HERALDRY

IN RELATION TO

SCOTTISH HISTORY AND ART

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FOR

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JAMES IV. AND QUEEN MARGARET, FROM THE SETON ARMORIAL, *see page* 200.

Frontispiece.

HERALDRY

IN RELATION TO

SCOTTISH HISTORY AND ART

BEING THE

RHIND LECTURES ON ARCHÆOLOGY

FOR 1898

BY

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F.S.A. SCOT., LORD LYON KING OF ARMS

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MDCCCC

PREFACE.

THE following Lectures were delivered in November 1898, and the interest then taken in them leads me to think that they will not be unacceptable in their present form to a larger circle of persons than could attend when they were originally given. Although in the first Lecture I have touched upon the technical terms used in the blazoning of arms, the volume is by no means intended to instruct its readers in the details of the science; there are only too many books written on the subject, to any of which reference can be made. What I have wished to point out, in as simple and direct a manner as possible, is, first, the interesting manner in which Heraldry is interwoven with, and illustrative of, Scottish history; and second, how it has entered into the artistic development of the country in a way which, perhaps, has not hitherto been fully recognised. I have also endeavoured to indicate how, when many of the absurd accretions which have grown up round

Heraldry have been eliminated, it remains not merely a pleasant, but also a profitable, subject of study, not least from its artistic side, which in recent days shows signs of being appreciated, if not to its full worth, at all events better than it was before.

I have retained the direct style used in delivering the Lectures, as being more in keeping with the informal character of the work, which does not profess to be an exhaustive treatise on its subject, but rather a suggestive sketch for the benefit of those who are desirous of studying it more thoroughly.

I have to express my obligations to several friends who have given me much kind assistance. Mr W. R. Macdonald, Carrick Pursuivant, whose knowledge of Scottish arms is both extensive and accurate, has read the proofs most carefully, and given me many valuable suggestions; and they have also had the benefit of the revision of Mr F. J. Grant, Rothesay Herald and Lyon Clerk. I am indebted to Bishop Dowden for some interesting references to the heraldic decoration of ecclesiastical vestments. The Earl of Home most kindly put at my disposal the illustrations of the

fine collection of Douglas seals which appeared in Sir William Fraser's "Douglas Book;" and my best thanks are due to Messrs MacGibbon and Ross, architects, for permission to use some designs which appeared in their monumental work on "The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland;" and also to the Society of Antiquaries for a similar courtesy extended to me in respect of several illustrations which have appeared in their "Proceedings."

J. B. P.

April 1900.

ERRATUM.—Page 22, fig. 35, *for* "wreath of ribbon" *read* "palm-branch and ribbon."

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LECTURE I.

LECTURE I.

THE GRAMMAR OF HERALDRY.

It is a far cry from Heraldry to those pre-historic and primeval subjects which have been the theme of my predecessors in the Chair which I have now the honour to occupy. No doubt it is said by some that the beginnings of Heraldry are to be found, if not in actual pre-historic times, at least in the earliest period of authentic history. But whether or not this is the case, Heraldry as we now know it is of much later growth, and must be viewed from a more modern standpoint than the studies to which I have referred. And yet I do not think it is far from the truth to say, that a greater number of persons possess a more or less adequate knowledge of matters pertaining to pre-historic or early historic times, than there are those who are acquainted with the details of a science which, compared with these, is a thing of yesterday.

You may remember how Di Vernon was shocked at the ignorance displayed by her cousin as to Heraldry, and how she blamed his father for not instructing him in this branch of knowledge. But I am afraid Frank Osbaldiston's ignorance is shared by a number of persons at the present day.

Life is now so full of pursuits of all kinds, and people are so occupied with the cares and pleasures of existence, that comparatively few can be found who, even on a winter evening, will spend a quiet hour over Guillim or Nisbet, or yet more modern and readable heraldic authors. Still, within the last few years there have been signs of a distinct revival in the study of Heraldry. Although the time has long gone by when it was reckoned an

indispensable part of every gentleman's education, yet it is now recognised that a knowledge of the science is absolutely indispensable to any one engaged in the investigation of family history, while poets, painters, architects, and the followers of many less distinguished callings will find it to their advantage to have a knowledge of, at all events, the first principles of what forms the subject of the present series of lectures.

I have alluded to Heraldry as a science, and though no doubt it is such, and is capable of being treated on strictly scientific principles, it is also an art, and an art, as I hope to show you, not only of great beauty, but also of practical use. It is not, indeed, necessary for me to make any apology for its study; when anyone characterises it as a frivolous, if not a useless branch of knowledge, it will almost certainly be found that he is entirely ignorant of it. If it is objected to the terms employed that they are barbarous jargon, I think I shall shortly be able to show you that they are no more a jargon than the nomenclature and terminology of any other science in existence; but, on the contrary, that they are much simpler than those of most sciences, and are admirably adapted for the clear and concise description of what they deal with.

Before entering on a brief exposition of the leading rules and principles of Heraldry — or, more correctly speaking, Armory, or the blazoning of coats of arms, for Heraldry has a wider signification, and deals with many other matters—let us look for a minute or two at the archæology of the subject. This, however, need not take us long, because though much has been ably and ingeniously written to the contrary,* most writers are now of opinion that Heraldry, as we at present have it, is a product of European civilisation, and cannot be traced back

* See Ellis's "Antiquities of Heraldry" (London, 1869).

further than the 11th century, if so far. No doubt individual cognisances were known from the earliest times; and there is equally no doubt that many of the figures which appear in Heraldry owe their origin, as Mr Eve has pointed out in his recent book on "Decorative Heraldry,"* to the art of the ancient civilisations of the East; and we find eagles, lions, griffins and the like portrayed in a highly artistic and spirited manner in the sculptures of Assyria, Chaldea, and Egypt. But in none of these instances have we the least indication that these figures were borne hereditarily; it is this feature which is the distinguishing characteristic of mediæval Heraldry. There may, indeed, have been family badges in existence in very early times, but these had no connection with the circumstances which gave rise to more modern armory. So long as the identity of a man was clearly ascertained by observing his features in the ordinary way, there was no absolute necessity for the use of a cognisance or crest; it was only in the later development of armour that a knight, being wholly encased in mail, was unrecognisable by friend or foe, unless he had some design either on his helmet or his shield which would serve to indicate his identity in the midst of a battle. This he did either by painting some device, such as a lion, on the front of his shield, or by surmounting his helmet with a large figure, fashioned so as to stand up conspicuously and allow its wearer to be distinguished at a distance.

These cognisances were the fount from which armory sprang; they were the beginnings of Heraldic devices, at first merely personal to their owner, but afterwards becoming hereditary. It is as well to bear this clearly in mind, because we come across the mention of such personal distinctions in the old chronicles long before Heraldry became any-

* "Decorative Heraldry," by G. W. Eve (London, 1897), p. 67.

thing like systematised. Thus Ordericus Vitalis, in his "Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy," relates how the Lord of Maule fought at the battle of Bremule in 1119, against Henry I. of England. It is recorded of Peter and other fugitives that they threw away their "cognisances" (*cognitiones*) in order to escape recognition; that is, they removed from the top of their helmets the object which was originally intended as a rallying point for their followers in battle and an indication of their identity; objects which might or might not be adopted by their descendants for a similar purpose.* What principle guided the original adoption of the armorial device of a family it is in most instances difficult to say. Often, no doubt, the coats were what are called *canting* or *armes parlantes*, and contained some fanciful allusion to the name or character of their owner; but just as often the shield was simply painted in two colours, divided by the natural strengthening bars which stretched across its surface, or even occasionally in a simple undivided colour. It is, indeed, the opinion of the best authorities that these bars were the origin of what are called heraldic ordinaries; and these simply painted shields form the very earliest examples of anything like Heraldry. The shield of one of the Isle of Lewis Chessmen (not, however, one of the specimens in our Scottish Museum), which are supposed to belong to the 11th century, is divided per pale or longitudinally down the centre, one side being cross-hatched to represent a darker colour than that on the other side; another is quarterly of two colours divided by a cross. It must not be supposed, however, that at so early a date as the 11th century there was anything like a system of Heraldry. But when a knight had used the same cognisance all through his life, and had borne it bravely in the thick of battle, it was only

* "Registrum de Panmure," I., xii.

natural that his descendants, proud of the distinction which had been won, should adopt the same device as had been borne by their ancestor.

But while isolated instances of what appears very like Heraldry occur early in the 12th century, if not, indeed, in the 11th, it may be stated broadly that it was not till the period of the third crusade (1189) that arms as hereditary distinctions of a family came into notice. By the 13th century they had become firmly established as a feature of the chivalry of Europe, and the term "coat of arms" dates from this period, the custom being to have the arms emblazoned on a surcoat or tunic, which was worn over the armour itself. The first English king who is represented as wearing a surcoat is John (1199-1210). The first Scottish king who bore arms was Alexander II. (1214-1243).

The influence of Heraldry extended, as was natural, from England to Scotland; but before entering on its history and evolution in the latter country, I have to ask your attention very briefly while I mention some points relating to Heraldry as a science. I can promise you that, if they are not interesting, they are, at all events, not difficult to understand, and when you have grasped them you will be able to follow more easily and intelligibly what I have further to say. I must, however, be very brief, and will only mention a few general rules; for all details I must refer you to the ordinary text-books on the subject, of which there is no lack.*

First, as to the groundwork or field of a shield of

* The following manuals may be recommended for beginners:—"The Pursuivant at Arms," by S. R. Planché, London, 1874; "Handbook of Heraldry," by John E. Cussans, 4th ed., London, 1893; "English Heraldry," by Charles Boutell, 3rd ed., London, 1875; "The History Principles and Practice of Heraldry," by F. E. Hulme, 2nd ed., London, 1897. The more advanced student can peruse the larger works of Boutell, Seton's "Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland," Woodward and Burnett's "Heraldry, British and Foreign," and last, but not least, the works of Alexander Nisbet.

arms: this may be of metal, or colour, or fur. There are two metals, gold and silver, heraldically termed *or* and *argent*. For practical purposes you may take

1. Chief.

2. Fess.

3. Pale.

4. Chevron.

5. Bend.

6. Saltire.

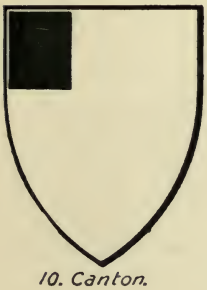
7. Cross.

8. Pile.

9. Bordure.

it that there are four colours or tinctures, as they are called—Red, Blue, Black, and Green—styled respectively *Gules*, *Azure*, *Sable*, and *Vert*; lastly, there are two furs, which I shall name *Ermine* and *Vair*,

the latter being somewhat uncommon. There is one fundamental rule in British Heraldry, though even this is not without exception, that colour must never



10. Canton.

11. Gyron.

12. Inescutcheon.

13. Lozenge.

14. Rustre.

15. Mascle.

16. Fusil.

17. Paile.

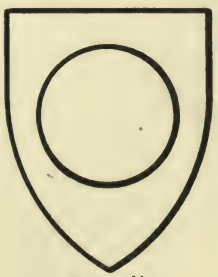
18. Fret.

be put on colour, nor metal on metal. Thus, if the field or ground of a shield is *or* or *argent*, then the charges, or what is put upon it, must either be of a colour or fur; and if the field be of a colour, the

charges, on the other hand, must be of a metal or fur. There are slight modifications of this rule, such as when the field is divided into lozenges of metal and colour alternately, a charge of either metal or colour may be put on it, but as a leading principle it holds good ; and, again, it is quite competent to represent a charge, such as a beast, bird, or flower, in its natural colour or *proper*, whatever the field of the shield may be.

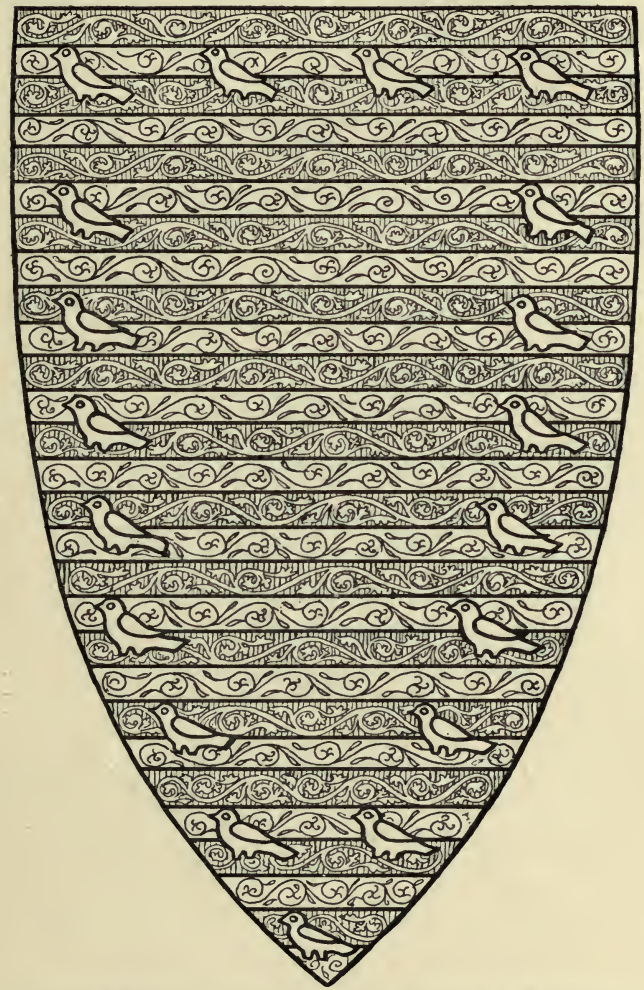
The charges or figures placed on the shield are divided into two great classes : 1st, The Ordinaries ; 2nd, Common Charges. The former of these are generally sub-divided into the Honourable Ordinaries and the Subordinate Ordinaries, though the division is not very accurately adhered to by heraldic authors, some including in the first sub-division figures which other writers class in the second.

The Honourable Ordinaries are those which are most frequently used, and are the Chief (Fig. 1), the Fess (Fig. 2), the Pale (Fig. 3), the Chevron (Fig. 4), the Bend (Fig. 5), the Saltire (Fig. 6), and the Cross (Fig. 7). I cannot enter into a detailed description of them here, but you will find them all figured in the illustrations in your hands, and a full account of them may be read in any of the Heraldic text-books. The same remarks apply to the Subordinate Ordinaries, the names of some of which are the Pile (Fig. 8), the Bordure (Fig. 9)—which is an important figure, being used largely in Scotland for the differencing of the arms of cadets of families—and its diminutive the Orle (see Pembroke Shield, Fig. 20), the Canton (Fig. 10), the Gyron (Fig. 11), the Inescutcheon (Fig. 12), the Lozenge (Fig. 13) and its varieties, the Rustre (Fig. 14), the Mascle (Fig. 15), and the Fusil (Fig. 16), the Pairle, Pall or Shakefork (Fig. 17), the Fret (Fig. 18), and the Roundel (Fig. 19).



19. Roundle.

These are the principal Ordinaries and Subordinaries which you will meet with in your study of



Shield of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. A.D. 1296.
Monument in Westminster Abbey.
20.

Scottish arms. I would have you bear in mind, too, that besides being used as Ordinaries, many of them

have other uses. Some give their names to dividing lines; thus we say that a shield is parted per chevron when it is divided into two parts by a single line, which takes the position and form of a chevron. In like manner we say per pale, per cross, per bend, per saltire, and the like. Again, a shield is said to be barry, paly, or bendy when it is divided into a certain number (generally specified as barry of eight,* paly of six, etc.), of horizontal, vertical, or diagonal compartments. I may here mention in a word the very beautiful practice of *diapering*, which is a method of relieving the plain tincture of the field by lightly tracing on it a pattern in fine thin lines. The shield of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke (Fig. 20), in Westminster Abbey, is justly considered to be one of the best specimens of a diapered shield. It is a subject in which much latitude may be allowed to the Heraldic artist, but it must always be kept in view that the pattern must be in strict subordination to the general arrangement of the coat. It is merely an artistic embellishment, and forms no part of the blazon itself.

I have now spoken of the Ordinaries, which are the most important features in most coats of arms. They are strictly limited in number, and no other design can be elevated to the rank of an Ordinary. There are, however, a vast variety of other figures, called by Heralds *Common Charges*, which may be used either in conjunction with an Ordinary or independently. These common charges may be almost anything, and are derived from the most various sources; they are taken from the heaven above, the earth beneath, or the water that is under the earth. If we knew the origin of the older coats we should probably find that there was a reason for all the charges on them, that none had been assigned on

* When the numbers of bars exceed ten, the shield is described as *barrulée*, and the number need not be stated. *Cf.* Fig. 20.

mere arbitrary grounds. In the majority of cases these reasons are now lost; but in many instances, as we shall afterwards see, we can trace the influences which have been at work at their first adoption.

When I say that common charges may be almost anything, I do not mean to assert that everything is necessarily a fit subject for representation in a coat of arms. There is no doubt a vast variety from which to choose; but, on the other hand, it will be found that there is a certain heraldic fitness about some figures which have shown themselves peculiarly adaptable to armorial expression. We naturally associate such figures as stars, fleurs-de-lis, cinquefoils, lions and many other beasts, martlets and other birds with coats of arms; and there are certain conventionalised representations of some objects, such as water-bougets, symbolical of the water bottle of the pilgrim, and the maunch, intended to indicate the ancient flowing sleeve, which have become peculiarly heraldic either from being very frequently met with, or from being the bearing of some well known and distinguished family. On the other hand, there are certain classes of subjects which are out of place in a heraldic composition, such as groups of objects forming a landscape or picture, or anything which depends on its form being drawn in perspective. All charges should be sharply silhouetted on the shield, and we find this to be invariably the case in the older coats. When armory fell into its decadence, a custom arose of perpetuating the most absurd conglomeration of charges on a shield. As one example, though many might be given, I may cite the arms granted to Thomas Bonar in 1812, Argent a saltire and chief azure, the last charged with a dexter hand proper vested with a shirt sleeve of the first issuing from the dexter chief point holding a shoulder of mutton proper to a

lion passant or, all within a bordure gules. It must always be borne in mind that the great object in Heraldry is to be distinct, and the simpler a coat of arms the more effective it is. Apart from the style of the charges, it is obvious that a shield loses all character when portrayed, as it usually will be in practice, on a small scale, if its surface is unnecessarily crowded with a host of unmeaning figures.

In connection with the subject of common charges I may mention that they are generally, though by no means always, found in conjunction with some of the ordinaries. When two similar coats are met with, the one with both an ordinary and a common charge, and the other consisting either of an ordinary or a common charge alone, the probability is that the latter is the older coat of the two, and the former belongs to a cadet or junior branch of the house. Thus the parent house of the family of Erskine bears argent a pale sable, but the cadets of the family difference this in various ways, as by charging the pale with three fleurs-de-lis or a cross crosslet fitchée. The head of the house of Hamilton, on the other hand, carries simply three cinquefoils, while his cadets may difference them by introducing one of the ordinaries.

Having thus pointed out to you in a necessarily very brief and imperfect way a few of the leading facts in armory, I would direct your attention to some of those details which, from an archæological point of view, are of importance as helping you to determine the probable period at which the representation of a coat of arms may have been executed, and also the relation which, in many cases, a coat bears to the family history of its owner. The shield is, in a sense, the foundation of all armory, for without a shield there cannot, broadly speaking, be any coat of arms, though we sometimes find heraldic charges displayed on seals and on the trappings of

horses and elsewhere without such intervention. A knight's surcoat worn over his coat of mail bore its owner's arms embroidered on its surface, and the practice has survived to our own day in the tabards of the heralds which bear the royal arms four times repeated, on the front, the back, and each sleeve, not on shields. But for the ordinary display of a coat of arms a shield is essential, and their shapes varied much at different periods. When shields were actually used in warfare, their forms depended on what was found most suited for the effectual protection of the warrior. At a later date, say after the 15th century, they became merely ornamental, and their shapes varied very much according to taste, though each successive period had generally a form of shield to which it was more attached than others; and as heraldic art deteriorated in quality, as it continued to do more or less steadily from the 14th century down to our own day, the shapes of the shields departed more and more from their original simplicity and elegance. It is chiefly from the seals appended to charters and other deeds that we gain information as to the shapes of shields used in the 13th and two following centuries. These seals, especially those of the greater nobles, were often of high artistic excellence, and contrast very favourably with more modern specimens of the engraver's art. From them, then, we find that the most prevalent type of shield in the 12th century was of a long shape, so as to cover a large part of the body of the bearer (Fig. 21). Sometimes it took the form of a long triangle with straight sides; sometimes the whole shield was curved slightly outwards away from the body of its bearer, and occasionally, on the other

21.

hand, it was curved, not outwards, but round the body laterally, the object in both cases being to avoid presenting a plain, flat surface to the impact of a stroke. We also meet with pear-shaped shields at this period, that is, with rounded top and a long, peaked base (Fig. 22). But, as I mentioned before, it is not till quite the later years of the 12th century that we meet with anything like unmistakable heraldic devices, though these had not by that time generally become hereditary. At this period, however, we encounter the first occurrence of what ultimately became well-known coats, as, for instance, the Stewart fess chequey. It appears on the seal of Alan Fitzwalter, appended to a charter in favour of the Abbey of Melrose in 1190, and was afterwards destined to become as well known a cognisance in Scotland as the lion and flowery tressure itself.

22.

In the 13th century the development of heraldry was very marked. During the first half of that period the shapes of shields most commonly met with

23.

24.

25.

are those usually called heater (Fig. 23) or "heater pear" (Fig. 24), that is, the Norman type of kite-shaped shield with rounded corners at the top, becoming a little later considerably shorter and

broader than before, in some cases approaching a regular heart shape; the point at the base is always well defined and does not show any tendency to become round. Occasionally shields are nearly triangular in form, the sides being hardly curved at all, as in the beautiful *secretum* of Patrick Dunbar, 6th Earl of March (1298) (Fig. 25). The *guige* or strap, which served to suspend the shield from the neck of the knight so that he might have both hands free in case of need, begins to appear about this time. It was not very useful in battle, but has been of much assistance to artists in enabling them to represent the shield hung from a support at an inclined angle, or, as it is technically termed, *couché*. In the course of this century the shield underwent no very marked change, but there was a tendency for the sides to become slightly more convex, which extended itself in some cases to the top of the shield also. The leading types of shields were undoubtedly the pear-shaped heater and the long heater with square top. The base was almost always sharp and the sides never much curved outwards. But indications of a coming change were not wanting. In the seal of Alexander de Abernethy (1292)* (Fig. 26), the shield is represented with sloping sides and a rounded base, a shape which did not become common for some time afterwards. As regards the position of the shield, it is almost always straight and not *couché*.

26.

Fig. 26.—SEAL OF ALEXANDER DE ABERNETHY.

In the 14th century, though triangular shaped shields are still met with, their tendency was to get broader in shape, rounder in the sides, and less pointed at the bottom. Thus the seal of Robert

* "Frasers of Philorth," II., 330.

Bruce, Earl of Carrick (Fig. 27), appended in 1301 to a charter in favour of the Abbey of Melrose, is nearly oblong in shape, the top and sides being square, the shield rather long and narrow, but the base curved so as to be coincident with the inner edge of the border of the seal.* But taking the century as a whole, the most prevalent pattern is decidedly the heater. It appears, no doubt, in several modified forms, sometimes a little broader, sometimes a little more curved than at other times, but it is always a heater, decidedly the most graceful, as well as it is the most simple, form that has ever been used. What, indeed, can be more perfect than the proportions of this shield containing the arms of that Lord of Douglas (Fig. 28) who fell at Halidon Hill while yet a youth?† We have not been able to improve upon this pattern.

Fig. 27.— SEAL OF ROBERT BRUCE, EARL OF CARRICK (1301).

Fig. 28.—SEAL OF WILLIAM, LORD OF DOUGLAS (1332)

No very marked change occurs in the shapes of the shields of the 15th century. We still find the heater shape by far the most popular, but it became much more the custom to display it *couché*; indeed, in some cases it is exaggeratedly so; witness the seal of William, 2nd Earl of Angus, *c.* 1420 (Fig. 29), where the shield is almost lying on one side, with the helmet on the sinister chief corner, which is nearly in the centre of the seal.

The 15th century forms a marked epoch in the development of the heraldic shield, but it, at the same time, indicates a period when the shield, as a defensive weapon, was disappearing from knightly

* "Melrose Charters," pl. iii., 1. † Fraser's "Douglas Book," II., 599.

hands. As armourers became more and more skilful in forging coats of steel which would defy the

Fig. 29.—SEAL OF WILLIAM DOUGLAS, 2ND EARL OF ANGUS (*c.* 1420).

Fig. 30.—SEAL OF JOHN CARNEGIE OF KINNAIRD (1489).

heaviest sword stroke, it was felt that there was less and less need of shields, and accordingly their employment in battle fell into desuetude. In the latter part of the century it is the exception to find shields otherwise than *couché*. They become also broader and squarer in shape, with less point at the base, the latter feature becoming more and more common as the century progresses, till, by its close, there are almost as many with rounded bases as there are heaters (Figs. 30 and 31).

Fig. 31.—SEAL OF GEORGE DOUGLAS, MASTER OF ANGUS (*c.* 1500).

In consequence of this comparative disappearance of the shield from real life, its form underwent many modifications in Heraldry. There was no actual standard of shape on which to fall back, as there had formerly been when the heater had been found, taking it all in all, the most useful that a knight

could adopt, and which, therefore, was generally depicted on his seal. "But," as Mr Grazebrook says, "during and after the sixteenth century shapes were selected in an arbitrary way as a matter of taste alone; and hence earlier examples were sometimes exactly adopted, while at other times details and alterations were introduced just to suit the fancy of the purchaser or artist and the conventional style of the times."* The consequence of all this is that the plain, quiet, practical heater is comparatively seldom met with in the Heraldry of the 16th century, and they become more erratic and bizarre in shape. Even the simpler form of shields no longer took the heater shape. All the shields in that admirable armorial which Sir David Lindsay prepared about 1542, simple though they be essentially, have recurved lines.

The shield portrayed on the seal of Sir George

Fig. 32.—SEAL OF SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS OF PITTENDREICH (1490-1552).

Fig. 33.
SEAL OF THE REGENT MORTON.

Douglas of Pittendreich, the father of the Regent Morton (Fig. 32), and who died in 1552, is quite in the German style, while that of the Regent himself is still more eccentric in outline (Fig. 33). It is *couché*, and has a deep *bouche* or

* "Dates of Shields" (Liverpool, privately printed, 1890).

hollow on the dexter side; this was originally used to rest the lance on while tilting, but the *bouche* is merely a developed survival, as it is far too large for the purpose of a lance rest, and merely serves as a pretext to give an elegant curve to that side of the shield, the other side being designed on entirely different lines. It is impossible to go further into detail, but if you wish to study the shields of this period portrayed in every form that ingenuity can devise, you cannot do better than consult the "Wappenbuch" of Virgil Solis, published at Nüremburg in 1555, and reprinted at Munich in 1886. The variety and freshness of the designs contained in it are extraordinary and very typical of this 16th century art, though it must be remembered

Fig. 34.—SEAL OF ARCHIBALD, 8TH EARL OF ANGUS (1557-1588).

that these shapes appear to be governed by the fact that the charges were first drawn, and then the shield in such form as might best accommodate itself to the charges.

The most generally prevalent type in Scotland in the 16th century was a simple square-shaped shield with a rounded base, but the hollowed-out Elizabethan shape was by no means uncommon. It generally followed one pattern with some slight modification in the curvature of the top and bottom. The top was composed of two serpentine curves meeting in a peak in the centre, the corners square-eared, the sides deeply incurved, the base generally consisting of a double curve on each side meeting in a point as far below the termination of the sides as equalled the height of the sides themselves. A good example of this may be seen in the seal of Archibald, eighth Earl of Angus (Fig. 34).

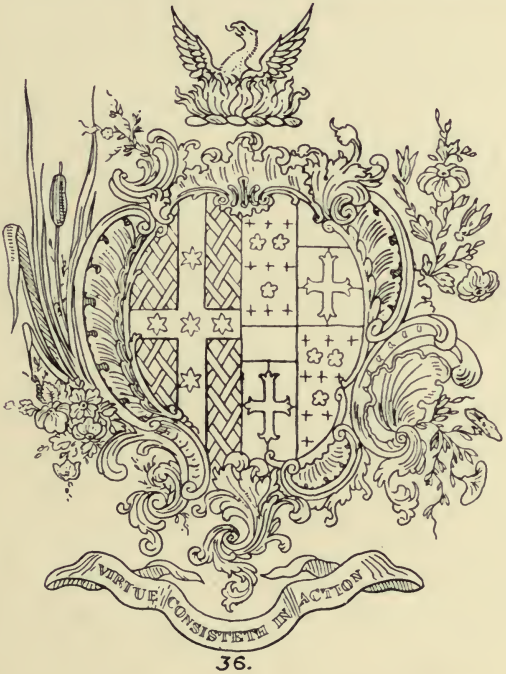
In the 17th century the so-called Renaissance architecture, which then obtained so much, could not fail to react on the heraldic art of the day and to influence the shape of the shield of arms. The simple heater, with its severe style and simple lines, was not in keeping with the flowing curves and pig-tail ornamentation which then came into vogue. Accordingly we find scroll work very prevalent in the shields of the period. They were made to twist and twirl about at all their points, or, if the shield was comparatively simple in itself, it was placed in a setting or frame, surrounded by the characteristic decoration of the period. At Caerlaverock Castle, for instance, rebuilt in 1638, we find a very simple, heart-shaped shield with the arms of the Maxwells placed in such surroundings. Occasionally, too, the shield is encircled by a laurel wreath tied at the top and sides with ribbon, a practice which

35.

Fig. 35.—[illegible] RIBBON PATTERN.

was succeeded at a later date by a different form of floral decoration in the shape of two palm branches tied at the bottom and going up outside the margin of the shield (Fig. 35).

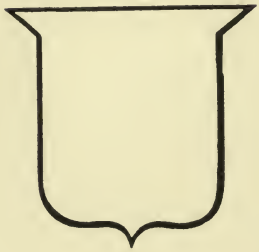
The shields of the 18th century reflected the artificial though elegant manners of the period. They abound in eccentric curves, which are often broken in upon by a wreath of floral and shell decor-



36.

ation, which almost obscures their original shape (Fig. 36), though sometimes they are very simply and beautifully portrayed with curved sides and a top with two scollops so as to have a peak in the centre. Later on, as the public taste degenerated from the good examples before them by the famous designers of the 18th century, shields became singularly tame and tasteless, being generally

represented with two pointed ears, and the base either brought to a point by two straight or two curved lines (Fig. 37). This shape is not necessarily indicative of a very late date, as it is met with all through the 18th century; but it certainly became more common in the early part of the present century, and is still beloved of the ordinary engraver. After about 1840, however, the period when Willement was designing the fine armorial windows at Hampton Court, there was a searching out of old forms, and the shapes of more modern shields are not in themselves very indicative of their date, though in recent years the simple heater is again asserting itself as the most convenient and appropriate form to employ for heraldic purpose.



37.

Coming to the "external ornaments," as Nisbet calls them, which go to make up a full achievement, I may mention first the crest. This has attained in the mind of the public a greater degree of relative importance than it is entitled to. This arises from its more common use in articles of everyday life, such as livery buttons, notepaper, plate, etc. But in reality, though a crest was originally a very distinguishing characteristic whereby the identity of its wearer might be ascertained, it does not now fulfil that function nearly so well as a coat of arms. The number of persons who bear or assume a crest, say of a hand holding a dagger or a demi-lion, renders it impossible to guess at the individuality of the owner from a mere inspection of the crest, while very few people have a right to identically the same coats. In early times, as we have seen, the crest was adopted as part of the cognisance of the owner,

or object by which he might be recognised in battle, and the top of the helmet was naturally the most conspicuous place on which to place it. It was made fairly large in proportion to the helmet, so as to be conspicuous; but it is evident that it would require to be of some light material, so as not to involve its being of too great weight. The crest of Edward the Black Prince, which still stands on the top of his helmet in Canterbury Cathedral, is composed of leather, perhaps boiled, and then moulded into shape, and consists of a chapeau or cap of maintenance, surmounted by a lion statant covered with gilt gesso. On the helmet of Sir George Brook, 8th Lord Cobham, which hangs to this day in Cobham Church, Kent, the crest — a soldan's head—is made of painted wood, though it is probable that this was merely made in order to be carried at his funeral. The manufacture of ceremonial crests is, indeed, not yet extinct, and specimens of these, all carved out of wood, may be seen surmounting the helmets above the stalls of the Knights of the Garter in St George's Chapel, Windsor, and on those of the Knights of St Patrick in St Patrick's Cathedral and the Hall of Dublin Castle. We cannot, I am sorry to say, show a similar sight in connection with our own Order of the Thistle either in the Chapel Royal of Holyrood or in St Giles'.

A curious feature of these modern crests is that in most, if not all, instances they are placed sideways on the helmet. Of course, in the majority of cases where a crest is represented it is drawn in profile, and rightly so, for it is supposed to be on the top of an esquire's helmet, which is always portrayed closed and in profile; but in the case of a knight, who wears a full-faced helmet, the crest, as Nisbet pertinently remarks, ought to follow the position of the helmet. That is to say, that a man who as an esquire bore a

demi-lion would, upon attaining to the dignity of a knight, bear a demi-lion affrontée; but this is a refinement of accuracy to which we can hardly expect the average human being to attain, as he seldom would see his way to alter the crest already engraved on his plate, harness, and other appurtenances. As regards the figures of which crests consist, it is obvious that the field from which they may be taken is a very wide one. Still there is a certain convention about crests, and it is odd how some forms repeat themselves indefinitely. The hands holding daggers, birds with branches in their beaks, lions of all colours of the rainbow and of various degrees of dismemberment are legion. Some of them, no doubt, had originally good reason for their adoption, others—especially the more modern ones—have been assumed arbitrarily. One very common practice was to take a charge from the shield for the crest; the royal crest of England is, in fact, one of the leopards or lioncels taken from the arms, and the same practice is seen in many Scottish families; thus the Earl of Home has a lion's head from the lion on the shield; the Duke of Roxburghe a unicorn's head; the Marquess of Lothian a sun; the Earl of Melville and Lord Cathcart crescents, all taken from similar figures which appear singly, or in conjunction with others, in their coats of arms. Occasionally they are taken from the supporters of the shield, as in the case of Lord Wemyss, who bears a swan's head as his crest, his supporters being two of these birds.

One of the most frequent questions that are asked in connection with heraldic inquiries is, "What is my family crest?" But this idea of a "family crest" is quite fallacious. It is, no doubt, quite true that we often find different branches of the same family bearing the same crest, but crests were not looked upon as being at all necessarily hereditary. The coat of

arms is jealously retained with due differences by all cadets of a common progenitor, but the crest is really a matter in which individual taste has very free play. Let me give you an instance of this, taken from the Lyon Register. One of the commonest names in Scotland is that of Hamilton, and, previous to the beginning of this century, forty members of this great house recorded arms. If the practice of having a family crest had been at all general, we should certainly expect to find, at all events, a large proportion of these persons bearing the same crest. But what are the facts? The oak tree in various forms occurs in fourteen instances, two cadets following their chief and having an oak tree and saw, two have oak trees alone, five oak slips or sprigs, two a hand holding a sprig of oak, one a trunk of an oak sprouting, one a branch of oak, four bear a hand with a sword, two take a cinquefoil from the shield, while three sons of Hamilton of Bangor take their father's crest of a ship in distress; all the rest have different and various devices, and if we look at other families we find the same custom prevails. As regards what may be adopted as a crest the choice is ample, embracing almost every conceivable object. Some of these, of course, are eminently unsuited for proper display on a helmet, but their adaptability for the purpose of a cognisance in war seems to have been lost sight of at a very early period. Even as early as the 15th century we find Peter de Ronsard, in describing the armour of one of his heroes in "La Franciade," saying :—

> "The Morion on his head,
> Well crested, the tempest doth resemble,
> Sent down from Jupiter in summer months;"

a piece of headgear which it would take an armourer some difficulty to execute. But in the Lyon Register there are numerous cases of almost equally absurd

crests—bees volant, such as are borne by Beatson and Stewart of Garntullie, do not lend themselves to effective display on the top of a helmet; neither does the eye of Mr Robert Jossay, nor the broken globe and rainbow over it borne by several families of Hopes. Perhaps the most extraordinary crest that was ever invented is that of Dr Matthew Brisbane, who bore a hillock semée of ants, especially as the scribe who engrossed it in the Lyon Register has substituted for the name of the little people whose industry is recommended to the consideration of the sluggard, that of the female relatives of the unfortunate doctor.

The crest being worn on the top of the helmet, it was, of course, necessary that it should be fixed on in some way. In early times, if a man bore an actual lion's head or a bird's head and neck, the skin was drawn over the top of the helm, and fell down behind the neck of the wearer. Later, a cloth or silk cap was placed underneath the crest, falling in straight folds down the back of the helmet. Gradually this was made more and more ornamental, and figured as slashed or scrolled not merely behind, but on each side of the helmet, developing into what is now called the lambrequin or mantling. In the magnificent armorial of Conrad von Grünenberg (1483), this is quite common, but no crest wreath is visible. These, however, had already begun to be borne, and represented twisted fillets of silk put round the helmet as a base for the crest. In most modern representations of arms these wreaths are represented either as quite straight or slightly curved, and are placed on the extreme top edge of the helmet—an impossible place. In Germany the mantlings were composed of the colours of the crest, but in British Heraldry they take their colours from the arms, the wreath being composed of six or eight twists of the

principal metal and colour in the shield. The expression used in the blazons in the Lyon Register is "on a wreath of his liveries is set for crest," indicating that the colours of the wreath should prescribe those of the livery of the owner. Armigerous persons should therefore endue their servants in coats of the colour of their shield, the collar, cuffs, &c., taking their tincture from that of the principal charge. If a shield is of gold or silver, the coats must, of course, be modified into dark or light drab. And persons who wish to be very accurate should have their carriages also painted in their family colours.

It may be noted, however, that the practice of having the colours of the household livery the same as those of the arms does not, in Scotland at least date from a very ancient period. Red and yellow, which were the colours worn by the lower grades of the royal household, do not appear earlier than the reign of James V., and were probably not in settled use till that of James VI.*

The lambrequin or mantling has come to be one of the most decorative parts of an achievement. While on the Continent the mantling attained a high degree of development at a comparatively early period, we find in Scotland that in the 14th century the plain capeline was only employed, and even that but rarely. On the seal of David Lindsay, 1st Earl of Crawford, in 1400, a light, feathery mantling occurs; and in the achievement of the Duke of Albany, 1403, the capeline is snipped or slashed, indicating a gradual change of style. Not till the middle of the century, however, do we find mantlings becoming at all common, but even then they were not emphasised to any degree, being generally depicted as slender filaments issuing from each side of the helmet. As the century went on they showed a tendency to become broader and leafy or wing-like.

* "Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer," I. clxxvi.

In 1509 the mantling on the seal of James Ogilvy, 1st Earl of Airlie, is decidedly heavier, but slender lambrequins, though of rather greater length than formerly, continued to prevail for some time; in the latter part of the century they became broader and fuller in detail, though it must be borne in mind that many representations of arms had no mantlings whatever. In the 17th century they become much commoner and heavier in character, falling down in voluminous folds on each side of the shield like the periwigs of the period. After this there was a reaction, and when mantlings were used at all they were kept well up, extending straight out on each side of the crest, the curves being symmetrical, that is to say, the mantling on one side of the helmet was a replica of that on the other side, only reversed. This gave the whole achievement a very stiff and wooden effect, and the perpetual recurrence of an exactly identical pattern of helmet surmounting the same tasteless and ungainly mantling throughout the pages of the Lyon Register gives that record—which might otherwise have been of great beauty — a very depressing appearance. But of late years more variety has been introduced, and the mantlings are now of many designs and tinctures, according to the colours of the wreath, instead of being, as they were before, officially ordained to be "gules doubled argent."

38.

Although we often see in modern representations of arms the crest and wreath placed immediately on the top of the shield, it is evident that their proper position is on

the top of a helmet, and that it is there only that their *raison d'être* becomes obvious. Now, mediæval helmets went through a regular process of evolution. At first the head was protected by a coif of mail (Fig. 38), which lay close on it, wadded, however, on its under side, both for ease in wearing and in order to make it more impervious to sword cuts; but this purpose it did not fully serve, so in the latter part of the 13th century a more or less hemispherical headpiece of metal called a bassinet was introduced. It was put over the coif so as to afford additional protection, not only from its direct resistance, but that blows might glance off its polished surface (Fig. 39); afterwards there was attached to it a camail or

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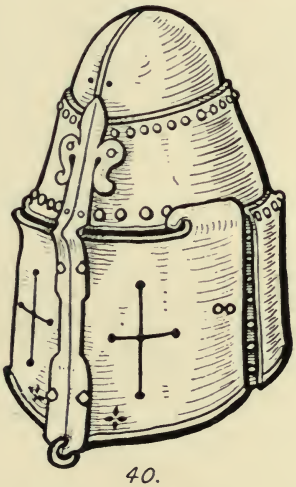
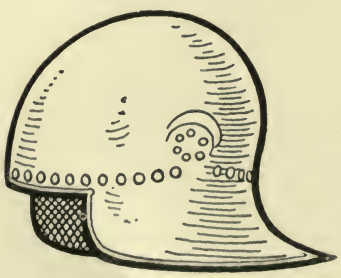


40.

curtain of mail which protected the back of the head, ears and neck. In the 14th century the bassinet became higher and more pointed, but it had the drawback that it left the face unprotected. There were two ways of remedying this: first, a large helm (Fig. 40) might be put completely over the bassinet, attached to the shoulder and completely closed all round except for breathing and eye holes, the head

moving freely under it. This was not a new invention, having been previously used with the mail coif, but it was uncommonly cumbersome and heavy. Some inventive genius of the period then hit upon the happy idea of attaching a movable visor to the bassinet. This ultimately took the shape of a projecting beak, and was fastened to the bassinet with pins so that it could be removed at will.

This was in use at the beginning of the 15th century, but the big helm was still employed for tournaments, and it is this form that is almost invariably depicted on seals of that period, and it still maintains its place as far the best kind of helmet to employ in armorial decorative work. It was a large, cylindrical headpiece, slightly pointed at the top, but often represented on seals as flat topped. It was securely laced or screwed to the breastplate in front, and had no visor, but merely an *occularium* or slit for the eyes, with small ventilating holes through which to breathe. The crest and wreath were fastened by aiglettes in the upper part of the helm. We find such a helm represented in profile, but with bars instead of the mere eye-slit, in the seal of William, Earl of Douglas, in 1356. This type of helmet, but generally without bars, continued to prevail for a long period, down, indeed, to the beginning of the 16th century. The fashion in the earlier years of the period was to have both helmet and crest very large in proportion to the shield, departing altogether in this from the practice of former generations, who had in their seals ignored the crest and helmet altogether; in fact, the shield was reduced to very small proportions, and the helmet



41.

and crest dominated the seal. The bassinet is not a form of helmet often, if at all, found in British Heraldry, nor is its successor the Salade, a kind of *chapeau de fer* (Fig. 41) or iron hat which protected the back of the neck, thus rendering the weighty camail unnecessary, and in certain forms having a projecting brim in front, which thus offered some protection to the face. In course of time it was improved, as regards the matter of safety, by the addition of a bevor or piece of plate armour fastened to the breastplate in front and coming up so as to cover the mouth alone if a "*courte baviare*," or the whole face up to the eyes if a "*haute baviare*." Sometimes it was called a "mentonniere," and was screwed on to the salade, a little trap-door being left which could be opened when its half-asphyxiated wearer wished to breathe a little more freely or to speak.

But the most important change which took place in the shape of helmets was the introduction of the Armet (Fig. 42). Hitherto all such pieces of armour had been simply iron hats, which were either put on the head, or into which the head was put. In the former case the weight was all on the head, and in the latter the clumsiness of the expedient counterbalanced its advantages. But the armet was a new development; it had its lower part hinged so that it opened for the admission of the head, which it then enclosed, fitting rather closely round the neck, while the weight was borne by the gorget on the shoulders. But by the time this type of helmet had become popular in this country, armour was becoming of less importance

42.

as a means of defence. We meet with it first in the seals of the early part of the 16th century, and it soon became the favourite for armorial compositions, continuing, indeed, down to our own day as the usual appurtenance of a heraldic achievement. Unfortunately, however, as taste in design deteriorated generally, so it came about that instead of a good type of armet, which might have been got, the feeblest and most wooden were generally selected. The consequence has been that at the present day the advertising stationer and the carriage painter usually continue to disfigure our letter paper and panels with an exceedingly bad style of helmet.

Having dealt with the helmet, crest, and mantling, let us briefly consider the subject of supporters. It is one about which there is considerable misconception. The right to use supporters is confined to a small class of the community. Peers and peeresses, in their own right, may undoubtedly use them, as may also representatives (*a*) of families who can establish very ancient usage, certainly prior to 1672; or (*b*) of the smaller barons who had the full right of free barony prior to 1587, when representation of the minor barons was fully established upon the ground that those persons were barons and sat in Parliament as such, and were of the same order as the titled barons. In addition to these it is generally considered by Scottish heraldic writers that chiefs of clans have a right to supporters; but where these are not already borne, it would be difficult to establish a valid claim, so much uncertainty prevails as to the exact definition of a clan. The Knights of the Garter and Thistle and St Patrick can bear supporters as such; but as these are almost invariably peers, this seldom constitutes a new privilege. Knights Grand Cross of the Orders

of the Bath, the Star of India and St Michael and St George have also the right, but in their case it is purely personal and does not become hereditary. Baronets have not the privilege. At one time, unfortunately, the right of the Lord Lyon to grant supporters at his own discretion seems not only to have been maintained, but largely exercised, and about the end of last century and the earlier part of the present many persons in Scotland got a grant of supporters who certainly should not. Many of these will be found mentioned by Mr Seton. I do not in the least defend the action of the Lyon Office in making such grants, but the practice has now for many years ceased.

The origin of supporters has been much discussed. Nisbet, following older writers, states that they are derived from a custom observed at tournaments, where the shields of the challengers were watched over by pages grotesquely costumed, which were afterwards adopted as supporters. But this is rather far-fetched, and the view which is now generally and reasonably taken is that their first appearance is as merely decorative adjuncts to seals. When a heater-shaped shield is depicted in a round seal, it is obvious that there must be a certain amount of unoccupied space between the curved sides of the shield and the margin of the seal. This the engraver filled up in various decorative ways, sometimes with foliage and sometimes with animals. The earliest form which the latter took was that of lizards, and on the seal of Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, in 1285, we find two such animals displayed, but there seems no suggestion of holding up the shield. In the same manner we find on the seal of Reginald Crawford, in 1292, two dogs on each side and a fox passant on the top. In the same year we

find an eagle placed behind the shields of Alexander Cumin of Buchan and Alexander Abernethy, while, in 1320, the seal of Sir John Graham, Lord of Abercorn, has a boar's head on the top of the shield and on each side of it.

43

One of the most curious instances of a single supporter placed behind the shield occurs on the seal (Figs. 43 and 44) of William, Earl of Douglas, in 1356, on which is a lion sejant behind the shield, with his head in a large tilting helmet, on

44

which is the crest. The seal is a beautiful and

striking one, though it does irresistibly remind us of a cat in the cream pot. But it is very singular that in a MS.—of this very period, the middle of the 14th century—of the Statutes of the Order of the Holy Ghost (founded by Louis, King of Naples and Sicily, in 1352) there is an illuminated border of one of the pages which contains an animal—it may be a lion or it may be a cat—sejant with its head in a large tilting helmet, surmounted by a large crest winged after the Continental fashion, exactly in the same manner as the lion supporter is portrayed in the Douglas seal. The one may not have been taken from the other, but it shows that the idea, at all events, was common to designers of that day. The Douglas seals afford us other instances of peculiar supporters. On that of Margaret Stewart, Countess of Angus and Mar (1378), there is a female figure holding a shield in each hand, and on the top of each shield there is an eagle holding the guige in its beak. On the seal of Archibald, 4th Earl of Douglas (1418), the shield is held in the right hand of a savage, the helmet being in his left hand, while on that of his son and successor two angels hold the helmet with one hand and the shield with the other. As a very strange example of a single supporter, Mr Seton notes that the armorial shield of Sir James Edmonstone of Duntreath is represented on a sculptured stone at Duntreath Castle, with its apex resting on the hump of a camel! and at Spynie Palace, Elgin, the royal arms are found similarly supported on the back of a unicorn.

The single supporter was before long doubled, and figures appeared, one on each side of the shield, not as mere ornamentation, but as integral parts of the achievement. Sir Thomas Erskine (1364) has two griffins, and the Earl of Mar

(1368), two demi-lions. It may be pointed out, however, that for long the supporters were not represented as supporting the shield so much as the helmet, and this is not so unreasonable as at first sight it might appear, because it will be remembered that the helmet and crest were in early times portrayed as of immense size in comparison to the shield, and it was therefore only natural that it should require the greatest amount of support.

Scottish Heraldry does not exhibit a very great variety in its supporters. The human form divine, attired in many guises and sometimes not attired at all, frequently occurs; quadrupeds are chiefly represented by lions, unicorns, dragons, horses, hounds, etc., and birds almost entirely by eagles and falcons. There are no instances on official record of supporters other than animate, but in a seal of William Ruthven (1396), given in Laing's Catalogue, there is a tree growing from a mount placed on each side of the shield; and in the case of the armorial insignia used by the Burgh of Hawick, Lord Bute mentions that the shield is supported by two banners, the dexter charged with the Scottish saltire and the sinister having the same, surmounted by an open crown. Still more attenuated supporters appear in the achievement of Dalziel of Binns, who was granted, in 1684, a pair of pavilions or tent poles, which were, however, altered about a century later to two lions sejant guardant.

In the last-mentioned grant it is stated that the lions are placed on a "hillock" below the shield, a proper enough resting-place for them. In most cases the expression in Scottish grants is on a "compartment." This may mean almost anything that the fancy of the artist may devise. Usually it has, in later times, led to supporters

performing feats of agility balanced on the edge of a motto scroll or some such inappropriate resting-place. This, I am glad to say, is now a thing of the past in the Scottish official records. A curious fact about compartments is that several families have got such specially assigned them, sometimes—if Sir George Mackenzie is right—in recompense for some honourable action. The Earls of Angus (Fig. 45) placed their supporters in a kind of enclosure surrounded with a wooden

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paling wreathed with wattles; the Drummonds have the ground on which their shield rests strewn with caltraps or spiked instruments, at one time used for preventing the approach of cavalry; while the Macfarlanes of that ilk put two Highlanders on a compartment wavy, on which is inscribed the words "Loch Sloy," which, it is stated in the Lyon Register, is "their *slughorn* or *cri de guerre*."

The only other external ornaments of the shield which I may mention are the *cordelier* and *lac*

d'amour or love knot, figures of very much the same character, though Nisbet says the former may be used by wives and the latter by widows and unmarried women. As a matter of fact, however, they are now only used in the latter cases. The lozenge on which the arms are represented is surrounded by a silver cord of running loops, and though not very commonly employed, forms a very pleasing addition to what would otherwise be a somewhat *bare* achievement.

Of the motto I have not time to speak. It is a somewhat late importation into Heraldry, not appearing as a hereditary part of arms till the 16th century. I may merely mention that in Scotland their position in the achievement is usually above the crest, not below the shield, as one often finds them portrayed.

LECTURE II.

LECTURE II.

HERALDRY AS ILLUSTRATING HISTORY.

From the fact that Heraldry was principally introduced from England into Scotland (though other influences were not wanting), one would expect to find the same distinctive features in the arms of the northern country as in those of the southern, and this is undoubtedly the case to a certain extent. English and Scottish Heraldry have much in common, but the evolution of the science proceeded on somewhat different lines in this country and gave its family arms a character of their own. When Heraldry was introduced into Scotland, the feudal system, under Norman domination, was firmly established in the southern part of that kingdom; but in the more northern districts the patriarchal or clan system was still more or less powerful, and continued to be so, though with gradually decreasing vitality, for many years afterwards.

The two systems, I need hardly remind you, were very different: the central idea of the patriarchal was that of the family. The chief was the father of his race, and the clan stood to him in the position of children. The territory occupied by it, if not exactly held in common, was distributed among all the members of the clan, and held, not by military service—as in the feudal system—but by rent paid in kind. To the land the chief stood in the relation of a sovereign rather than that of a proprietor. Though he could command the services of the members of his clan even more despotically than could a

feudal baron, he had no power over their lands. When the chieftain died he was succeeded by his eldest son or nearest heir male, unless the latter was under age, when some powerful kinsman was appointed to lead the clan, a position which he kept during his life, but at his death it again reverted to the heir male of the original progenitor. In the feudal system, on the other hand, the proprietor of lands received his title from the sovereign, and stood in relation to him, not as a child, but as a servant, in consideration of performing certain stipulated duties, in return for which he got a title to the land. The proprietor then might subdivide his land amongst others who became his vassals, just as he was the king's, and both he and they might forfeit the lands if the stipulated services were not regularly performed. The difference between the two kinds of leaders has been well illustrated by a writer who says:— "The patriarchal chief claimed the obedience of all his tribe wheresoever living, the feudal lord of all who dwelt on his lands of whatever race."

Owing to this theory of the blood relationship of the members of a clan, when one clan was victorious over another in the feuds which were constantly occurring and had occupied its territory, it was a not unnatural process that the members of the conquered race, after being for some time under the domination of their conquerors, should gradually identify themselves with the interests of the latter, and either adopt or become known by their name. The same process would occur in the case not of conquest, but of a weak clan allying itself with a strong one. We must keep in view the fact that it was only at a comparatively late period that the Highland clans had any true surnames. "Even after surnames had become common in the Highlands," says Mr Cosmo Innes,

"we find the adoption taking place by written compact. I have seen," says he, "petitions of some small clans in the Braes of Angus to be allowed to take the name of Lyon and to be counted clansmen of the Strathmores. Many families and small tribes of Breadalbane in the 16th century removed their natural heads and took Glenurchy as their chief. Many more in Argyll and the Isles must have suffered a change from awe of the MacCaileanmore. The Gordons are hardly settled in the 'aucht and forty dauch' of Strathbolgy when the whole country round is full of men calling themselves Gordons." And even after the patriarchal system had become obsolete, and the feudal baron took the place of the clan chieftain, it was rather the policy of the former to encourage the adoption of his surname by his vassals and dependants. His family became in this way more widespread and powerful, and even in the Lowlands the pride and influence of race was no small factor in the social economy of the day. The war-cry of "A Home! a Home!" as hundreds of stout lances pressed on to the fray behind the leader of their house, was no less inspiriting than the slogan of the clan shouted by the followers of a Celtic chief.

The main difference between the Highland and the Lowland fashion was that the Celtic names were chiefly patronymics, while those in the Lowlands were either importations from abroad, or taken from the names of lands. In England, on the other hand, surnames found no such bond of union. Persons there seem to have accepted or been credited with names totally different from that of the family to which they belonged, on very slight grounds. Personal peculiarities, official position, trade and occupation, and arbitrary nicknames, sometimes of an extraordinary character,

were the means of making English surnames abound in a variety that is wholly absent in Scotland. Of course in this country also there is a certain percentage of names which have had their origin from the causes I have just mentioned, but there are not nearly so many, nor do they include such frequent instances of grotesque invention, as may be found in the south. And a vague idea of personal relationship, testifying to the existence of the clan feeling, even among families bearing names distributed over all parts of the country, is frequently met with, as it is not uncommon to hear the Wrights, Millars, Blacks, and the like alluded to as so many different clans.

All this had an important influence on the manner in which Heraldry developed itself in Scotland. The much less variety in the surnames of the people naturally led to a corresponding restriction in the number of coats of arms. While in England it was frequently the custom for cadets of a family to adopt arms entirely different from those of the original stock, in Scotland the principle which limited the number of paternal coats led to a careful differencing of these coats as borne by the junior branches of the family. Thus the Grants of England exhibit at least three totally different shields; the far more numerous Grants of Scotland have but one. And even where there is no real principle of clanship in question, as in the case of names like Smith or Wright, there are proportionally fewer coats belonging to this class of name in Scotland than is the case in England. In the latter country, too, the practice of having armorial bearings was diffused both more widely and during a longer period than here. The visitations of the Heralds, which were made periodically in the different counties, kept alive an interest in armory and added to its im-

portance in a way that was almost unknown in Scotland, where the practice of visitations did not prevail to any extent. Not only so, but we must remember that the primary object of bearing arms at all was to enable the identity of a mail-clad warrior to be recognised. But in the 13th and 14th centuries — which was the most brilliant epoch for Heraldry — the mail-clad warrior was not the common object among the Highland clans that he was in more civilised nations: Macdonalds, Macphersons, and Macleods rushed to the fray unencumbered with the panoply of steel that encased the followers of a feudal baron. The eagle's feather of the chief was his only oriflamme, and the equipment of his array offered no field for the display of heraldic symbols. Thus it came to pass that, as a general rule, the coats now borne by the principal Highland clans are comparatively late in their origin, and were not in use at the time when the chivalry of Europe set so much store by their family cognisances.

When we look at Scottish arms as a whole, we find several features giving them a character which differentiates them very distinctly from those of other countries, and which reflect, in a way, the nature both of the people and of the country. They are, as a rule, very simple and direct, comparatively few in number, as we have seen, when compared to the population, and, as we also have observed, carefully differenced in the case of cadets—a practice which we might reasonably expect in a country where blood relationship has always been held in so much esteem; "a Scotch cousin," indeed, is an epithet known all the world over. The charges, while no doubt in a large measure similar to those prevalent in other countries, are not unfrequently either peculiar to Scotland, or used much more largely in it than

anywhere else. The shield of gyronny of eight pieces of the Campbells, or the Royal Tressure counterflowered, though met with in coats outside the kingdom, are certainly uncommon; while in Scotland nobody who has any acquaintance at all with its Heraldry can fail to have met with these many times. The Galley or Lymphad of the Isles, again, is a charge that is peculiarly Scottish; while the occurrence of the stag, the boar, and the wild cat in the arms or crests of many of our most ancient families point to a time when these animals were amongst the most common *fauna* of the country. The national *flora* do not, however, appear so conspicuously in our family shields. Pines and firs, which must have met the eye on every hillside and in every valley, occur but rarely as armorial bearings, while the national emblem itself is conspicuous by its absence from all but a very limited number of shields, and those of a comparatively late date.

Some unwritten law would seem to have governed the development of Scottish armory. Even in the matter of the tinctures of the fields of the coats of arms we find some striking features. Why, for instance, is the metal *or* never found as the field tincture of the arms of any of the ancient Episcopal sees in either England or Scotland? In Scotland the shields of the Episcopal sees—which do not, however, date as official arms from a period before the Reformation—were in exactly equal numbers azure and argent, the colours of the Virgin and also of the St Andrews Cross borne by the archiepiscopal see of St Andrews. As regards the selection of tinctures for their shields by individuals or families, we find some much more popular than others. Of 543 coats recorded in the Lyon Register before 1700, excluding those of cadets who merely took the family

coat with a difference, no less than 247 have the field argent, while the nobler metal gold only occurs in 68. But the predilection for silver is not confined to Scotland; it prevails in England to an even greater degree, and may arise from the fact that better effects were obtained by the contrast of charges on a white ground than would be possible with any other colour. Of the colours, as distinguished from the metals, azure was undoubtedly the most in request, as 104 shields are of that tincture, while gules comes next with 77. Sable, an extremely common field tincture in England, only occurs in 21 of the older recorded Scottish coats, while 15 are vert and 11 ermine.

Turning to the ordinaries, it is interesting to ascertain their relative popularity in Scottish arms. The chevron easily bears the bell, as no less than 92 of the families whose arms were recorded before 1700 bear this charge on their shields; but this may be accounted for in some measure by keeping in view the fact that the introduction of a chevron has always been a favourite method of differencing cadets the head of whose family bore a shield with common charges on it and no ordinary. The fess is also used in the same way, but it comes in only a moderate second, with 70 bearers; the bend and saltire are more nearly equal, the first being borne by 46 families and the other by 32. As might be expected in Scotland, the saltire or St Andrews Cross is much more frequent than the plain Cross of St George, the latter ordinary only appearing eleven times. The chief appears nine times in our list, and the pale is very rare, only occurring twice—once in the well-known shield of the great house of Erskine, and once in that of a less distinguished family of Lightbody. Why the pale, which affords

as great a facility for being charged with small devices as the fess or any other of the ordinaries, is so rare it is difficult to say. The double tressure appears in the arms of about twenty-four families of different races and names, but always as a mark either of royal favour or royal descent. The bordure is, with about two exceptions—neither of them of distinctively Scottish origin—never borne except as a difference.

As regards beasts borne as the principal charge on the shield, we find, as might be expected, the lion rampant by far the most common, completely swamping all the other animals put together. Boars' heads and stags' heads are borne by a fair contingent of families, but, upon the whole, neither quadrupeds nor birds figure very largely as unaccompanied charges in Scottish shields.

It is time, however, to leave such dry details and to pass to the consideration of some of the most important and outstanding historic coats of the country, and see how they illustrate, to a not inconsiderable degree, both the private history of the families to whom they belong, and the history of Scotland itself. And at the commencement of such an inquiry, we cannot do better than consider for a few minutes the history of the national escutcheon itself; not that any nation had arms assigned to it as such, but that what were originally the family arms of some of its rulers came gradually to be considered those of the country itself. William the Lion has popularly got the credit of being the first to introduce heraldic bearings into Scotland, and to have assumed the lion as his personal cognisance. The latter statement may or may not be true, but we have no trace of hereditary arms in Scotland so early as his reign (1165-1214). Certainly the lion does not appear on his seal, but it does on

that of his son and successor Alexander II., with apparent remains of the double tressure flory counterflory, a device which is clearly seen on the seals of Alexander III. (1249-1285). We are unable to say what the reason was for the adoption of such a distinctive coat; of course, if you turn to the older writers you will find all sorts of fables on the subject. Even the sober and sensible Nisbet states that "the lion has been carried on the armorial ensign of Scotland since the first founding of the monarchy by King Fergus I."—a very mythical personage, who is said to have flourished about 300 B.C., though he is careful to say that he does not believe arms are as old as that period. He says, however, that it is "without doubt" that Charlemagne entered into an alliance with Achaius, King of Scotland, and for the services of the Scots the French king added to the Scottish lion the double tressure fleur-de-lisée to show that the former had defended the French lilies, and that therefore the latter would surround the lion and be a defence to him.

All this is very pretty, but it is not history. Chalmers remarks in his "Caledonia" that the lion may possibly have been derived from the arms of the old Earls of Northumberland and Huntingdon, from whom some of the Scottish kings were descended; and he mentions an old roll of arms preserved by Leland,* which is certainly not later than 1272, in which the arms of Scotland are blazoned as *or a lion gules within a bordure or fleuretté gules*, which we may reasonably interpret as an early indication of what may be considered as a foreign rendering of the double tressure. Sylvanus Morgan, one of the very maddest of the 17th century heraldic writers, says that the tressure

* Collectanea, ed. 1774, II., 611.

was added to the shield of Scotland, in testimony of a league between Scotland and France, by Charles V.; but that king did not ascend the throne of France till 1364, at which time we have clear proof that the tressure was a firmly established part of the Scottish arms. One of the earliest instances of anything approaching the tressure in the Scottish arms which I have met with is in an armorial of Matthew Paris, which is now in the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, and at one time belonged to St Alban's Monastery. Here the arms of the King of Scotland are given as "or a lion rampant flory gules in a bordure of the same" (Fig. 46). The drawing represents a lion within a bordure, the latter being pierced by ten fleurs-de-lis, their heads all looking inwards, the other end not being free, but attached to the inner margin of the shield. This, you will observe, is very like the arms I mentioned as described by Chalmers, and it may possibly be the same volume which may have been acquired by Sir Robert Cotton. In 1471 there was a curious attempt of the Scottish Parliament to displace the tressure. An Act was passed in that year, for some hitherto unexplained reason, by which it was ordained "that in tyme to cum thar suld be na double tresor about his (the king's) armys, but that he suld ber hale armys of the lyoun without ony mair." Seeing that at the time of this enactment the Scottish kings had borne the tressure for upwards of 220 years, it is difficult to understand the cause of this procedure. Like many other Acts, however, it never seems

46.

to have been carried into effect; at least I am not aware of even a solitary instance of the Scottish arms without the tressure either at or after this period.

It is interesting to note the appearance of the Scottish arms in some of the Continental armorials. In one of the oldest of these MSS., called the Zurich Armorial, which was compiled probably between 1336-1347, there is an unnamed shield ascribed by the editor of the facsimile—published in 1875—to Scotland, on the ground that in the Manesse collection of the arms of the Minnesingers, a MS. of the last quarter of the 13th century in the National Library in Paris, there is a very similar coat ascribed to King Tyro of Scotland and Friedebant, his son. The coat consists of a field or, charged with the figure of a monk in his robe and cowl, holding in one hand a pastoral staff and in the other a dish, probably for alms (Fig. 47); the same figure is repeated as the crest, differing in this respect from the Paris Codex. It is more than likely that the shield does not refer to Scotland, as we know it, but to Ireland, which was commonly called at one time by all, perhaps, except the inhabitants of the island itself, Scotland, or Land of the Scoti, who ultimately migrated to Dalraiada on the other side of the Channel, and it is suggested that the cowled figure may be intended for St Patrick.

47.

But there is another armorial which shows that there was some confusion in the mind of the author about Scotland and Ireland, and it possesses such

extraordinary characteristics that perhaps you will pardon me if I mention them somewhat in detail. The MS. is by Conrad von Grünenberg, a member of a patrician family of Constance, who lived there from at all events 1443—when he must have been a young man—till 1493. The armorial itself is dated 1483, so that is more than a hundred years later than the Zurich one; it is an incomparably finer MS., and is possessed of great artistic excellence. On page 22 there are five shields: one small one at the top of the page in the centre has the words written over it *Das alt Schotten*; the blazon is "or billetty gules a lion rampant of the last." It is somewhat difficult to say whether the figures with which the field is semée are billets or lozenges, and still more difficult to say what the authority for the coat is. Below this shield, and in larger characters than the inscription above it and placed a little to the left, are the words *der King von Schotten*, etc. Two full achievements then occur placed side by side on the page. One is obviously Scotland, the lion rampant within the royal tressure. The lion is contourné or turned to the sinister instead of the dexter of the shield; but this is common in Continental Heraldry. He is crowned and langued azure; each of the two members of the tressure is pierced by eight fleurs-de-lis, their heads all pointing outwards, and none of them binding the two single tressures together as in the ordinary case; the helmet—a gold one with five bars—and crest are also contourné. The crest is a lion sejant gules crowned and langued azure as in the shield, holding in his left paw a sword proper hilted and pommelled or; the sword and the lion's tail are both very large in proportion to the size of the animal himself. The mantling—which is symmetrical—flows in graceful curves from the helmet

and is gules doubled or, the whole achievement being most spiritedly drawn.

The next shield is a very remarkable one, and, failing any better explanation—which I have in vain sought—it must be looked on in the light of a heraldic joke, though jesting is hardly in place in such an imposing MS. as that of Grünenberg. On it is depicted on a golden field what is either an ape or a very monkey-like man in profile, looking towards the dexter; the tincture is sable; he is apparently nude and is kneeling or crouching on one knee; with one hand he scratches the lower part of his back, while with the other he holds out an alms dish gules; the mouth is slightly open, and the eye—well defined in white—looks rather upwards, as if beseeching charity. The golden helmet above the shield is surmounted by an imperial crown—a decoration which is absent in the former achievement—and on the crown is standing a naked boy, excellently drawn, with legs set firmly apart and holding a large cross-hilted sword in each of his hands, the figure and weapons being entirely red, and the height of the crest being fully equal to the length of the shield; the mantling is black and gold.

What this can mean is a question more easily asked than answered. The appearance of a red alms dish, both in this shield and in that figured in the Zurich Armorial, is curious, though it may be only a coincidence. Is the figure of this poor, degraded-looking beggar man, apparently afflicted with the national cutaneous disorder, intended as a reference—a by no means complimentary one—to the poverty and dirt of the travelling Scot? But if so, why the really noble-looking boy of the crest? The whole matter is an enigma which still awaits solution.

In the lower part of the page are two shields

of smaller size without helmet, mantling, or crest, but surmounted by shallow ducal coronets. Over the first is written *King von Enbernia in Schotten*; the shield is per pale or and gules dexter an eagle displayed sable dimidiated, sinister an arm in armour embowed and reversed issuing out of the dexter and holding a sword in bend point downward. The second shield bears the legend above *der King von Yerland in Schotten*, and is similar to the other in all respects save that the mailed arm issues from the sinister side of the shield in a naturally bent position, and holds a sword upright parallel to the palar line. Between the two last mentioned shields at the bottom of the page are the words *die hobstat im land Schotten haist Odwurk*. The last word is translated by the editor of the MS. as Edinburgh, which would thus be indicated as the capital of the country. But of the meaning of the two shields, as of the other, I can give no explanation.

There are other two representations of the Scottish arms in foreign armorials to which I may briefly allude. One is in the Armorial de Gelre, a beautiful MS. in the Royal Library at Brussels, the Scottish shields in which have been figured by Mr Stodart in his book on Scottish arms, and, more accurately by Sir Archibald Dunbar, in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1890. The armorial is believed to be the work of Claes Heynen, Gelre Herald to the Duke of Gueldres between 1334 and 1372, with later additions by another hand. The coat assigned in it to the King of Scotland is the lion and double tressure; the lion is uncrowned, and is armed and langued azure; above the shield is a helmet argent adorned behind with a short capeline or plain mantling, on which is emblazoned the saltire and chief of the Bruces, from which we may gather

that the arms of David II. are here represented; the lining is blue, which is unusual, as mantlings are usually lined or doubled with a metal, if not with ermine. The helmet is surmounted by an imperial crown, with a dark green bonnet spotted with red.* On the crown there is the crest of a lion sejant guardant gules imperially crowned or holding in his paw a sword upright; the tail is coué or placed between the hind legs of the lion, but it then rises up and flourishes high above his back in a sufficiently defiant fashion. This shows that the Scottish arms were well known on the Continent of Europe nearly a hundred years before the date of the Grünenberg MS., while Virgil de Solis (*c.* 1555) gives a sufficiently accurate representation of the royal shield, though the fleurs-de-lis all project outwards as in the case of Grünenberg; he gives the crest as a lion rampant holding a sword in bend over his shoulder. Another ancient representation of the Scottish arms occurs in a MS. treatise on Heraldry of the 16th century, containing the coats of some foreign sovereigns and other personages, bound up with a Scottish Armorial, probably by David Lindsay, Lyon in 1568 (Fig. 48).

48.

There was but slight variation in the royal achievement from time to time: Robert II. had

* In M. Victor Bouton's edition of the "Armorial de Gelre" (Paris, 1881), the bonnet is described as a *mount.*

for his crest a lion statant guardant, and John Baliol and Edward Baliol placed arms pertaining to their family—the orle of Baliol and the lion of Galloway on the reverse of their great seals; but in all other instances there is the usual lion and double tressure, the number of fleurs-de-lis in the latter being indefinite. James I. used two lions rampant coué (the tail between the hind legs) as supporters, as did his more immediate successors. The arms used by Queen Mary present considerable variety. She and her husband, the Dauphin, at one time carried a shield impaling, dexter, the Dauphin of France, sinister, quarterly 1 and 4 Scotland, 2 and 3 England, over all half an escutcheon of pretence for England.* This pretension to the arms of England gave great offence in that country, and the Earl Marshal referred the matter to the Heralds College in 1559, who reported that the arms were quite irregularly marshalled, and that no foreign prince could bear the English arms otherwise than in pale. It was afterwards one of the charges against Mary that she had used the arms of England without difference in an escutcheon of pretence.

If we look at the more exclusively Scottish seals of Mary, we find on one of her counterseals two unicorns as supporters. This was supposed for some time to be the first appearance of these animals in connection with the royal arms, but there is an example, carved in high relief, on a stone in Melrose Abbey, of date 1505. Certainly the

* Strype states that they also bore over this coat half an escutcheon of pretence for England, the other half being cut off or obscured, perhaps to denote that another had got possession of the crown to her prejudice ["Annals" (London, 1709), Vol. I. p. 8]; but the annalist does not write as if he had much acquaintance with Heraldry, and such an addition to the arms, in view of the English quartering having been assumed, seems so utterly unheraldic that the statement is, in my opinion, open to grave doubt.

unicorn had not been altogether unknown in connection with the royal arms, because on certain gold coins of James III. the escutcheon is supported by a unicorn sejant. This counterseal of Queen Mary was, however, the most elaborate representation of the sovereign's achievement that had till that time been executed. The shield is surrounded by a collar of thistles; there are also two banners, both charged with a saltire, that on the sinister being surmounted of an open crown; behind each supporter is a thistle crowned. Mary did not always use the unicorns as supporters, for on her privy seal, like her predecessors and her son, who succeeded her, she retained the two lions rampant.

The armorial bearings of Queen Mary are, however, chiefly remarkable for being the first in which the crest as we now know it occurs. On a small signet of hers there is, above a helmet with mantlings surmounted by a crown, a lion sejant affronté crowned, holding in his dexter paw a naked sword and in his sinister a sceptre, both bendways. The collar and badge of the Order of Thistle surround the shield, or, more correctly, the shield is surrounded by a collar of thistles, as we have no certain proof that such an Order was in existence at that period. The supporters are unicorns, and the accompanying banners are charged one with the arms of Scotland and the other with a saltire or a fess surmounted with a saltire.

The counterseal of James VI. was very similar to the above, save that in the crest the sword and sceptre are erect and the lion's paws more extended; the dexter banner is charged with a saltire and crown, and the sinister with the arms of Scotland; the supporters are unicorns, but in his privy seal the lions rampant coué still

appear. On the union of the crowns, however, in 1603, he marshalled his arms I. and IV. grand quarters counter quartered 1 and 4 France 2 and 3 England, II. Scotland III. Ireland. He assumed also as supporters a lion and a unicorn, two of the latter animals having been previously used, as we have seen, in the Scottish arms. The marshalling of the royal arms has from time to time been changed, but this is a subject which hardly falls within the scope of the present lectures.

We must now take leave of the royal arms, as their history from the period to which we have reached becomes identified with that of the arms of the United Kingdom. This is an interesting subject, but one into which we cannot enter here; I must refer you to an excellent chapter on it in Mr Seton's "Scottish Heraldry."

Let us look for a little at the coats of some of the more distinguished families whose names even yet are as household words in our mouths. And I daresay the question must occur to many of you, What was the origin of these arms? What led to their adoption by their first bearer? I am afraid I must tell you that in very many cases it is impossible to say. If you look into some of the text-books on the subject you will find arms sometimes divided into classes, such as Arms of Dominion, Arms of Succession, Arms of Pretension, Arms of Assumption, Arms of Adoption, Arms of Concession, Arms of Patronage, Arms of Office, and *Armes Parlantes*, as they are called in French, or Allusive or Canting Arms. While instances might no doubt be given to illustrate all these divisions, it will, I think, be sufficient for our present purpose to point out that a very large number of coats may be referred to the classes Arms of Patronage and *Armes Parlantes*. It may be taken for granted that at

the beginning a man had some reason for bearing the particular cognisance which he did. He did not assume it in a merely arbitrary way; its original purpose was that he should be known. If, therefore, he found himself the vassal of some great feudal lord, it was most natural that he should adopt some part at least of his superior's arms, as this, if it did not distinguish him with conspicuous individuality, at least connoted him as belonging to a particular district or party. The stars, for instance, which stud so many of our Scottish shields have very often their origin in this way. The ancient families of Wauchope and Inglis were both originally vassals of the great house of Douglas, and both carry stars in their shields; while the Johnstons, Kirkpatricks, Jardines, Griersons, etc., carry the saltire and chief of the Earls of Annandale, to which district they belong; and the Macfarlanes, Colquhouns, and Napiers all bear the saltire of the Lennox.

But while the feudal connection of vassal and lord may account for the origin of many coats, I am inclined to think that a larger number must have taken their rise from some play on their owner's name, and must thus be classed among *Armes Parlantes* or Canting Arms. The first use of surnames and that of arms are very nearly contemporaneous, surnames being rather the older of the two. If, therefore, a man had a name which could be directly represented in a concrete form, this was the most obvious and best way of identifying him; the invention of a cognisance in the most literal sense of the word was easy; a man with the cognomen of Lamb, or Lyon, or Craw, had simply to depict one or more of these animals on his shield or surcoat and the thing was done. If, therefore, we examine a list of Scottish names, we find several which can be

represented directly on the shields; turbots, for instance, are borne for the name of Tarbet, an almost inappreciable difference; geds or pikes for Geddes; lilies and primroses by the possessors of these floral names; a bridge for Bridge; hunting horns for Horn; an arm with a well developed biceps for Armstrong; daggers for Skene, and so on. This practice of assuming arms which were a play on the name of the owner was used even in cases where the name was not really derived from the objects represented in the arms. In the case, for instance, of Geddes, which I have just mentioned, the name is stated * to be synonymous with Gildas, a British saint who lived in the 6th century, and to have no connection with the geds which are borne on the arms.

There was another class of names which could not be armorially suggested in so direct a manner, but part of which gave sufficient scope for the play of fancy in the bearings. Thus Aikman bears a hand holding a baton of oak or aik; Pearson, swords piercing a heart; Bannerman, a banner; while Windigate is aptly enough represented by a portcullis; and the otters' heads of Otterburn, the bull's head of Turnbull, the horse's head of Horsburgh, the ram of Winram, and the cocks of Cockburn are all very obvious means of indicating the names of their respective bearers. A still larger class consists of arms which are not in any way identical with the owner's name, but indirectly—though not the less plainly—suggest it. Instances of this may be seen in the canary birds of Kinnear, the three leaves or feuilles of Foulis—also carried by Lowis—the cow or vache of Veitch, the raven or corbie of Corbet, the trees of Wood, the acorns of Aikenhead, the buckles of Buncle, the bows of Bower, the laurel leaves

* Bain's "Nairnshire," p. 128.

of Lorain, the moors' heads of Moir or Moor, the fishes of Fisher, and the fraises or strawberry flowers of the Frasers. In the same way a Tod bore a fox, a Hunter a dog, a Falconer, falcons; Yetts, portcullises or gates; and Trotter a courser or horse. It would not be difficult for anyone seeing those arms to make a pretty accurate guess at the name of the owners.

But it is obvious that many names did not lend themselves to be dealt with in this comparatively simple manner, and then a symbolic representation of the name came to be used. The subject of symbolism in Heraldry is a very wide one, and by the older writers has been pushed to an absurd extreme, but at present I am speaking of symbolism as connected with names. When the descendant of the original John the Miller became known as simply John Miller and was desirous of assuming arms, it was not in the fitness of things that he should represent an actual mealy miller on his shield, but he took the figure of the *fer de moline*, the mill-rind or iron fastening attached to the centre of the millstone, and used it as his cognisance. The association of ideas between his arms and his name at once gave the clue to his identity, especially in an age when the faculty of observation was much more cultivated than it now is, when it is almost obliterated by our devotion to book learning. In the instance given above, the arms are founded on the bearer's original occupation, and we see this in other instances—Turner bears a St Catherine's Wheel and Butler, cups; while Ferrier indicates his original name Farrier by displaying horse-shoes; Wright, carpenter's axes; and Webster, weaver's shuttles.

Further, the symbolic indication of the profession or name may even be less direct. The Stewarts are said to have derived their fess chequey from

their connection with the king's exchequer, where the calculations were made on a table covered with a chequered cloth. But Lord Bute * gives it as his opinion that it represents the blue and white checks so frequently found in old linen, and refers to the napkin officially carried upon his arm by the High Steward as *Dapifer Regis Scotorum.* The sword and scales most appropriately appear in the shield of the family of Justice, and Sawer has the very simple and impressive coat of a pile engrailed, which, by the exercise of a little imagination, may be considered a sufficiently good representation of a saw. Again, we find the Frenches bearing, as we might expect, the fleurs-de-lis, so eminently suggestive of the name; the Maitlands, not so easy, one would say to fit with a canting coat, bear a lion mutilé (mutilé lion = Maitland) or dismembered in all its joints; that is to say, the field of the shield appears between its body and its members. In this instance the association of ideas would not be between the figure represented in the arms and the name, but rather with reference to the manner in which it was represented. The Carnegies of Kinnaird bear a cup on their eagle's breast in remembrance of their original position as King's Cup-bearers; the three arrows of Little-john are evidently meant to associate the bearer with the famous lieutenant of the bold outlaw of Sherwood Forest; two broken hammers aptly proclaim their bearer to be Naesmyth; a demi-man armed with a sword and axe with the branch of a tree in base is, we must confess, a sufficiently far-fetched conceit for Carwood or carve wood; though it is quite equalled by the vair coat of Belches, the heraldic representation of that fur bearing some resemblance to little bells.

* "Arms of the Royal and Parliamentary Burghs of Scotland," p. 210.

Some of the above examples are not true canting coats or *armes parlantes*, but they all serve to show the influence which this kind of symbolism had over the beginnings of Heraldry. If it were possible to get at the true history of the arms of every family, I am sure it would be found that in the majority of cases they had their origin in this way. This is the real symbolism of Heraldry; not such an exalted kind as you will find expounded in the earlier treatises on the subject, or even by so late a writer as Mr Ruskin, but far more practical. It is surely much more likely that a man of the name, say of Horsburgh or Trotter, assumed a horse as his bearing than that it was assigned him on account of some fancied resemblance of his mental or physical characteristics to those of that animal. And I cannot agree with that author who writes with all his charm of style about the Heraldic Ordinaries, when he says that they represent symbolically the establishment, defence, and exaltation of the knight's house by his Christian courage.* Mr Ruskin may no doubt, in his inimitable way, be able to draw the deepest moral lessons from Heraldry, but I cannot think it probable that these ever entered into the minds of the first possessors of ensigns armorial. Arms had a meaning, as I have attempted to show you, but it was a meaning associated, not with mystical theories of the moral attributes, but with the practical question of How can the arms best identify their bearer? It was to this that the attention of those who originally adopted or assigned arms was principally directed; but it must be confessed that the efforts to make the arms fit the name are in some cases not only far-fetched, but absurd. If it is true, as Nisbet hints, that the cocks in the arms of Law were

* "The Eagle's Nest," pp. 221-227.

put there because the name was uttered when crowing "cockie-learie-law," then we can only characterise such a proceeding as childish; and other examples hardly less silly might be given. But I have, I hope, said enough to show what an important place in armory these canting or allusive coats occupied.

All the above class of arms, however, relate to the bearer's individuality alone; they show clearly enough who he was, but that is all; they are silent as to his surroundings, to his relations with the world, or to the history of his family. Now, some arms commemorate incidents and tell stories, not perhaps always true stories, but stories which were embodied in legend or tradition of respectable antiquity, and which have probably some foundation of truth. If a historic incident, or incident which is supposed to be historic, is embodied in an achievement, the statement is generally made that the arms were granted to the progenitor of the family on account of the part he took in the occurrence commemorated. That is to say, that he won his arms at the time the incident is supposed to have taken place. A little reflection will show that in many cases this was perfectly impossible. Take the case of the well-known coat of the Hays, and hear the description of its origin as given by Nisbet: "In the reign of Kenneth III., about the year 980, when the Danes invaded Scotland, and prevailing in the battle of Luncarty, a country Scotsman with his two sons, of great strength and courage, having rural weapons, as the yokes of their plough and such plough furniture, stopped the Scots in their flight in a certain defile, and upbraiding them with cowardice, obliged them to rally, who with them renewed the battle and gave a total overthrow to the victorious Danes; and it is said by some,

after the victory was obtained, the old man, lying on the ground, wounded and fatigued, cried 'Hay, Hay,' which word became a surname to his posterity. He and his sons being nobilitate, the king gave him the foresaid arms (*argent* three escutcheons *gules*) to intimate that the father and the two sons had been luckily the three shields of Scotland, and gave them as much land in the Carse of Gowrie as a falcon did fly over without lighting, which having flown a great way she lighted on a stone there called the Falcon Stone to this day. The circumstances of which story is not only perpetuate by the three escutcheons, but by the exterior ornaments of the achievement of the family of Errol; having for crest on a wreath a falcon proper; for supporters two men in country habits, holding the oxen yokes of a plough over their shoulders, and for motto, *serva jugum.*"

Unfortunately for the truth of this picturesque tale there are several reasons which render it utterly incredible, not the least being that, at the period of the supposed battle, armorial bearings were quite unknown and could not have formed the subject of a royal gift. Hill Burton, indeed, strongly doubts the occurrence of the battle itself, and says that Hector Boece, who relates the occurrence, must be under strong suspicion of having entirely invented it. As for the origin of the name itself it is, as Mr Cosmo Innes points out in his work on "Scottish Surnames," derived from a place in Normandy, and neither it nor any other surname occurred in Scotland till long after the battle of Luncarty. I have mentioned this story in some detail, as it is a very typical specimen of its class; but there are others like unto it, often traceable to the same incorrigible old liar Hector Boece. He tells us, for instance, that the three bears' heads of the Forbeses were

originally acquired by an ancestor of the name of Ochonachar, because he had killed a bear, whence he took the name "For beast," afterwards Forbes. And again, in relating the origin of the Keiths, he utilises these very convenient people the Danes. Robert, a chief of the Catte or Keithi, having killed the Danish leader, King Malcolm dipped his fingers in the blood and drew them across the top of Robert's shield; thus, says the veracious chronicler, giving the origin of the chief *or* charged with three pallets *gules*, which forms such a distinctive feature in the arms of the Keiths. So Nisbet narrates, and as an instance of the confusion which an imperfect acquaintance with Heraldry sometimes leads writers into, I notice in a well written article in the number of the *Scottish Review* of date October 1898, the author, in referring to the origin of these arms, alludes to "the day the Danes were broken at Barry and the royal fingers of Malcolm II. traced in the blood of Caimus, their commander, on the virgin shield of Robert Keith the lines which became the three pallets on the bloody chief." It is needless to point out that in this case it would not be the chief that would be bloody, but the pallets themselves, if there is any allusion to the story in the bearing.* The whole incident, however, is fabulous and cannot have occurred at the time mentioned, though there is no doubt that the chief paly *or* and *gules* is an old bearing, as we find it in the seal of Sir Robert Keith, Marischal of Scotland in 1316;† but earlier seals of the family, for instance, that of Robert de Keth appended to a deed of homage to Edw. I. 1292, are not heraldic.

Still more absurd statements are occasionally made as to the origin of arms, and are given by

* The blazon in the Lyon Register is *gules* three pallets *or*.
† Laing's "Catalogue of Scottish Seals," No. 461.

persons who ought to know better. Even the generally sensible Nisbet, in treating of the arms of Balnaves or Balnevis, parted per fess *argent* and *sable* a chevron counterchanged, records the popular opinion that they are derived from Ben Nevis, where the family lived, the top of which is always white with snow and the bottom black with heather; and he goes on to account for the crest of the Carnbody branch of the family by saying that once upon a time one Nevoy, playing at football before the king, distinguished himself so that the king exclaimed, *Well ball'd Nevoy*, whence the name. Such a stupid story can hardly raise a smile now. The name, of course, came from lands, and may be the vernacular version of *de villa nativorum*; it would not be worth repeating here were it not the fact that equally absurd derivations, both of names and arms, are being constantly suggested. Instances of such absurdities could be multiplied indefinitely, but I have said enough to show you how cautious you must be in accepting the traditionary account of the origin of any particular coat. But, on the other hand, if you ask me how these coats really originated, I am obliged to confess my ignorance. In a large proportion of cases they had, no doubt, a Continental origin; they were either the bearings of Norman knights, or arms derived from such bearings.

Occasionally, however, we come across a more recent coat which actually has a well authenticated historical foundation. The Earl of Kintore, for instance, bears in his second and third quarters, *argent* on an escutcheon *gules* a sword in bend sinister surmounted, a sceptre in bend dexter, and in chief an imperial crown, the whole surrounded by an orle of eight thistles *or*, being a coat of augmentation granted him in commemoration of having

been the means of preserving the regalia of Scotland from the hands of Cromwell by hiding it in the church of Kinneff. And Ogilvie of Barnes, for his share in the same transaction, was given a crowned thistle, which was borne in the dexter chief of the shield. But the most famous of all historic charges in a coat is the bloody heart of the Douglases, first assumed in commemoration of the Good Sir James having carried the heart of the Bruce to battle with him when he met his death on his way to the Holy Land. It is one of the few picturesque legends of chivalry which modern criticism has left untouched. The heart, however, was borne plain in the shield for many years. It is usually stated that the crowned heart does not appear in the family arms till 1603, but it occurs on a sculptured panel of the Douglas arms in Lincluden, which was erected into a collegiate church by Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas, in the 14th century, and the shield is unquestionably older than 1600. In the middle of the 15th century we find the author of the Book of the Howlate—an ancient and interesting Scottish poem—describing the arms of the various branches of the family as represented on the pursuivant's tabard as :—

"A grene tre gudely and gay,
That bure branches on bred blythest of hew,
On ilk beugh to embrace,
Written on a bill was,
O Dowglas! O Dowglas! tender and trewe."

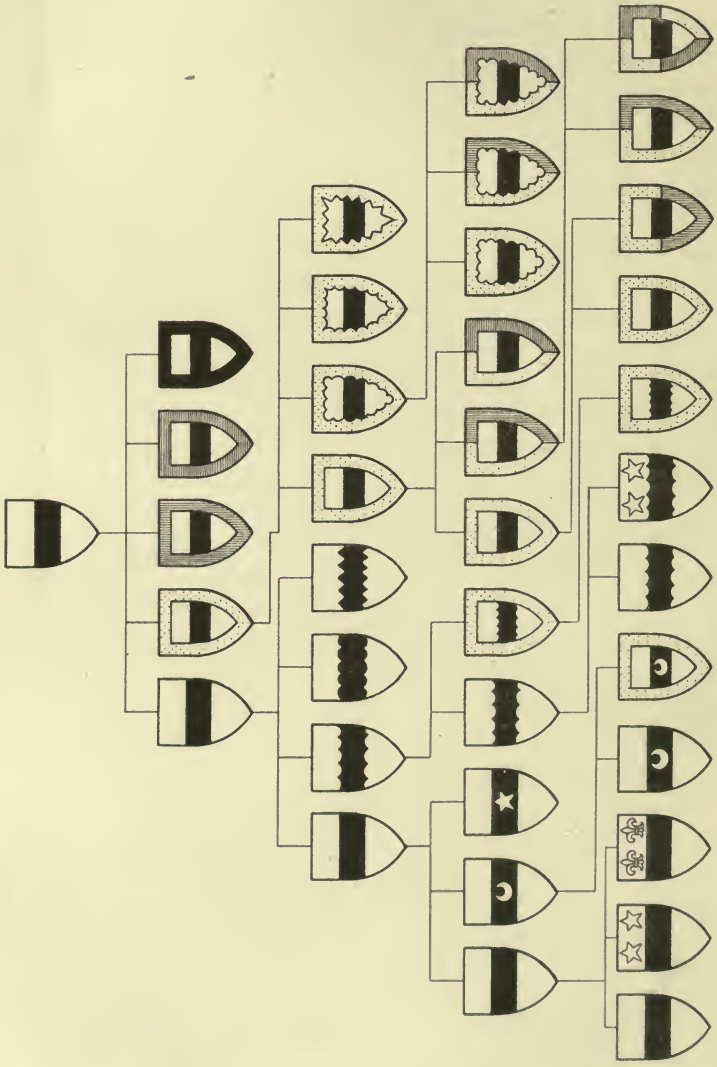
And he goes on to describe the incident of the heart, and says :—

"Be this ressoun we reid, and as our Roy levit
The Dowglas in armes the bludy hart beris.
. . . . . .
This hart red to behald,
Throw this ressonis ald,
The bludy hart it is cald, In Dowglas arms."

I have said that in Scotland the principle which limited the number of paternal coats led to a careful differencing of these coats as borne by the junior branches of the family. In England the ordinary method of differencing, as still laid down in the text-books, is to assign the eldest son a label, the second a crescent, the third a mullet, the fourth a martlet, the fifth an annulet, the sixth a fleur-de-lis, and the seventh a rose. In the next generation the younger sons charge their father's difference with their own appropriate one; thus the fifth son of a third son would bear a mullet charged with an annulet. But you will see that in the course of a very few generations this system of differencing utterly breaks down, because the differences become piled up on the top of one another in such a way as to become quite confusing and illegible. Though sometimes used, it has never obtained to any great extent in Scotland, the practice here being generally to difference by means of a bordure, in which way many more generations are capable of being distinguished than is possible by the former method. The weak point of it is that, while the general idea is good, there is no definite rule whereby it can be carried out on unchanging lines; much is left to the discretion of the authorities (Fig. 49).

As a general rule, it may be stated that the second son bears a plain bordure of the tincture of the principal charge in the shield, and his younger brothers also bear plain bordures of varying tinctures. In the next generation the eldest son of the second son would bear his father's coat and bordure without change; the second son would have the bordure engrailed; the third, invected; the fourth, indented, and so on, the other sons of the younger sons in this generation differencing their father's bordures in the same

way. The junior members of the next generation might have their bordures parted per pale, the



49.

following generations having their bordures parted per fess and per saltire, per cross or quarterly,

gyronny or componé, that is, divided into alternate spaces of metal or colour in a single track—this, however, being often in Scotland a mark of illegitimacy—counter componé or a similar pattern in two tracts, or chequey with three or more tracts. You will see that these modifications of the simple bordure afford a great variety of differences, and when they are exhausted the expedient can then be resorted to of placing on the bordures charges taken from other coats, often from those of a maternal ancestor, or they may be arbitrarily assigned to denote some personal characteristic of the bearer, as in the case of James Maitland, Major in the Scots regiment of Foot Guards, who carries the dismembered lion of his family within a bordure wavy *azure* charged with eight hand grenades *or*, significant, I presume, of his military profession.

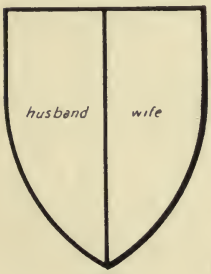
You will observe that with all these varieties of differencing we have mentioned, the younger branches descending from the original eldest son of the parent house are still left unprovided with marks of cadency. These, however, can be arranged for by taking the ordinary which appears in their father's arms and modifying its boundary lines. Say the original coat was argent a chevron gules, the second son of the eldest son would have the chevron engrailed, but without any bordure; the third invected, and so on; and the next generations the system of bordures accompanying the modified chevron would go on as before. And when all these methods are exhausted, differences can still be made in a variety of ways, *e.g.*, by charging the ordinary with similar charges in a similar manner to the bordure as Erskine of Shielfield, a cadet of Balgownie, who bore argent on a pale sable a cross crosslet fitchée or within a bordure azure; or by the introduction of an ordinary into a coat which had not one previously,

a bend or ribbon (which is a small bend) being a favourite ordinary to use for this purpose. Again, we occasionally find a change of tincture of the field of the shield used to denote cadency.

There are other modes of differencing which need not be alluded to in detail, but I may say that on analysing the earlier arms in the Lyon Register, I find that the bordure is by far the most common method of indicating cadency, being used in no less than 1080 cases. The next most popular way is by changing the boundary lines of an ordinary, which is done in 563 shields; 233 cadets difference their arms by the insertion of a smaller charge on the ordinary and 195 on the shield. A change of tincture, including counter-changing, is carried out in 155 coats, and a canton is added in 70 cases, while there are 350 coats in which two or more of the above methods are used. From these figures, which are approximately correct, you will see the relative frequency of the various modes of differencing. You will also note that the original coat of a family can be differenced in a great many ways so as to show the connection of cadets with the parent house. The drawback to the system is that heralds have never arrived at a uniform treatment so as to render it possible to calculate the exact relationship of the cadets. Much is left, as I said, to the discretion of the officer granting the arms; but still it gives considerable assistance in determining the descent of a family.

I have entered into the subject of differencing in some detail, because in studying the arms of Scottish families it is important to know the general principles on which it proceeds. A not less important point which is requisite towards a due understanding of our historic coats is the marshalling of arms, that is, the arranging of

separate coats in one achievement, which is of frequent and necessary occurrence. But I must be as short and simple as possible. When a shield is divided down the centre with one coat on the dexter and another on the sinister side (Fig. 50), it is said to be impaled, and this is the manner in which a husband and wife unite their respective arms, those of the husband being put on the dexter and those of the wife on the sinister. But this, in modern practice at least, is only in the case of the lady not being an heiress; I mean an heiress in the heraldic sense of the word. It does not necessarily imply



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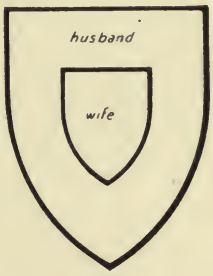

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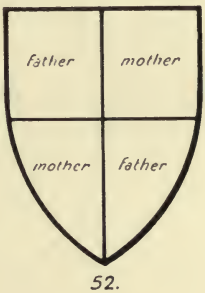

52.

that she succeeds to any property or money, but solely to the arms of her father, which she has a right to transmit, as we shall see, to her children. An heiress, therefore, for our purpose simply means a lady who has no brothers. She may have sisters, and in this case she is a co-heiress, and both she and her sisters are heraldically on an equal footing. The husband, then, of an heiress places her arms in a small shield, called an escutcheon of pretence, in the middle of his own (Fig. 51). In the former instance, of a lady who is not an heiress and whose arms are simply impaled with those of her husband, the arrangement is only a temporary one, subsisting during

the lifetime of the parties. The children do not succeed to their mother's arms; but a different rule prevails in the case of an heiress and her husband. Their children do not continue the same form of achievement as their parents, but divide the shield into four (Fig. 52), putting their father's arms in the first and fourth quarters, that is, those situated on the dexter chief and sinister base of the shield, and their mother's in the second and third. This is the explanation of the quartered shields so often met with, and as every heiress in a family can introduce a new quartering, a coat may become subdivided to a very large extent, the quarters themselves becoming counter-quartered to an indefinite degree; but in practice it is necessary to limit the number of quarterings as much as possible, otherwise a shield—unless of immense size—gets confused and illegible.

In an excellent paper on Heraldry, read by Mr Gotch before the Royal Institute of British Architects,* he mentions an achievement of the family of Knightley in the hall at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire, which contains no less than 334 quarters, which, as he justly remarks, is 330 too many for decorative effect; and the Lloyds of Stockton have, I believe, proved their right to a still greater number.†

* "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects," 3rd series, Vol. IV., p. 263.

† "Genealogical Magazine," Vol. II., p. 426.

LECTURE III.

LECTURE III.

THE HERALDIC EXECUTIVE IN SCOTLAND.

We have in the following lecture to consider the history of the Heraldic Executive in Scotland. The office of Herald is as old as history can make it. Heralds were employed by all the civilised nations of antiquity, their principal duties being the carrying of messages of war and peace from one state to another. But heralds, as we now know them, were an institution of the days of chivalry; they had the ordering of processions, coronations, state funerals, and other public ceremonials, the arrangement of tournaments, the marshalling of arms, and were employed by the Crown in various embassies. They are of three grades—Pursuivants, Heralds, and Kings of Arms. In France the heralds were formed into an incorporation by Charles VI. in 1406, their head being Mountjoye, King of Arms, with ten heralds and pursuivants under him. In England a similar incorporation was instituted under the name of the College of Heralds by Richard III. in 1484, their head being nominally the Earl Marshal; but the chief executive duties being really performed by Garter King of Arms, an office originally instituted by Henry V. in 1417. Under him are two provincial Kings of Arms—Clarenceux, formerly Surroy, and Norroy, who have jurisdiction over the parts of England south and north of the Trent respectively. There is another King of Arms, Bath, who is not a member of the College, but who is attached solely to the Order of that name. There are now six heralds—York, Lancaster, Richmond, Somerset, Chester, and Windsor; and four pursuivants—Rouge Croix,

Bluemantle, Rouge Dragon, and Portcullis. In Ireland the King of Arms is styled Ulster, his original appointment dating from 1552. Only one pursuivant survives, called Athlone; but formerly there were two heralds called Cork and Dublin.

In Scotland heralds appear at an early date, though none are mentioned as attending the coronation of Alexander III. in 1249; nor is there any account of any such officers accompanying that sovereign when he did homage to Edward I. at Westminster in 1278. In the next century, however, armorial bearings were quite well known in Scotland, and there is an entry in the Exchequer Rolls on 10th October 1337 of a payment of £32, 6s. Scots for the making of seventeen armorial banners, and in 1364 there is another to the heralds for services at the tournaments; while William Petilloch, herald, has a grant from David II. of three husbandlands in Bonjedward, and Allan Fawside gets a gift of the forfeited estate of one Coupland, a herald (*temp.* Edward Baliol).* The first mention of a herald under his official designation which I have met with in our records occurs in 1365, when there is a confirmation under the Great Seal by David II. of a charter by Dugal M'Dowille to John Trupour or Trumpour, "nunc dicto Carric heraldo." He was the hero of an adventure related by the poet Barbour, to which I shall afterwards have occasion to allude. Sir James Balfour tells us that the Lyon and his heralds attended the coronation of Robert II. at Holyrood on 23rd May 1371, but whether or not this is true—and I have not been able to verify it—it is certain that a Lyon Herald existed very shortly after that date, as in the Exchequer Rolls mention is made of the payment of a certain sum to such an officer

* Robertson's Index to "Missing Charters."

in 1377; in 1379 Froissart says that a herald was sent by Robert II. to London to explain that the truce had been infringed without his will and against his knowledge, and on 8th April 1381, a warrant was issued in London for a licence to "Lion Heraud" of the King of Scots, authorising him to take away a complete suit of armour which he had bought in that city. It is not, however, till 1388 that we find Lyon accorded the royal style. In that year a payment is made "*Leoni regi heraldorum*," but at the audit following the battle of Otterburn he is called *defunctus*, which suggests that he had been slain on that well-fought field. The Lyon appears in several embassies about this period both to England and France, and one Henry Greve, designed in the English Issue Rolls as "King of Scottish Heralds," was at the Tower of London in 1399, either at or immediately after the coronation of Henry IV. From 1391 onwards there is frequent mention of one Douglas, "Herald of the King," and in 1421 he is styled Lyon Herald.

I do not know who was his immediate successor, but according to Sir Robert Sibbald, the historian of Fife, Alexander Nairne of Sandford or St Fort, the Comptroller of the Household to James II., held the office of Lyon from 1437 to 1450. It is not certain if David Dundas of Newliston succeeded him directly, but, at all events, he is mentioned as Lyon down to 1484. The name of the next holder of the office is not expressly mentioned, but he was sent as His Majesty's "sympell servant" to Cumbernauld on the complaint of Lady Fleming. His seal is attached to a document and bears a crescent between three mullets, which may indicate that his name was Arbuthnot or Murray. John Forman was supposed to have been Lyon in 1502.*

* It is doubtful, however. I have treated the question more particularly in the Preface to the "Lord Treasurer's Accounts," Vol. II., p. lvii., *note*.

Henry Thomson filled the post up to 1512, and was succeeded by Sir William Cumyng of Inverallochy, who had previously held the appointment of Marchmont Herald, and had been knighted in 1507. In a charter of glebe lands in favour of John Quhyte, he is described as "circumspectus vir Willelmus Cumyn de Inverallochy Rex Armorum."* Being abroad on an embassy to Henry VIII., who was in France at the time, he escaped being present at the disastrous defeat of Flodden. His character of "circumspectus" or "canny" did not, however, prevent him from getting into a notable fracas in 1514. In that year he was appointed to deliver a charge citing Archibald, Earl of Angus, to appear before the Council regarding his marriage with Margaret Tudor, the widow of James IV., though I should have thought it rather beneath the dignity of the Lyon to do such work. In its execution, however, he does not seem to have displayed much tact, as Lord Drummond, the Earl's grandfather, an irascible old gentleman of seventy-seven—forgetting, if he ever knew, the story of the Prince of Wales and Chief Justice Gascoigne—gave Lyon a box on the ear. This was an unpardonable affront to a dignitary whose person, from the nature of his office, was specially sacred; and so Lord Drummond speedily found, for the Regent Albany, on being appealed to, caused him to be imprisoned in Blackness and his estates forfeited. Having thus vindicated justice, it was evidently thought that matters had been carried far enough in the case of so influential a nobleman, and after he had suffered imprisonment for some months, he was restored to his liberty and estate on the intercession of the Queen Mother and three Estates.

Cumyng died about 1518, and the next name we find associated with the office of Lyon is that

* "Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland," IV., 1697.

of Thomas Pettigrew, who had previously been Angus Herald. He was, with his wife Catherine Hamilton, liferenter of certain lands in Linlithgow. In a confirmation of a charter under the Great Seal, dated 6th December 1542, she is described as wife of Thomas Pettigrew, Lyon King of Arms. This points to the fact that he was in possession of that office in that year. If this is so, then his successor, the celebrated Sir David Lindsay, cannot have been Lyon till after that date, though there is some indication of his having, temporarily at least, officiated as such before, as in one of the Protocol Books of Haddington he is described in an entry, dated 4th January 1529, as acting *nomine et ex parte Leonis Regis Armorum* along with Marchmont, Ross, and Islay Heralds. This looks as if the office of Lyon had been put in commission. Perhaps Pettigrew was out of the country, or in some way incapacitated from performing his duties.

Up to this time, it must be confessed, the Lyons have been somewhat shadowy personages; we hear of them drawing their fees and taking part in the embassies, but what they did in the way of armorial work we do not know. Lyndsay, however, stands out clear and distinct, the first of several distinguished Lyons. It is needless to speak to you of his general eminence in letters, of his fame as a poet and satirist, for his name is even yet a household word in the mouths of the peasantry of Scotland. The work of his with which we are more immediately concerned is his MS. collection of arms, which now reposes in the Advocates' Library, though as it was "approved" by the Privy Council in 1630, and thereby became a kind of official record, I am not sure but that its proper resting-place should be the Lyon Office. I shall have occasion to mention this armorial in

another lecture, and merely point to it at present as the first known heraldic work done by any Lyon. Lyndsay died about 1555, and was succeeded by Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie, also a Fife laird; he had been made a pursuivant in 1540, and created Ross Herald in November of the same year. In 1561 he received a reappointment to the office from the hands of Queen Mary, in which it is stated he had filled the office with great ability during her "umquhill deirest moderis tyme." He received his salary from the lands of Rathillet, as most of his predecessors had theirs from Colessie. He reigned till 1567, when he probably retired, as he did not die for some years later. His successor had the most tragic career of any of the Lyons. He was Sir William Stewart, and appears to have been liferenter of Luthrie. He was formerly Ross Herald, and his commission as Lyon is under the Privy Seal of date 20th February 1567-8. He had not been six months in office, however, when he was deprived of it, and, as Sir James Balfour tells us, "transported from Edinburgh Castle to Dumbrittane and ther committed to closse prissone, for conspyring to take the Regent's lyffe by sorcery and necromancy, for which he was put to death." He was, in fact, burned at St Andrews on the 16th of August 1569, along with Nicolas Hubert, the "Paris" page, who suffered as an accessory to the crime of the Kirk of Field. The charge against Stewart, though nominally witchcraft, was no doubt in reality, as Mr Seton points out, opposition to the Regent and loyalty to the Queen.

After him came Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet, a brother or half-brother of the great Sir David. Before 1554 he was Dingwall Pursuivant, and was created Rothesay Herald in 1561. He became Lyon in 1568, and was crowned with great

solemnity in presence of the Regent and nobles. Dying in 1591, he was succeeded by his nephew, another Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, who was enthroned on 2nd May 1592, the King himself placing the ancient open crown of the sovereigns of Scotland on his head. He wore this also, as he told Sir William Segar Garter, on the same day at dinner with the King. According to the Book of Caerlaverock he was raised to the dignity of a Lord of Parliament at the time of the accession of James VI. to the throne of England. He was a good herald, and a volume of his collections, dated 1586, is in the Advocates' Library. In 1620 he resigned office in favour of his son-in-law, and died two years afterwards.

Sir Jerome Lindsay of Dunino and Annatland had married his predecessor's daughter, and succeeded through her to the estate of the Mount. He was the last of the Lindsay dynasty in the office of Lyon. Of his official acts there is little record. His commission was dated 8th November 1620, and he reigned for ten years, when he resigned office at the age of sixty-eight.

Sir James Balfour of Denmiln and Kinnaird, another Fife laird, was the next occupant of the Leonine throne. Born at the commencement of the century, he received his commission as a young man in 1630, without having gone through any of the lower heraldic offices, and was crowned at Holyrood House by George, Viscount Dupplin, the Scottish Chancellor. He was evidently well fitted for the post, as he had a natural inclination towards Heraldry and all kindred pursuits. He had the advantage of a careful education, some experience of foreign travel, and was able to cultivate the friendship of several distinguished men, amongst whom was Sir William Segar, Garter King of Arms. So highly did the latter think of his

attainments, that he actually got the College of Arms in England to grant Balfour a testimonial certifying him to be "ane expert and graduate herauld in blazing of cotts and armories, in inventing of crests and supporters, in searching of genealogies and discents, in marshalling of funeralls, triumphs, and inaugurations, etc., and in all ceremonies whatsoever pertaining to honour or armes." He had, during his tenure of office, opportunity to display his talents in regulating ceremonials at the time of the royal visit in 1633, and he was shortly thereafter created a baronet, having been knighted previous to his inauguration as Lyon. Balfour's name will be remembered not merely as a herald, but as an antiquary and historian. In the former capacity he made a large collection of old charters and other archives, many of which were, unfortunately, lost at the capture of Perth in 1651. As a historian he is chiefly known by his "Annals," which, if not altogether to be accepted as authentic in details, is a work of much use to the student of Scottish history. Of his other works I have not space to speak, but it is sufficient to say that few more accomplished men ever held the office of Lyon. His reign, however, fell in troublous times, and about 1654 he was deprived of office by Cromwell, and did not live much longer, dying at Denmiln in 1657.

Oliver Cromwell, while he abolished the Imperial crown, did not extend the same fate to the crown heraldic, for he appointed two Lyons in his day. The first of these was Sir James Campbell of Lawers, whose commission to be "Lyon our Herald King of Arms," dated at Westminster 13th May 1658, is in the library of the University of Edinburgh. He was very soon followed by Gilbert Stewart, of whom we know nothing, save that he was deprived of office at the Restoration,

being succeeded by Sir Alexander Durham of Largo, who received the appointment on account of his services to the Royalist party in Scotland. His reign was not a long one, as he died in 1663.

The baton of office then passed to the hands of Sir Charles Erskine of Cambo, and in 1671 he succeeded in getting his son conjoined with him as a kind of "assistant and successor." Sir Charles' reign is chiefly remarkable as being that in which the present official Register was commenced. What had become of the old Registers which appear—from several references to them—to have existed is not certain. They may have been burned by some untimeous accident, as Arnot, in his "History of Edinburgh," says they were in 1670; or, more likely, they may have been part of those records which Cromwell carried off to London, and which were subsequently lost at sea when, owing to the representations of the Scottish Parliament, they were being restored to their proper home. Of the institution of the present Register I shall, however, have occasion to speak again. Sir Charles died in 1677, and according to the terms of the arrangement to which I have referred, his son Sir Alexander took his place. He proved himself an able and efficient officer, and in 1702 he got a patent under the Great Seal of the office for himself and his son Alexander — who, however, predeceased him—declaring the office to be hereditary in his family. But the Lyon was, unfortunately, induced by his kinsman the Earl of Mar to take part with him in the rebellion of 1715, and he fell on evil days. He died in 1735, but he may have been deprived of office long before that. Noble, in his "History of the College of Arms," says that a —— Cocherne (Cochrane) was appointed 5th May 1726, and was succeeded by Alexander Drummond,

who died in 1729; but these were in reality Lyons Depute, Drummond having held the office of Marchmont Herald from 1704 till his death. From 1727 till 1759 the office was held by Alexander Brodie of Brodie, followed by John Hooke Campbell of Bangeston, who died in 1796. In that year the Right Hon. Robert Auriol Drummond Hay, ninth Earl of Kinnoull, had a grant of the appointment for two lives. He died in 1809, and was succeeded in terms of his patent by his son, the tenth earl, who eclipsed all his predecessors in the length of his reign, as he held office till his death in 1866.

From the period after the death of Sir Alexander Erskine, I am afraid the Lyons were but *rois fainéants*, interesting themselves not at all in the duties of the office, which were performed by deputy—indeed, there had been Lyons Depute since 1631—and only careful to draw in the fees, which were then payable directly to themselves. The appointments of the heralds and pursuivants were practically subjects of sale, and the competency of the holders was a matter of no consideration, so long as they gave a good price for the privilege of being heralds and of being able to exact in their turn subsidiary fees. It is but fair to state that all over the kingdom Heraldry was probably never at so low an ebb as it was during the century which preceded the death of the tenth Earl of Kinnoull. But a faint revival of interest in the subject took place about the middle of this century, and a Royal Commission had been appointed in 1822 to investigate the administration of the Lyon Office. Nothing, however, was actually done till 1867, when the system of performing work by deputies was abolished, and the number of heralds was cut down from six to three, with a similar reduction in pursuivants. All sales of offices were prohibited, and the fees, which had hitherto gone directly into the

pockets of the Lyon and the other officials, were directed to be handed over to the Treasury, and a system of regular and unvarying, though attenuated, salaries was instituted in place. Without going into details, some of which might possibly have been better arranged, there can be no doubt that on the whole the change was very much to the advantage of the office. The first occupant under the new arrangements was Mr George Burnett, a man whose knowledge of Heraldry fitted him for the post, and under his influence, during a period of four and twenty years, the Lyon Office regained a respect which, I regret to say, it had largely lost, and became a trustworthy and efficient tribunal of arms.

I have dwelt somewhat in detail on the *personnel* of the office, as it is not without interest to trace the succession of holders of one of the most ancient Scottish offices of the Royal Household. But of more importance are the duties which the Lyon is called upon to perform, and to these I would ask your attention for a few minutes. "Visitations," such as were frequently carried out in England, during which the arms of the families in a particular district were investigated and put in order, do not seem to have been often, if at all, made in Scotland, though the right of the Lyon and his deputies to make such is recognised in the Act of 1672, which is the latest and leading Scottish statute on the subject of armorial bearings. Possibly some attempt may have been made to institute visitations, for in 1677 a commission was granted by Lyon to James Skene, merchant in Aberdeen, by which he was empowered "to marshal and condescend on the order to be observed in all funerals of Noblemen, Bishops, and Gentlemen benorth the water of North Esk, the samyn order being always usual and consinant to true

Heraldry." Though this would not necessarily imply jurisdiction over arms, he was also empowered to "employ painters for painting the work as he shall think fit, and for whom he is to be answerable." This probably means that the armorial banners, etc., used at funerals were to be under his charge, and would involve, in many cases, the going into the question of what the proper arms were. As a matter of fact, James Skene has left us a very nicely executed book of arms, which shows that he possessed quite an adequate knowledge of Heraldry, and was a competent enough person to receive a commission as Lyon Depute in the North.

Apart, however, from the visitations of arms, which never seem to have been made very energetically, the duties of the Lyon were and are of a multifarious kind. To him is entrusted the keeping of the Register of all Arms and Bearings in Scotland—as his official record book is called—that is, he must see that all the grants and matriculations are properly entered and emblazoned therein, though it is only since the beginning of this century that the arms have been actually painted in it; he has to grant new arms to all "virtuous and well-deserving persons" who may apply for the same; to matriculate the arms of cadets whose family arms are already on record; to confirm arms to those who neglected to register them in conformity with the injunctions of the Act of 1672; to empower applicants to add to or alter their arms; to grant arms in conformity with provisions in deeds of entail or other settlements; to investigate and decide in questions of family representation and claims to particular coats of arms; to record family pedigrees in the Register of Genealogies which is kept under his care; to give extracts to persons desiring such from the

Registers, MSS., and documents in the Lyon Office; to prepare funeral escutcheons — not a task he is often called on to perform in these days; to conduct the execution of royal proclamations in Scotland; to superintend the marshalling of all public State processions; to decide questions of precedence; to appoint messengers-at-arms and exercise his statutory control over them. In addition to all this the Lyon Office has of late been made the receptacle of all kinds of inquiries by hosts of people on all sorts of subjects, some of them remotely enough connected with either Heraldry or genealogy; and an endeavour is always made to answer these, or to put the inquirer in the way of obtaining accurate information. From this it will be seen that the office of Lyon is now no sinecure, and demands the whole time of the occupant if he is to perform his duties satisfactorily.

At one period the Lyon was solemnly crowned at his inauguration and vested with his tabard and baton of office. The ceremony was a very elaborate one, and is fully described by Sir James Balfour in a MS. now in the Advocates' Library. There is also an account of the coronation of Sir Alexander Durham, when Laurie, the minister of the Tron Kirk, preached from the text, "What shall be done to the man whom the King delighteth to honour?" The crown was of gold, and exactly similar to the Imperial crown of Scotland, save that it had no jewels. Now the Lyon's crown is the same as the English Kings of Arms, a rather tasteless arrangement of acanthus leaves, with the motto on the circlet, *Miserere mei Dominus secundum tuam misericordiam.* The crown is only worn at royal coronations. At that of Charles I., at Edinburgh in 1633, the Lyon carried the vessel containing the sacred oil. As regards the other regalia of the

Lyon, it may be mentioned that it consists of a tabard or sleeveless coat of velvet, having the royal arms embroidered on back and front and on two small wings which fall over the arms, a gold collar of SS, a badge with St Andrew on one side and the Scottish arms on the other, done in enamel and hung on a triple gold chain, and a baton of blue enamel with gold extremities, the baton being powdered with roses, thistles, shamrocks, and fleurs-de-lis, being one of the few pieces of British official regalia which is still adorned with the ancient ensigns of France. In addition to his strictly armorial appointment, the Lyon is also King of Arms of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle.

Heralds and pursuivants formed an important part from very early times not only of the Royal Household, but also of those of the higher nobility, many of whom had private heralds. Of these officers there is a very full list given by Dr Dickson in the preface to the Lord Treasurer's Accounts. Of heralds who were or ultimately became part of the King's Household we meet with Rothesay, Marchmont, Snowdon, Albany, Ross, and Islay; Ireland, Orkney, and Carrick are also mentioned as heralds, but it is doubtful whether the first and last were ever more than pursuivants. Of the latter class of officers the following were in the royal establishment — Carrick, Bute, Dingwall, Kintyre, Ormonde, Unicorn; but we also find Aliszai or Alishay, Dragance, Diligens, Montrose, Falkland, Ireland, Darnaway, Garioch, Ettrick, Hailes, Lindsay, Endure, Douglas, and Angus. Of the latter Garioch was created by James IV. for his brother John, Earl of Mar; Hailes in 1488, when Lord Hailes was made Earl of Bothwell; while Lindsay and Endure were both evidently attached to the Lindsay family, as were Douglas

and Angus to the noblemen whose titles they bore. In 1403 Henry IV. of England granted a pursuivant under the title of Shrewsbury to George, Earl of March, for services rendered at the battle of that name; but we do not find that the office was continued.

I have said that Carrick is the heraldic officer who is the earliest mentioned under his title in the Records. John Trumpour, who held the appointment, appears not only to have been a King's Herald, but to have been connected with the household of Sir Fergus or Dougal Macdougal or Macdowal in Galloway. This Scottish knight, having been a scourge to the English, the latter sent out a body of men after him, hoping to have got him at a distance from his followers with the help of a traitor. St. Ninian, however, we are told by the author of the "Legends of the Saints," gave him warning, but he had only twenty men with him. "Jak Trumpoure," who is described as "his minstrale that vas gude man and gude burdoure" (fighter with a club), came riding through the mist all unconscious of his lord's danger, or of the presence of the English force. Suddenly catching sight of the latter, he thought they had been Sir Dougal's own array ready for a raid, and he put his bugle to his lips and blew a loud blast. The English, hearing the trumpet, thought that Sir Dougal was coming upon them in force, and that their spy had betrayed them to the knight. They accordingly turned and fled precipitately. Whatever the actual truth of this story may be, there is no doubt that, in 1365, David II. confirmed two charters by which Sir Dougal Macdougal granted certain lands in Dumfriesshire to John Trumpour "*nunc dicto Carric Heraudo.*" From the last words it may be that at the time of the exploit "Jak" was only a "minstrale," and that Sir Dougal, besides giving

him the lands in question, got him appointed one of the King's heralds. This, of course, is mere conjecture; but it is interesting to catch a glimpse, however faint, of the personality of a herald from such a far-off time.*

It is impossible to go over in detail the various notices of the heralds and pursuivants which occur in the National Records, but some information can be had about them all, and a fairly complete list can be made out of the holders of the various appointments. Taking the twelve heralds and pursuivants in their alphabetical order, we find the first mention of Albany Herald in 1452, when a payment of a pension is made to him; Islay Herald occurs in 1493; Marchmont (who took his title from Marchmont or Roxburgh Castle) in 1436; Ross in 1475; Rothesay in 1491; and Snowdoun (taking his name from Stirling Castle) in 1449.† In connection with the latter there is a curious payment of 42s. 2d. to his wife in 1474, for entertaining Windsor Herald, who had probably been sent on official business from England.‡

With regard to Islay, we know that he, at all events, was at the fatal field of Flodden, and carried messages between the opposing armies. We are told that two days before the battle the Earl of Surrey sent Rouge Croix with his trumpet, apparrelled in his coat of arms, to the Scottish King. The trumpet returned saying the king had detained Rouge Croix and had sent with him Islay, whom he had left at Miglo, a village near at hand. York Herald was then sent to keep him company, and proved a jovial companion. Next day Surrey

* "Scottish Antiquary," Vol. XI., p. 103.

† "Exchequer Rolls." Nisbet gives the derivation of Snowdoun title from a castle in Ross-shire, but see Scott's *Lady of the Lake*, Canto VI., stanza xxviii., *note* 53, where he quotes William of Worcester and Sir David Lindsay.

‡ "Lord Treasurer's Accounts," Vol. I., p. 53.

heard Islay's message, but detained him till Rouge Croix was given up. The latter was, therefore, discharged by the king, but as Islay did not turn up at the expected time in the Scottish camp, his servants detained both Rouge Croix and his trumpet. About midday, however, the missing herald came in explaining that he had tarried with York "making good cheer," and evidently, though probably suffering from a headache, much pleased with what an old chronicler calls his "genteel entertainment." *

The pursuivants were a lower grade in the heraldic hierarchy, and theoretically no one could become a herald without having first been a pursuivant; but in Scotland this was not always carried out. Another ancient heraldic rule, more honoured in the breach than in the observance, was that a pursuivant should wear his tabard with the sleeves or short wings over his breast and back, the main part of the costume hanging down on each side; while this no doubt graphically portrayed his unfledged condition, it must have made his appearance somewhat destitute of dignity and an object of sport to the unlearned. Of the Scottish pursuivants, Carrick, as we have seen, is the earliest mentioned, though he is called a herald, which he was not. Bute occurs in 1488; Dingwall in 1479; Kintyre in 1495; Ormonde in 1488. The origin of the last title is rather obscure, but it may have been from the second son of James III., who was, at his baptism, created Marquis of Ormond. The earliest mention of Unicorn is in 1426. One of the holders of the office, Thomas Bariye, got into trouble about 1570 for forging the Regent's signature, and was ordered to have his right hand cut off and to be banished the kingdom. Indeed, some of the early

* Webber's "Flodden," App. 338.

heralds were not well behaved. On the 22nd of November 1596, we are told that "four heralds sitting drinking, twa of them fell in words, viz., John Purdie (Ross Herald) and John Glaedstainis (Ormonde Pursuivant), the said John Glaedstainis stekit John Purdie at the table; and the said Glaedstainis being apprehendit, he was beheidit on the 25th day of the same moneth of November for the same slauchter." Retribution often followed fast on crime in these days. Ormonde was nephew and heir to Glaedstainis of Quothquhan in Lanarkshire, so that he was a man fairly well connected. Indeed, it seems to have been from the class of the lesser lairds and their kindred that the heraldic offices were principally recruited at one time. Many of the Lyons themselves served in the inferior heraldic offices before being promoted to the sovereignty.

About the earlier part of last century the class of men who were appointed as heralds and pursuivants underwent a distinct deterioration, and as no knowledge of the science was required of them, the offices became merely an excuse for collecting fees, and as a natural consequence the Lyon Court itself failed to command the confidence of the country. The offices themselves were trafficked in by the Lyon, and things generally were by no means in a satisfactory state when the Act of 1867, to which I have alluded, was passed. Of late years, however, owing to a distinct revival of the interest felt in Heraldry, there has been no difficulty in getting competent men to accept office. Personally, I think it was a pity that three heralds and as many pursuivants were then allowed to lapse, as I am quite sure that many gentlemen of culture and knowledge would have been glad to accept the appointments, even without the nominal salary which is at present attached to the existing offices.

Even in old days, however, it is certain that some at least of the heralds did not confine themselves to a mere mechanical performance of their official duties, but were animated by a sincere love of the science. Joseph Stacie, a Nottingham man, born there in 1625, and who subsequently became a burgess painter of Edinburgh, was created Ross Herald in 1663, and collected an interesting heraldic library, some of which is still in the Lyon Office; while James Esplin, who was Marchmont Herald in 1630, and John Skene, Kintyre Pursuivant in 1700, have both left armorial MSS. of value. John Sawers, Snowdon Herald in 1644, compiled an illuminated armorial, now in the Advocates' Library; and in the same library is another armorial by the hand of James Workman, who was Marchmont Herald in 1597, and is mentioned by Nisbet as "a famous herald." He was the possessor also—though he had nothing to do with its compilation—of one of the best known Scottish 16th century armorials, a large part of which Mr Stodart reproduced in his "Scottish Arms," and which is now in the library of the Lyon Office. Henry Fraser, Ross Herald 1687-1724, left a valuable collection of tricked or outlined coats of arms, which, though rude in execution, serve sufficiently well to illustrate the paternal and maternal descents of many families. He also painted a fine set of the arms of the nobility, which will be referred to afterwards.

His successor in office, Roderick Chalmers, was a man of some knowledge of and enthusiasm in his profession. He wrote the chapter upon funeral escutcheons in the second volume of "Nisbet's Heraldry" (which was published in a not very estimable manner, as Mr Ross has pointed out in his work on Nisbet's heraldic plates, long after the death of the author). In doing so, he was evidently not unmindful of his own interests, as the following

curious paragraph appended to the end of the chapter will show:—

N.B.—Roderick Chalmers, Ross Herald and herald painter in Edinburgh, to whom we are obliged for the preceding chapter of quarters, proofs of nobility, desired us to acquaint all persons who shall please to cause make out their genealogical quarters, proofs of nobility, according to the preceding scheme, that he will mark them down in his books *gratis*: his only design being to prevent mistakes that may happen where things of that nature are required of him to be done in haste. That, as he has no advantage in view by doing so, other than the pleasure of serving those to whom he has been, or may be, obliged, he may be able from his registers to perform it with justness and exactness: he therefore expects they will not neglect the opportunity of doing themselves this service: and to secure their pains from being lost, he is resolved to leave all such genealogical accounts, so given in to him, in such a public manner at his decease as shall effectually preserve them for the use of posterity.

Alas, for the herald's excellent intentions! Four years after the above was published he was dead, and his "registers and genealogical accounts" will be sought for in vain, either in the Lyon Office or in any other quarter which might have effectually preserved them for the use of posterity.

The royal heralds and pursuivants attended the king on all State occasions, and were employed not only in the superintendence of armorial bearings, but also in the arrangement of processions, funerals, and pageants, and in serving summonses of treason. This last duty was no sinecure, and it was, Dr Dickson says, "accounted of such importance that, in 1690, it formed one of the pleas for the reduction of a process of forfeiture, that it proceeded on a citation by a messenger, and not by a herald or pursuivant, bearing a coat of arms, as required by law."* It was hard and unpleasant work, and there was a great deal of it, as may be supposed, in the time following the Revolution settlement. In 1669 we find Joseph Stacie, Ross Herald, and

* "Treasurer's Accounts," Vol. I., p. cxcii.

Robert Chalmers, trumpeter, petitioning H.M. Treasury in the following manner:—

Your Petitioners being called to go to Lochaber and other pairts in the highlands in order to the charging of severall persons, chieftains of clans, and others in their bounds, conform to the Lawes of treasoun direct to that effect, they accordingly went and execute the same as their executions in the hands of the Clerk of Council will show. In the which journey partly through the unseasonableness of the weather and in (pursuance) of the Council's order ordaining them to follow the directions of the Earl of Murray, your petitioners were necessitate to stay out upon very vast charges the space of eight weeks, wherethrough they were not only superexhausted in that allowance granted them by your Lordships, but forced to borrow five pounds sterling to defray their charges on their return home, and having four men as guyds by and attour their own servands and horses for their journey through Lochaber.

They prayed the Treasury to grant them such allowance as might be thought proper, and it is satisfactory to know that they received £10.

Still more disagreeable experiences frequently fell to the lot of heralds in the discharge of their duty. Here, for instance, is an extract from the diary of a herald, whose name I have been unable to identify, describing his adventures at a funeral a century and a half ago:—

Saturday about twelve o'clock died Dame Katherine Campbell, daughter of the Lord Cardross and spouse to Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, Esq., in a good old age. She was enterred in the kirk of Bothwell on the Fryday following, being the 29th of July 1752. There were at the burial the gardner on horseback, six batonmen, a led mourning horse, the butler and other three principal servants, as gentlemen ushers, bareheaded; the hearse with a drest pall drawn by six drest horses; Mr Norie and Mr Dulap on each side; Shawfield's coach and six, the Earl of Buchan's chaise, Earl of Glencairn's, Sir William Bain's, and two others; the rest of the company to the number of 200 on horseback, three and three; the grieve in deep mourning, followed by all the tenants, two and two; and last of all, the servantry of all the nobility and gentry that were there, two and two. Wednesday the 22nd, I ordered the escutcheon to be put up on the front of the house there to remain. That night I lay in a house at the entry head in a very ill bed which determined me to sit up the night following. Fryday

morning I went to Bothwell and put up another scutcheon on the outside of the church above the door. I came back to Woodhall and drest the hearse and horses. In the afternoon I went along with the burial to Bothwell and gave directions for taking in the scutcheon from the outside and placing it in a convenient place within the kirk. The eight pheons which were on the hearse were placed round it. At night I was oblidged to hire a horse for Hamilton, but just as I was entering the town the horse fell with me and bruised me so much that it was Tuesday before I was able to work well.

The above incident may appear somewhat trifling in itself and hardly worth narrating to you, but I think there is a personal note struck in it which is interesting, and it brings before us very clearly the kind of tasks which a herald was expected to perform. The ordering of funerals was one of the most important duties which devolved on them, and though to our modern ideas the show and bravery which at one time accompanied these functions seem out of place, yet in former days no one who professed the least respect for their relatives ever thought of consigning their remains to the dust without making it an occasion for as much display as their means permitted, and often more. The necessity of having as grand a funeral as possible was one which took deep hold of the minds of all classes of the community in Scotland. Those of the poorer classes did not, of course, have any show of Heraldry, but whenever the deceased person was of a standing which entitled him to armorial bearings, these were profusely distributed throughout the procession. Here, for instance, was the ordinary arrangement of the funeral of a nobleman or gentleman in Scotland:—First was carried the "little gumpheon" (gonfalon) with a morthead painted on it; then came as many poor men, or "saulies," as corresponded with the number of years of the defunct, carrying small flags with the family arms painted on them; then a servant with a

banner of the livery colours, and another with a large standard bearing his master's full armorial achievement. This was followed by another mort-head called the "honourable gumpheon." Then the arms of the following families were carried by eight gentlemen representing the "branches," on the paternal and maternal lines, *i.e.*, father; father's mother; father's father's mother; father's mother's mother; mother; mother's mother; mother's father's mother; mother's mother's mother. Occasionally sixteen, instead of eight, branches were represented. The hearse and pall were also not infrequently adorned with shields of arms.

There is a long funeral roll of a Scottish nobleman in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries. Though very well executed and giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of such a procession, the person who depicted it was evidently not a herald, as the arms which appear are only indicated in a very vague manner, which rather seems to show that the artist was ignorant of Heraldry. The most sumptuous funeral ever seen in Scotland was undoubtedly that of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Rothes, who died in 1631. It was conducted on such a scale of magnificence that the cost of it well-nigh ruined his family; you will find an account of it at great length either in Arnot's "History of Edinburgh," or in the second volume of "Nisbet's Heraldry," and if any of you can pick up in a print-shop "a fine draught and figure thereof done with China ink on four large sheets of Lombard paper," he will have reason to congratulate himself.

I suppose the last great heraldic funeral which took place in Edinburgh was that of the Provost, Alex. Kincaid, who died 21st January 1777. Four pursuivants and four heralds attended. The senior Herald broke his Lordship's rod of office over the

coffin saying, "Thus hath it pleased Almighty God to remove from this life to a better our worthy Chief Magistrate, the Right Hon. Alex. Kincaid, Lord Provost of this city, representative of the family of Bantaskine."

I have mentioned the superintendence and marshalling of funerals at some length, because it was one of the most common and every-day functions which devolved on heralds, and one which more than anything else kept them in touch with the population. But these were not the only functions in which the officers of arms took part; as they took charge of the arrangements for paying the last tokens of respect to the dead, so on occasion, though not so frequently, did they appear in ceremonials connected with a very early period in the existence of the living. I daresay most of you are aware with what splendid ceremony and rejoicing Prince Henry, the infant son of James VI. —whose untimely end was afterwards so much deplored—was baptised at Stirling in 1594. The old castle probably never saw a gayer sight before or since. I cannot here give you the details of the function; these you may read in many histories. It is sufficient for my purpose to say that the royal baby was preceded from his bedroom to the chapel by the Lyon and his heralds, and that they proclaimed his style and titles after the christening was over. In the afternoon also, at the banquet, the same officers preceded the entry of the meats to the dining-hall, a function which we would now perhaps think not very dignified, but which it was then the duty, not only of the heralds, but the officers of the king's and queen's households, who were all nobles of high degree, to do. At such banquets, too, and at a coronation the heralds always cried the king's largesse; that is to say, they publicly proclaimed in the name of the king

the gifts which he bestowed on the occasion. The same thing was done by private heralds in the case of their own lords.

The principal occasions on which the citizens of the Scottish capital saw the heralds performing their official functions were the riding of Parliament and the publishing of royal proclamations at the Market Cross, a good old custom which, I am glad to say, is still continued. The riding of Parliament must have been a fine sight when the nobility of the kingdom and the commissioners to Parliament rode in State with "footmantles" and other bravery from the Palace of Holyrood House to the Parliament House. The Lord Clerk Register and the Lyon stood with the roll of procedure in their hands at the Palace and saw that each member moved off in his proper place. The Lyon and his heralds then took their position immediately before the "honours," that is, the sword of State, sceptre, and crown, and the cavalcade was closed by the High Commissioner himself. It was an imposing and picturesque ceremony, of which the procession of that other Lord High Commissioner which exists in our own day is but a very faint and shadowy reflection. The proclamations were probably very much the same in former times as they are now. Occasionally, however, unpleasant incidents occurred.

In 1745, for instance, we find that the Barons of Exchequer stopped the pay of all the heralds who had been present at the proclamation of the Pretender when he was in Edinburgh, but apparently these officers had represented that what they had done was against their personal inclination, as a few years afterwards the arrears of their salaries were ordered to be paid to Alexander Martin, Islay Herald; James Fordyce, Snowdon; James Clarkson, Kintyre Pursuivant; while the widow of William Gray, Dingwall Pursuivant, was allowed the sum

which her husband ought to have received up to the date of his death, which took place between the proclamation and the order for payment.

I have mentioned above the names of some of those heralds who have left us collections of arms or genealogical notes. It is curious, however, that not one of the many men connected with the Lyon Office in time past has left us any connected treatise on Heraldry or other cognate subject. It has not been so in England, as many members of the College of Arms have written books relating to their professional pursuits. Not only so, but the number of heraldic writers Scotland has produced is very small indeed. We have had many and excellent writers of family history, none of whose names I need mention, as they must readily occur to every one, and we have had expounders of peerage and succession law like John Riddell (whose style was in an inverse ratio to his learning), and admirable expounders of the historical records of our nation like Thomas Thomson and Cosmo Innes, but we have had very few writers on Heraldry pure and simple. When I mention Sir George Mackenzie, Alexander Nisbet, and the happily still living George Seton, I have, I think, included all. Mackenzie's book on Heraldry, with the companion treatise on Precedency, are both elegantly written and, so far as they go, correct expositions of the subject to which they relate; the author could hardly, indeed, fail to write luminously on anything to which he turned his attention; but it is not as a heraldic writer that he will be chiefly remembered; he was a statesman and a man of affairs, with brilliant genius, indomitable will and unflagging industry. Of the latter we may judge when I say that amid all his multifarious duties he found time to write about thirty works on all sorts of topics—law, history,

politics, and morals—besides Heraldry, and in these circumstances it is no disparagement to his talents to say that we can hardly put him in the first rank of heraldic authors. His book, though it has been well described as a masterly outline, is still but the work of a brilliant amateur.

The place, however, denied to Mackenzie was reserved for a contemporary of his, a man of whom the world at the time took very little note, but who was the author of a book destined to become the standard book on Scottish Heraldry. Alexander Nisbet, the son of Adam Nisbet, a writer in Edinburgh, and who was a cadet of the house of Nisbet of that ilk, was born in April 1657. While he followed his father's footsteps in the profession of the law, he developed at an early age an extreme fondness for the science of Heraldry, and before long it became—probably to the detriment of his fortune—his principal business in life. Though Heraldry had, by the end of the 17th century, somewhat fallen from the high estate it had erstwhile held, there was still sufficient interest taken in it to make it worth while for a man like Sir George Mackenzie to write a book on it. Whether Mackenzie himself had fanned, if not ignited, the flame which afterwards burned so brightly in Nisbet, we do not know. Certain it is that the latter himself says that he had hardly completed his college career "when I became happily acquainted with some who were no strangers to the science, and even then I stole as many hours as possible from business till about fourteen or fifteen years ago (that is to say, in 1687), having wholly laid aside the employment of a writer, I applied myself entirely and assiduously to this study." And with what splendid results he did this may be seen to this day by anyone who peruses the first volume of his "System of

Heraldry." His learning is only equalled by his sanity. No doubt there are things in his book which we, with better sources of information at our disposal, reject as having no foundation in fact; but he shared such beliefs with his contemporaries. On many points he was much in advance of his time.

Thoroughly to appreciate the intelligent and scholarly way in which he treated his subject, one has but to glance at the Elizabethan writers on Heraldry to see to what an abyss of degradation they had reduced what was at one time both a practical and elegant branch of learning. Between 1562 and 1682 most of the principal works on English Heraldry had appeared. They were almost without exception intolerably prosy, absurdly pedantic, and fantastic to a degree which can hardly now be conceived. Some, no doubt, contain information which is valuable enough in its way; but it is so overloaded with curious conceits as to render the work of extracting it from its surrounding concretions a work of patience and difficulty. There were no short cuts to learning in those days; a man sat down and wrote five or six hundred solid folio pages, and had in them plenty of room to expatiate on all subjects which had the remotest connection with the matter he had in hand. Again, it was the age of allegory, and Heraldry was a subject which easily lent itself to allegorical treatment. Thus we have Gerard Leigh insisting that each tincture, ordinary or charge, was distinctive of some virtue or defect; and Sylvanus Morgan running riot in the genealogy of Adam and the heraldic bearings of the antediluvian patriarchs. Guillim is the best of all these writers, but even he had not sufficient strength of character to cast away all the absurdities which had gradually surrounded the subject. We

need not be surprised when he attributes the origin of the granting of arms to Alexander the Great, but we feel that he might have done better if he had, for instance, refused to countenance the absurd system of blazoning a coat not by metals and colours, but by planets and precious stones; Luna upon a chevron saturn three angels kneeling sol is a very wild sort of blazon, and even worse than blazoning the well-known Bruce coat by precious stones, topaz a saltire and chief ruby.

Nisbet, I say, swept away a great deal of this useless and worse than useless pedantry and approached his subject, if not on absolutely scientific lines—for at the period that would have been almost an impossibility—at least with a well-equipped store of knowledge and the possession of a large stock of common-sense. He discarded all the absurdities hitherto copied by one author from another as to the arms attributed to Alexander the Great, or the like, and characterised the practice of blazoning by precious stones or planets as "mere fancies unfit for the art." For a long time he was engaged in the preparation of his work. At last, in the closing year of the 17th century, he made an attempt to publish his "Treatise on Heraldry" by subscription, an attempt which was unfortunately not successful. He then tried to get the Scottish Parliament to give him some assistance, and as a specimen of what he could do he published a part of his work, calling it "An Essay on Additional Figures and Marks of Cadency." The help which at one time Parliament seemed inclined to give ultimately fell through, and in 1718, finding himself getting an old man and with no prospect of getting his entire work published, he again gave to the public an instalment of it, entitling it "An Essay on Armories." In 1722, however, he succeeded in getting the first volume of what he had prepared

published under the title of "A System of Heraldry." Three years afterwards he died, and in 1742 a mangled version of his further writings was issued by Robert Fleming, which now forms the second volume of "Nisbet's Heraldry." Both volumes were republished as a whole in 1804, and there was a reissue of them in 1816; but there was apparently an attempt made to bring them out at an earlier period, though it is not noticed in Mr Ross's admirable estimate of the herald in his introduction to the "Heraldic Plates" (1892). The following curious advertisement appeared in the Edinburgh newspapers of 16th March 1772, the Lord Lyon of the period being Mr John Hooke Campbell, a gentleman who, so far as I know, never took the least interest in the office or any practical share in its doings during the forty years he held the post. The Lord Depute was Mr Robert Boswell, W.S.

Whereas there lately appeared an advertisement in some of the newspapers importing that Robert Mundle, printer, had received the arms of John Scott of Gala, Esq., brought from this office by Mr Scott, also that his intended publication of "Nisbet's Heraldry" will be performed under the favour and by the authority of Lyon King of Arms, the Lord Lyon thinks it incumbent on him to inform the publick that these assertions are *false* in every particular, and he can by no means encourage or countenance the publication of "Herauldry," the specimen of which already published is as full of blunders and absurdities as it would reflect dishonour on the character this nation has so justly acquired by the great purity and propriety of its armorial bearings. He likewise thinks it proper to inform the publick that if Robert Mundle or any other person presume so far to encroach on his proper province as to give arms to any person or family who have not a legal right to bear the same, he will, in duty to the trust reposed in him, be obliged to put the laws concerning arms in execution, which ordain him to seize for His Majesty's use everything whereon such unwarrantable arms are to be found.

How a republication of the works of Scotland's most famous herald could have affected the "purity

and propriety" of its armorial bearings I cannot conceive.

The only other Scottish author on the subject whom I may name here is Mr George Seton, whose "Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland" is too well known to require any commendation from me. It is not a work designed to teach the elements of Heraldry, but it is to a student of the science one of the most charming contributions to its literature that exists. I do not know any other book to which we can compare it; its scheme and treatment are alike original and fresh.

LECTURE IV.

LECTURE IV.

THE ART OF HERALDRY.

We have hitherto been studying Heraldry in the light, more or less, of a science. I wish in this and the succeeding lecture to consider it with you as an art; to trace its form and expression from its institution as an inherent part of chivalry down to the present time. You will find, I trust, that the study is not an altogether uninteresting one, and that apart from its value as a handmaid of history and genealogy, Heraldry can be of great value in itself if it were for nothing else than as a vehicle of artistic ornamentation. You will find, too, that our ancestors knew its value in this way much better than we do now, and that they did not hesitate to employ it on almost every object in their daily life. Not only did their armorial bearings proclaim their identity on the field of battle, but they were carved on the lintels of their castle doorways: the ruddy rays of the fire in the dining-hall lit them up as they were represented on the corbels round the rooms, or over the mantel; they shone in effulgent glory in radiant casement windows, and in those of the cathedral or church; they were used on articles of costume, on horse furniture, on plate, on drinking-glasses; and when a man had finished his fight in this world and was dead and buried, one of the last offices of respect paid him was to hang his arms over his tomb. Let us see how all this came about, and trace the evolution of this artistic heraldic feeling.

Of course, in the very beginnings of the science the outward representations of it were simple in the extreme. It was only after it came into general use that it assumed its best artistic form. I say its best artistic form, because it is not far from the truth to say that the further you go back, up to a certain point, the better Heraldry gets from an artistic point of view. The period of the 14th and 15th centuries, with its strong Gothic tendencies, was favourable to the development of Heraldry; besides which, the men who worked at it knew it and loved it for its own sake, and were not merely copying an old story in which they did not consider that they had any immediate interest. In addition to this, they had a freer hand and were not tied down by any set of niggling rules, such as gradually grew up round the study in later years and well-nigh choked it. A few simple axioms were all that these early artists required. The principal of these was one which has, perhaps, tended to enhance the decorative value of Heraldry more than any other, and this was, that colour must never be put on colour, or metal on metal. But, apart from a very few such elementary rules, they did not suffer themselves to be trammelled by anything. If an ordinary, like a fess, required to be represented, they did not care what the rule was—if there were any at all—about its size. They made it a third, a fourth, a fifth of the shield as they saw it would look best; and in the same way, if from the circumstances of the blazon they were not satisfied with a lion looking towards the dexter of the shield—a position which we now insist must be assumed by every well-conducted and self-respecting heraldic lion—they made him *contourné* without hesitation, and look off to the sinister. Then, again, they were not content with merely slavishly copying

the external appearance of anything they might have to represent on a coat of arms. They made a conventional type of the object; they acted, indeed, very much as the modern school of impressionist painters say they paint; that is to say, they express not necessarily what they see, but what they feel. Accordingly, when one of our artist friends of the 14th century had to portray a lion on a knight's shield, he did not go to the equivalent of the zoological gardens or menagerie of the period and sit down before a cage and paint a possibly majestic, but probably sleepy and spiritless, lion. No, what he wanted was something to strike awe into the heart of the spectator — something which would express eagerness, keenness, vigour, decision, cruelty if you like. So he made a thin hungry animal, with long pointed claws and ferocity depicted on his countenance. There was a reason, too, for not putting much hair on him, a little mane and one tuft of hair on the tail—generally in early examples turned up and inwards at the top—was all that was displayed. The reason was that the device had to be distinctly intelligible, and that, therefore, it had to be clearly silhouetted on the shield—as Ruskin says—

> That it should be a good imitation of nature when seen near was of no moment; but it was of the highest moment that when first the knight's banner flashed in the sun at the turn of the mountain road, or rose torn and bloody through the drift of the battle dust, it should still be discernible what the bearing was.
>
> "Amidst the scene of tumult high
> They saw Lord Marmion's falcon fly,
> And stainless Turnstall's banner white,
> And Edmund Howard's lion bright."
>
> It was needed not only that they should see it was a falcon, but Lord Marmion's falcon; not only a lion, but the Howard lion. Hence, to the one imperative end of *intelligibility*, every minor resemblance to nature was sacrificed, and above all, the *curved*, which

are chiefly the confusing lines, so that the straight elongated back, doubly elongated tail, projected and separate claws, and other rectilinear unnaturalnesses of form became the means by which the leopard was, in the midst of the mist and storm of battle, distinguished from the dog, or the lion from the wolf, the most admirable fierceness and vitality being, in spite of these necessary changes (so often shallowly sneered at by the modern workman), obtained by the old designer.

Further, it was necessary to the brilliant harmony of colour and clear setting forth of everything that all confusing shadows, all dim and doubtful lines, should be rejected—hence at once an utter denial of natural appearances by the great body of workmen —and a calm rest on a practice of representation which would make either boar or lion blue, scarlet, or golden, according to the device of the knight, or the need of such and such a colour in that place of the pattern; and which wholly denied that any substance cast a shadow or was affected by any kind of obscurity. All this was in its way and for its end absolutely right, admirable, and delightful; and those who despise it, laugh at it, or derive no pleasure from it, are utterly ignorant of the highest principles of art, and are mere tyros and beginners in the practice of colour.*

These words in themselves are "absolutely right, admirable, and delightful." They show clearly that the first duty of heraldic design is to be distinct, simple, and impressive. In early times, as we have seen in former lectures, quarterings and all the later methods by which the shield became filled up with a lot of incoherent detail were unknown. The figures on the shield stood out boldly, not necessarily pretending to be accurate naturalistic representations of their originals, but rather conventionalised types of them. They were portrayed without any attempt at shading or modelling, flat on the shield and generally strongly silhouetted with black bounding lines. Occasionally we find these black lines omitted, and you will see an excellent example of this style in the work of Dom. Anselm Baker, a Cistercian monk of St Bernard's Abbey at Charnwood, Leicestershire, who has been one of the very few artists of modern days who seem to have caught the true

* "Modern Painters," iii. p. 204.

heraldic note in art, or perhaps I should rather say the true artistic note in Heraldry. You will find one or two delightful specimens of his work in Mr Eve's book on "Decorative Heraldry," and you will observe that he puts no lines on the outside of his charges at all; that is, that if he has to put a red lion on a white shield, he puts the red in direct juxtaposition to the white without any intervening line to define the body of the animal. Personally, I do not think this gives the best result, and, indeed, it is only in the hands of a very skilled draughtsman that it could be made at all effective; but there can be no doubt of the ability with which in this particular case it is managed.

In order, also, to comply with the requirement of distinctness, which is, as we have seen, of so much importance, charges on a shield must, as a general rule, be shown in profile. Thus it is that we have lions and other animals generally shown from the side view, though it is allowed to make them guardant, that is, their heads may be turned round to look full faced at the spectator while their bodies remain in profile. In the case of an eagle there is a seeming exception to this rule of profile representation, but there is a reason for this, as we shall see immediately. While, too, the body of the eagle is displayed as a front view, its head and beak are always represented in profile. Not only so, but this profile treatment was extended not merely to animals, but to trees and plants. A tree was never represented in full foliage as it would be painted in a landscape, but in the form of a scraggy trunk with branches issuing from it on either side, each branch clad with symmetrically placed leaves, every leaf being carefully drawn in detail. If fruit had to be represented, such as acorns on an oak, it was often made golden; also a good and telling instance of conventional treatment.

Another distinguishing feature in the Gothic treatment of heraldic shields was the care which the artists took to fill up the field as much as possible with the charges. They never represented a small lion with a vast expanse of field all round him; on the contrary, they continued him so that every member adapted itself to the shape of the shield. (Figs. 53 and 54.) His tail went well up

Fig. 53.

Fig. 54.

into one corner, his left leg came down to the base front of the shield, and his fore-legs filled the space to the dexter in a way which gave strength to the whole design and left no unmeaning gaps. The eagle was treated in the same fashion—it was not so much the shield that was to be seen as the charges on it, carrying out in this way the essential principles of distinctness and readiness of recognition.

While this distinctness, simplicity, and absence of shading were the outstanding features of the representation of the actual design on the shield in the days of ancient heraldic art, there were other points in the adjustment of an achievement which were not less characteristic of that period. Speaking generally, the shape of the shield is that which is now designated "heater;" it was in the form of the base of a flat iron. As the period came to a close, no doubt in the 15th century, there was a tendency

for the base to get rounder and the sides straighter, but taking it as a whole we may say that the true Gothic shield is a heater; and not only so, but that it is the best form, everything considered, that could possibly be made. It is graceful and elegant in itself, and it has the advantage—an advantage which the early designers availed themselves of at once—of compelling the charges, if there are more than one or two, to be of different sizes, and thereby giving variety and animation to the design. When, for instance, there are three lions on a shield, you will observe that there are no two of them which are exact copies of each other, but all vary in size, and to a certain extent in pose. The shield was generally—in the latter part of the period almost invariably—placed *couché*. Quarterings were rare and at first altogether absent; the helmet was cylindrical in shape, and both it and the crest were very large in comparison with the shield; the mantlings at first taking the form of a simple flat *capeline* or pugaree (Fig. 55), covering the back of the helmet and gradually becoming more elongated and cut up into twists and folds, but always remaining restrained in character and without that prominence which it

Fig. 55.

Fig. 56.

afterwards assumed. The supporters, originally introduced as a mere ornamental filling up of a seal, gradually assumed the form of figures, generally of animals (Fig. 56), but they did not support the

shield, which was not the heaviest part of the achievement, but the helmet and the accompanying crest. Mottoes were of very rare occurrence.

Such, briefly, are the main characteristics of Gothic Heraldry; for beauty of design and vigour of treatment it has never been equalled, and no better model could be followed in our own days than these examples of the great heraldic masters of old, executed at a time when Heraldry was a living science, entering largely into all relations of life. But it goes without saying that this imitation must not take the form of unintelligent copying; because you may find an animal *contourné* or facing the sinister in an old version of a coat of arms, it must not on that account be thought it would be necessarily right to reproduce it in such a position if required for modern purposes. The original artist may have had special reason for depicting the animal in this way, a reason which the copyist may not have; as, for instance, the shield may have been meant to hang on the left of a fireplace where there was another coat on the right side, and it would only be proper, according to old rule, that the animals on each of the shields should look at each other. But if the reproduction was to be placed where it had no relation to another coat, it would clearly be wrong to make the charge *contourné* in the way in which it was in the other case. Again, if an architect were building a house in the Renaissance or Jacobean style, it would be altogether out of keeping if, in introducing heraldic decorative work, he were to make his shields and accessories after a Gothic model, instead of using that style of heraldic art which was in vogue at the period to which the building belongs. All this serves to show how careful one ought to be before accepting *en bloc* the practices of any one particular age as his model.

Discrimination is required, and also a certain amount of intelligent adaptation, as even in the case of our producing an achievement on purely Gothic lines, it would not, I think, be expedient to give the same disproportionate and exaggerated form to the helmet and crest that the early masters did.

In the middle of the 15th century the revivifying breath of what we call the Renaissance began to make itself felt in the South, and, as it influenced art in general, so also it made itself felt in that of Heraldry. The influence, however, spread but slowly northward. In England it was not really felt till the beginning of the 16th century, and in Scotland we cannot say we perceive its presence until the century was some years old. The principal features of this period were a largely increased variety in the shape of the shield. Its sides were bent, rolled, peaked, and twisted this way and that way, very much according to the fancy of the artist, and without taking much account of its military genesis. The artist, indeed, worked on almost directly opposite lines in this respect from his Gothic predecessor. The latter shaped his charges to suit the form of his shield, while the other could make his shield of a shape to suit his charges. The big, cylindrical, tilting helmet which formerly overshadowed the shield made way for the lighter visored helmet. The mantling became more audacious in its flutterings, and twists, and curves, and became an important decorative part of the achievement; while the charges themselves began to lack their original vigour and strictly conventional treatment, to be painted with indications of light and shade, and to be treated in a more naturalistic manner. All this gave a grace and airiness to representations of armorial bearings in the 16th century which were undoubtedly wanting

before; but this was not attained without a corresponding loss of power, picturesqueness, and distinction. And, accordingly, we find at the beginning of the 17th century that Gothic treatment had almost entirely disappeared, and that heraldic art had entered on a period of decadence, in which it went from bad to worse, and from which it was not destined to emerge until quite modern days, if, indeed, it can be said even yet to have emerged. The bright, clever, and striking, if somewhat eccentric, convolutions of the 16th century shields became gradually abandoned in favour of an insipid and tasteless form—a form which, unfortunately, is still dear to our friend the "heraldic stationer."

A large number of writers laid down an equally large number of perfectly unnecessary rules, which had the effect of cramping the designer's hand. Helmets became small and tasteless in form, and it was argued that the position in which the helmet was placed was to symbolise the particular rank of its bearer. Heralds had not, however, the artistic sense to modify at the same time the position of the crest, which remained in profile, so that in the case of a full-fronted helmet, like that pertaining to a knight, the crest was placed cross-wise on the helmet—a position which, I am sorry to say, is still prevalent, and produces, in some instances, the most absurd effects, as I myself saw not long ago in St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, where the helmets of the Knights of the Order of St Patrick are hung above their stalls. The mantlings, instead of flowing out briskly to the breeze in elegant folds, hang down on each side of the shield in confused heavy rolls, as if the idea of the artist had been to make them as like as possible to one of the long Ramilies perukes of the period, which did so much to banish all character from the faces

of our ancestors. The charges are drawn more in imitation of real life, with a corresponding decrease in artistic effect.

The 18th century saw all these defects intensified, though, about what may be called the Adams period, there was a certain amount of grace displayed in a shield modelled somewhat after the manner of a heater, but with its top line hollowed out so as to leave a peak in the centre. It had frequently a wreath or festoon of flowers, or branches crossing each other, and tied with a ribbon below the base point of the shield, and arranged up each side of it. This style of work is constantly met with in book-plates, from about 1770 to 1790. How utterly opposed it—together with other still more fantastic attempts at heraldic decoration—was to the true spirit of heraldic art, nobody seemed to have an idea; but worse was still to come. The 18th century practices, if not correct, had, at all events, a certain grace—though a very artificial one—of its own, but the lowest depths were reached in the beginning of the century now drawing to a close. All previous examples seem to have been totally lost sight of—shields were stiff, rectangular structures, with two hideous ears projecting from their tops; helmets were represented by unmeaning and ill-shaped globes with a visor at one side, and necks so narrow that no human being could possibly have got into them; shields were crowded not only with unlimited quarterings, but with additions in the shape of cantons and chiefs containing all kinds of absurd charges. About the time of the wars with France a favourite device, both in England and Scotland, was to introduce landscapes into the shield representing towns, fortresses, or ship-wrecks. Even the medals won by the gallant soldiers on well-fought fields were introduced into their arms. Here, for instance, is a coat granted in

1814—gules three bars *or*, on a bend *ermine* a sphinx between two wreaths of laurel proper, and on a chief embattled a representation of the town of Aire, all proper. Even this was felt not to be sufficiently allusive, so the very next year an alteration was made on the coat to the effect of placing the sphinx between the badge of the Royal Portuguese Military Order of the Tower and Sword and the gold medal presented by the Grand Seignior for services in Egypt. An additional crest was also granted in defiance, not merely of heraldic law, but of common-sense, representing as it did a Highlander, *waist deep in water*, holding a sword in one hand and a banner with the cipher "92" on it in the other, and, above all, the word *Arriverete*, being the name of a ford in Spain which the grantee had crossed in difficult circumstances. To finish up the achievement, three medals were suspended below the shield. When I say, too, that this grant included supporters to which the grantee had no possible claim, you will, perhaps, be able to conceive to what a sorry pass Heraldry had come.

If the treatment of the charges was bad, it only corresponded to that of the other parts of the achievement. Mantlings, if used at all, were of the most graceless and wooden type. One set of stiff scrolls stood out at right angles from the helmet on the one side, only to be balanced on the other by exactly the same scrolls, only placed the reverse way, so different from the early mantlings, which were rarely, if ever, symmetrical. But very frequently the mantling was absent altogether, and with it also went the helmet. So the crest on a wreath was put on the top of the ugly shield, a habit which, I am sorry to say, is still too extensively practised. Not only so, but it seems to be the popular belief that a crest and not a

coat of arms is the most distinguishing feature in an achievement. I have already alluded to this in a former lecture; but as we are on the subject of heraldic degradation, let me again say a word as to the misuse of the crest. As a general rule, I am of opinion that a crest should never be used except in conjunction with a coat of arms—most certainly it should not be represented as merely sitting on a wreath and nothing else. If a wreath is necessary for a crest, no less is a helmet necessary for a wreath, and the crest, wreath, and helmet should therefore always be given together. The mantling too, you will find, will form an appropriate and artistic finish.

But it is not only of importance *how* a crest should be worn, it is also of some moment to know *where* it should be worn. I suppose nothing will induce us to give over the custom of putting a crest upon our letter paper, though it is most inappropriate; but if we do, at all events let it not be surrounded with a garter and buckle on which is inscribed a motto. Let it once for all be understood that a garter is the sole and exclusive property of Knights of that Order, who have a right to surround their arms with a garter inscribed with the well-known motto of their Order. Even in quarters where we should look for absolute correctness, we do not find this rule recognised as it ought to be, "for in the Albert Medal for bravery, the encircling motto has been most improperly placed on a buckled band like the garter." You will observe, however, that if the band is not buckled, it ceases to be a garter and may be employed with impunity. As I am treating of the subject of the use of the crest (somewhat irrelevantly, I fear), let me say one thing more in connection with it, even at the risk of being thought to go into frivolous details. The crest on our letter

paper may be dear to us, but I should be pleased to see it abolished from our servants' buttons. This is an absolute degradation of what is an honourable mark of distinction, and it ought not to be used. What should be put on liveries is the badge which can be selected at the individual will of the owner. If he says, as he may, that he selects his crest as his badge, there is nothing to hinder him doing so, only let him not insert any wreath, which, if present, would undoubtedly denote that what it supported was a crest. I am quite aware that the diligent student of Nisbet will confront me as to this point with a paragraph from the Act for the Order of the Riding of Parliament in 1681, which says that "the noblemen's lacqueys may have over their liveries velvet coats with their badges, *i.e.*, their crests and mottoes done on plate, or embroidered on the back and breast conform to ancient custom." The practice of having badges as distinct from crests was not so common in Scotland as in England, and few Scottish families had them. If the nobility used their crests as badges on their servants' liveries, I can but repeat that they ought to have used neither the wreath nor the motto. But 1681 is not a period to which to look for pure Heraldry, even when the practice in question is said to be sanctioned by ancient custom.

But what I have been saying about modern usages is rather a digression from the point from which I started, namely, the decadence of Heraldry. It almost seemed as if that fate was going to befall it which a distinguished predecessor in the lectureship pointed out was wont to overtake many arts, the undergoing of a process of degradation before final extinction. But just when it was at its worst, faint flickerings of reanimation asserted themselves. In 1840, Mr J. A. Montague produced

a small volume entitled "A Guide to the Study of Heraldry," which, though a mere sketch, displayed a very distinct appreciation of the artistic side of the subject, and was very well illustrated. But it was Planché, in his comparatively short treatise called "The Pursuivant of Arms," first published in 1851, who really raised the treatment of Heraldry on to a scientific basis; and since then there has been a continual flow from the Press of works treating of the subject, some, like that of Boutell, quite grasping the idea that the subject had an artistic, as well as a scientific side, and others showing not much improvement in that respect on the old lines. But with the general advance in artistic culture—and that there has been such an advance I do not think any one can deny, though one would wish to see it even more general and more according to knowledge—the appreciation of Heraldry has undoubtedly increased. It is used in a way it would never have been used a quarter of a century ago, and people are gradually coming to see both its beauty and its possibilities.

I have, in the above remarks, shown as briefly as I could the general characteristics of Heraldry as an art during the various periods in which it has flourished in this country. I should now like to direct your attention to some of the special objects to which it has been and can be applied. Of course, as we have seen, the first vehicle through which Heraldry, as we now know it, was conveyed to our senses was armour, or things relating to military display. Before any rolls of arms could be compiled or achievements be used in any civil fashion, the arms themselves had to appear on shield and helmet, on surcoat and banner. But as this use of arms indicated the identity of their bearers in the field or lists, so by an easy transition another use came to denote their identity in the

actions of civil life. One of the first non-military uses to which arms were put was as a device on the seals of their owners, with which they authenticated all documents which, in modern times, would have to be signed. Seals, indeed, form the most authentic record of heraldic bearings which we have. There use is, of course, far anterior to the practice of carrying armorial ensigns at all; but whenever Heraldry was fairly established we find seals bearing, instead of the mere pictorial representation of the owner himself, his coat of arms. We first find charges, unaccompanied by a shield, put upon the seal, as in the case of John de Mundegumbri, third of Eagleshame, where one fleur-de-lis appears as a device. Speedily, however, these devices were put on a shield, and gradually the helmet, crest, and even supporters were added. The seal was generally appended to a deed by a lump of wax being pressed round a strip of parchment or silk attached to the deed, the matrix of the seal being then applied. Besides the arms, the seal almost invariably contained the owner's name engraved round its margin.

In Scotland the use of seals was the subject of frequent regulation by Parliament. As early as the reign of David I., we learn that a writ may be approved "be comparison of moe seales: or, be other writtes, sealed with the samine seale quherof, there is no suspition of falset nor of diversitie of seales," and if there was any doubt about the matter, it might be decided "by singulare battell, because it is ane crime of falset." The practice of sealing writs continued down to the end of the 16th century, when the gradual extension of the power to authenticate deeds by sign-manual, and the superior security which this gave against fraud (for a seal, it is evident, might be stolen and unlawfully used) led to the custom falling into

desuetude. We have, as regards Scotland, a splendid *corpus sigillorum* in the fine catalogue compiled by Mr Henry Laing, to which I have had occasion frequently to refer in these lectures. Casts of all the seals described by him were taken, and are to be found in the British Museum; but it is a pity that the facilities for reproduction in black and white were not so far advanced in his day as they now are, otherwise we should, no doubt, have had his catalogue illustrated by figures of each seal mentioned, instead of only a selection, as there is. Then we could have more easily traced the gradual artistic development of the seal from its comparatively simple beginnings to the really grand work of the engravers of the 14th and 15th centuries, after which that period of degradation, to which I have before referred, set in, heralding the disuse of the seal as an essential part of a man's personal equipment. Even in early days we occasionally see, as Mr Cosmo Innes has pointed out in his "Sketches of Early Scottish History," some seals "of a design and workmanship which cannot be ascribed to a rude age. These are undoubtedly antique intaglios on gems which were adopted as an ornament for the centre of the seal before heraldic bearings were introduced; and after the introduction of a shield with a charge as the mark of the principal seal were frequently used as a signet and counterseal." Instances of this occur, according to Lord Bute's opinion, in the seals of the burghs of Haddington and Galashiels. The former town does not use a very fine seal which it possesses, representing David I. sitting on his throne in his royal robes, probably from its too great resemblance to a great seal. It employs instead the reverse of the seal, on which is a representation of a goat browsing on a vine, in all likelihood the reproduction of a Bacchic gem.

I cannot, however, go further into detail as regards seals; but I would remark that notwithstanding Laing's excellent work, there is still much to do in the department of Scottish sigillography. It is sad to think that from pure carelessness many seals have been irrevocably lost. They were, I am sure, at one time often ruthlessly cut away from deeds because they interfered with the tying of them up and the packing away in lawyers' offices. Still, thousands must yet survive which have never been reproduced, even in a verbal blazon; and if you ever come across any, may I impress upon you the importance of, at all events, making a note of their general design and the arms which are on them, if you are not sufficiently skilful to take a plaster or sulphur cast of them, which, of course, is the preferable procedure. It is of importance that we should have a record of as many as possible, both on account of their value as heraldic authorities at a period when all others are wanting, and of their excellence as illustrating the condition of the art at the period of their respective dates. You will find many seals besides those in Laing's catalogue scattered throughout various works of Scottish family history, but these are too widely spread to afford material for easy comparison and reference. The best collection belonging to one family is that of the Douglases, as engraved in Sir William Fraser's "Douglas Book." But if we go outside Scotland there are a magnificent series of Percy seals which originally appeared in Mr E. Barrington de Fonblanque's privately printed "Annals of the House of Percy;" these were, with permission, reproduced in the illustrated catalogue of the Heraldic Exhibition held at Edinburgh in 1891.

There was another and an early use of arms of which we must take note—a military, not a civil

use—and that was on the pennon which a knight carried to battle with him. A pennon, you will keep in view, was a comparatively small flag, long in shape, and terminating sometimes in a peak, but more usually in a swallow-tail or even a triple indentation. It was charged with the badge or some armorial device taken from the coat of arms of its owner, but never with the entire coat.

You will remember Marmion's pennon—

> "The last and trustiest of the four,
> On high his forky pennon bore.
> Like swallow's tail in shape and hue,
> Fluttered the streamer glossy blue,
> Where blazoned sable as before,
> The towering falcon seemed to soar."

The falcon was both crest and bearing of Marmion, as we are told—

> "Amid the plumage of the crest
> A falcon hovered on her nest,
> With wings outspread and forward breast.
> E'en such a falcon on his shield,
> Soared sable in an azure field."

An impossible combination, I may point out, for this is colour on colour. It is not often we find Sir Walter wrong on such points.

The banner, on the other hand, was of a larger size than the pennon, and was of a square or oblong shape, and it usually had the entire arms of the owner blazoned on it. But it was not everyone originally who could bear a banner; the honour was reserved for Knights Bannerets, who were so created by the king on the field of battle itself for conspicuous gallantry. The points of his pennon having been torn off, it became converted for the time into a banner, and thus indicated that he had gained the coveted distinction, much as a man nowadays wins the Victoria Cross. Sir William Segar (Garter) says, in his "Honour Military and Civil," that he supposes "the Scots doe call a

Knight of this creation a Bannerent for having his banner rent."

While we are on the subject of the different kind of flags, it may be well to mention that the third important variety was the standard—a flag of great length, its size varying with the rank of its owner, from that of the king, which was eight or nine yards long, down to a simple knight's, which was four. The badge was generally displayed on the standard with the motto on a scroll, the extremity being swallow-tailed, except in the case of royalty, when it was pointed. The Banner-roll or Bandrol, the Penonsil or Pensil, the Ancient, the Pavon, the Guidon, and the Gonfannon were other shapes of flags into which it is unnecessary here to enter minutely. Some of them, like the pensils and bandrols, were used in funeral processions. As might be expected from their constant exposure to the weather and the chances of battle, but few old flags have come down to us. We have, however, a few interesting examples. None of these, however, are knights' pennons; but one banner still exists, which was exhibited at the Heraldic Exhibition in 1891. (Fig. 57.) I do not know its history, but from the style of the design it must be of considerable antiquity. It is a square of blue silk, fringed round three sides, and bearing in the dexter chief corner next the "hoist" of the flag a shield with the arms of Douglas of Cavers, *argent* a man's heart *gules* on a chief *azure*, three mullets of the field, all within a bordure of the second. There is a large scroll in the shape of the letter S extending from the sinister chief to the dexter base, forked at the extremities, each fork terminating in a little ball or tassel. The motto on the scroll is "Doe · or · Die."

But the flag with which the name Cavers is more generally associated is an ancient standard supposed

to have been carried by Archibald Douglas of Cavers, the son of the second Earl of Douglas, at the Battle of Otterburn. (Fig. 58.) It has been

Fig. 57.—BANNER WITH ARMS OF DOUGLAS OF CAVERS.

described as a noble relic of medieval heraldic art, and it certainly justifies this description. Next the hoist is a St Andrews Cross, accompanied by two small irregularly placed hearts; then there is a splendid lion passant, vigorously handled and full of life, behind him at the top edge of the flag are two if not three mullets, and after these is a tau cross, the remainder of the standard being occupied with the Douglas motto, *Jamais areyre.* The saltire, the hearts, and the mullets, and the motto are all typical of the Douglas family and their Scottish connection, but the presence of the lion passant and the tau cross are difficulties which have not yet been fully accounted for. I cannot here enter into a discussion either on the probable history of the standard, which is disputed, or the origin or meaning of these bearings to which I have alluded. If you care to go into the matter further, you will find a careful examination of the whole subject from the pen of the late Mr J. M. Gray in the *Scotsman* of 25th August 1891.

Another standard, which you may see any day by going up to the Parliament House, is one carried at Flodden by the Earl Marischal's standard-bearer, Black John Skirving of Plewland. (Fig. 59.) It illustrates the Scottish practice of using the crest as a badge, as it bears three harts' heads erased, one hart's head being the crest of the Keiths; the motto *Veritas vincit* is embroidered, not on a scroll, but straight along the fly of the flag. Another fine Scottish flag, a beautiful specimen of needlework, is in existence at Duns Castle, Berwickshire. It is the royal banner of Scotland, said to have been borne at the Battle of Worcester, 3rd September 1651, and to have been saved by Edward Hay of Hopes, younger son of the first Earl of Tweeddale, to whom it was given in recognition of his bravery. It bears 1 and 4 Scotland, 2 France and England quarterly, 3 Ireland, within the collars of the Orders of the Thistle and the Garter. There is an imperial crown above and two supporters, the dexter, a unicorn, bearing the banner of St Andrew, and the sinister, a lion, with that of St George, standing on a band, with the motto *Beati pacifici.* Behind the unicorn is a thistle, and behind the lion a red rose; the same flowers occur on either side of the crown above the arms. It is embroidered in high relief on a ground of yellow silk, and is a fine piece of heraldic design, the supporters being particularly well executed. I may also mention, as another type of flag, the guidon of the regiment of dragoons raised by Henry Lord Cardross under commission from the estates of Scotland in 1689,* which bears the colonel's crest on viscount's coronet, with the thistle of Scotland in a canton. (Fig. 60.) A few later flags of olden time—probably used at funerals or processions, but, perhaps, copied from

* See "Old Scottish Regimental Colours," by Andrew Ross, Marchmont Herald, p. 47.

Fig. 58.—THE CAVERS (OTTERBURN) STANDARD.

Fig. 59.—STANDARD OF THE EARL MARISCHAL, CARRIED AT FLODDEN.

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earlier examples, which have now disappeared—have come down to us, but I would fain hope that there are still, if not in the halls, at least in the lumber rooms of some of our ancient Scottish resi-

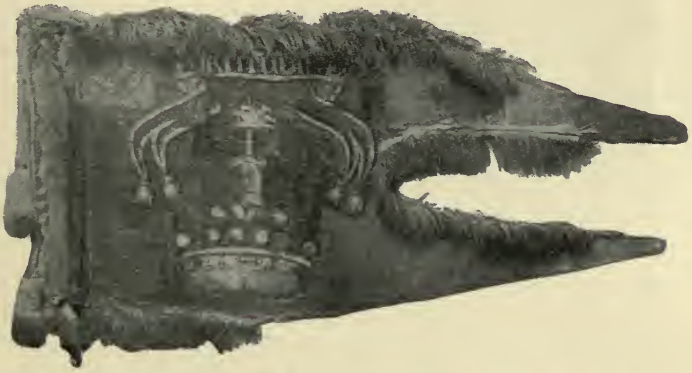

Fig. 60.—GUIDON OF THE REGIMENT OF DRAGOONS RAISED BY HENRY LORD CARDROSS IN 1689.

dences, a few pieces of tattered silk which may have been carried as lance pennon or trumpet banner in a charge on some well-fought field by the noblest of Scottish chivalry.

We have seen in connection with seals that arms were associated with the more important civil transactions of their owner during his life; they were not less closely associated with the permanent records of his memory after his death. Apart from the temporary display of his armorial bearings at his funeral, they were carved in enduring marble or stone on his tomb, or cut with the burin of the engraver on the still more enduring medium of brass. These memorial brasses form a very fine class of heraldic monuments. Their general work is so artistic and their record so legible that they often give valuable assistance towards the elucidation of a doubtful point in heraldry and pedigree. But apart from this practical use, how beautiful they are in themselves, what bold and graceful design

there is in most of them, how clearly the inscriptions stand out, and how firmly the effigies of the mailed knights are depicted on them. Even as an archæological study in costume, they are of great importance. The plate itself was either made of brass or the alloy called latten, as in the case of the beautiful effigy of Edward the Black Prince at Canterbury; it was inlaid on a slab of stone generally put on the floor of a church, but occasionally upright. The incised lines were sometimes filled up with niello, and where colour was wanted, either in lettering or to show the tinctures of coats of arms, the ground of the metal was cut away to some depth and the space filled with enamel.

The earliest brass known is that of Sir John d'Abernon at Stoke d'Abernon in Surrey. Its date is of the latter part of the 13th century, probably about 1278. There are several other brasses of that period in England, and just as the fine period of Heraldry was at its earliest days, so are the early brasses unsurpassed for their excellence of workmanship and design. It is to England that we must look for all our good brasses. The art never seems to have taken root across the Border, nor for that matter either in Wales or Ireland. There can, however, be little doubt that Scotland possessed at one time more brasses than she can be credited with now, as there is evidence on record of the existence at one time of such monuments at Iona, Kirkwall, Dunblane, Dunfermline, Arbroath, Seton, Whitekirk, etc. Some of these have been in what may be called the peculiarly English mode—the figure, the architectural canopy over it and the border round it being all cut out separately and inlaid in their proper positions in the stone, which thus forms their background. We have no existing specimens in Scotland of this kind of brass;* all

* The nearest approach to it is the one at Creich; see *post*, p. 143.

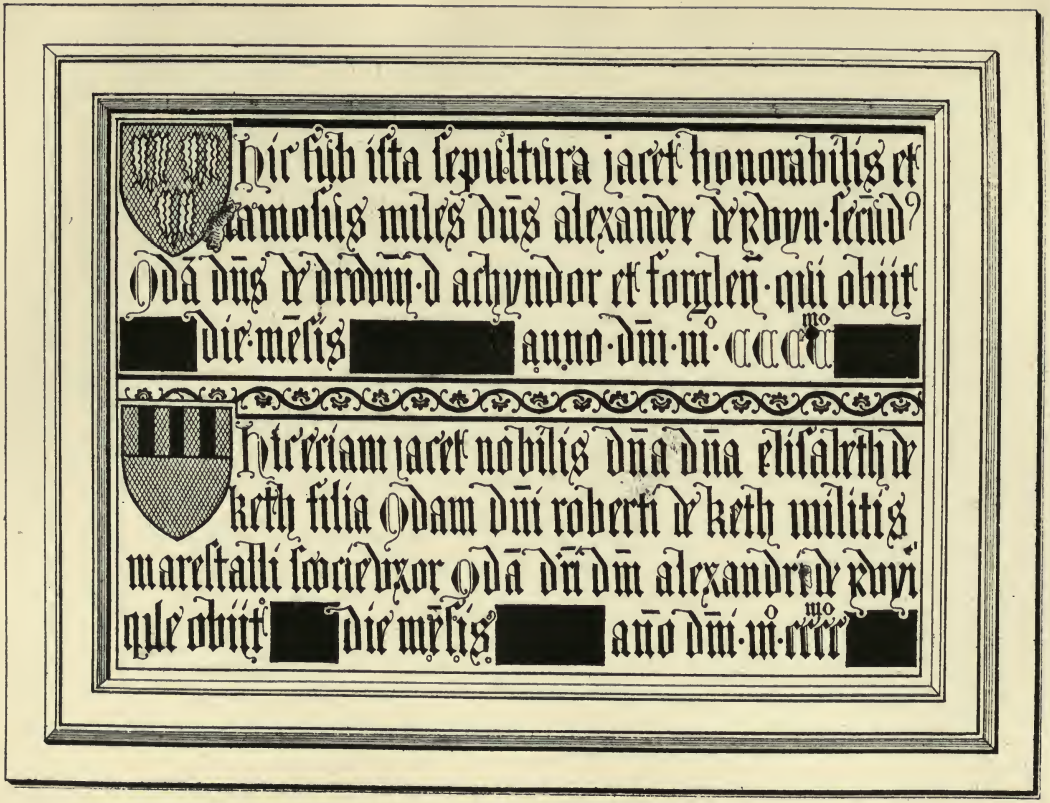

Fig. 61.—THE IRVINE BRASS IN ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH, ABERDEEN.

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which have survived (and they may be counted on the fingers of one hand) are simply engraved on plates of brass, the whole plate being sunk into the stone. Perhaps we never had a great many brasses. Stone was easily got, and artificers in that material were more numerous than workmen who could engrave the more costly metal slabs. In addition to this, the violent treatment to which old ecclesiastical buildings have been from time to time exposed, and the temptation to appropriate an intrinsically valuable piece of metal may account to some extent for the very scanty remains of this kind of work in the country.

The only one of them which has any pretension to be really early in point of time is that in St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen, to the memory of Sir Alexander de Irwyn, Lord of Drum, and his wife, Elizabeth de Keth, a daughter of the Marischal of Scotland. They were married in 1411, and Sir Alexander died in 1457, and was buried in the Chantry of St Ninians, which he had founded in St Nicholas' Church. The brass is of a simple character, having no figures on it, consisting merely of an oblong panel 18½ in. by 13½ in., with eight lines of elegant Lombardic lettering, four being devoted to the knight and as many to his lady. (Fig. 61.) The two sections of the inscription are each headed by the coats of arms of the respective families, and are divided from each other by a line of Gothic ornamentation. One peculiarity about the brass is, the dates of the deaths of both the parties are left blank. Whether this means that it was put up by themselves in their lifetime when the chantry was founded, so that they might have the pleasure of seeing the ultimate effect as is occasionally done at the present day, or whether, as has been suggested, the brass had been made abroad, and insufficient information given to the engraver who executed it,

is a matter which will probably remain a mystery. Be that as it may, the brass is an interesting one, not only from its being the oldest extant in Scotland, but from its artistic excellence. The lettering has been inlaid with black enamel and is beautifully cut; the shields, too, are of a simple and well-shaped heater type. You will notice the skilfully conventional way in which the branches of holly (the well-known bearings of the Irvine family) are treated in the first shield; and in the Keith coat it may be remarked that the chief is clearly indicated as charged with three pallets *gules*, in opposition to the later practice of making it paly of six *or* and *gules*.

There should be a brass in St Giles' to the memory of William Preston of Gorton; for the City of Edinburgh granted a bond in 1454-55 to his son, by which they bound themselves to build an aisle in his honour and in commemoration of his having secured for the church the sacred relic of the Saint's arm bone, in which aisle "there sal be made a brase for his lair in bosit work and above the brase a table of bras with a writt specifi- and the bringing that rillyk be him in Scotland with his armis and his armis to be putt in hewn werk in either the pertes of the ile." The brass and many other things mentioned in the bond have long since disappeared, but, as the historian of St Giles' says, "the spacious chapel itself remains, and as we stand under the groined roof and see the three unicorns' heads—the arms of Preston of Gorton—this bit of old world history comes back upon us all the more vividly that it contrasts so strangely with the religious surroundings of the present day."

But if St Giles' no longer possesses the brass so piously promised by the citizens of Edinburgh, it fortunately still has another which, if not so ancient in point of date, has even more historical interest for us than the other. Shortly after the Regent

Fig. 62.—BRASS OF THE REC

T GILES CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH.

Between pages 138 *and* 139.

Murray, amid the tears of the assembled populace, had been laid to his rest in the old church in 1570, a handsome monument was erected to his memory. In it was inserted a brass plate (Fig. 62), containing his coat of arms indicating his royal descent, with helmet, crest, and mantling; the two supporters, collared greyhounds, stand on a compartment with the motto *Salus per Christum* below. In arched panels on either side the achievement are the figures of Religion and Justice seated mourning. In the centre of the brass is the date of the Regent's assassination, 23rd January 1569, and then follows an elegant inscription in Latin from the pen of George Buchanan, which may be rendered in English, "To James Stewart, Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, a man by far the noblest of his time, slain from an ambuscade by the basest enemies in all history; his country, mourning, has raised this monument as to a common father." This is an exceedingly interesting brass, not only on account of its historical importance, but on several other accounts. We know a good deal about its history; we have the whole accounts for the erection of the monument, and from them we learn that the brass was engraved by James Gray, goldsmith, for doing which he received the sum of £20; the brass itself was purchased from David Bewane for £7, but it was not a new one. There is no doubt that it forms only a portion of what had once been another brass of a larger size, reversed and engraved on the back. The original has probably been of the latter half of the 15th century. It has borne two full-length figures, male and female, with a richly diapered ground and ornamental border, and surrounded by an inscription, which is now, unfortunately, imperfect, the portion on the right side reading: ". . . spous · owmquhile · of · ye · said ·

tho . . . ;" and that on the left: "whilk · diet · ye · third · day · of . August · an . . ." The Moray brass has been made out of the reverse of the central portion of this one, and the inscription I have quoted is important as pointing to the conclusion that it was native manufacture.

But the interest of the Moray brass does not stop here. In the ruins of the old church at Ormiston, in East Lothian, there is a monument to the memory of Alexander Cockburn of Ormiston. He was born in January 1535-36, and died 1564. The brass is of the same style as that in St Giles'. It has fourteen lines of Latin verse, also by Buchanan, surrounded by an elegant Renaissance border. Below is an inscription narrating the name of the deceased, and giving the dates of his birth and death (though, oddly enough, the year in which the latter took place is omitted). On either side of this inscription are two coats of arms, the one, his own, a fess chequey between three cocks, and the other those of his mother, Alison Sandilands, quartering Sandilands and Douglas; the motto on the scroll round the latter being *Absten and suffer*. It has been suggested by the late Dr David Laing that as this brass was of the same period as that of the Regent, and evidently done by the same hand (not to mention the circumstance of Buchanan having contributed the epitaph to each), it is not improbable that, if it were taken down and an examination made of the back, it might be found to be another portion of the original slab out of which the Moray brass was taken.

There is a small brass in Glasgow Cathedral erected to mark the tombs of six knightly families of the house of Minto, but it is not armorial. The only other brass which, so far as I am aware, is known to exist in Scotland is, like the Irvine one, in St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen. It is an oblong

plate, 5½ feet long by 3 feet broad, and commemorates Dr Duncan Liddell, a native of Aberdeen, born in 1561, Professor of Medicine and Rector of the University of Helmstead, Brunswick, from which place he returned to his native country in 1607, and died in 1613. Sir Paul Menzies of Kinmundy, Provost of Aberdeen, a great patron of art and literature in his day, together with some other leading citizens of Aberdeen, took measures some years after Liddell's death to carry out the erection of a monument to him as he had directed in his will. The probability is that they consulted George Jamieson, the father of Scottish portrait painting, who was then a young artist just returned from a period of study at Antwerp. There are two reasons for believing this: first, we know the brass was executed in Antwerp; and second, while the arrangement of the inscription and style of lettering resemble the ordinary stone monuments of the period, and are indeed but poor and inartistic, the portrait of Liddell at the top of the brass, seated in his study and surrounded by his books and instruments, is a remarkably vigorous and graceful production, and has evidently been designed by a skilful artist. The presumption is that the drawing from which this portion of the brass was executed was the work of Jamieson himself. The arms in this brass are not made a leading feature of the ornamentation, being placed in the upper corner of the compartment containing the portrait, just as they would have been in a painting. The shield is simpler in character than is usual at the period, but it is surrounded by somewhat florid scroll-work, not attached as a mantling to a helmet, indicative of the decadence of heraldic art which was then going on. The shield is suspended from a nail by a guige, underneath which is a scroll bearing the allusive motto "Leid weil." The execution of

the whole brass is but coarse and unfinished; it has never been polished after being engraved, nor is there any enamel in it to give it colour.

A curious example, late in date, of an armorial metal plate over a tomb occurs in Kilmany Churchyard, Fifeshire, and is described in "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," vol. xxxi., p. 94. It is not a brass, but a copper plate about 3 feet long and 18 inches broad, and was erected to the memory of John Melville of Cairnie by his wife, Mary Maitland, in 1794. The centre of the slab is occupied by a Latin inscription and a long piece of English verse in praise of the deceased. On the dexter side are four shields representing the paternal quarters, and on the sinister an equal number relating to the maternal ancestry. The former include the arms of Melville of Cairnie, Aiton of Midcairnie, Gourlay of Kincraig, and Hamilton of Kilbrackmont quartered with Dischington of Ardross. The latter comprise Foulis of Ravelston, Primrose of Dalmeny, Sinclair of Stevenson, and Keith of Benholm. The shields are pure ovals with slight scroll-work ornamentation, and compartments below bearing the name of the family. The Melville arms, impaled with those of Maitland, are contained in a shield at the base, with helmet, crest, and mantling.

I have dwelt upon these monumental brasses somewhat in detail because there are so few examples in Scotland that I think they deserve special mention. The number of other tombs of early date on which heraldic cognisances are displayed are so numerous as to prevent our doing more than taking a very cursory glance at them. You will find almost all of them of any importance duly chronicled and carefully portrayed in Messrs Macgibbon and Ross's exhaustive and scholarly work on the "Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scot-

land." The tombs with effigies of the deceased which are still in existence are comparatively numerous, and we know of the previous existence of many which have now disappeared. The earliest form of effigy was the incised slab, of which we have specimens in that of David Barclay and his wife, Helena Douglas, at Creich. In this case the lines of the figures are incised, but the faces and hands are blank and more deeply cut into the stone, which points to the fact that these spaces had at one time been filled in with brass or enamel. Two shields, one with the Barclay arms and the other with those of Douglas (though the latter are now illegible) appear on the stone, which must date from early in the 15th century, as Barclay died in 1400. A still earlier slab of the same type is that of Sir William Oliphant in Aberdalgie Churchyard, which must be at least fifty years earlier, and which also bears two coats of arms on it. There are besides in Kinkell Churchyard a stone bearing two shields, one illegible, the other with a chevron between two water budgets in chief and a hunting horn in base, charges which are repeated on the breast of the figure of a "nobilis armiger" carved on the stone, believed to be Gilbert Greenlaw, who fell at Harlaw in 1411. The stone is worthy of attention because the lower portion has been broken off and used to commemorate the death of John Forbes of Ardmurdo in 1592. There is a Greek text from the New Testament on it, the earliest instance, probably, in Scotland of such an inscription. The difference in style of the armorial bearings would in itself be sufficient to indicate the difference in date. The early shield is of the simple heater shape which exclusively prevailed at the time, while the Forbes shield is markedly Elizabethan in character, with hollowed sides and top.

LECTURE V.

LECTURE V.

THE ARTISTIC APPLICATION OF HERALDRY.

Of altar or table tombs we have, as I have said, a good many examples, not to speak of many that have been destroyed. We have a fair number with more or less dilapidated effigies recumbent on them; we have still more arched recesses in walls and other indications showing where similar structures once existed. The recessed tomb was the favourite pattern in Scotland, but we know of no free table tomb standing by itself under a pillared canopy such as we not unfrequently meet with in England and elsewhere. Almost all the tombs we have are of ordinary stone. A very few are marble; but we have no specimens of that enamel work which we see in such grand examples as the shield in the tomb of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, in Westminster Abbey, to which I formerly referred. But it is certain that our tombs were frequently, if not, indeed, generally, coloured and gilt, and traces of such ornamentation can still be discovered in a few.

If we are to believe that the tomb of Sir Alan Swinton in Swinton Church (Fig. 63) was erected very shortly after his death, it presents a peculiarly early instance of the use of armorial bearings, not merely on a tomb, but anywhere in Scotland. Sir Alan died about 1200, and was buried near his ancestral home. The tomb is certainly but rudely executed, and consists of an effigy of the knight in his armour, and above it in an arch, sunk in the wall behind and surrounded by a plain moulding, is the inscription—"Hic iacet Alanvs Svintonvs miles

de eodem," surmounted by three small figures, which are evidently boars' heads erased *contourné* or turned to the sinister; and above these, again, is a much larger figure of a boar, with a collar around its

Fig. 63.

neck and a chain reflexed over its back. The Swinton arms are a chevron between three boars' heads, and the crest is a boar chained to a tree; but you will observe that the boars' heads on the tomb

are not on a shield at all, nor is the boar on a crest wreath. Indeed, beyond the fact that they are the bearings of the Swinton family, there is nothing armorial about the carving at all; but I think there can be little doubt that these figures were originally meant to be indicative of the cognisance borne by Sir Alan, but that either the skill or knowledge of the local workman had not enabled him to carry out the idea as it ought to have been. Another old and interesting armorial monument is that of Sir James Douglas — the good Sir James — in St Bride's, Douglas, though its date is nothing like so ancient as Sir Alan Swinton's. (Fig. 64.) Sir James, as we all know, was killed in Spain, on his way to the Holy Land with the heart of Robert the Bruce. In commemoration of this event, the Douglases have ever after borne a heart in their shield under the three stars in chief. But the arms which appear above the tomb of the good Sir James could never have been borne by him, because the heart is there along with the stars, which, of course, it could not have been before the incident occurred, which the heart was intended to commemorate. This, then, is a warning to the heraldic archæologist to be careful before accepting as absolute fact the testimony of monumental tombs — in other respects also notoriously untrustworthy — as to what the arms of any particular individual were.

Fig. 64.

While speaking of the St Bride monuments I may specially mention that to James, 7th Earl of Douglas, which, as well as the former, bears traces

of its original colouring. The armory on this monument is very fine. In front of the tomb on which the effigies of the knight and his lady are lying is an angel, holding up before it a shield with the Douglas arms impaling those of Sinclair of Orkney. Above the canopy is a comparatively small heater-shaped shield *couché* with a quartered coat bearing the arms of the deceased, surmounted by a large helmet of fine design, with peacock crest and ribbon-like mantling straight behind, but following the curves of the helmet in front and terminating in tassels. The treatment of the supporters, however, is not such as we might have expected to find in work of this period—middle of the 15th century. Instead of supporting either the helmet or the shield, as we see them do with such effect on seals, they are relegated to two niches in the wall, from which they look out in a somewhat feeble manner, losing very much of their heraldic character.

I have said that the tombs at St Bride's are fine in character, but from a heraldic point of view we have an equally fine set—if not in that way superior—in those of the Foresters of Corstorphine in the church of that parish. Perhaps I am not wrong in suggesting that though they be within three or four miles of where we are just now, few of my audience have ever seen them. If you cannot go and supply that omission, you can at all events see them faithfully portrayed and described both in the pages of Messrs Macgibbon and Ross (to which I formerly referred), and in an article in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries for 1895," by Mr Robert Brydall on the "Monumental Effigies of Scotland," an article which enters very fully into the subject, but in which, I regret to say, the Heraldry is not always as exact as it should be. These Forester tombs, three in number, and ranging in date from 1440 to about 1470, are

specially rich in heraldic ornamentation. Eleven shields altogether appear on these tombs, representing the arms of Forester, Sinclair, Stewart of Dalswinton, and Wigmer; but here, again, we find that the accuracy of the Heraldry is not to be depended on, the coats, which are quartered, being frequently marshalled incorrectly, a circumstance which may, perhaps, be attributed to the sculptor having worked from the matrix of a seal given him to copy, which he did only too faithfully,

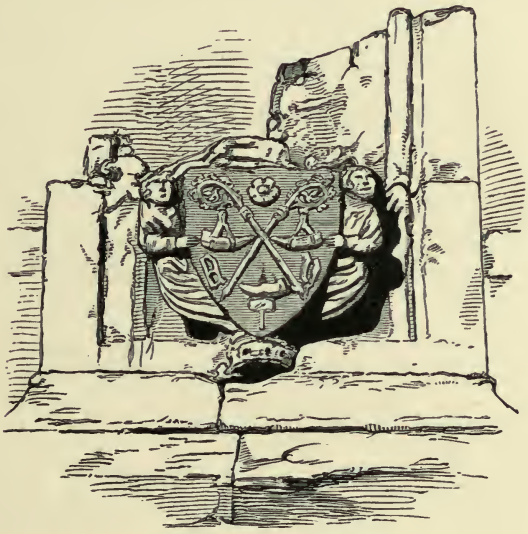

Fig. 65.

without making allowance for the fact that the arms were, of course, all reversed in order to give a correct impression of the seal. This also accounts for the shields and crests on the gable of the south transept of the church being all placed so as to look the wrong way. I am afraid sculptors in old days treated Heraldry with a very free hand. In Abbot Hunter's arms (Fig. 65), for instance, which occur on a buttress in Melrose, and were probably

executed about the beginning of the 16th century, the sculptor has, without the slightest authority, put on the shield not only the three hunting horns which might be supposed to belong to the name, but two crosiers in saltire (instead of putting one behind the shield, which was its proper place), the initials "A.H." below the two uppermost horns, and in addition to all this a rose in chief and a mason's mell in base for a rebus on Melrose. The poor shield, so overloaded with detail, naturally required supporters, and to this task two angels have been assigned, but besides these there is a crown placed immediately below the base point of the shield.

Another curious illustration of tombstone Heraldry occurs on the monument of James, 1st Earl of Douglas, and his wife Joanna, third daughter of James I., in the Old Church of Dalkeith. (Fig. 66.) Two recumbent figures rest on a table tomb, on the front and back of which are carved their arms, both in lozenge-shaped shields, one with the single Douglas coat, and the other bearing Douglas impaled with the royal arms. The shields are surmounted by jewelled circlets, and these lozenge-shaped escutcheons are again repeated on the end of the tomb, crossing part of the double cushions on which the heads rest. But with these examples I must stop, going into further detail with regard to monumental armory. It is sufficient to say that we find instances of it all over Scotland, both in impressive fanes and on lonely tombstones in the Western Isles, swept by Atlantic breezes, and now perchance covered with the moss of ages. In these latter stones the Heraldry is often but rude, as might be supposed, not only from the remoteness of their situation, but from the fact that the custom of bearing hereditary heraldic devices did not extend to the West of Scotland until a comparatively late

Fig. 66.

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period. We have, however, on the shields borne by the effigies of the buried chieftains distinct heraldic charges, *e.g.*, that of Maclean of Duart in Iona is charged with a dragon and a castle contained within a bordure more ornamental than armorial. It is, however, in the North that we find perhaps the greatest number and finest specimens of armorial tombs—Dunkeld, Elgin, St Machar's in Aberdeen, the chapel at Castle Sempill, Ellon and Aberdour in Aberdeenshire, all contain fine examples. In the West we have two exceptionally good monuments in Renfrew and Houston; the former commemorates Sir John Ross and his wife, Marjory Mure, and the latter Sir John Houston. They are both of the 15th century. With respect to richness of architectural design and general grandeur of effect, there is no monument in Scotland that can for a moment compare with that in what is called the Skelmorlie Aisle of the Old Church of Largs. It is late in date, and in consequence its heraldic decoration is not so important as it would otherwise have been. But mention must briefly be made of it. It was erected by Sir Robert Montgomerie of Skelmorlie in 1636, and consists of a stone gallery with an elaborately sculptured canopy over it, and a basement or vault below it, where the burials took place. The parapet of the gallery is richly carved with fine Renaissance scroll work, interspersed with coats of arms and monograms, The shields of arms are of the usual hollowed, curved, and scrolled character, typical of the period of erection. Some helmets, probably used at funerals, and a series of iron pennons with arms painted on them, hang round the walls of the aisle. It is of its kind as fine a monument as we have.

Before leaving churches, let me direct your attention for a moment to the fact that tombs are not the only examples of heraldic art con-

tained in them. We shall have to speak of windows later on, but at present I would point out how every part of the building was utilised to display armorial bearings, not merely of the knightly owner of the surrounding territory, to whom arms came as a natural right, but of ecclesiastics who were officially connected with the edifice. The most splendid specimen in Scotland of arms carved on stone in a church is to be found in the bishop's house at Elgin Cathedral, where the Mar and Garioch arms appear on a shield surmounted by a large helmet and crest of entwined snakes. (Fig. 67.) It is most boldly and effectively carried out, and is the work of an artist of no mean ability. It is curious how early the clergy adopted the practice of bearing these knightly insignia. I have alluded to Abbot Andrew Hunter's arms in Melrose, but we find many similar instances. In the ruined Abbey of Arbroath the arms of Walter Paniter—on a fess between two mullets in chief and a rose in base three manchets (Paniter meaning master baker) — who was head of that establishment from 1411-1443, are displayed on the capital of a pillar; and the arms of Bishop Cameron of Glasgow (1430) were carved on the great tower of the Episcopal Palace which stood immediately to the south-west of the cathedral of that city, with his name cut in Lombardic characters above them. But, indeed, there are hardly any pre-Reformation churches which have not had, at one time or other, armorial bearings on some part of their structure, whether they be those of ecclesiastics or knights. They were displayed on every kind of situation where it was thought they might prove effective: on corbels, buttresses, the capitals of pillars, in bosses on the roof, and on those curious and richly-decorated sacrament houses such as may be seen in the Old Church of Deskford,

FIG. 67.

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Banffshire, which contains two shields with the arms of Ogilvie and Gordon, and in the also ruinous Church of Kinkell. Fonts, too, were often decorated with coats of arms sculptured on the sides; that at Inverkeithing is a splendid specimen of the kind. Another fine one is in the vaulted fratery of Newbattle Abbey; and the Churches of Mackersey, Foulis Easter, and Selkirk also possess armorial fonts. Even altar-pieces were decorated armorially, as may be seen in that fine painting originally in Trinity College Church, and now in the dining-hall at Holyrood Palace. It was executed in the 15th century by Hugo Vandergoes, and contains, besides, representations of James III. and his Queen, Margaret of Denmark, the Holy Trinity and Sir Edward Boncle, the first provost of the church, the royal arms of Scotland, the same impaling Denmark, and the coat of Sir Edward Boncle.

After the Reformation, partly owing to the decline of Gothic architecture, partly to the general lowering of the artistic standard, and not a little to the popular feeling of the time, the custom of displaying armorial bearings in churches became less common; it was, in fact, looked upon with marked disfavour by the Church, and an Act of Assembly was passed in 1643 prohibiting "Honours or Arms or any such like monuments" being affixed to the walls of churches in honour or remembrance of any person deceased. This Act, like many of the sumptuary laws of still more ancient days, failed to achieve its purpose, and soon became a dead letter.

But, however much armorial bearings may have been used in the decoration of tombs and the ornamentation of churches, it is clear that a very obvious use of Heraldry would be in its application to domestic architecture. However gratified

a person might feel in the knowledge that after his death his arms would probably decorate his tomb, it must have been with a much greater sense of satisfaction that he saw them in situations where his eyes could rest on them every day of his life, and where they were associated with more cheerful associations than the somewhat depressing surroundings of a sepulchre, however imposing or elegant that might be. The introduction of systematic Heraldry into Scotland was almost simultaneous with a great improvement in castle building in the country, consequent on the prosperous state in which the community was during the 13th century, and on the large number of knights from England who came to seek their fortunes in the North. The old style of native fortress, constructed partly of wood and partly of turf and earth, disappeared in favour of the solid stone keep, with its wall of enceinte and flanking towers. I do not, however, know of any existing specimens of coats of arms in the remains of any 13th century castle. It is not at all unlikely that they were so placed; but any examples which have been found in the ruins of such erections can generally be referred to alterations of a later period. In the 14th century a very different state of affairs prevailed in Scotland; instead of advancing, as she had given promise of doing, everything was thrown back by the devastating wars of succession and independence. The material prosperity of the country received a severe check, from which it did not recover for long. The building of castles and churches was entirely suspended for many years, and it was only towards the latter part of the century that a few efforts in this direction began to be made. But matters did not go on at the point at which they had left off. There was a distinct retrogression, and instead of the

tower with its fair enceinte stretching round it, defended by curtain walls and flanking towers, the fortresses took the form of plain substantial keeps, designed more for the purpose of keeping the enemy out with the least expenditure of effort on the part of the defenders, than for any secondary purposes of comfort, not to speak of display.

But even in this unadorned and severe style of building the influence of Heraldry is at once visible. There is a good instance of this not far from our own doors. The property of Craigmillar was purchased from Sir John de Capella by Sir Simon Preston in 1374, and shortly after a strong keep was erected there. Above the entrance doorway —a plain rounded arch in the very solid wall— is a panel surrounded with a simple twisted moulding containing a heater-shaped shield *couché* bearing the Preston arms—three unicorns' heads. Above the shield is a tilting helmet with short capeline surmounted by a coronet, from which issues the crest of a unicorn's head. (Fig. 68.) On the curtain walls appear other panels with the same arms, but these are later in date. One certainly bears the initials "S.P.," and may possibly have been erected in Sir Simon's time; but this is by no means certain, as the helmet and mantling indicate a period a good deal subsequent to that of the arms on the keep, while another is dated so late as 1510. We may, however, take the first mentioned as contemporaneous with the erection of the keep, and they are, so far as I know, the earliest instance of arms on a castle which we have. Dundonald Castle in Ayrshire cannot, however, be much later in date, as we know that Robert II. died there in 1390. On the west wall of that building, which is certainly as old, if not older than the rest of the castle, there are five stones with coats of arms on them built in at

Fig. 68.

irregular intervals at the height of about thirty feet from the ground. Four of them are comparatively near each other, but the fifth is quite apart, near the south end of the wall, and below it is a curious stone with two lions, one passant, the other passant guardant, facing each other. The shields are fairly distinct, and two of them bear apparently the Stewart arms and the royal arms. They do not seem to have been inserted on any fixed principle, and they are altogether a very peculiar and singular instance of decorative Heraldry. For they are decorative; small as is their size, they form a distinct feature in the building, and seem to lighten up what would otherwise be a large and solid expanse of masonry. It is interesting to observe how this effect is obtained even by the insertion, without any definite plan, of such heraldic work. Many of you will no doubt have seen the picturesque court of the Bargello, in Florence, where one of the walls is thickly strewn with the armorial bearings of former Podestás of the town. In this case, too, there is no symmetrical arrangement of the shields, which have probably been inserted from time to time in whatever place was most convenient; but the effect now produced is very fine indeed, and is an admirable illustration of the decorative potentiality of heraldic stone work, even though applied in the most casual manner.

With the 15th century considerable improvements took place in the building of castles in Scotland. Additions were made to those previously existing, and new ones were made on an entirely different plan to that which had hitherto prevailed. They became less of the character of fortresses, though still built with the view of being stoutly and for long defended in case of need. More ornamentation was expended on the exterior, and in the interior the comforts of the occupants

was studied to a greater degree. This being so, it is not surprising to find a good many examples of the introduction of Heraldry for decorative purposes, both inside and outside the buildings. Outside we find panels with the arms of the founder and sometimes those of his wife, as may be seen in Whittinghame Tower, Newark, Craignethan, and some others. But such panels were not very common during this century, and when they are found on castles which pertain to the period, it will often prove that they are on portions which have been added at a later date. It was more in the inside of the houses than on the outside that heraldic decoration was introduced. Several fine fireplaces, with arms sculptured over them, attest the growing taste there was for a somewhat more cultured state of things than had obtained previously. In Elphinstone Tower, for instance, there are no less than seven shields thus displayed indicating various alliances in the family; and as an illustration of the practical use to which a knowledge of Heraldry can be put, I would point out that it is from these shields that we can ascertain the probable date of the building. Amongst them are the arms of Johnstone, and as we know that the heiress of Elphinstone did not marry a Johnstone till after her father's death at the battle of Piperdean in 1435, it is certain that it was subsequent to this period that the castle was built. In Comlongan Castle, Dumfriesshire, there is also a fine fireplace with the royal arms carved on a panel above the fireplace of the hall, but by no means in the centre, and at each side are two stone corbels, apparently designed to support nothing, with angels holding shields charged with the family arms. The corbels which really supported the joists of the flooring above have also had arms carved on them. Not only were armorial

devices carved on stone, but in some cases, as in Bothwell and Craigmillar Castles, the walls and vaults were covered with plaster work, which appears to have been painted with heraldic designs.

In the 16th century a distinct advance was made in every way in architectural art in Scotland. The influence of the Renaissance began slowly to make itself felt, and in no case is this better seen than in the forms of the shields which are carved on the masonry of the houses. Before this, we find nothing but heater-shaped shields, but now they become squarer in form, at first with sharp corners, and gradually assuming the scooped and hollowed shape, with ornamental scrolls at the various points, so characteristic of this period. The helmets alter from the tilting shape to that close-fitting hinged form to which I have previously alluded, and the mantling, though not yet of the heavy and voluminous type, which afterwards became fashionable, was freer and more convoluted than it was in earlier days. There is an armorial panel in excellent preservation which illustrates this very well on Redhall Castle, near Colinton, containing the arms of Sir Alexander Otterburn, who was Lord Advocate in 1529. The shield is nearly square, with slightly hollowed sides, and considerably larger than the crest and helmet together. The mantling is of a leafy character, extending on each side above the heads of the supporters, which are two cockatrices, with their tails intertwined below. The motto also appears on a scroll below, a new feature in heraldic representation.

Painted decoration in heraldic work became more common in this century, and some fine specimens yet survive, notably the timber ceiling in the nave of St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, which was put up by Bishop Dunbar between 1518 and 1531. The ceiling is divided into forty-eight squares, in

rows of four. At the intersection of each square there is a shield with a coat of arms in colour. The arms include those of the principal European potentates—St Margaret, a certain number of the Scottish nobility, the Pope, the Bishops of the different dioceses in Scotland, and some others. They are executed with considerable artistic skill, and the painting on them is vigorous and spirited. The coronets over the earls' shields are plain, jewelled bands without any fleur-de-lis, pearls, or other accessories over the circlet. In Marischal College in the same city, there was another beautifully decorated heraldic ceiling, though of considerably later date than that in the Cathedral. It was put up by Robert Paterson, Principal of the College, in the latter part of the 17th century. It contained thirty coats of arms, being those of the founder, George, 5th Earl Marischal, Paterson himself and his seven predecessors in the principalship, and twenty-one early benefactors of the College. It is melancholy to have to state that so late as 1840 this fine ceiling was in existence, though not in its original situation, and that it was then wantonly destroyed. The following description of it is given by Mr P. J. Anderson in a paper read to the Society of Antiquaries in 1889.

The ceiling was divided longitudinally into three rows of panels running north and south and separated by bands painted blue. The panels of the centre row, six in number, were slightly larger than those of the side rows, and each contained one shield, the upper portion or chief lying towards the north, at which end was the entrance to the room. Each shield was placed on a plain blue field encircled by a floral garland, the same for all the six. Behind the garland was a white background bounded by Renaissance scroll-work differing slightly in details throughout the series. This, again, was surrounded by the natural brown of the wood, broken only by two straight white labels containing the inscriptions. From the extremities of the upper label depended two ribbons, the ends of which were held by two nude, winged figures seated on part of the scroll-work. The panels of the side

rows each contained two shields lying east and west, the upper portions or chiefs turned away from the centre row. The field on which they were placed was in all cases red, with floral ornamentation, and the backgrounds and scrolls as well as the garlands were identical throughout the series. To correspond with the altered position of the shields the labels ran north and south.

From the illustration of the ceiling given in the "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries,"* it appears to have been a graceful piece of decoration, though its effect is produced not so much by the vigour and emphasis of the arms on the shields as by the accompanying ornament. This, of course, is what we might expect from its late date. The function of Heraldry was still understood, but the power of representing it with adequate force had been, to a large extent, lost.

Another heraldic ceiling I can hardly avoid mentioning: it is that in Queen Mary's Audience Chamber at Holyrood. It contains twenty-four panels, of which eleven contain royal monograms, and four have the arms of Henry II. of France, his son Francis, the Dauphin (husband of Queen Mary), James V., and Queen Mary herself; and, at the intersection of the panels, in the centre is the shield of Mary of Lorraine. We are enabled from this heraldic display to get at the approximate date of the ceiling. Henry II. died on the 11th July 1559, when Francis became king, and, of course, ceased to use the arms of Dauphiné, and would assume those of France impaled with Scotland. As Mary's marriage took place in April 1558, it must have been between that date and the middle of the following year that the roof was painted.

There are two other heraldic roofs to which I would briefly refer, as they illustrate the practice of applying this mode of decoration not merely to churches or official residences, but to ordinary domestic dwellings. In an old house in the High

* Vol. xxiii. p. 170.

Street of Linlithgow, now pulled down, which belonged to Robert Stewart, the Provost of that town, who died in 1615, two of the rooms had heraldic ceilings. One, measuring 19 feet by 14 feet, had nine beams forming eight divisions, which were occupied by the shields of fifteen barons and twenty-two earls, there being only a slight floral design at each end. The other room was 14 feet square, and had eight beams in the roof, the divisions being filled in with a conventional floral design interspersed with human heads, griffins, birds, &c. There are shields in the centre of five of the compartments, and the sixth has the name "Crafard" on a scroll. That considerable value was attached to this ceiling is evidenced by the fact that the Provost, in his will, leaves to his son Ludovic "the haill standard timber wark and irne wark festnet in the walls within my ludging."

I can only allude in the briefest manner to what is one of the finest painted roofs in Scotland, that in the long gallery at Earlshall, near Leuchars, and which has recently been carefully and reverently restored. (Fig. 69.) It was painted in 1620; it is bordered by a frieze running along the top of the wall, on which are inscribed many quaint conceits and proverbs in the "auld Scots tongue." Above this is the ceiling itself, which is flat-arched, and divided into no less than three hundred panels, alternately square and circular, and connected by scroll-work. The circular panels contain the arms of many Scottish families, including those of the owner of the mansion, Sir William Bruce. With these are intermixed some of those apocryphal coats, such as those of the nine worthies of Christendom, or, rather, the triumvirates representing the Heathens, Jews, and Christians, which are commonly met with in armorial MSS. of the period. The square panels are filled with repre-

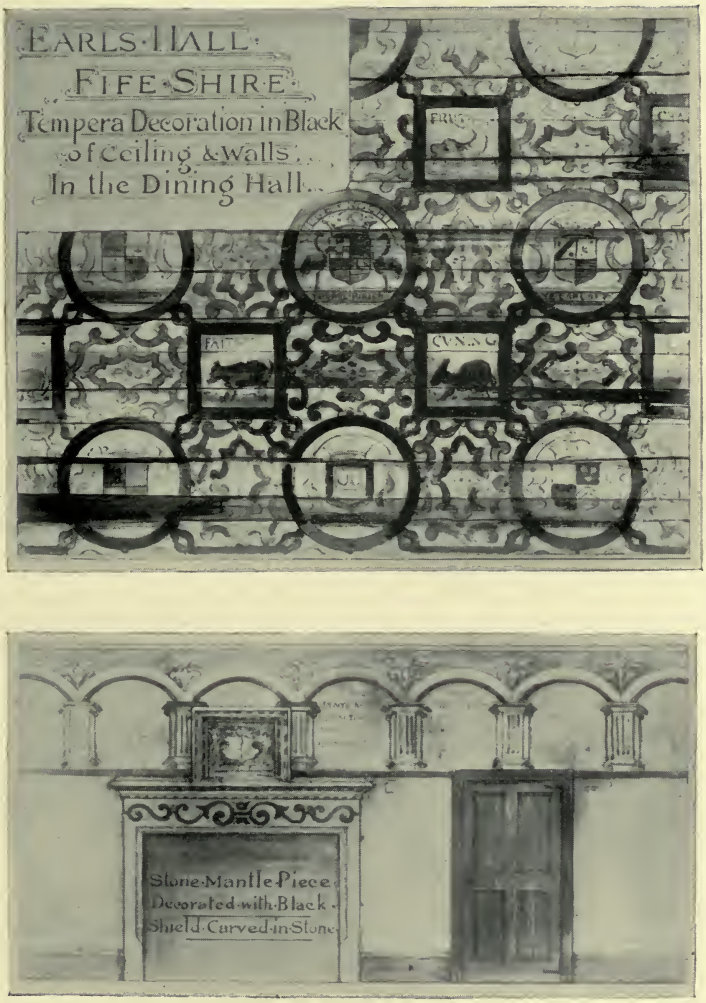

Fig. 69.

To face page 164.

sentations of most extraordinary animals, apparently taken from some medieval "bestiary." The whole decoration is carried out in black and white distemper, and forms an example of the application of heraldic work to domestic purposes which is quite unique. All these are notable ceilings; they do not exhaust the list of those which have existed or which yet survive. Among the latter may be mentioned those in the Chapel of Stobhall, Perthshire; Nunraw House, Garvald; and Balbegno Castle, Fettercairn. Representations of all those roofs will be found in the illustrated catalogue of the Edinburgh Heraldic Exhibition.

With the development of architectural detail which took place in the castles and mansions of Scotland in the 17th century, we find plaster roofs giving great richness to the decoration of the public rooms; and heraldic devices frequently occupied a prominent place in ceilings executed in this material. Many examples of this might be quoted, but I can only name Kelly (near Pittenweem) and Rosslyn Castles as good examples of what I mean. In that century, and even in the preceding one, it became common when carving the arms of the owner over the door of his mansion — a practice which, as we have seen, obtained from an early period—to add not only the motto which belonged to the achievement, but other adages generally taken from Scripture. As in the case of seals, the heraldic motto is not usually found in the earlier examples of architectural Heraldry. But in the 16th century its use was not infrequent. Sometimes it came in very happily, as in the case of a house at Linlithgow built in 1527 by Peter Cornwall of Bonhard. On it was carved the motto, "Ve big ye see varly" (we build, you see, warily), and below it was fastened a metal plate, on which was engraved

a bird with a stalk of *corn* in its mouth standing on the top of a *wall*, being a rebus on the name Cornwall, the same kind of conceit as we find on a stone of the same period at Craigmillar, where the name Preston is indicated by the representations of a press and a tun or barrel. But the Cornwall motto was not really intended to allude to the architectural achievements of its owners, but to the family crest, which was a Cornish kae hatching on the face of a rock. The crest and motto thus gave point to each other, and indicated that the bird had chosen its habitation so cautiously that it was inaccessible. Curiously enough, the motto is again repeated in Bonhard, the Cornwalls' country mansion, without the crest, but with the coat of arms impaled with Seton. It just as often happened, however, that no heraldic motto was given at all, and that the arms appear along with verses from the Bible or other moral adage. Thus at Tullibole Castle in Kinross-shire there is a finely cut panel over the doorway, of date 1608, with the arms of Halliday impaling Oliphant in the centre, and on one side the verse, "The Lord is onlie my defence," and on the other, "Peace be within thy walles and prosperitie within thy hovs."

We have not many specimens left to us of arms carved in wood, and this is hardly to be wondered at, because wood is but a perishable material and is more exposed to the ravages of the "improver" and "restorer" than solid stone and lime. Many of the wood carvings which remain to us either have been or are in churches, and almost all of them are in the more northern districts of the country. The old parish church of Duthie was of remarkably ornate character, and a large oak screen or panel, which is now in the Seafield Memorial Church at Grantown, and which was dis-

covered at the demolition of the house of Shillochan, is supposed to have belonged to it. It is of Scotch fir, 8 ft. by 6 ft. It has three rows of panels, the upper one containing eight shields, bearing the arms of Cumming of Altyre, Gordon of Huntly, Rose of Kilravock, Calder of that Ilk, Grant of Auchernach, Forbes of Auchintie, Leslie of Balquhan, and Lumsden of Cushnie. The shields are of 16th century type and are but rudely carved, the animals' heads, which appear as charges, being especially feeble in execution. They are, too, always placed *contourné*. The name of the family is put below each shield. Underneath the first row of panels is a long style carved with this verse, "Mark the upright man and behold the just, for the end of that man is peace." The next row contains eight panels with well-carved, conventional, ornamental patterns, among which may be noted a particularly good thistle. Then there is another style with the words, "The righteous cry and the Lord heareth them and delyvereth them out of all yair troubles." The third or lowest row has only seven panels of a slightly larger size than the others, and also filled with ornament of a similar character. There was a good carved fir pew in Strathdon Church containing five carved panels, on three of which were the armorial bearings of the Elphinstone of Bellabeg and the Forbes of Shellatur families. It is not very early in date, because, though one panel has the year 1597 cut on it, it is exactly in the same style and has the identical ornamentation of the others, which are dated 1636 and 1686. On the style below three of the panels are the mottoes plainly carved, "Dum spiro spero," "Sat amico te mihi fac."

Probably none of our old Scottish cathedrals were without heraldic carvings in wood. St Magnus, Kirkwall, had several. The arms of Patrick

Smith of Braco (Fig. 70), who married Bishop Graham's daughter, were carved on the episcopal throne, and amongst other arms carved on the pews of that church are those of Sinclair (Fig. 71), Sir Hew Halcro of that Ilk (1620) (Fig. 72), Sir William Craigie of Gairsay, and his wife, Margaret Halcro, of the same date, and Robert Stewart, Earl of Orkney, in 1593. All these are boldly and not unskilfully carved in panel, though it must be confessed that the lion in the Halcro shield is rather an odd looking animal; but notwithstanding an abnormally large head, it possesses considerable spirit and character.

But the finest heraldic display in wood which is to be seen in any church in Scotland is to be found in Kilbirnie, though, unfortunately, it is of late date. It consists of a large pew or gallery of oak, of which the central part is fourteen feet in length and slightly convex in shape. There are two wings, each 4 feet long, and over all is a richly carved canopy supported by four Corinthian pillars. The front of the gallery is divided into thirteen arcades, with as many coats of arms painted on them. The centre coat is that of the builder of the pew, John, first Viscount Garnock, Barclay and Lindsay quarterly with Crawford of Kilbirnie in an escutcheon of pretence. To the dexter side are six shields, which, in addition to two on the canopy, bear the arms of the eight "branches" of the Viscount, showing his descent on the maternal side. In this case the maternal descent comes first, as the estate of Kilbirnie came to the Viscount through his mother's father. In the same manner the paternal descent, the Lindsay lineage, is displayed on the sinister side and on the canopy, and in the centre of the latter is his full achievement, the shield bearing his own arms impaled with those of his wife, a daughter of the first

Fig. 70.

Fig. 71.

Fig. 72.

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Earl of Bute; the helmet, coronet, and mantling are duly displayed together with the motto and supporters. The whole arms are coloured in their proper tinctures and must have made a brilliant show when new. It is to be regretted that this imposing erection should be so late in date, having been made after 1703, as, in consequence, the heraldic work is far from being so impressive or even so decorative as it might otherwise have been. The shields are poor in shape and the charges feeble in execution. The artist who did the Heraldry evidently did not understand the subject, as, while over the shields containing the arms of noble families he has put coronets, those of commoners are surmounted by wreaths without either helmets or crests; they lie like stuffed sausages on the top of the shields, and are in this situation absolutely devoid of any meaning whatsoever. The whole Heraldry in the structure is an interesting example of how the capacity of artistic representation in this class of work was lost during last century; though, to do it justice, it did not quite sink to the low level at which it arrived in the early part of the present century.

Of carvings not in churches, or at least not now in churches, we possess a few good specimens. The Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen have a painted carving in oak of the arms of the Weavers dated 1510, azure three leopards' heads erased argent, each holding in its mouth a shuttle *or* and in the middle chief a tower triple towered of the second, a coat evidently derived from the achievement of the town itself. The same body have also another painted and carved panel with the arms of Dr Guild, Principal of Marischal College, 1640; and the University of Aberdeen is the possessor of two very fine armorial panels—one with the arms of Bishop Elphinstone, who died in 1514.

The shield is heater-shaped, so was probably executed not very long after his death; it is surmounted by a mitre with the fibulæ hanging down on each side; there is a bold motto scroll below, and just beneath the base point of the shield are three fishes in fret, a device taken from the arms of the University of which he was the founder. The body of the panel, which is about 41 in. by 30 in., is filled up, not, of course, with mantling, as there is no helmet from which it could depend, but with foliage, which issues from immediately below the shield, bearing buds and flowers, probably intended for lilies, as they also appear in the arms of the University. Besides these arms of its founder the University has also a curious carving of the royal arms, formerly in the Royal Mint in Exchequer Row, Aberdeen. It has below it the initials "V.R.," fondly supposed at one time to be those of William the Lion. They are probably those of William Rolland, who was Master of the Mint in the reign of James V. The arms themselves are somewhat out of the common; the unicorn supporters are reguardant, and the crest is a lion couchant guardant holding in its dexter paw a sword, and in the sinister a banner charged with a saltire.

These are some of the more important heraldic panels known to exist. There are others, but I have mentioned enough to show that Heraldry came into the province of the carver in wood as much as it did into that of the cutter of stone. Indeed, perhaps more so, as wood was more easily manipulated than stone, though the latter, as may be seen from the greater number of specimens which have come down to us, was the more lasting material.

Outside a house of olden time its walls showed on various points the family arms cut in stone, and proclaiming in no uncertain way the ownership to

the passer-by. Inside, the same arms were carved on wall panels or furniture, and formed an integral part of the domestic decoration ; and in churches, arms carved on mural tablets or displayed above a canopied tomb helped to keep in memory the name of the long buried knight or squire. But however powerful might be the chiselled stone, or however graceful the well-wrought panel, neither of them could approach in the way of artistic beauty the stained glass of the windows. But if wood is more perishable than stone, glass is frailer than either, and in view of the devastation and damage done to our churches, both by the enemies of the kingdom and by its own inhabitants (who should have known better), it is not surprising that very little armorial glass has come down to us, and what we do know is mostly domestic and not ecclesiastical. Whether coloured glass was made in Scotland in early times I cannot say, but it is stated by an old chronicler (Sir Robert Gordon) with reference to Gilbert, the Bishop of Caithness, who built Dornoch Cathedral, that "all the glass which served that church wes made by Sanct Gilbert his appointment beside Sideray (now Syderhall) two miles by West Dornoch." It is useless to speculate whether any of this glass, if coloured, was armorial, but it is extremely unlikely ; we have to come far down the course of time before we find any such. The oldest glass of the kind in existence, so far as I know, is not very far from where we are now—viz., in the Magdalene Chapel in the Cowgate. In the windows there are yet to be seen four shields of the square and scalloped shape, typical of the 16th century. They are set in circular panes. First we have the arms of Mary of Lorraine, widow of James V. and Queen Regent, the shield surmounted by a crown and surrounded by two branches with green leaves ; then the royal arms of Scotland, also surmounted

by a crown, and with two thistles on each side. Below these shields are two others, both within circular borders, which have contained an early Renaissance pattern, little of which now remains. The first of these shields bears the arms of Matthew Macqueen, the founder of the chapel, argent three savages' heads erased proper, and the second has the same arms impaled with those of his wife, Janet Rhind, *ermine* on a cross *gules* a cross crosslet fitchée *or*. The sinister chief quarter is, it may be noted, argent, but this may be accidental. The initials "M.M. J.R." are on each side of both shields, which are placed on an azure ground. For a complete account of the window, I may refer you to a paper by Mr George Seton, "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," May 9, 1887. Since that time, I am glad to say, the window has been thoroughly overhauled, the leading, which was loose, fixed, and an adequate protection put up behind to shield it from the wandering missile of the street urchin. It is a very interesting window indeed, and as its probable date is about 1595, it is the oldest piece of stained glass in Scotland that we have in good preservation. We have specimens—most of them in the National Museum here—of glass from the Abbeys of Melrose, Lindores, Dunfermline, and Cambuskenneth, and from Dunblane Cathedral, but they are merely fragments. Technically, also, it is interesting, the king's and queen's arms being executed in what is called the mosaic manner, while in the Macqueen arms we find, in the use of flashed blue glass laid upon a thick sheet of white glass, the beginnings of the enamel style. In the queen's arms, the colour has been removed by abrasion to produce the different effects for the various charges. There is no reason to suppose that the workmanship of these shields—which has been described by a good authority as

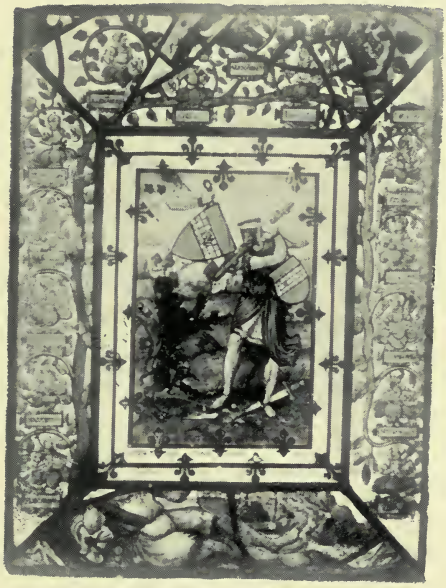

Fig. 73.

To face page 172.

"thoroughly sound and excellent"—is anything else but Scottish.

This can hardly be said of the next piece of glass to which I would direct your attention, but its interest to us consists in its connection with a Scottish name and Scottish arms. It is a pane of painted glass consisting of a central compartment, 9 inches by 6½ inches, surrounded by a border 3 inches wide. (Fig. 73.) In the former is represented a knight clad in the chain mail, helmet, and surcoat of the 13th century, contending with a lion which advances towards him on its hind legs. The knight wields a staff raguly, which he brandishes over his shoulder; a broken sword lies under his feet, and a shield is suspended by its guige round his neck bearing the fess chequey of the Stewarts. Above, a hand and arm vested in a sleeve, bearing three fleurs-de-lis, issues from the dexter chief holding a shield, on which is the same fess charged with an escutcheon bearing a lion rampant debruised with a staff raguly. On the border is represented at the foot a knight reclining, also clad in surcoat and mail, and from his chest issues a tree, which extends round the other three sides of the panel, bearing small figures of warriors issuing from flowers with their shields armorially charged in their hands and their Christian names on scrolls underneath; at the right-hand corner is the date 1574. There is in the British Museum a document purporting to be a grant by Charles VI. of France, in the fifth year of his reign (1385), of the coat of arms represented in the upper part of this glass, to Sir Alexander Stewart, bearing that he had "by force of baton and sword driven out of the double tressure of Scotland the false and filthy usurper and coward lion of Baliol and restored the Scottish Crown to the true owner." But this document is

evidently spurious. There is, however, a tradition referred to by Mark Noble in his "Memories of the House of Cromwell," and by Delamotte in his "Historical and Allusive Arms (1803)," to the effect that Sir Alexander Stewart, an ancestor of the Stewarts of Ely, an English family of the name, killed a lion with a stick in presence of Charles VI., but this Sir Alexander is rather a mythical personage. Whether the combat is intended to represent a real incident or is only symbolical, as the terms of the alleged grant would lead us to believe, the glass is no less interesting as bearing one of the most distinguished Scottish coats, and also as having a definite date attached; though, again, whether the border and the central panel are of the same date is open to doubt. Its history, however, can be traced back for many years, and it is now in the possession of Mr Albert Hartshorne.

Another piece of dated glass, which certainly belongs to Scotland, and was in all probability executed there, is a circular pane, about 10 inches in diameter, which was found in the drawer of an old table at Fyvie Castle, and is now in the window of the great staircase there. It bears the arms of Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie, on a shield surmounted by a helmet with heavy plume-like mantling, and crest and motto above. On a border is the name of the owner and the date 1599. A panel somewhat similar in style formerly existed in the window of an old room at Woodhouselee. It has, like the other, a heavily leaded circular border, and in the centre are depicted the arms of James VI. and his wife, Anne of Denmark, impaled, supported by a unicorn on the dexter side and a wyvern on the other. The crest is the ordinary lion sejant affrontée crowned with a crown several sizes too large for him, and holding in his

right paw a sword and in his left a sceptre. At the bottom, inside the border, is the inscription, "In My Defence. God me defend. Anno 1600."

Of 16th century glass still *in situ* I may mention two windows in the chapel at Stobhall, which contain two shields, one in a lozenge-shaped border with the arms of Hutton impaling Musgrave. This shield has straight sides and top, with pointed base, and from its shape might be taken to be older than it really is (after 1578) were it not for some scroll-work at the sides and top and bottom, which at once betrays its 16th century character. The other shield, with the arms of Drummond impaling Ruthven, is altogether different, and is rather peculiar; it is very long in proportion to its breadth, and the base lines form two obtuse angles with the sides and are brought to a sharp point. There is no helmet, mantling, or other ornamentation round it, and it is executed in such a style of severe simplicity that if it occurred alone it would be difficult to assign to it a very precise date. It is probably of Scottish manufacture, which the other is not, and is further remarkable from having no colour, the Drummond bars wavy and the Ruthven pallets being expressed simply by lead lines. It has been suggested that the work may, as it stands, be unfinished, and that the colours may have been intended to be added afterwards by a coat of transparent oil colour instead of duly vitrified stain.

One more example of armorial glass to which I can allude is a pretty panel which is in the possession of the Clerks of Penicuik, and which bears a representation of the arms of that family. It is dated 1675, and is executed in sepia, brown and yellow stain; the workmanship is almost certainly Scottish, and it is, for its period, a not ungraceful example of this kind of heraldic art.

It is sad to think of the amount of armorial glass that must have been at one time or another accidentally or wantonly destroyed in Scotland. At best it is but a frail and fragile method of commemorating the name and arms of a family or individual, though the temptation to do so is great, as there is no more beautiful and effective form of art, and it is peculiarly associated with everything that is stately and impressive. You remember the lines of the poet :—

"A casement high and triple arched there was,
All garlanded with graven imageries
Of fruits, and flowers, and bunches of knot grass,
And diamonded with panes of quaint device,
Innumerable of stains and splendid dyes,
As are the tiger moth's deep damasked wings;
And in the midst 'mong thousand heraldries,
And twilight saints, and dim emblazonings,
A shielded scutcheon blush'd with blood of queens and kings."

But while fire and mob and war, and worse than all, the hands of the "restorer" may do their best to obliterate all such landmarks of the past, a piece of glass may possibly outlast the memory of him in remembrance of whom it was originally executed, and as George Herbert quaintly says:

"Only a herald who that way doth pass,
Finds his cracked name at length in the church glass."

One other interesting application of Heraldry to purposes of ornament may be mentioned, as it is very different from any of those to which I have alluded. Not content with having coats of arms displayed on the windows and the walls of churches, our ancestors had them embroidered on the officiating vestments of their priests, altar cloths, hangings, cushions, book covers, etc. In the inventory of Glasgow Cathedral made in 1432* we find the following entry: "Item ii baukyngs de rurbeo

* "Registrum Glasguense." (Bannatyne Club), II. 332.

serico deauratae date ecclesie per cardinalem ut paret per ejus arma intexta."* The cardinal may possibly have been Walter de Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow 1368-1387. In the same inventory there is another entry of an altar cloth in green and red silk, "cum armis domini Cadyhou intextis," and there are cushions mentioned adorned with the arms of the Cardinal and of Bishop John Cameron, who had presented them to the Cathedral. A cope, too, is mentioned, "valde pretiosa de bruno damasceno auro," with the arms of John Stewart, Lord Darnley.† In Aberdeen, also, white cloths were presented to the Cathedral in 1436 by Bishop Gilbert Greenlaw, with the royal arms emblazoned on them.‡ There was a book cover belonging the same Cathedral decorated with silver clasps and the arms of good Bishop Elphinston ;§ while in the sacristy might be found some years after a stole with the arms and apparently the motto ("verbum") of Bishop Gavin Dunbar, who seems to have been fond of heraldic decorations on his vestments, as we find mention made of copes, chasubles, dalmatics, etc., embroidered with his coat of arms ;‖ not only so, but the church plate itself had similar embellishments engraved on it.¶

We have seen how armorial bearings were utilised as decoration, not only on perishable though beautiful glass, but on the more permanent materials of stone and wood, and how they lent a distinctive character to the architecture of church and castle, both outside and in. Not content, however, with carving their arms on their walls or mantelpieces, and painting them on their roofs,

* "Registrum Glasguense." (Bannatyne Club), II. 332.
† *Ibid.*, p. 333.
‡ "Registrum Aberdonense." (Spalding Club), II. 138.
§ *Ibid.*, p. 187. ‖ *Ibid.*, 193. ¶ *Ibid.*, I. p. lxxxix.

our ancestors found many other outlets for their display. Door-knockers have always been objects which lend themselves to the invention of the artist, and there are many magnificent examples of how decorative these can be made, both on the Continent and in England. Many of you, no doubt, remember that splendid knocker in the form of a griffin on the west door of Durham Cathedral. In Scotland there is no reason to

Fig. 74.

Fig. 75.

doubt that door-knockers were in keeping with the pretensions of the castles, and as the country got richer these would get more and more elaborate, though it must be kept in view that the instrument most used in this country for announcing an arrival at a door was not a knocker, but a tirling pin. I would, however, direct your attention to three

knockers which are yet in existence, and which bear on them the arms of the owners of the houses to which they belonged. One was on Muness Castle (Figs. 74, 75), in Unst, Shetland, and was exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries on 10th January 1881, when a paper on it was read by Major Bruce Armstrong. It appears to have been cast in brass or bronze, and the arms and lettering to have been afterwards engraved with a tool. The knocker-plate—the part which is fixed to the door—is in the form of a shield, of oblong shape, with rounded base and a wavy top. The shield is surmounted by a helmet and crest, the former full faced and ingeniously contrived to form the hinge for the knocker itself, which is in the form of a dolphin. There is a heavy scrolled mantling extending considerably below the base of the shield on each side, and below, in the centre, is a piece of leaf-like ornamentation. The crest is a hand holding an oval charged with a heart between two wings, and on the shield are engraved the arms of Gray and Bruce quarterly, with the name ANDRO BRUS above, and the motto *Omnia vincit amor* below, between the arms and the rim of the shield. Andro Brus was the second son of the builder of the castle, Laurence Bruce of Cultmalundie, Admiral Depute of Orkney and Zetland in 1577. The castle was finished in 1578, and it is probable the knocker was cast shortly thereafter. The arms are but rudely done, but this may be accounted for by the somewhat intractable nature of the material in which they are worked. The Heraldry, too, is not without reproach, as the Gray arms are put first and fourth, the fact being that these represent an heiress of that name who brought the Cultmalundie Estate into the Bruce family, and they should therefore have been carried in the second and third quarters.

Another knocker I have mentioned is on the door of the main entrance to Fyvie Castle, and here the arms of Alexander Seton, Lord Fyvie, and Earl of Dunfermline, are hammered in brass on the iron of which the knocker is mainly constructed. It hangs—a straight bar of iron about 7 inches long, terminating in a curve, which forms the hammering point—from a bent bar or pin, which is fastened on each side to an iron shield having an ornamental pattern down the sides, and with the cinquefoils of the Hamiltons and the crescents and the fleurs-de-lis of the Montgomeries and Setons jutting out from it alternately, a form of ornamentation which occurs frequently throughout the various architectural details of the castle itself. The shield has the square ears and incurved sides and top, typical of the end of the 16th century. The arms on it are peculiar, being a fess charged with three cinquefoils, and in base three crescents 2 and 1, the whole within a double tressure flory counter-flory. In designing this achievement, the Earl seems to have been a law unto himself in the matter of its Heraldry, and to have meant it for a combination of the arms of Seton and Hamilton of Sanquhar, his mother having been a daughter of that house. The motto *Semper* is on a strap running from the centre of the upper line of the shield to the top of the knocker.

The annexed illustration (Fig. 76) represents a knocker which was not long ago discovered in an old house in the village of Meiklour, and formerly belonged to Meiklour House, and bears on the top the initials of Sir James Mercer and his wife, Dame Jean Stewart. Below, perforated in the iron, are the arms of Mercer of Meiklour, three besants between as many crosses patée in chief and a mullet in base, and those of Stewart of Grandtully, or

rather an adaptation of them, a fess chequey between three mullets in chief and a galley in base. You will observe that the shields are by no means the same size, and that the date 1682 is conspicuously displayed below them.

A still more ingenious application of Heraldry to the architectural features of a house occurs, in some instances, in the case of the rain pipes which extend down the walls from the eaves. I cannot quote any of very old date, but in the Marquess of Bute's house of Mount Stuart, the rain pipes taken from the old house, which was built about the middle of last century, bear an Earl's coronet at the top, and at the junction of the different lengths of the pipe they are fastened to the wall by metal straps adorned with the Stewart fess, the Crichton lion, and other heraldic devices. I do not know of any other instance of this decoration in Scotland, but it may be seen carried out very fully at St John's College, Cambridge.

Fig. 76.

I am not aware whether there are any armorial weathercocks still extant in Scotland, but this was a peculiarly decorative feature in old castles, and one which lent itself very obviously to the display of armorial bearings. They are met with very frequently on the Continent, and there is a fine example in the Chateau of Amboise in the valley of the Loire. The nearest approach to one which

I have seen in Scotland is on the schoolhouse at Dolphinton, where there is a vane in the shape of a dolphin, being, of course, a rebus on the name of the village; but though it looks old, I do not know what its age really is.

Another out-of-the-way application of Heraldry to external decoration which I may mention is a rather singular one. At Edzell Castle, in Forfarshire, the large pleasure garden is surrounded by an elaborately decorated wall. I need not enter into any detailed description of it, save only to mention that it is divided into compartments, ten to eleven feet wide, and that every alternate compartment contains three rows of small recesses about 16 inches square, arranged chequerwise with three stars above, pierced in the centre as shot holes. This evidently is a unique adaptation of the Lindsay arms, which are gules, a fess chequey argent and azure, with three stars in chief of the second.

LECTURE VI.

LECTURE VI.

ARMORIAL MANUSCRIPTS, ETC.

From what I have said in my last lecture, you will see how largely Heraldry entered into the personal life of our ancestors: stone, plaster, wood, glass, and iron, all lent themselves as vehicles for the display of arms; so that, turn their eyes where they would, the cognisance of their family was ever before them. Nor was there the least flavour of pretentiousness about this. The arms of a family were held to be an honourable and cherished possession, and it was thought good to keep them in evidence as much as possible, partly on account of the fine decorative effect which they had, but also, no doubt, to some extent on account of the moral lessons which they inculcated, for was it not a moral lesson to look daily on an escutcheon which had been handed down from generation to generation, and which in many cases bore upon its face the memory of some historic deed or family tradition? We can, indeed, hardly understand how deep a hold this fondness for heraldic display took of our ancestors. It did not merely show itself in the blazoning of their achievements on the walls and furniture of their castles; it entered both into their studies and their amusements. When libraries were smaller and books were more valuable possessions than, as a whole, they are in our day, they were better taken care of, and the possessors of any considerable number of volumes frequently had a book-stamp with their arms, which they embossed on the outside of their books. There are naturally

no very ancient specimens of these *super libros*, as they are termed, but we know that several Scottish libraries in the 16th century were adorned with them. We have examples of the book-stamps of Queen Mary, James VI., the Regent Moray, James Hepburn, the Earl of Bothwell, the ill-fated husband of Queen Mary (Fig. 77), George, 7th Lord Seton (Fig. 78), James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow (Fig. 79), Bishops Schevez, Gordon (Fig. 80), Reid, and Hamilton.* It is unlikely that these exhaust the number of those who possessed such stamps, but comparatively few of the books which were in 16th century libraries have survived to this day. Of the more modest symbol of ownership which finds its expression in the book-plate or label to be pasted inside a volume, we have no Scottish example which we can definitely refer to a date earlier than 1639. The book-plate of James Riddell of Kinglass, which has a broad shield with his own arms impaling those of his wife, Elizabeth Foulis, has that date upon it; and the next is that of Archibald, 9th Earl of Argyll, dated 1681, a plate which is remarkable for having the tinctures indicated by their initials and not by tincture lines. Later examples we need not allude to; the cult of the book-plate has had a remarkable revival in late years, and threatens to become more a vehicle for the gratification of the collector than a *bona-fide* index to the ownership of a book.

I have said that Heraldry entered even into the amusements of our ancestors, and I would illustrate this by a reference to the very curious custom which at one time obtained of using heraldic playing cards. This was not confined to Scotland by any means, as we find similar packs in England, France, Germany, and Italy. A Scottish pack was exhibited at the Heraldic Exhibition containing the

* See "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries," v. 140.

Fig. 77.

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Fig. 78.

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Fig. 79.

Fig. 80.

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arms of the peers arranged as follows:—In the suit of clubs, the 1, 2, and 3 contain the arms of eleven barons; the 4 and 5, six viscounts; the 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, sixteen earls; the knave is euphemistically styled prince, and is represented by the arms of the Marquis of Montrose; the queen, by those of the Duchess of Buccleuch; and the king, by the royal arms of England. In spades, 1, 2, 3, and 4 have the arms of fifteen barons; 5, three viscounts; 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, sixteen earls; the knave or prince, the Marquis of Atholl; the queen, Duke of Gordon; and the king, the arms of France. In hearts, the 1, 2, and 3 have the shields of twelve barons; 4 and 5, six viscounts; 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, sixteen earls; the knave, the Marquis of Douglas; the queen, the Duke of Hamilton; the king, Scotland. In diamonds, the 1, 2, 3, and 4 bear the cognisances of fifteen barons; 5, three viscounts; 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, seventeen earls; the knave has the arms of three earls; the queen, those of the Duke of Queensberry; and the king, Ireland. There are two cards in the pack without values; one the official arms of Lyon impaled with those of Sir Alexander Erskine, and the other the arms of the City of Edinburgh. Below the latter is the inscription, *Phylarcharum Scotorum Gentilicia insignia illustria a Gualtero Scot Aurifice Chartis historiis expressa. Sculpsit Edinburgi Anno Dom. 1691.* Beside each of the shields represented in the cards there is a numeral, which indicates the precedence of its owner among peers of his own rank. This is not the only Scottish pack of heraldic playing cards in existence, as Lady Charlotte Schreiber has reproduced another in her work on "Playing Cards," and there is yet another set in the Print Room of the British Museum. The authoress to whom I have just referred also gives examples of similar English packs all about the same date—the latter part of the 17th century.

I have endeavoured to show you to what a large extent Heraldry entered into the life of our ancestors. Many instances I have had to leave untouched. I could have told you of furniture which was covered with armory, such as dower-chests, chair-backs, settles, cast metal grate-backs; of elegant china, too, showing the arms in all the brilliance and delicacy of colour; of needle-work, with its tale of patient industry, by the ladies of the household; and of plate, which we still continue to engrave armorially, but generally very badly.

One rather singular application of Heraldry to decorative purposes, however, I may mention. In a collection of antiquities formed by Mr John Hudson of Cashellgate, in the County of Nottingham, in the early part of the century, was an iron key, of which the handle consists of the coat of arms, supporters, coronet, and motto of the Viscounts Preston. Now, since Sir Richard Graham, the third baronet of Esk, was created Viscount Preston in 1680, and the title became extinct on the death of his grandson in 1739, it is clear that the key must have been made between those dates, but how it found its way down to Nottingham, and where it is now, I have not the least idea. The other example to which I have referred is an archer's bracer in the possession of Sir Noël Paton. This is a curved piece of ivory worn above the coat sleeve on the left forearm to take the impact of the bow-string when loosed in shooting. It bears the arms of the Huntly Gordons.

Coming to the consideration of the armorial MSS. of Scotland, we must at once confess that we have not any which can boast of the antiquity of several English rolls of arms. The MS. known as Glover's Roll, from the name of the Herald who copied it in 1586, dates from about 1240, and con-

tains 218 coats of the English knights of the period, and there are several 14th century rolls which have been published. We have nothing, however, in Scotland earlier than Sir David Lindsay's MS. This is not only the earliest, but also the most important of all the Scottish rolls of arms, being, as it is, the work of one of the most distinguished holders of the office of Lyon. That is to say, there can be no doubt the work was executed under his supervision, a supervision which was occasionally slack, as there are mistakes in the representation of some of the shields; but, of course, it is not likely that Lindsay executed the work with his own hand. From an inscription over the arms of Sir David, at the end of the book, we learn that its date was 1542, and though this inscription is evidently a later addition, and was probably put there by Sir James Balfour in 1630, the internal evidence corroborates the assertion. But although we depend for the date upon later authority, the authorship of the book was indicated clearly enough at the time it was compiled, as the words "Lyndesay of the movnth the auctor of yis present buke" were originally written above his own arms on folio 60. These have been subsequently painted over with the name and arms of Lyndesay of Crocebaskat, so that the former inscription is not found in the reproductions of the MS. which have been published.

The collection of arms thus made by Lindsay formed in all probability the official Register of Arms, and remained in the custody of the successive Lyons (as we find the arms of five holders of the office added at the end) till the time of Sir James Balfour, who had it formally recognised by the Privy Council, as appears from a docquet that "this booke and register of Armes done by Sir David Lindsay of the Month, Lyone King of Armes

regn. Ja: 5. contenes 106 leaves, which register was approvine be the Lordes of his Majesties most honourable Privie Counsale at Haleruidehous 9 December 1630, James Balfour, Lyon: Thomas Drysdale, Islay Herald, Register." When Balfour was deprived of office about 1654 by Cromwell, he appears to have carried off this and other MSS. with him to Denmiln, where they remained till the Faculty of Advocates, on 14th December 1698, secured his MSS. for £150, although the Heraldic MSS. (probably for reasons) are not mentioned in the Catalogue. The workmanship of this MS. deserves a few words of notice. In artistic excellence it cannot compare with some of the English armorials, or even with some Scottish MSS. of later date. The drawing is carefully finished, though rather lacking in spirit, and the colours employed are good, but often somewhat thick and heavy, in this respect markedly in contrast with some of the succeeding armorials of the century. The book begins, after the fashion of all such works of the period, with a whole series of mythical arms, such as those of John, Prince of the Great Inde, the three kings of Cologne, David, King of Israel; Joshua and Judas Maccabeus, Charlemagne, Arthur and Godfrey of Boulogne, Julius Cæsar, Alexander the Great, and Hector, Prince of Troy. These are followed by the kings of Europe, and then the Scottish series opens, oddly enough, with John Baliol, the crown above whose shield is represented as broken in two. Then we have the arms of Queen Margaret, followed by those of the Stewart queens of Scotland down to Mary of Guise, all drawn on lozenge-shaped shields with crowns above. (Fig. 81.) After them come the nobility of Scotland, and then a large array of commoners. There are generally four shields on a page, with peaked base and hollowed and bulged sides. Those of the

Fig. 81.

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dukes and earls are surmounted by jewelled circlets. Additions have been made from time to time by the insertion of arms, sometimes in the middle of the page between the four shields, and sometimes on the verso of the folio. It is desirable that these additions should be clearly distinguished from the original coats, as though a large proportion were probably added not long after the execution of the MS., yet several are of even later date than those added in blank leaves at the end, one group of which dates *c.* 1580-84, and another 1587-91.

The display of the arms of the queens, with corresponding tablets containing inscriptions, is the most vigorous work in the MS., and is excellent. The writing, both in these tablets and in others which occupy separate pages, and in the inscriptions above the different shields, is good throughout, there being at least three different hands in the original part of the work, the first writer being quite a skilled caligraphist.

From the undoubted fact that Sir David Lindsay was responsible for this armorial, and from the *imprimatur* of the Privy Council having been obtained for it by Sir James Balfour, it may be looked upon as practically an official record. Of course this does not make it infallible, but wonderfully few errors have crept into it. Sometimes he adopts a system of blazoning which does not commend itself to the modern herald, accustomed as he is to precision in all heraldic details. Lindsay, for instance, makes all coats which bear pallets or bars paly or barry of six, probably because it was easier to divide a shield into six rather than into seven parts.

We have to pass over a good many years before we meet with the next Scottish armorial. It is one which seems to have been executed for some member of the house of Hamilton, probably James,

Lord Hamilton, second Earl of Arran and Duke of Chatelherault, as from internal evidence we may presume that its date is between the period of the death of Queen Mary's first husband, the Dauphin of France, and that of her marriage to Darnley, 1561 and 1564. The MS. is now in the Heralds' College, London, and on the title-page is the autograph of S. Morganus Colman, and on folio 90, S. Math. (*sic*) Colman. Morgan Colman was a writer who published, in 1608, "The Genealogies of King James and his Wife, Queen Anne, from the Conquest." He is said to have been steward to the Lord Keeper Egerton, and we know that he petitioned unsuccessfully for the office of Herald. How the armorial came into his possession we do not know, nor have we any information as to who actually compiled or executed it. It is unlikely that it was done by any of the officials of the Lyon Court. It is more probably English work; the execution is particularly free and vigorous, a slight pencil outline with washes of colour being employed. There are quaint rhymes given relative to the royal alliances, similar to those which occur in the Forman MS., to be mentioned immediately. A noteworthy feature in the armorial is the almost equal footing on which the house of Hamilton is placed with the Royal House. The MS. commences with the royal arms fully emblazoned with all the exterior ornaments of the shield, including supporters, each holding a flag. This is followed by a series of crowned lozenges, on which are displayed the arms denoting royal alliances. Similarly on page 18 the Hamilton arms are emblazoned, with supporters also holding spears with flags, and followed by a like series of crowned lozenges showing the Hamilton alliances. (Fig. 82.) The arms of the nobility and a few Highland coats follow. They have all the exterior ornaments of the shield, but there are some curious variations from

Fig. 82.

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the other 16th century MSS. in the mottoes, crests, and supporters. Thus Lord Oliphant's supporters (elephants) are represented as camels, the dogs of Lord Somerville as field mice, and in the case of the Lord of the Isles his supporters are given as two hairy savages without heads, which are lying with closed eyes on the ground at the feet of their former possessors; the crest also is given as a centaur instead of a raven and rock. A free copy of this MS., probably executed in England at the end of the 16th century (James VI. being described as "Carolus Jacobus that now liveth beinge Kinge of Skotes") was shown at the Edinburgh Heraldic Exhibition. It is in the collection of Mr Scott Plummer at Sunderland Hall. There is also another copy of the MS. in the Lyon Office, which belonged to my predecessor, Dr Burnett.

There is an armorial in the Advocates' Library of very much the same date as the one of which I have been speaking. It is believed to have been executed under the supervision of Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie, who was Lyon from 1555 to 1567. It consists of two parts, the first twenty leaves commencing on the verso of folio 2, with the full achievement of the royal arms, and these are again repeated on folio 22, followed by "the armes of alliance betwix the Dolphin of France and Marie Quene of Scotland." This seems the original portion of the work, and was probably executed at the time of Mary's marriage with Francis, and may very likely be the original referred to by Sir James Balfour in his MS. roll of arms in the Advocates' Library (34.4.16), entitled "Scottish Cotts of Armes. . . . ye cotts of 267 knights, landed gentlemen of ye kingedome of Scotland as they were presented to our Soverane Lady Marie by the Grace of God Quene of Scotland and douager of france by Sir . . . Forman Lyone Kinge of Armes in Anno

1532," for, though the arms do not altogether agree, Sir James was not very accurate; as, for example, when he gives the above date as 1532, ten years before Mary's birth. This part of the MS. contains the arms of earls, lords, and commoners, differing from the Lindsay MS. in giving the full achievement of the noblemen, namely, helmet, wreath, crest, mantling, motto and supporters, and also in limiting them to the then existing peers, so that it is an armorial for its own date only. The shields of the commoners are represented *couché*, somewhat oblong in shape, with peaked base and surmounted by helmet, wreath, and mantling, but no crests.

The part of the MS. which is later in date, though occurring first in the volume, begins, as I mentioned, with the royal achievement, followed by a series of effigies of kings and queens, with the arms of the former displayed on their surcoats, and the paternal arms of the latter on their skirts. They stand on grass, below which are ornamental tablets containing quaint rhymes or legends describing who they are. The series differs from that of the Lindsay crowned lozenges, in containing the alliances of the Bruce kings. (Fig. 83.) The drawing, though somewhat rude and sketchy, is effective, the expression in the faces of the kings and queens being cleverly got, though the artist's idea of beauty of feature has not been high. The colouring is put on in washes, and is generally good, the use of a different tint to produce a shaded pattern on the mantlings and elsewhere giving a lightness wanting in Lindsay. There are certain peculiarities in the treatment of the charges; thus the chief always occupies half the field. In the Menteith coat the chevron is drawn like the couples of a house; in the Rothes coat the bend is depicted like a sleeve; the elephants of Lord Oliphant resemble rhino-

Fig. 83.

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ceroses, etc. The names are in Roman capitals, and are coarsely done.

There is a MS. very similar to this in the British Museum (Harleian MS., No. 115), its emblazonments being evidently by the same hand. It contains (1) effigies of the kings and queens as in Forman; (2) the Hamilton arms on shields derived from the Hamilton MS.; (3) the earls and barons as in Forman, but without the commoners' arms. In subject, design, and treatment, even to minute particulars, the emblazonments of this MS. corresponding to those in the one which we assign to Forman are practically identical, so that its independent value is not great. In the written part, however, this close resemblance ceases, the inscriptions under the effigies being quite different, the family names being added in the case of earls and lords, and the spelling and form of expression in the mottoes, etc., being altered to the English form, thus showing that the writing, at all events, was probably done in the South.

The next armorial to which I would direct your attention is, perhaps, after Sir David Lindsay's, the most important MS. of the kind. Most unfortunately it is generally known by a name which ought never to have been conferred on it. Alexander Nisbet, in an evil hour, called it Workman's MS. from the fact that it was once the property of James Workman, who was Marchmont Herald and Herald Painter in 1597, and who wrote his name on it. But this was written more than thirty years after the execution of the book, and not only so, but Workman himself was the author of an armorial which should bear his name, and which has critical notes in it by Sir James Balfour. As a matter of fact, it was probably prepared as a book of every-day reference for the Lyon Office by Sir Robert Forman, and should therefore be styled the Forman Lyon Office MS.

It has on the verso of one of the leaves the date 1566 in large red figures, and there is every reason to accept this as the date of its execution. It is founded on the Forman (Advocates' Library) MS., supplemented from Lindsay, containing the effigies of the kings and queens as in the former, and the mythical coats and the arms of European sovereigns as in the latter, with additions. It is a small, thick quarto volume, the original size of the leaves having been $6\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; but they have, at a comparatively recent period, been carefully inlaid, and the whole volume substantially bound. It contains several obsolete peers' coats taken from Lindsay, and the Hamilton alliances taken from the Hamilton MS., and many coats unrecorded in it at the period of its inception were added from time to time, so that it forms a general register of arms—though with many omissions—down to the institution of the Lyon Register in 1672, or even later. In quoting this MS. as an authority for arms, it is important, therefore, that the original coats should be distinguished from those added to or altered in it. As regards execution, the original coats are apparently by the same hand and in much the same style as those in the Advocates' Library Forman, so that the remarks on the latter apply equally to this, the main difference being that everything is on a smaller scale, the Advocates' Library MS. being a folio, while this is a quarto. The writing in this is, however, in a distinct current hand of the period and not in Roman capitals; but in many cases the names have been altered, written over, and in various ways obliterated so as, in some cases, to be quite undecipherable. Many emblazonments have been painted out, and other coats substituted on the top of them, and not only have additions been made on the versos, but at least half-a-dozen leaves have been inserted in different places.

It can hardly be called a tidy or very artistic MS., but the number of coats actually given is very great, no less than seven hundred and forty-one coats of the minor barons and gentlemen being portrayed, in addition to those of the royalties and peers. MS. blazons of the latter are given at the beginning of the volume, and of the former at the end, but this is probably an addition of a later date.

There is a MS. in the Lyon Office which is entitled on the back "Kings' and Nobilities' Arms, Vol. I.," and which is thought to have been executed under the supervision of Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet soon after he entered in office in 1568; but there are really few or no indications which help us to fix its precise date, but from a comparison of it with the Forman (Lyon Office) MS., there seems little doubt that it is of later date than that volume, which was executed in 1566, and, as Forman died in 1568, it is unlikely that he had compiled another armorial so similar, yet dissimilar. Again, two other MSS. derived from it, the le Breton MS. and the Dunvegan MS., afterwards referred to, were undoubtedly made during Lindsay of Rathillet's term of office, and were copied from this MS. and not from any of Forman's, so that there is a strong probability that its period is contemporaneous with that of Lindsay. It is largely founded on the Forman (Lyon Office) MS., but with important additions to the commoners' arms. Many of these additions appear in the latter MS., but whether they were copied into it from this one, or *vice versa*, it is difficult to say; perhaps some one way and some the other. The mythical arms, those of the European sovereigns, and the effigies of the kings and queens are omitted; but in their place we have a series of crowned lozenges containing the arms of the queens similar to those in Lindsay the first. The execution of the work is extremely rude, but at the same time the

effects are most cleverly got, with apparently the most inadequate means; thus, with a few seemingly careless dashes of the pen and a little touch of colour a most spirited lion rampant is produced. The colours used were very inferior, as in many cases the yellows have almost—indeed, altogether—disappeared, and the blue has changed to a purple or lake tint; the writing, however, is very bold and distinct. This is the earliest of a group of three armorials successively derived from one another.

The second of this group is a MS. which belongs to the Heralds' College in London, and is usually known as the le Breton Armorial. It is handsomely bound in dark red morroco, with the arms and name of "Hector le Breton, Sieur de la Doineterie, Roy d'Armes de France," stamped on it. It was presented to the Heralds' College by George Holman of Warkworth, at the instance of Gregory King, Rouge Dragon, on the 6th of July 1686. Throughout the volume there are occasional notes in French, no doubt by its original owner, and many subsequently added in English. From internal evidence it appears to have been executed between 1581 and 1584. The arms of the peers and commoners (though the former have been brought up to date) have evidently been taken directly from the Rathillet MS., for though the pages do not follow the same order, the arms do so to a great extent. Instead of the crowned lozenges, however, of that armorial, there have been substituted the series of effigies of the kings and queens from the Forman (Lyon Office) MS. The workmanship is in the quaint and vigorous style of the Rathillet armorial, but there are many points of resemblance to the Forman MS., though it is not likely by the same hand. It has, besides, two youthful portraits of King James VI. as a boy of about 14—one on horseback, the other seated on a throne. (Fig. 84.) It has also a

Fig. 84.

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crowned thistle with initials I. R. Both the drawing and colouring are ruder than the Forman MS., but better than the Rathillet MS., though not quite so spirited as either. Most of the writing is in the uniform current hand of the period, but the names to the commoners' arms are in a peculiar small Gothic printing letter, and have evidently not been written by one who was acquainted with Scottish names of families or places, as they appear in the most extraordinary disguises. Thus the name Cairns of Orchardtown is metamorphosed into Lairme of Othartoun, and there are many similar mistakes. Some of the inscriptions are from Lindsay, possibly through the Rathillet or Forman MS. One of these has been considerably mangled in altering it to suit King James instead of Queen Mary. In it he is styled a king "prudent, of young yers, wys as Salamone, and to wse young Joseas."

The latest of the group of the three armorials above mentioned is one in the possession of Mac-Leod of Dunvegan; its date may be set down as between 1582 and 1584. Besides the peers' arms, it contains 241 commoners' coats. The pages at the end of the volume are used as a *Liber Amicorum* containing autographs of several envoys of rank to the Court of James VI. One entry by Du Bartas, the Poet and French Ambassador to Scotland, who died in 1590, is inscribed to William Shaw, Master of the King's Work, who was in all likelihood the possessor of the book. He was a man of varied accomplishments, and is chiefly remembered as the restorer of Dunfermline Abbey, in which edifice there was a monument erected to his memory by Queen Anne, the wife of James VI., with a highly eulogistic inscription. The armorial is, from an artistic point of view, one of the finest we have; the drawing and finishing are extremely minute and delicate, involving an amount of labour, however, scarcely commen-

surate with the result. The animal supporters are rather plethoric in habit, and have not the vivacity and character of those in the earlier and older armorials. The tinctures are in opaque colours, and the metals are laid on in gold and silver, remarkable for their perfect condition. No names or mottoes were appended to the coats at the time of their execution ; those which now appear must have been added long after by an unskilled hand, as they are often wrong, and many coats are still unnamed.

But the most artistic of all our Scottish armorials is one in the possession of Mrs Hamilton Ogilvie, called the Seton MS., from its having its binding —which is apparently the original calf—stamped with the arms of George, 5th Lord Seton. While the arms on the cover are his, it is most likely that the MS. was commissioned by his son Robert, the 6th Lord, as on the title-page there is a small panel inscribed R. L. Seton, 1591, and in a design above, within an interlaced circle, is a monogram composed of the initials R. L. S. and M. M., the latter being those of his wife, Margaret Montgomery, daughter of Hugh, 3rd Earl of Eglinton. At the top of this page the name of "James Espleine (Marchmont *alias*), Roxburgh Herald," is written, and the MS. is often alluded to by Nisbet in his Heraldry as Espleine's MS. There is a fine series of effigies of sixteen kings and fourteen queens, from Fergus I. to James VI., with their arms, the faces being finished with great delicacy (*see Frontispiece*). A curious drawing occurs, entitled "The Habit of a Herald," representing a habit which no herald ever wore; but this is probably a later addition. This is followed by the arms of 53 of the nobility, 4 Highland chiefs, 280 lesser barons, 34 foreign and royal coats, and 18 miscellaneous arms. The whole execution of the work is exceedingly good, the animal supporters being drawn with character and energy; the drawing

Fig. 85.

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is refined, and the colouring rich and harmonious. The writing is of later date from the rest of the work, and some coats are still unnamed.

There is in the splendid library at Haigh Hall a MS., acquired by purchase by the late Earl of Crawford, which contains an interesting collection of Scottish arms. Mr Stoddart calls this MS. Lindsay II., because it is believed to have been executed for Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, Lyon from 1591 to 1621, the nephew of the great Sir David. The arms of the nobility and gentry of Scotland are given as at the close of the 17th century, with a few additions of later date. The volume is bound in vellum, stamped in black on the front board with a foreign coat of arms. On page 1 there is an autograph resembling "Fruanz Künz," and on page 4 is the inscription "Ex Libris Dr Macniven." It contains 151 leaves, but 15 of them are blank. The peers' arms each occupy a full page, and the supporters stand on a compartment of green grass. (Fig. 85.) The dukes, marquesses, and earls have all coronets, but the barons have simply wreaths resting on their helmets. A distinguishing feature of this MS. is that on the verso of the leaf preceding that bearing the arms of the head of a noble house, there is generally emblazoned a small shield without exterior ornament, bearing the paternal coat of arms, and below is given a list of the principal cadets of the family. While the execution of the MS. displays bold, vigorous work, and is superior in draughtsmanship to most of the earlier MSS., it has neither the artistic feeling and refinement in drawing, nor the sense for harmonious colour which we find in the Seton MS. The writing is beautifully done, and the ornamental flourishes and embellishments show great freedom and command of the pen. The names are, on the whole, distinctly written, the formation of the letters being

very modern in style, except in the lists of cadets, where an older form is employed.

These are the more important illuminated MSS. which deal with Scottish arms. They do not exhaust the list, but I must not weary you by an enumeration which has been already too long. It serves to show, however, that the interest taken in the subject of Heraldry in Scotland was very great, and that the skill of the artists who executed these works was in itself of quite a respectable standard, and in some cases very good indeed. They do not, as a whole, I must admit, reach that brilliancy of colour and precision of line which we find in some of the English armorial MSS.; but they have a certain character of their own, and a vigour of expression which redeems them at once from the commonplace, and stamps them as a very typical product of the country. What is most peculiar about them is the extraordinary variety of renderings which the different MSS. give of the same coat, and which often betokens great carelessness, if not ignorance, on the part of the workman. Even Sir David Lindsay's MS. itself is not free from those mistakes which we can hardly conceive occurring had he personally exercised a careful supervision over the work. But these mistakes detract very slightly from the interest which every student of Scottish Heraldry must feel in perusing those contemporary records of bygone times.

Besides these illuminated armorials of which I have been treating, there is in existence a considerable number of MSS. dealing with Scottish arms which do not exhibit them in colour. Some of these have the different coats "tricked"—that is, simply drawn in outline in pen and ink, while many more merely give a list of names with the verbal blazon of the arms pertaining to each appended. None of these, however, are so old as the earliest of the

illuminated MSS., and I need not detain you by giving you a list of them. The two most important are, perhaps, one by Sir James Balfour, which contains a description of considerably over a thousand coats, and one by James Pont, the brother of Timothy Pont, the topographer, and son of the minister of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, of which frequent mention is made by Nisbet in his "Treatise on Heraldry."

I should like before leaving the subject of armorial records to say a word as to a very important branch of the subject, that is, how arms are originally constituted, and the evidence of their being authorised. Of course, in the first instance, there were no such things as grants of arms. Families gradually got into the practice of bearing as cognisances and for a practical purpose, as we have seen, those emblems or devices which their ancestors had been in the habit of using. But when such devices came to be considered as peculiarly military and knightly possessions, and not lightly to be assumed, the king (as the fountain of all honour) took the bestowal of armorial bearings into his own hands—though occasionally a knight granted arms to his esquire. No formal documentary grants were, however, at first made, though the bearings of the different knights were carefully noted down by the heralds of the period. In England the earliest of these rolls in which the arms were noted was, as I have previously mentioned, one of a date between 1240 and 1245, of which a copy made by Glover, Somerset Herald, is still in existence, with the arms blazoned, but not drawn. There is also a copy of another 13th century roll, and there is the great Caerlaverock roll of 1300, containing a list of the arms of all the knights who accompanied Edward I. to the siege of that castle; it has been printed several times. In addition to these there are six or seven other English rolls of

the 14th century. It is difficult to say exactly when the Heralds' College, which was incorporated by Richard III., first began to issue grants of arms. Dallaway, in his "Heraldic Inquiries," certainly mentions a grant long before the incorporation of the College. It is alleged to be by James Hedingley, Guyen King of Arms, to Peter Dadge, gentleman, and to be dated the 8th day of April, in the 34th year of "Edward le premier." But although this is in a collection made by Glover, it is unlikely to be genuine. Documents written in the reign of a sovereign who has had no predecessor of the same name do not usually describe him as "the first." Not only so, but it is stated by Austen that Guyen King of Arms was not created till the time of Henry VI.

The earliest authentic grant which I have been able to meet with is that one to the Company of the Tallow Chandlers of the City of London. It is written in the official French of the period, dated on the 24th day of September, in the year of grace 1456, and is signed by John Smart, Garter King of Arms, and sealed with his seal bearing his own coat of arms, not an official coat. He signs like a bishop, "J. Garter." The execution of this grant is most artistic. The initial letter represents Garter himself clad in his "coat of arms" and with his official crown on his head. The Company's arms are placed in the margin, surmounted by a helmet, which, though vigorous enough in its own way, hardly possesses that effectiveness of design which the large cylindrical tilting helmet has to which I drew your attention in one of the former lectures. The crest is an angel in a blue coat with a gold collar and a white neckcloth, holding John the Baptist's head on a charger. Note the very elegant disposition of the lambrequin, which is *gules* doubled

ermine, after the fashion of a peer's, and not the livery colours. Besides the mantling, opportunity has been taken to introduce, both in the margin and along the top of the patent, a very dainty floral pattern, somewhat in the style of the ancient missals. This, besides being the oldest, is one of the most beautiful patents of arms known to exist.

As time went on they rapidly deteriorated in artistic excellence, though, of course, the individual documents varied in that respect. There is, for instance, a grant to the Carpenters' Company of London, of date 1467, or only eleven years after that to the Tallow Chandlers; but it is a miserably inferior production to the former. This, however, must have been the mere chance of a second or third rate draughtsman having been employed, because we have quite good work in the charter (not a patent of arms), by Richard III. in 1483, to the Wax Chandlers. The patent to the Barber Surgeons of London, in 1569, has certainly an endeavour after artistic excellence, but it wants the spontaneity and grace of the older patents. They were granted the crest of an *opinacus*, a monster but rarely encountered, even in Heraldry.

I have as yet only alluded to English patents, because, unfortunately, we have no Scottish examples of such early date. One of the earliest of the latter with which I am acquainted is of date 1567, and is by Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie, Lyon, in favour of Lord Maxwell of Herries. (Fig. 86.) The wording is rather quaint:—"Till all and sundrie quhome it effeirs, [unto] quhais knawlege thir presentis sal cum greting in God evirlesting, we, Schir Robert Forman of Luthrie, Knicht Lyoun King of Armes with our brethir Herauldis of the realme of Scotland being requirit be the richt honerable Johnne Lord Maxwell of Hereiss to assign and gif unto him sick armes in mettaill and

colloure as maist deulie suld appertene to him and his posteritie as become us of our office to do: Quehairfore We having respect to thais thyngis that appertenit hes assignit and assignis to him quarterlie the first and thrid (*sic*) silver ane saulter sable with ane lambeall of thre feitt gulis, secund and ferde selver thre hurtcheounis sable with the beraris of the shield helme tymmerall and detoun as heir under is depainted, quhilk he and his posteritie may lefullie beir without reproofe. Quhilk we testifie be thir presents subscrivit be Marchemont Hairauld oure clerk of office quhairunto oure seile of office is appensit. At Edinburgh, the secund day of Aprile the zeir of God ane thowsand fyve hundreth thre score sevin zeiris."

I need not allude to any other old Scottish patents, as none that I know present any points of artistic excellence. I can hardly say that things much improved during the 18th or even during the first half of the 19th century. Latterly, the actual writing of the patents was much better, and they were really beautiful specimens of calligraphy, but the painting of the arms left much to be desired. It is only within the last few years that this has been remedied, and, as I remarked before, I think I may safely say that as regards draughtsmanship the Lyon Office leads the way in official heraldic records.

I have left myself but small space to speak of armorially decorated pedigree charts or "trees," as they are often called. Many of these are remarkable for their design and delicacy of execution.

The most beautiful family tree in Scotland is that now in the possession of Sir Alan Seton Steuart. It is not large, being only $17\frac{1}{2}$ by $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches; it is executed on parchment, the background being black and the leafage of a delicate green. Over seventy shields, generally baron and femme, or, in other

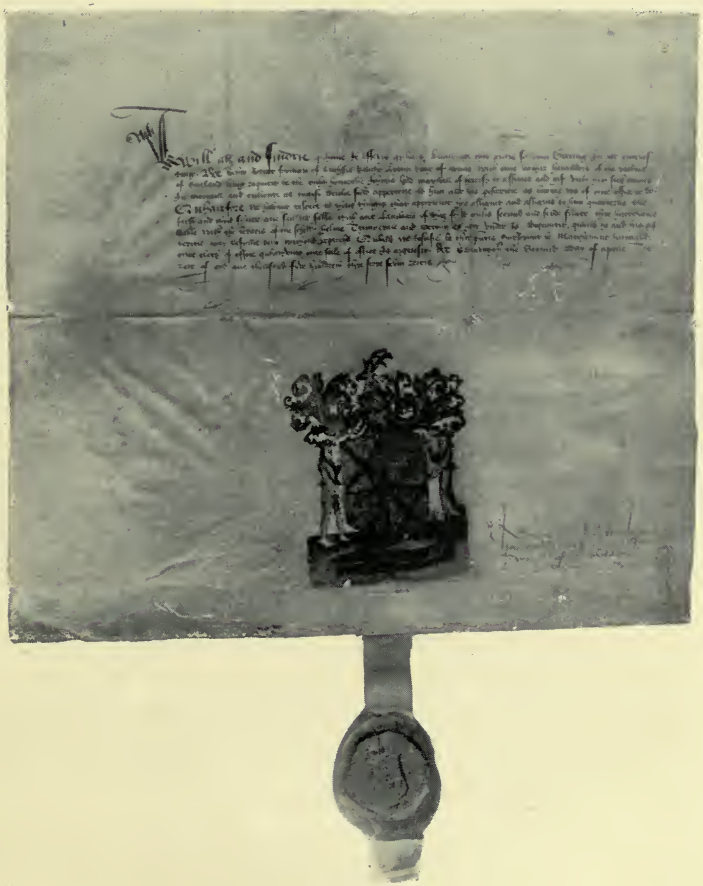

Fig. 86.

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words, impaled, appear illuminated in gold and tinctures, argent being represented by the white parchment. The flowers—carnations, lilies, roses, etc.—introduced at foot, and the figures of an ape and various birds that appear above, are executed with great minuteness and beauty of colouring, while the portraits of Robert, Lord Seton (afterwards 1st Earl of Winton), and his father George and their respective wives have the finish of fine miniatures. You will find a detailed account of it and a photograph of the tree itself in the illustrated edition of the catalogue of the Edinburgh Heraldic Exhibition. Its date is 1583. Another very interesting tree, not only on account of its subject, but also on account of its author, is that of the Campbells of Glenurquhy, with portraits of the various members of the house, executed in 1635 by George Jameson, the celebrated Scottish portrait painter. There is also a magnificent Douglas pedigree of large size, done by James Ewine, Rothesay Herald, in 1661, in the possession of the Earl of Home at Bothwell Castle, and there is another somewhat similar one at Douglas Castle. The former is fully described in the Heraldic Exhibition Catalogue, to which I previously referred.

And now, in conclusion, I should like to make what we may call a practical application of these remarks. We have seen that Heraldry is a useful handmaid to history, inasmuch as it has been the means of handing down the memory of the deeds and lives of many generations in a way which appeals at once to the eye and to the heart. It frequently throws a large amount of light on historical investigations and enables us to trace both the identity and the locality of families in a manner which we could not otherwise do. Let us not think that its use in this respect is over. No doubt we now live in the days of more complete systems of

registers and the like, which enable us to trace the history of individuals in a way which could not previously be done; but notwithstanding all this, there is a great deal of practical use to be made of a science which enables one at a glance to say to what family any given person belongs. One often hears objection taken to the getting a new grant of arms on the ground that while an old coat might be respectable, like Justice Shallow's, a new one is not worth getting, as it has no history attached to it. We must not forget that we ourselves are making history, and that while we may not think much of a coat of which we are the first owners, yet it may in time be one of the most cherished possessions of our successors. Everything must have a beginning, even a family coat of arms, and it is much better to get a new coat, if possible, commemorating some feature in the character or incident in the life of the granter rather than to be decked, as too many people are, in borrowed heraldic plumes which only provoke the derision of those who know the real facts. In a very few generations a new coat will become an old one, and if our ancestors had acted on the principle that a new coat of arms was not worth having, where would their descendants be, from an armorial point of view, now? Let us, then, familiarise ourselves with Heraldry, not look upon it as a kind of fantastic anachronism, but as something to be made part of our daily lives. Let us get rid of the idea that it is an abstruse subject or a difficult one to learn. Its essentials are, on the contrary, as I hope I have to some extent been able to show you in these lectures, exceedingly simple. No doubt accretions grew up round about it in the days when it was as much written about as used practically; but we may easily dismiss from our minds the conceits of the Elizabethan armorists, and be better heralds

than they were. The acquisition of a knowledge of Heraldry is infinitely easier than learning a new language. It is easier, I should say, for a lady than choosing and knitting a new stocking top or working a piece of embroidery. We need not, therefore, be deterred from it on account of the trouble it will give us in its acquisition, and when acquired it opens out, if not a spacious, at least a novel and interesting field of view for the mind. History is illumined by a new light, and the relationships of families are revealed, not merely to the mind, but to the eye.

But the study of Heraldry does not only tell us about families and their origin and relationships, it does more than throw sidelights on history; it can be made practically useful in the intelligent adornment of our homes. Many persons who are of the opinion of the Apostle and class "endless genealogies" which breed discussion under the head of foolish questionings and strifes and such unprofitable and vain things, many such persons, I say, are yet keenly alive to a sense of artistic beauty, and enjoy making their surroundings appropriate and artistic. I hope, then, I have not shown you in vain what a true sense of art the old heralds had; how absolutely sound, from a decorative point of view, was their fundamental rule that colour was not to be laid on colour, nor metal on metal. We have seen how our ancestors lived in a very atmosphere of Heraldry; how it met them at the very font as they were carried to their baptism; how it accompanied them all through life, carved on their castle walls, painted on their windows, and embroidered on their vestments; how it distinguished them on the field of battle and commemorated them on their tombs when dead. Now, though we do not generally live in castles, and have not, as a community, to go out to battle clad in complete steel,

there is no reason why we should not enjoy the same sense of satisfaction in looking at fine Heraldry as our ancestors did. No doubt it may be said that whereas formerly every family that aspired to be above the rank of a peasant or labourer had arms, this, owing to the changed social conditions of life, is not the case now. But two remarks may be made as to this. First, that any person by paying to H.M. Exchequer certain moderate fees may get arms assigned him if he pleases; second, that even though he has not arms, there is no reason why he should not surround himself with as much of Heraldry as he likes, so long as he does not pretend that any of the arms in question are his own.

I have seen schemes of decoration of this kind carried out in a perfectly legitimate and pleasing manner. I have in my mind's eye now a house not far from Edinburgh, an old house recently restored. In one of the rooms (originally, I believe, a kitchen, but now the library) the ceiling is traversed by heavy oaken beams, dark and stained with the smoke of ages. Between those beams has been painted a beautiful design, the principal features of which are coats of arms. There are the armorial ensigns of all the lairds of the land on which the house is built, as far back as charters will carry them. There are the arms of universities, of cities, of heraldic dignitaries, and other persons and corporations with which the owner has had associations, or in which he was interested. There is no attempt at setting it up as a family armorial; the shields are duly labelled with the names of the persons to whom the arms belong, and the whole design is so skilfully carried out, the coats of arms being the principal—though not an unduly obtrusive—feature in the roof, that the whole forms a singularly beautiful piece of decoration. But very good heraldic effects may be

got in much more simple fashion than by painting a ceiling, a task which is beyond the power of any amateur unless exceptionally skilful. Some years ago a series of articles upon the application of Heraldry to decorative purposes appeared in a little periodical called "Amateur Work." They were interesting and suggestive, and the examples given were, on the whole, fairly good, though I should advise no one to perpetrate the enormity of a heraldic chandelier. But a great many useful hints on the carrying out work in stone, metal, silk, and other materials are given, and there are full instructions for emblazoning both on vellum and paper.

Many other charming ways of utilising the decorative features of Heraldry might be suggested. When ladies are making their natural good taste and deftness of hand felt in many branches of applied art, they might do worse than invoke the aid of Heraldry in their work. Bookbinding, for instance, which is becoming such a popular pursuit amongst amateurs, affords a fine field for the display of armorial decoration. What can be finer or more appropriate than to see a book clad in resplendent morocco or even the more serviceable buckram, adorned with the arms of its owner or its author? The delicate surface of vellum also lends itself as a most suitable medium for the dainty embossing of armorial ensigns. And to mention the sphere in which woman has always excelled since the very earliest ages of which we have record, no more excellent effect can be produced than in needlework. In relation to this, it may not be out of place to give my lady auditors a word of practical advice. For the various tinctures use brilliantly coloured silks, varying the stitches so as to catch the play of light on the surface as much as possible. Never use silver thread when you have to denote argent; it

gets black at once and is quite useless. Rather use two strands of white silk with one thread of pink and another of the palest grey, which will give an excellent effect. And as for gold, it is better to use real bullion thread than Japanese gold, though it is, in the first instance, no doubt more expensive. But any extra expense will be well repaid in the feeling that you are not working a thing which, in the course of a few years, will get shabby and of no account, but something which will be handed down with pride from generation to generation, and centuries after will retain its pristine brilliancy and beauty.

For the intelligent and effective application of Heraldry to any handiwork, whether it is merely decorative or has a more serious purpose, you will understand, from what I have said in these Lectures, how important a careful study of the best and oldest examples is. I have said that there are signs of a revival of Heraldry in recent years. Perhaps there are, in a way, more people interested in it than formerly, but how many people could blazon a coat coherently, and how many, or rather how few, could paint it artistically? I do not think I am understating the matter when I say that the number of really first-rate heraldic artists in Great Britain at the present moment could be counted on the fingers of one hand—both hands, at all events, would be more than sufficient. And the old lines, I mean the old modern lines, not the old ancient lines, are followed by the multitude with melancholy results to art. Here, for an example, is a concrete instance. I saw in an illustrated paper not long ago a Mayoral badge, which had been manufactured for some corporation in England. Well, in the first place, the town had no arms on official record, but it had evidently been in the habit of using two shields with different charges on each, I do not know why.

The two shields, therefore, were placed accolée, or side by side. In the letterpress description they were said to be *Norman* shields. They were in reality of the ordinary heater-shape and not of the kite-shaped type more usually associated with the Normans. They were also said to be surmounted by a helmet of an antique pattern. It was one of the latest and ugliest of the heraldic stationer's type. On the top of this helmet was placed a straight wreath with a quadruped on it, which seemed to be nervously endeavouring to keep its perpendicular on the sea-saw formed by the wreath and the helmet. The design is stated to be surrounded by a scroll ornamentation and a lambrequin ; but of the latter's elegant form there is no trace. To crown all, it is, of course, duly described as executed "in the most artistic manner by Messrs Bunkum & Sparkle, jewellers, London." This is by no means an extreme case, but it is merely stupid. No doubt the jewellers did their best, and pleased their customer. The fault was that the craftsman who executed the work had had no sufficient instruction in the capabilities of heraldic art. But sometimes ignorance assumes less excusable forms. Not long ago I discovered the indubitable fact that a very high-class and eminently respectable firm in this very town had supplied a too confiding American citizen with a complete achievement, consisting of the quartered coat, helmet, crest, and supporters of a Scottish peer of the same name, or rather of a name very similar. This was not only foolish, but wrong, though the American customer expressed himself much pleased and gratified with the result.

I trust I have led you to understand how useful the study of Heraldry may be both to the student of history and to the artist and craftsman. I have necessarily had to treat the various divisions of

the subject in a somewhat desultory way, but I shall be glad if I have infused into any of your minds a love of a science which, despite the sneers of ignorant folk, has a strange and engrossing charm of its own, and the knowledge of which adds an additional interest to the study of historical literature and to the practical application of many forms of art.

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