats & landing on the rough bank of the River. As we got nearer to Frankfort we overtook six or seven Regiments of Cossacks, Bashkirs, &c. with their cumbersome & ill assorted baggage, along which there were several small Tartar Boat-shaped Waggons, conveying Women & Children, much way worn & war worn, & falling to pieces from the waste of time. The delay we here experienced was very great, but in the first instance, among the Cossacks, it could not be attributed to our Guard or Postillion, who treated them with the roughest Language, & drove through them as if they had been a parcel of sheep. Entering among other Troops, of a more formidable description, Horse Lancers, Artillery, with ammunition and forage, Waggons, Officers Carriages, pressing along & completely choaking up the Road, we found it impossible to pass. The Officers & Soldiers of the different Corps, all wearing green boughs in their caps & helmets in token of their Victories, looked so fiercely at our great heavy vehicle, that we did not venture to desire them to make way for us. Slowly approaching the City the crowd encreased more & more, & we moved for miles as if we had been following a funeral.

At Frankfort (June 4) my first object was to secure a place in the Coach which went towards Dresden, and I got the 4th Seat in that which was to leave Frankfort for Berka at six oClock on Monday morning, there being no travelling on Sunday.

The great vice, & seemingly the total occupation of the whole men

of the Districts through which I had passed is to smoke. Every person is furnished with a large ornamented pipe, the head of which generally resembles the but-end of a pistol. Their Tobacco is very bad, almost all grown in France or Flanders; & although by the Regulations it is expressly forbidden ‘aux voyageurs, comme aux Conducteurs, de fumer du Tabac dans les Diligences’ I never saw fewer than four or five pipes smoking in the Coach at the same moment;—& an instant & deadly quarrell would have ensued from any remonstrance against the beastly & horrid practice.

At Hanau (June 6), here and there, some long narrow mounds covered with no crop, pointed out the spot where the slain had been buried; & a number of Carrion Crows were seated on & seemed to be much delighted with these *tumuli*. They had actually uncovered some of the dead, & were tearing the rotten flesh from their bones.

At the dawn of day on the 8th of June we had got through the Mountainous woods of Thuringia, & reached the Town of Eisenach about four oClock in the morning. The Cold was intense, unequalled by any I had ever experienced at this season of the year, & we had almost constant showers. We continued to pass through small Villages, parts of which had been destroyed.

The whole of this district of Saxony, called Thuringia, was much farther back than the early Counties of Scotland. The May or Hawthorn flower was scarcely in its prime. The Oaks & ashes were not in full leaf. The Oats & barley were just appearing above the soil. This Season however had been particularly severe, perhaps more so here than in Scotland.

At Gotha a person worthy of credit from his appearance, who with another was drinking Coffee in the Room where we dined, assured me that they had buried more than a Thousand people this last spring who had died in consequence of the epidemic distemper brought among them by the French Army. I ventured to remark that it was a severe season, which had probably occasioned the death of all these old people. The good man exclaimed in a rage, that none of the old people had died; that they were almost all young people of both sexes who had suffered; & that the rascally French had been the sole cause of all their calamities.

The Army of the Duke I was told amounted to fifteen hundred men & such of them as I saw were the oldest & tallest & leanest Soldiers, that had ever come under my observation.

We soon entered upon a most extensive uninclosed plain, badly cultivated, without any Trees. Very frequently the ridges or furrows were crooked, and the ground was by no means clean. We saw Oat & barley crops & unploughed Land designed for fallow, as far as the eye could reach. They said that the greater part of these Lands belonged in property to the Farmers, which may be the reason that their system of Agriculture is so bad. We here met with toll bars, where *Chaussée Geld* was demanded.

We were most vexatiously detained at Erfurt (June 9) for more than seven hours. To pass the time we drank some good ale at the *Weissen Ross*, or White Horse, a house equal to the Kaiser. My companions insisted on paying for the Ale as I did not smoke. In return I entertained them at the *Emperor* with a bowl of Rum punch, made with very good liquor, & a *citron de Genoa*. Neither they nor any person about the house had ever seen the mixture before, but they all professed that they liked it vastly, & only objected to its strength. I was constantly surprised at the uniform sobriety of all these Foreigners. They drink very little, & their wines are weak ; & it is scandalous to impute the beastly vice of drunkenness to the Germans, as they do in Britain. In Scotland & England there is ten times more intoxication than among the people of the continent ; & I can declare, that with the exception of a few straggling Cossacks, I never saw a man much the worse of liquor in France, Flanders or Germany.

The road was occasionally very hilly, & we did not contrive to make out three miles within the hour. Indeed, we dismounted from the carriage, & walked the greater part of the way to the essential injury of my boots & other equipments ; but the cold was still intense, & to walk was the only way to get the better of it. We had got greatly before our Vehicle, & had arrived at a few houses at the foot of a long pull, where we were suddenly encompassed by more than Five Hundred French Soldiers returning from Poland almost all without stockings or shoes, & otherwise in a very ragged condition ; but they were all in high spirits, & shewed no despondency on account of the length of the Journey before them. Some of them, Officers or Serjeants looked very saucily at us, & I confess I was more afraid of these fellows than of the poor Cossacks.

At dawn (June 11), we passed Makranstadt, the village where the French first made a halt after their defeat at the terrible Battle of Leipzic. A thick fog covered all the plain & the wooded meadows through which the Elster & the Pleisse circulate round

the South West side of this great city. The Poles, our two fellow-passengers, who were in the battle, could not point out therefore anything very distinctly to us. Capt. Smotzensky said he was with his father the General, on the staff of Poniatowsky, & was present when the Prince lost his life. He said he crossed the same Stream where the Prince sunk, without any Horse, & ran in his boots & great coat all the way to Makranstadt a distance of six or seven miles. He said that many of the Poles were shot in the River which was not ten yards broad, but deep, with steep muddy banks like a wall of seven or eight feet high, so that tall & active men only could possibly get through. He also said that he was struck by a musket ball when in the Water, but not hurt, as it did not penetrate the necks of his great coat. He persisted that the Bridge was blown up by the Corporal as stated in Bonaparte's famous Bulletin, & that he saw it spring in the air (*sauter*).

There are however in fact four bridges over four distinct small Streams all of which I saw & passed. Two of these Bridges were destroyed & now repaired, & two were not injured. They are all in succession within less than a mile & a half of the Town, over different branches of the Pleisse & the Elster, & it is difficult to say which of these two Bridges was alluded to by Bonaparte. He talks as if there had been only one, but each of the four was equally important, & when two were destroyed, it is plain that it must have been done by design, & not by error, unless you can suppose two blundering Corporals, as well as two blown up Bridges. That the great Road must thus have been impeded at a most critical moment, is known to all, but every one had their own story with respect to the manner in which it took place. It is clear to me, without any doubt, that the Emperor had ordered them all to be destroyed ; & voluntarily wished to sacrifice his rear guard & the Poles, to secure the retreat of the rest of his army.

On June 12th we entered Dresden about twelve o'Clock. My passport was taken from me at the Barrier, & I was examined as to my business. Russians under Prince Repnin garrisoned & commanded the City. All the few cannon they had remaining on the Ramparts, were firing on account of the signing of the Peace on the 30th of May, so that nearly thirteen days had elapsed before the news from Paris had arrived.

I now got a *Card of Safety* from the Police, which was to continue in force for eight days, with an intimation, that when I

intended to leave Dresden this Card must be returned, & my passport would be redelivered.

On the 14th of June I was occupied as on the former day with business till dinner time. An Advocate of the name of Meissner dined wt. me, an intelligent man, whom it was necessary for me to employ professionally. This Gentleman assured me that Dresden in the course of last year had lost a full fifth of its whole Inhabitants. He himself lost his wife & all his family consisting of three children. The French army which composed the Garrison under General St. Cyr, amounted, with their followers, to Thirty Thousand men at least, who ultimately were literally starving. Their whole regular allowance was a handful of rice a day per man and they eagerly searched for & ate ravenously from the dirt in the Gutters, the parings of potatoes & Turnips, & any other offall that they were lucky enough to meet with. At the same time the Inhabitants of the Town were tolerably well off, which shews the great desire the French had to conciliate Saxony & the excellent discipline of their Soldiers. A Malignant fever however ensued, which spread over the city, & which proved fatal to many of the People. The Town then contained upwards of 60,000 Souls but now not above 45,000. Vestiges of this fever still remained, and had occasioned several recent deaths. The place in fact lies low, & may not be well aired. I confess *les puanteurs* were most oppressive even to me a native of Edinburgh. Like those of the latter Town, they were not light & volatile, but inflicted a kind of pestilential, deadly and horrible weight upon the whole nervous system. I have no doubt the fever had thus continued so long ; & I believe the best antidote against it, is more than a *modicum* of the richest & strongest white wine the Country can afford.

This dreadful disease raging in the Capital & their other Towns ; the imprisonment of their Sovereign ; the occupation of the Palace, & indeed of their whole Territories by the Russians ; the occasional exaction of large sums of money, all contributed to throw a general gloom over the Country ; but laying those evils out of view, which in fact were chiefly imaginary, the generality of the Saxons had every reason to be pleased with their Condition. Comparatively speaking, they were extremely comfortable, though like their Neighbours they were certainly suffering from the effects of the war. It struck me however as it must be obvious to every one, that the Money sent from this Country to alleviate the losses of the Peasantry went entirely into the pockets of the

Russians; because if these exactions by Prince Repnin had not been levied from the richer Inhabitants, long after the Country was evacuated by the French, these opulent people would have been perfectly able & perhaps inclined to contribute to rebuild the Villages of their own Peasantry, which had been burned during the late battles. In other words, the ingenious & mean addresses of these Germans to the generosity of the British, induced us to repay the two or three Millions of *Dahlers*, which the Russians had compelled them to produce.

The greater part of the 15th of June was spent with Mr. Meissner on business, & at the Bankers. Every thing I could do was concluded by dinner time. I now determined to return home immediately, & being resolved, however hazardous, not to travel any more at the rate of three miles an hour in a German diligence, I ordered Post Horses for Meissen, returned my *Carte de Sureté*, for my passport, packed up my Clothes & my papers, & desired the Waiter to bring me a Note of what I owed the House. Every thing was very quickly despatched; & to shew the Expence of this kind of living, I engross a copy of the Bill, which I thankfully paid to the Hostess of the '*Goldenen Engel*, No. 199 *Wilsdruffergasse*'.

1814	Not :	D. G. F.
Juny 12	Du papier	— 3 —
	Diner, 1 Bout. de vin et la bier	2 10 —
	Souper $\frac{1}{2}$ Bout. du vin et la bier	1 — —
	Logement 12 Gros. Bougis 8 gr.	— 20 —
13	Dejeunée	— 12 6
	Diner, 2 Bout. du vin la bier et rum	5 9 —
	Souper et la bier	1 8 —
	Logement	— 12 —
14	Dejeunée	— 12 6
	Diner, 2 Bout. vin et du rum	5 9 —
	La Bier	— 4 —
	1 Bout. Chateaux Margoux	1 8 —
	Logement	— 12 —
15	Dejeunée	— 12 6
	Diner 1 Bout. la bier 1 Bout. du vin }	2 10 —
	Domestiques	<hr/> D 22. 22. 6
		3 4 —
		<hr/> D 26. 2 6

The above in Sterling money, including what I paid to my *Valet de place*, amounted to about four guineas and a half, deducting also the heavy Exchange which I paid for my drafts on London.

I now set off extra-Post, & bid adieu to Dresden, retracing the beautiful Road to Meissen, in a delightful Evening. Having advanced a few miles, we met the Princess Elizabeth of Saxony, a decent looking Creature taking an airing in an open Carriage, with two or three attendants on horseback.

After leaving Meissen on 16th June I could not help again here remarking the good condition of all the Soldiers of the allied Armies. With the exception of a number of old Skinny Cossacks, they were all sleek & fat, from good feeding.

At a pretty village called Scherin, we left the Elbe & entered on a dusty Road, & the day became burning hot. There was here a great conveyance of goods by Waggons not unlike those in England drawn by 4, 6 & 8 horses, & all these contributed to impede the progress of my little vehicle. I here saw many people employed in casting peats for fuel out of a bog, just as in Scotland ; & on the whole I remarked that the Scots Peasants & those of Saxony nearly resembled each other. They were honest enough, but lazy, stupid & consequential.

At Weissenfels (June 17) I saw a scene in the Suburb which gave me great amusement. A Cossack had been detected stealing some trifling article in a Shop. He was instantly apprehended, & as I came up he was under the gripe of a little Squat Saxon Thief Catcher, who held him like a Bull dog. This man was surrounded, & seemed to stand alone among a hundred Cossacks, upwards of a dozen of whom were striking him, & looked as furiously as possible ; but such contemptible blows I never witnessed ! They struck with their open hand on the poor man's head & Shoulders ; but so gently, that they seemed to be afraid of hurting their fingers. I firmly believe that Mr. Crib or Mr. Belcher could have knocked down the whole of these puny assailants, hardly ever to rise. A tall Officer of the Cossacks at length was seen walking rapidly towards us. His men no sooner saw him than they fled like Mice from a Cat, & left their Companion in Custody for punishment. All these Cossacks were of course unarmed. By a judicious & humane regulation, their pikes & pistols & other Weapons, were deposited in the Meadows & Avenues round the Town, on the spot where they bivouacked, & a proportion of them were then allowed to go into the Place

for their rations. It was three oClock before we got through the Mob which this fray had collected.

We crossed the Multa, without alighting from the Carriage, on a Boat or Flying Bridge, like what I have seen on the Dee at Kirkcudbright. This River is about sixty or seventy yards broad. I observed many wild Ducks, Hares & partridges in the course of this day's Journey, the same as we have in Scotland. The Trout which abound in the Streamlets which flow into the Elbe, are considerably different from ours. They are thicker, with larger fins & very thick Skins.

A mile from Weimar (June 18) on the right stands the Gallows, with a place for beheading Criminals, & another for breaking them on the Wheel. On this last a post was erected with a wheel placed horizontally upon it, & on this wheel was sitting, the naked figure of a man, with something like a ragged shirt over the Shoulders. I thought it had only been a representation in wood but I learned that it was the real skeleton of a Robber, who had been here broken on this wheel nine months ago. Are these public executions, hanging in Chains, exposing on the Wheel, &c. politically right or useful? Do they tend to prevent or diminish the Repetition of crimes? I think not.

At Eisenach (June 19) I was awakened on Sunday Morning the 19th of June before two oClock, by the loud drums of the Russian Infantry, proceeding on their march; & there was a continued succession of Troops through the Town, till near seven. I particularly remarked a great number of foot Artillery men conducting brass pieces, six or nine pounders. Each of these guns was drawn by six capital Horses, two & two. Every gun was followed by three Caissons or small Tumbrils, each drawn by three horses abreast. Thus, besides baggage and forage Horses, every gun had fifteen Horses, & about twelve Men. All the Limbers & wooden parts of their equipment, were handsomely painted a pea green colour, & the cannon were as bright & shining as if newly cast. During the whole of this time it rained incessantly, & it was surprising to see the clean & entire condition of the Men's clothing, considering the immense length of their march, & the dirty weather which they had so frequently encountered. This circumstance was a strong proof of the rigour of their discipline.

On our way to Gravelotte (June 23) we met with two or three hundred French Cuirassiers of the Imperial Guard, ornamented still with the Eagles of Napoleon. The cuirasses of polished Iron seemed to be very badly formed, making the men look clumsy,

& as if they were all pot-bellied. These defences were however able to resist a Musket ball, which was the most important object. The men were quite stout & plump, & did not appear to have suffered from the fatigues of the war. Their horses were by no means in a good condition. Many of these Soldiers were accompanied by good looking women riding, with a leg on each side of the horse, according to the fashion of the Country.

The next post was a village called Manheule where a pretty little well dressed Girl of 14, compelled us to purchase her whole stock of Cherries, Almonds, apples raisins & Nuts, with a few Cakes. The whole basketfull was forced on us for 6d. Between this village & Verdun we for the first time met many French Prisoners returning from England. I knew them by the yellow dresses with which our Government had clothed them.

We reached Verdun under a storm of rain about 5 oClock.

The war which has so materially injured other Cities on the Continent has been of essential service to this Town. It was one of the greatest depots of Englishmen on parole, & the sums they spent in the place were immense. It abounds in Grocers & Confectioners & its staple commodity is packages of *BonBons* and sweet meats for children.

At Chalons (June 24) I learned at the inn that Masters of the Post Houses were extremely dissatisfied;—that they had been outrageously plundered of every thing by the Armies; & that there was very little travelling extra-Post, which made them very exorbitant in their demands although limited by regulations. A common driver of a small Cabriolet assured me that he had lost more than 1000 francs in eight days by the requisitions of the Allies; & every Account I had corroborated this & similar statements. In all respects this Country had suffered more than any part of Germany. Appearances proclaimed it. Houses, Villages, & Bridges were every where burned, blown up & utterly destroyed. Scarcely a young man was to be seen, but only women of all ages, & old men in mourning.

The market (June 25) I found filled with all kinds of Butcher meat, Poultry, Game, fresh water fish, fruits & vegetables. The best beef sold for 5d. Str. per pound, veal sold at the same price. They asked 7d. for a live carp about 3 pounds weight which was swimming in a Tub. The fruits & the vegetables were extremely cheap. I had looked long for frogs but saw none till I was leaving the market. A pretty little Girl whom I accidentally followed had a string of them nicely skinned & prepared for a

fricassée, on the top of her basket. She carried them into a milliners shop close by the *Cloche d'or*. When dressed with eggs as friars Chickens these frogs are excellent.

On June 26 before 12 o'clock we galloped along the *Boulevards* of Paris, & they set me down in the *Rue de la paix*, ci devant, *Napoleon*, at the *Hotel Bourbon* formerly *Napoleon*. This was a large Inn under repair, but much resorted to, & they cruelly demanded three guineas a week for my accommodation, which consisted of three paltry apartments badly furnished. I could have been much better off for 15/-, but as I had determined to go by the first Coach for Calais, I did not calculate on the expence. In the *place de Carousel*, the Duke of Berri¹ was re-viewing a number of Regiments of the Horse Imperial Guard, all newly clothed, & the men had in their countenances a degree of fierce & disdainful pride, which I had not remarked among the Troops of the Allies. This was the first time they had appeared in Paris since the Russians ceased to govern it. Their Horses were good & strong but not well matched, either as to age or appearance. As the Duke rode along there was a continued 'hai, hai, hai' no louder than ordinary conversation, which I would have supposed an expression of insult, had I not been told that these were their acclamations of joy & enthusiasm, & ought to be interpreted into 'vive le Duc de Berri' 'Vivent les Bourbons.'

On 29th June, exactly at 12 o'clock, we set out from Paris, and 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 sailed with a light and contrary wind as soon as day broke on the morning of Saturday the 2nd of July. The passage was slow but agreeable, and we did not enter the harbour of Dover till 12 o'clock.

We reached London about 7 o'clock on 3rd July, and on the morning of Monday the 4th we left Fetter Lane in the Highflyer about half-past six.

On the 7th we dined at Berwick, and here we met with the celebrated Mr. Gow the fiddler and his assistants, who had come all the way from Edinburgh to play reels &c. to the gentry of the Merse, who had been giving a grand assembly in this Town.

When we descended from Coldingham Muir, & approached Dunbar a wonderful alteration for the better, was obvious, on the

¹ Stabbed & killed 13 Feby. 1820.

394 Journey from Edinburgh to Dresden

crops of every description. Except in a few places of Kent, & in the neighbourhood of Paris, none of the wheat during the whole of that track, I mean from Paris to the Lothians of Scotland was nearly so good or so far advanced, as we now saw it. Good soil & better methods of cultivation can alone account for this superiority in the appearance of the Scots Harvest, for in spring & the early part of summer the climate was very severe here as well as in England, & on the continent.

On Friday, the 8th of July, we left Haddington in a post chaise & pair, & reached Edinburgh about nine o'Clock. On driving to my own door I found the Letter carrier in the act of delivering an Epistle which I had despatched from Paris on the 26th of June, three days before I left it. What was more surprising the letters which I wrote from Dresden on the 13th & 15th of June, did not arrive till the 20th of July, being twelve days after my return.

Scotstarvet's 'Trew Relation'¹

The patent of honour.

TO all men to qhom these presents sall come, health, qheras we
calling to mynd that our well beloved cousin and counsellor
W^m erle of Menteeth president of our secret counsell stands served
and retoured undoubted air of blood to umqhill David erle of
Straerne his grandsires forgrandomes father the sone laufull of
umqhill King Robert the 2^d our predecessor of happie memory
To the qhich David erle of Straerne and his airis the said Robert the
2^d his father by 2 dyverse chartours one daitit at Ed^r 19 June the first
yeir of his raigne, the other at Perth the 3^d Julij the forsaide yeir
disponed the said erledome with all annexis and pertinancies therof
and albeit the forsaide erle of Menteeth as air forsaide had good
right to the said erledome yet he for the humble respect qhilk he
carried to our royall and sacred persone by his letters of renunciation
daited the 22 Jan. 1630 registrat the 2^d of March therafter [P. 13]
Renunced all right and title he had or might pretend to the said
erledome in favour of us and our successors reservand to the said
erle the Lands & barony of Kelbryd and others mentioned in the
said renunciation with this expressed provision that the forsaide
renunciation sould not be prejudicall to him and his forsaids of
there right and dignity of blood belonging to him as air of Lyne
to the said umqhill David erle of Straerne as the said renunciation
in itselffe mair fully proports and we earnesly willing that the
forfaid W^m erle of Menteeth his airis maill and successors may
enjoy the right and title of the erledome of Straerne and succeed
to the samyn title place and dignity dew to them be the said two
chartours and infestments forfaids granted be the said King Robert
the 2^d to the forfaid David erle of Straerne and his airis of the said
erledome in so farre as concernes the title place and precedency
dew to them as erles Therfore wit ye us to have ratified and
approven and be the tenor herof ratifies and approves the forfaid

¹ Continued from *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. xi. p. 296.

title honour dignity and place of ane erle to the said e[rle] of Menteeth his airis maill and of talzie qho shall henceforth be styled and called erles of Straerne & Menteeth in all tymes coming and that they shall bruick joyse and possesse the forsaide title and dignitie in all assemblies conventions and parl's and all other meeting places qhatsumever with the same priviledges degrees and places qhilk belonged to the said David erle of Straerne and his airis granted to him by King Robert the 2^d his father and with precedency and priority before qhatsumever other persons create and made erles after the dait of the said 2 chartours and all qho cannot produce elder infectments letters patents and documents for there title and dignities of erles anterior to the forsaide twa chartours In witness qherof etc.

The Renunciation.

Be it kend etc Me W^m e[rle] of Menteeth lo[rd] Grahme of Kilpunt president of his majesties counsell & hight justice of Scotland fforsameckle as umqhill King Robert the 2^d be his chartour under the great seale gave to his sone David and his airis the erledome of Stratherne to be halden in free regalitie with all fees forfattors and other liberties Lykeas also the said King Robert be an other chartor granted to his said sone and airis the said erledome with addition of the 4 poynts of the croune as in the saids chartours of the daits forsaide extracted furth of the register of the great seale of Scotland under the subscription of Sir Joⁿ Hammiltoun of Magdalens knight his majesties clerk of register bearis and forsameckle as I the said erle of Menteeth am undoubted air of blood and successor to the said umqhill David erle of Straerne being descended Lineally from Patr[ick] Grahme and Eufame Stewart daughter to the said David and therby having good and undoubted right to clame the said erledome yet notwithstanding considering that the said erledome has bein bruicked be his majestie and his predecessors as ane part of the annexed propertie continuallie since the deceis of King Ja: the 2^d and that the heritors and possessors holds there Lands of our Sov[eragne] lord the kings majestie and his predecessors and calling to mynd the extraordinar favours bestowed upon me by my gratiouse Sov[eragne] Charles King of Great Brittane etc. and that it hath pleased his gratiouse majestie to bestow on me such satisfaction therfore as his majesty in his gratiouse wisdome thoght expedient Therfore wit ye me in all humble affection and respect to my sacred soveragne to have

renounced Lykeas etc all right and interest qhatsumever qhilk I or my airis have or may pretend to the said erledome in speciall favours of my sacred & gratiouse soveragne his airis and successours to remane with them and the croune for ever provyding always that thir presents be not extended to the Lands & barony of Kilbryd Lyand within the said erledome and I bind and ablise me and my forsaids to make surrender of the said erledome in favours of his majesty and his successours ad perpetuam remanentiam and to that effect make & constitute my prors with power to them to compair before his sacred majesty or his majesties commissioners appoynted for ressaving of surrenders or resignations and there in all humility and submissive reverence as becomes to surrender and resigne Lykeas etc provyding thir presents prejudge not me nor my forsaids of our right and dignity of blood pertaining to us as airis of lyne to the said David erle of Straerne And als I bind & oblliss me and my forsaids if need beis to obtaine ourselffs served retoured and saised in the said Lands as air to the said umqhill David and for doing therof gives power to my said prors in most ample forme and to restorat and renew and for the mair securitie etc subscryvit at Halyrudhouse the 22 Jan 1630 before thir witnesses Sir Thomas Hope of Craighall advocat Sir Colen Campbell of Lundie Sir Joⁿ Gordoun of Lesmore and master W^m Maxwell wryter herof.

By serving himselff air to the eldest sone of the first marriage he might have served himselffe air to the father of that sone

He intended summons of reduction & improbation against his majesties vassals of the lordship of Orchat for recovering of there superiorities and property. He had his genealogie drawne qherin his majestie was placed on the left hand qhilk Sir Joⁿ shew to the king qho was somqhat commoved therwith

Menteeth coming to court prostrate him selffe to his majestie agknowledged his fault and gott a favourable acceptance by intercession of Mortoun & the chancellor Only he was told by the king that he behoved to quyte that title of Straerne and take that of Airth qhilk he did. This being notified to Sir Joⁿ Scot he intreated m^r Maxwell to gett him accesse to take his leave of his majestie qherat his majesty quarrelled him for so long concealing it and for giving out the breivis to qhilk he answered that he had revealed it soone enough for any amends was lykely to follow and for the other it was the dewtie of his place and that the wrong was by sending back the retour So Sir Joⁿ having kissed his majesties hand returned at which tyme nothing was done but

only a command given to Menteeth to dash out of his windowis the armes of the erledome of Straerne.

In the nixt session his majesty sent order for raising summons of reduction of that retour and service led at Menteeths instance and joyned with the advocat Sir Lewis Stewart and having gotten exhibition of all his wryts gott a decret of reduction therof and ordinance to cancel them all, but the 15 noblemen and barons qho were upon the assyse finding themselffs in hazard to be convict of error gave in defenses to the Lords as follows

Absolvitor from the summons because the assysers were *in optima fide* to serve the said erle *affirmative* seing they offered them to prove that by transaction made betwixt the king and the said erle for the 2 baronies of Orchat & Bradwell and confirmation of the lordship of Kilbryd and the soume of 3000 lib. stirlin the said erle did grant the renunciation to them produced at the service [P. 14] by the kings advocat qho did mediat the said bargaine by his lettres to his majestie and did by his majesties speciaill warrand forme the said renunciation bearing expresse reservation of the said erles rights & dignity of blood and obliging the said erle to serve himselffe air to the said David and to procure himselffe to be infect in the said erledome as air to the said David for strengthening the kings right therunto and qhilk soume & satisfaction in generall termes is agknowledged by the said erle in the said renunciation to have bein gotten and received from his majestie for making the said renunciation and they seing his majesties advocat compeir for his majestie and produce the said renunciation registrat in the publick registers be the compearance & consent of his majestyes advocat and also knowing perfytlie that his majestie in the chartour of Orchat & Bradwell did under his hand science and prudence agknowlede the said erle of Menteeth to be nearest and Laufull air to the said erle David and that the said chartour was dictated by his majesties advocat and subscryved by the lords of his majesties exchecker & ordained to passe the great seale and the king therin promitted *in verbo regis* never to come in the contrair nor to doe any action contrare the same they did no wrong to serve affirmative Lykeas they offered they offered them to prove that therafter his majestie has not only agknowledged the said erle to be dewly served as nearest & Laufull air to the said erle David but also by patent under his hand & great seale hath granted to him the title honour & precedencie of the said erle David making the service and retour to be the narrative of the said patent and swa being now major and compeiring by his

advocat cannot come in the contrare therof to accuse the inquest of error for doing that quich his majestie had solemnly and publickly by his awin hand and great seale done and commissioners of exchecker agknowledged and standing upon publick record at all the registers and seales usuall in such caces

As lykwise the Shirreff of Ed^r before qhom the said service was deduced did crave absolvitor from the summons by the subsequent paper :

1. The said Shirreff did na wrong becaus he offers him to prove that the procuration for serving of the said brevis were formed by the kings advocat or at his direction and written by his awin sisters sone his servaunt

2. That by the advocats speciaill letters written to his majestie it was informed that the purchase of the erle of Straernes titile of that erledome was a matter of such importance that it was not fitt for his majestie to neglect it and that his majesty therupon directed his particular missive to the advocat for purchasing the said right

3. That for the same effect the said advocat delyvered a letter to the clerk register commanding to make patent the registers and to give to the erle such wryts as sould be in the castle or elsqhere quilk the said advocat sould find to concerne that purpose with the extract of all others that the said erle sould crave

4. That the same tyme his majestie by his letter gave the advocat promise of 2000 lib. stirl. for his paynes

5. That the information of the brevis sent to the chanc[ellarie] was dyted and wrytten be the said advocat himselfe or servaunts and that the saids brevis were taken by them furth of the chancellarie.

6. That the renunciation produced to the said shirreff was formed and penned by the said advocat himselfe and written be m^r W^m Maxwell his servaunt and that the samyn was insert in 3 registers at the least presented and given in therto be the said advocat or his servaunts at his direction

7. That the signator of Orchat was penned by the direction of the said advocat and was docked be him (quilk his majestie is only accustomed to reade) and in the docket thir essentiall words are left out (that the erle of Straerne was undoubted air of blood to the said erle David) althogh the samyn were insert in the chartour

8. That the samyn chartour is granted with consent of the kings thesaurer and a clause insert therin obliging his majestie never to move action clame or processe upon the same

9. That the patent of honour is lykwise dyted and penned be the said advocat qherin his majestie is made baith to approve the services and retour and agknowledge and accept of the forsaid renunciation and that the samyn was laufullie subscryvit publicklie in the exchecker be ane sufficient number of the haill officers and being written and sealed at the great seale was delyvered to him by the vicepresident: And so the Shirreff did no wrong in his office

Who all by there mediation and intercession with his majestie by there freinds at Court procured from his majestie a letter to the llo. [lords] of session for freeing & releaving them of all hazard & danger they might incurre by being upon that service as followes :

Right trustie & welbeloved etc we greet yow qheras we were pleased to give order to our advocat to raise summons at our instance for reducing of the service and retour of W^m erle of Menteeth air to umqhill David erle of Straerne by the qhilk summons the nobles barrons & uthers that were upon the inqueist upon the said service are conveened upon wilfull at leist ignorant error and forsomuch as we are fully perswaded that the saids persons of inqueist proceded therin bona fide upon warrand standing then unreduced qhilk was sufficient ground for the assisours for serving the said erle *affirmative* and namlie that there was a renunciation granted be the said erle to us of the annexed propertie of Stratherne qherin the said erle is designed air to David erle of Straerne and la[dy] Eufame his allegit daughter and to the said umqhill Patrick allegit erle therof and allegit spous to the said Euphame qhilk renunciation was then standing registrat in the books of exchecker and in the publick register of renunciations and was produced be an advocat to the assyse the tyme of the service who protested that the said service sould be led in corroboration of the renunciation & no otherwise qhich protestation was admitted be the judge and lykwise it was perfytlie knowne to a number of the said inqueist that there was a signator past in the exchecker qherupon infektment after followed by the qhich we disponed to the said erle of Menteeth as undoubted air of blood to David erle of Straerne the lands & baronies of Orchat & Bradwell. In respect of the qhich warrand standing then unreduced and of our advocats compeirance and not opposing of the said service the assyters in the duty of there offices could not utherwise proceed but by servings *affirmative* for the tyme. And therfor it is our pleasure that the saids noblemen barrons & uthers be declared

free & quyte of all errorr discharging all payne & censure that they may incurre therupon : and for farder security we requyre yow that ye admitt and sustaine there reasons as relevant and proven to give them a perfyt absolvitor from all errorr and that accordingly ye pronounce in there favours but prejudice always of our action of reduction commanding yow to insert these presents in your books of sederunt for there better warrand and exoneration for doing qherof these presents sall be a sufficient warrand.
Whitehall 22 Feb. 1633.

[P. 15.] Notwithstanding of all qhich Menteeth continued still in his grandour and haill places and his majestie himselfe was little better secured be that decret of reduction seing that pedigree can be made out to the full by the wryts evidents and securities lying in other noblemens chartour kists vassals of the erledome till the tyme that his majestie tooke resolution for going to Scotland for accepting the croune therof about qhich tyme Mortoun thesaurer expecting the accomplishment of Menteeths promise to gett him made knight of the garter and finding that he had fooly¹ fayled to him therin and that instead of doing for him in that particular he was doing for himselfe and his awin posterity to purchase them that honour he was therby so exasperat that he and the chancellor had ther addresse to the Queene informing her of all the forsayd passages done and acted be the said erle in prejudice of her royll children assuring her that if these impediments were not totally removed and Menteeth censured and punished for so hight ane presumption it would not fail to be hazardsome to the Prince and his descendants qherupon she made her addresse to his majesty and gott his promise that he sould take a course therwith befor his return to England qhilk effectually he did by giving order some dayis befor his retурne to the lord Westoun the erle of Caerlie & secretary to conferre with Sir Joⁿ Scot and view all his papers qho in obedience of his majesties command having red them at full lenght at the going out of the toune the lord Westoun affirmed with an oath to the rest there present that he wanted nothing but sharpe sword to be king. Within few dayis therafter his majestie proceeded in Holyrudhouse to make tryall of the words spoken be Menteeth that his blood was reddest blood in Scotland and that the king was obliged to him for his croune and having found that such speeches were uttered be him by the witnessing & depositione of the erle of Southeske & Ethie and the countesse of Marre whom his majestie sent for to that effect

¹ Fooly, Foully.

his majestie after taking journey to England sent doun a missive letter declaring his mynd to the counsell concerning the said matter and therupon the act following was made be them

At Ed^r 8 Nov^r 1633

The qhilk day George erle of Kinnoul lord hight chancellor of Scotland declared to the lords of his majesties privie counsell that he had Lately received ane letter from his majesty concerning his royll will and pleasure against W^m erle of Airth for some treasonable speeches spoken be him and the fault committed be him in his service to the erledome of Straerne qhilk letter he exhibite to the lords and declared that he had written for the said erle to come & heare his majesties will concerning him qherupon the said erle compeirand and his majesties letter being red to the erle he acquiesced with all due reverence to the samyn and made a surrender of all places honours priviledges & immunitiess as also of his pension out of the exchecker : his offices were the presidentship of the counsell of justice generall and extraordinar lord of the session : and for mair securities subscryved his dimission of the said places and consented that the same sould be registrat in the buicks of counsell & exchecker *ad futuram rei memoriam* qherupon the lord chancellor asked instruments.

The Kings letter to the chancellor.

Ry^t trustie etc qheras upon the commission for tryall of some treasonable speeches be the erle of Airth we find sufficient prooфе to beleve the same and in regard lykwise that he by his awin agknowledgment confesseth in effect als much Togidder with the great fault committed in his service to the erledome of Straerne as is contened under his hand in his late submission we therfor find that he is not worthy to enjoy the charges qhich he hath formerly borne in the state by our gift nor pension allowed to be payed to him out of the exchecker qherfore we have thought good hereby to signifie the samyn to yow and it is our pleasure that ye requyre the said erle in our name to surrender up into our hands those his charges of presidentship of our counsell justice generall and place in session to be disposed off as we sall appoynt as lykwise the gift of the said pension and in the meanetyme ye confyne him to his awin house and the bounds belonging therunto qhich are not neere to Halyrudhouse qhere the publick meetings of our estate are kepted : and for your so doing these presents sall be your sufficient warrand. From our court at Whytehall
9 Oct^r 1633.

The dimission.

Be it kend etc Me William erle of Airth fforsameikle as it hath pleased his sacred majestie by his hightnes letter direct to my lord chancellor of the dait etc to declare that qheras his majestie upon the commission for tryall of some treasonable speaches spoken by me hes found sufficient proofes to beleve the samyn and that I have by my agknowledgment confessed als much in effect Togidder with the great fault committed by me in my service to the erledome of Straerne in regard therof his majesty by his letter hes found that I am not worthy to enjoy the charge qhilk I have formerly borne in the state nor yet the pension payed to me furth of the exchecker and hes commanded the lord chancellor to requyre of me to surrender into his majesties hands my charges & places etc Therfore and for obedience to his majesties sacred will & ordinance wit ye me to have resigned & surrendred Lykeas etc and for the mair securitie etc sic subscriptitur Airth.

(To be continued.)

Some Darien Letters

LIEUTENANT ROBERT TURNBULL, the writer of the following letters, went to Central America as a member of the original colony sent to Darien, so that he arrived there in November, 1698.

Colonel John Erskin, to whom two of the letters are addressed, was a Director of the Company. An unfriendly writer¹ describes him as 'Colonel John Erskin, Governour of Sterling Castle and Darling of the Kirk,' adding that he was a man of Honour and Worth but a Stranger to Trade.

Turnbull was lieutenant to Captain Thomas Drummond, and went with him to New York when the first colony abandoned the settlement on 20th June, 1699.

They returned to Darien² to meet the second colony, which arrived there in November, 1699, so the second letter was probably written from New York.

Captain Drummond had taken part in the Massacre of Glencoe, and the counsellors of the second colony reported that he was 'thought a man unfitt for their service, because of his behaviour at Glenco.'³

Robert Turnbull reached home safely after his adventures, as he gave evidence before a Committee of Directors of the Company in July, 1701.⁴

J. J. SPENCER.

¹ Herries, *Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien*, 1700, p. 12.

² Borland's *History of Darien*, p. 30.

³ Byres, *Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Rotterdam*, 1702, p. 151.

⁴ *Darien Papers*, pp. 225-6.

America
Fort of St. Andrew in Caledonia
11th Apryll 1699.

Honored Sr

I have written thrice to you before this. In non of them I gave you a discriptione of the pleace. Honest Major Cunningham & Leut Ferguson being the Bearers & now Mr McKey on of the Councilleres going home I shall likewyse refere you to him as I did to the rest. Only I shall give you one short accompt of some of the advantages of this pleace. every Moneth in the year some treese bears wholsome fruits. So that we may say that through the woods thr is allwyse florishes, green fruit & ryp fruit the whole year. But hardly any of them could be transported to Scotland except a very fyne sort of almond learge & full as holsome as any in Europ they fall from the treese in March and Apryle in great abundance. Ther is lykewyse abundance of very fyne silk Cotton and is ryp in Janry & Febr.—The woods is very full of weild beasts such as Dear, Boufles, weild syne, Rabbits & Goatt yr ar lykwyse very fyne foule as Turkie, pheasant, partridges, pigeons, duck & Mallett, pelicans, paracceetts of all sorts great & small, some ar full prittie qr of you may expect a pt qn the great Shypp returns. qn we came first here we was oblidged to have sloups to provyd us wt Turtill But now takes them in abundance wt our own boats, our Bays round about is wounderfully weil stord wt all sort of fishes both great & small & much mor delitious than any in Europ so that if ye send us bread aneuch (?) we can fend oyr provisions we are certainly situated betwixt Carthagin & Portabell qk is in the midle of the goldn world in the West Indies. So if you take care to send us good able men wyse and honest Counsellors there is no fear but you and the rest of the adventurers in the stock shall be the happiest people in the world in a very short tyme. All of us are very much oblidged to yr honest friend Capt Thomas Drummond for his great Care in making and overseeing our fortifications. its come now that length that our fort has 24 great guns mounted allreadie. he and Capt Vetch are deservedly made Councillores. So I hop things will go very weile Mr McKey will informe you what is past betwixt us and the Spainard, honest Mr Seaton gives his humble service to you. I earnestly desyr you may be pressing at the Minds of Scotland to send some of the breethrin heir; Because of the fear at the Spaniard we have no traid hitherto so yr goods are all in my custodie except one Gun that I sold to the natives for about 3 lb. and 2 pr pistoles for 4 lb. to the Jameca ships for the natives do not esteem pistoles. I would not have sold them so cheap but they lying so long in my hand Capt Vetch advyst me reather to sell them cheap than that they showlde spoyle for it is very hard to keep armes in this Country. If you send any oyr armes lett them be long fuses for the natives esteems no oyr, Linin cloth lykwyse is ane good commodity heir. I have sent you some of this Countrey gold qck the natives weares in their noses. And A Cup to yore Ladie qck the Indian Queens pents att ther great Solemnities to drink out of. If ye send any men heir to work yor plantatione let the working Tuells be as followes viz for on man and so for moe as ther is occasione on broad axe & ane narrow, ane

how, ane pickax, on irone spead, on shofle, on great Sa and ane hand Sa, on Hok 2 Chisells, on iron mell, 2 masheet knives shorter and stronger than they that was don for the Company 2 gemletts great and small 2 borrels lykwyse 2 litle hammers & 2 fyles three squaird 2 yron wegges Ane good wright and ane gardiner will do wonderfull weile. If ye send any number of men send unblecht coursse harne to be yr Cloth & ane nett or two for fishing wt. Twyne to help or make mor, lykwyse some fishing hooks great and small. ye must lykwyse store them wt shoes for this country burnes them, If you can have ane honest boy to keep Compts it will lykwyse do weile If you please you and Sr Pat. Scott may joyne for men and yr necessades you must send ane Kettle wt Dishes and Spoones. If any woomen come over on of yr wyves will do weile to have a care of the rest to make yr victualls reddie, to wash yr linings and to nurss them qn they are sick. I wish wt all my heart (If your conveniencie & all allow) would come heir for ane start for I am not able to demonstratt the ritchess of this pleace as weile under as above the ground. Whatever goods I have of yors heir shall be imploedy on yor plantatione or oyrwyse as you shall order them. I know some of the honestest of the Councillers will assist me in yr affair so begging pardon for the trouble I give you for Causing delyver the enclosed to my fayr under yr cuver

I am Sr

Yor. Most Obleidgd and humble Set.

ROT. TURNBULL.

Pray cause thank John Currie Gun Smith in Glasgow for the pistolls he made wer extraordinar good I mean the pistolls he made to the Company.

For The Honorable Colonell John Erskin
Governour of the Castle of Stirling
at his Loadgings Edr. Scotland.

Sir,

I need not show you what misfortouns we have met with or the reason of my going back to Caledonia for Captan Drumond will give you ane full accompt of all these things. I could have no libe(rty) heir to sell anie goods therefore I left them with ane freind of myn in Staten Eyland in the Province of New York And I have ordered him to sell ym to best Advantage and what Tobaco he can have readie before Capt. Drumond sails he is to send i(t) to you I have sent you with Capt Drumond ane Indian Woomans nose piece of Guld weighting abo(ut) half ane ounce ther is four pair and ane oad pistol of yours in Capt Thomas Drumonds Cabing abord of the Caledonia ther is likeways the flints but I have ord. my friend to call for them and sell ym here as for the pistolls they would not give the pryme Coast here(?) neither do I believe he can get the flints Ashore for I could not get anie thing Ashore my self but I put first in the Sloup I broght ane Parit and A h Indian Rabit but becaus non would be cairfull of I left them with my friend I desire you would wryt to me for I long to heir from my freinds Ih wryten to my faither and sister but I cam in such ane heast the Sloup being saild befor

I knew of it and was obliged to follow her in ane small boat. We intend to be back heir God willing in three or four months therefor if you wryt to me derect your letter to Luvetennant Robert Turnbul at Ca Stillwell in Staten Eyland to be left at the poast hous of New York this with my humble Services to you and yr leadie is all from

Sr

Your Most Obeidyant Servant

ROB. TURNBULL

from on board the Ann of Calidonia Sept 21 1699

For

Colonell Ersken Governor of Stirling Castell
at his Lodging in Ed Scotland.

Dear Cusson

I cannot ingraittitude but writyt to you (to give you thankes for all your favours and perticular for the fain bisskit that you sent to me) but reley I am qu unable having on Thursday the fiftin of this Instent received a most daingerous wound from the Spaineards at an Ingagement we had wt them. I shall not take upon me to give an discription of it but so far as I was concerned my selfe know then, that on Sunday the Elevent Capt Alexr Campbell of Phanab araved here from London having an Comission to be on of our Counselores we Informed him ye Spainarges wer coming to atake us by land and were w/in some fewe days Jurneise of us so on twosday ye thertint Instant he drew out two hunder men and about therty Ingies that was in the fort at that time of whom I gatt the Charge because I could speek a little of yr. language we crost the bay in boats and yt afternoon march about 4 myls up ye Loberaqu la and yr was met by Capt. Pedro wt 20 Ingies he was in good order having an fain Coat on him yt ye Company of Scotland had formerly sent him we lodged at his house all yt night & ye nixt morning went on towards ye enemie I was ordered to march on ye front wt ye volunteers and wt Capt Pedro and Capt Brownlie and about 30 Ingeons ye rest being devided among ye partie this being ye fourtent we marched over an great hill and crost ye River yt. runs to ye South Seas and yn on of our Ingien Spyres came in and told us ye Spainards were on ye tope of ye nixt hill Cuting down trees to strengthen themselves so I sent and told Capt Campbell and he march up wt the pairtie and halted yr a little ye Ingens were for halting all day and lying in Ambushcad telling us the Spainards wold com that waye the morrow but it being about ye mille of ye day Capt Campbell was unwilling so marched up the hill about two mylls farder till we cam to a little watter yn the Ingens wold march no furder for they sd ther was no more watter for a dayes journye farder so we lodged yr all night ye next morning Capt Campbell was very willing to march but ye Ingens would not upon any accompt telling us yt. if we marched up the hill we wold be all killed from Ambuskads: Capt Campbell wold have two of some men to go and se wher the Spainards were. Ye Ingins told they had sent forrit Spyres but wold send no more I used all ye perswadsons I could promissing ym great rewards and telling ym I wold go wt them my selfe they told me I wold be killed I told

Some Darien Letters

them it was no matter though I was killed so yt the Comander could have perfit Intelgence yn the lawght at me so I saw d. nothing wold do wt ym I turned myselfe to ye leadre and told ym in yr language yt so they wer great brags of yr Stoutnes in Callidonia yt now I sawe they were all cowards then they wer so made at that calling all yr Ingens together running up the hill as if they wold Ingade ye Spainards ymselves but I got ym pasified and they imedeatly ordered two or yr Ingns to go wt me so I marched up the hill wt twelve of our own Gentlemen I marched in two hours to ye tope of ye hill till I came wt in a bow shot of ye Spainards yn I heard ym cutting down trees and speeking very fast for ther out sentries had run in and told ym of my march yn I retreated (?) about two pair of buttos (?) and lodge myselfe in a convenient post yn I wrot to Capt Campbell that if he pleased he might march for ough that I could understand ye Spainards was not to march yt night and that wold be a convenient please to Ingadge we being on the tope of the hill and they on ye desent he imedately sent an reinforce to me and a litle after came himselfe I took him forward to ym and let him her ym speak and he said he wold ingage ym Imedately I asked him wt. post I should have he told me wt I pleased yn I disired to goe on first so I got the comand of all ye Gentlemen I had formerly I marched Imedetly down upon ym who had only wan Sentre advanced runing in wt. out firing I marched on till I cam wt in 20 foot of yr brestwork where ye Spainards lay over wt yr arms presented makeing Synse to me to advance yn I fired upon ym and had only time to prime again till I was shot from an Ambushkad from ye left hand ye ball is lodged in ye right shoulder ye Company had no loss by falling the Gentlemen making no stop but went on most bravly neither did the Spainards showe ymselves to be Cowards standing till our Gentlemen did gripe yr fire loock by ye musele but then Capt. Campbell coming doun so furiously wt ye rest of ye Officers and Shoulders yt the Spainards were forced to give waye wt considerabell loss for yt we wer Maisters of yr fort that they had been making for 3 dayes As also yr ammunition and provisions : we had seven men killed and about seaven more wound besyd Capt. Campbell and me yr were more of ye Spainards however I shall referre you to ye Counsell publick leaters they having discours to ye Spanish prisoneers

Yr is now lying befor our bay 12 Spanish Shipps several of ym of considerable force we know not wt they intend but we beleeve they are waiting for the land armey qt we defet however we ar still expecting yr coming in upon us this wt my humbell Service to you and your kind lady is all from

Cuson

Yor reall friend an servt

ROT. TURNBULL.

Feby. 1700.