

I.

THE SCOTTISH REGALIA, ANCIENTLY STYLED THE HONOURS OF SCOTLAND. BY JOHN J. REID, B.A., F.S.A. SCOT., CURATOR OF THE MUSEUM. (PLATES I-II.)

From the very earliest ages to which the records of the human race extend there have come down to us proofs of the use of royal emblems, and often also of ceremonials more or less elaborate on the assumption of regal dignity, whether by succession, by conquest, or by popular election.

Such emblems and ceremonies are to be found alike in the inscriptions on the tombs of early Egyptian dynasties, on the tablets found in the libraries beneath the mounds which alone mark the palaces and temples of Nineveh and Babylon, among the rock carvings ascribed to the Hittites, and generally throughout the ruins of the long-forgotten civilisation of the East.

As might be expected, each country had its own particular forms to mark the importance attached to its own coronations. Sometimes, like the mummy at the banquets of the Pharaohs, they told of the uncertainty of life, and reminded the new monarch how brief at best his tenure must be ; at others, like the shield on which Roman emperors were raised, they recalled the victorious generals by whom the purple was first attained.

The solemnity and dignity of these great functions were enhanced by religious rites, and the narrative of the Bible itself shows how, in what had been a pure theocracy, the transition to a monarchical form of government was marked by the introduction of the sacred rite of unction, already rendered familiar by the example of other nations. Saul and David, however, were not made kings when Samuel anointed them, but

his selection marked them as fit objects for the popular election which was to follow, and which in point of fact did follow.

With the spread of civilisation from Rome through Western Europe and with the adoption of Christianity as the religion of the empire, the coronation of each new monarch became an elaborate ceremony into which both the religious and the lay element entered. When the wild "Barbarians" from the north burst upon the provinces of the Western Empire, and divided its crumbling fragments among themselves, the conquerors were not slow to emulate the regal pomp of the Cæsars even to the maintenance of their tradition of court ceremonial. Though the Goths spread over Southern and Western Europe, bringing with them their heathenish worship, yet the influence of new surroundings speedily made itself felt, and ere long wide provinces had accepted the religion of Christ, whilst even in the remote and desolate north Thor and Odin were being displaced by the ceaseless toil of devoted messengers of the Cross.

As the Church recovered her hold and gained converts, the part taken by the clergy in coronation ceremonies became more conspicuous and important. It is a curious thing that one of the very earliest instances of coronation by the hands of an ecclesiastic in Western Europe is found in Scotland, where Saint Columba, the apostle of national Christianity, officiated at the accession of King Aidan at Iona, in 574 A.D. The words of the Saint's biographer Adamnan, in recording the fact, are "Aidanum . . . in regem . . . ordinavit . . . imponensque manum super caput ejus, ordinans benedixit." There is no special reference to a crown or to anointing, and the narrative simply describes the formal setting apart of Aidan by the Saint, who with one hand resting on the king's head, probably with the other upraised, invoked a divine blessing. Columba himself was related to the Royal House of the Dalriad Scots, and he had been the means of securing the election of Aidan as king, and also of obtaining for him and his people immunity from tribute to their mother country in Ireland. All this might, and probably did, lead to his taking so prominent a part on the occasion.

But though history does not tell us that Aidan wore a crown, there is no doubt that these emblems of royalty were well known and used at

the time, for, to say nothing of the iron crown of Lombardy, somewhat doubtfully ascribed to the time of Queen Theodolinda, 628 A.D., there yet exist such objects of undoubted antiquity as the crown of Svintila, who reigned over the Visigoths 621-631 A.D., now preserved at Madrid, and the crown of Reccesvinthus, another Spanish king of the Visigoths in the same century. A crown, said to be that of Charlemagne, is to be seen at Vienna, but it is an open question what part of it can be truly referred to that early date.

The Regalia in Western Europe seem to have invariably embraced not only the crown, but also the sceptre and the sword of state. Other articles appear which vary in different countries, such as the gold anointing spoon still preserved at the Tower, the sole relic of the ancient Regalia of England, saved from the destroying hands of the Puritans; but the crown, the sceptre, and the sword formed elsewhere, just as in Scotland, "The Honours" of the kingdom. The crown serves as the distinctive personal symbol of the king; the sceptre is the emblem of his royal power, with even a sense of its sacred character, as illustrated in the superstition of touching for the king's evil; and lastly, the sword signifies at once justice, and the right of peace and war.

In Scotland the story of the Regalia is one full of varied incidents, some pathetic, some bordering on the ludicrous, but all deeply interesting to those for whom the history and antiquities of their country have a charm.

The first Scottish king, of whom it is distinctly told that he was crowned at Scone, is Malcolm IV., who reigned 1153-65, but the casual manner in which this is mentioned appears to indicate that already the practice of a coronation at Scone was well if not long established. There can be little doubt that Malcolm sat on the famous stone of destiny, but no mention is made of proclaiming the royal descent by a public recitation of the genealogy, which certainly was done at the accession of his successor William the Lion. At the coronation of Alexander II. in 1215, the historian Fordun records the presence of the "seven Earls of Scotland" in their order—Fife, Stratherne, Athol, Angus, Menteith, Buchan, and Lothian. The manner in which they are referred to leads to the conclusion that their presence was official, and

formed an important item in the ceremonial of the day ; indeed, after events in history confirm the statement of Boece, that the ancient Earls of Fife enjoyed the special privilege of placing the crown upon the king's head.

“ The first quhilk was ane priuiledge conding,
 The Erl of Fyffe quhen crownit wes the King,
 Onto his chyre suld him convoy and leid,
 The croun of gold sync set vpoun his heid,
 With his awin hand all seruice for to mak,
 As president most principall of that act.”

—*Cronykil.*

It is probable also that definite duties would be assigned to each of the other Earls. The territorial area which their titles embrace represents practically all the districts of Scotland which at that time really formed part of the kingdom proper, for elsewhere the royal authority, if acknowledged at all, was little more than a name, and semi-independent chiefs, like the Princes of Galloway in the south, the Lord of the Isles in the west, and the Mormaers of Moray or the Norse Jarls in the north, ruled with nearly absolute power over their own retainers and clansmen.

The facts mentioned make it quite clear that, as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century at any rate, certain distinct and national ceremonies were recognised as part of the procedure at the coronation of a Scottish king ; and from what we know, it becomes possible at least to show what did take place, whilst the simplicity which ever marked those early events renders it probable that the recorded ceremonial, as drawn from various sources, included everything or nearly everything of importance.

We may picture to ourselves the king, the great nobles and ecclesiastics, with the minor barons and the people assembled at Scone, once the capital of the Pictish monarchy, and already abounding with all the early associations of Scottish nationality. At the appointed time the monarch, who may probably have already gone through some form of election, is suitably attired in royal robes, and led by the Earl of Fife to take his seat upon the fateful stone. There the royal crown is placed upon his head by the hands of the chief man of that very province in

which there are grounds for thinking the supremacy of the Eastern Scots had been longest established. To others among the great Earls the sceptre and the sword would be assigned, while in the presence of the whole seven, as representing the nation, a wild mountaineer pours forth in barbaric Highland strains the names of that long ascending line of ancestors ascribed to the race of Celtic kings.

With the accession of Alexander III. we enter upon a period in which the records become more numerous, and there can be no doubt that, had they been preserved, we should have possessed many interesting details of his coronation. As it is, the account given by Sir James Balfour's MSS. has been justly deemed in many respects apocryphal, and our knowledge does not advance.

It must, however, be concluded that "The Honours" of Scotland in the proper sense—that is to say, the crown, sceptre, and sword—certainly existed, for Wyntoun tells how Alexander's luckless successor, John Balliol, was ostentatiously deprived of these royal emblems by Edward I. at Montrose in 1296 :—

"This Jhon the Balliol dyspoyld he
Of all hys robys of ryalté,
The pelure thai tuk off hys tabart,
(Twme Tabart he was callit efftyrward)
And all othire insyngnys
That fell to kyngis on ony wys.
Bathe scepter, swerd, crowne, and ryng,
Fra this Jhon that he made kyng
Halyly fra hym he tuk thare,
And made hym off the kynryk bare."

—*Cronykil*, Bk. viii. cap. xii.

When the English obtain possession of crowns they are not in the habit of returning them, and these Regalia, once across the Border, certainly never found their way back again. In a list of the Ancient Regalia of England, given in a pamphlet published in 1761 by Ashmole and Sandford, Heralds, there is a curious reference to "an ancient crown" weighing 2 lbs. 1 oz., and adorned with 96 jewels. It seems barely possible that this was the ancient crown of Scotland, but it vanished with the rest of the Regalia under the Commonwealth, and all

we have is the list, which however may be regarded as authentic, having been compiled from papers laid before a commission specially appointed at the Restoration to inquire after the various crown jewels which had disappeared.¹

So it came to pass that, when Robert the Bruce raised the standard of independence, there was no crown existing wherewith to mark his assumption of regal dignity, and a golden circlet was hastily made, and, true to ancient traditions, was placed upon his head at Scone by a brave lady of the Macduff family, in whom, as we have already shown, that hereditary right was vested.

Even this second crown within a few months was carried off to England, as part of the plunder after Bruce's disaster at Methven. This is established from the terms of a pardon granted by Edward I., at the instance of his Queen Margaret, to a certain Geoffrey de Coigners, who had concealed it—"pardonavimus Galfrido de Coigners transgressionem quam fecit, postquam quædam coronella aurea, de qua Robertus de Brus, inimicus et rebellis noster, in terra nostra Scotiæ, nuper se coronari fecit ad manus ejusdem Galfridi devenit."²

The pardon is dated from Carlisle, 20th March 1307, and the reference disposes of the legend that Bruce's golden circlet formed a part of the existing crown. It cannot well be credited that, if it had ever been restored, no record of such an important event should be preserved, as it may with safety be affirmed that Scotland was bereft of all Regalia until her freedom had been secured on the field of Bannockburn.

We cannot suppose that King Robert failed to see the importance of these insignia, and once firmly established on the throne, he would certainly take care to have "The Honours of the Kingdom" renewed. This, however, can only be inferred from the surrounding circumstances, as none of the records supply any evidence until we come to the accession of David II., for whose infant hands apparently it was found necessary to make a special sceptre of small size.

In 1331 the Exchequer Rolls (vol. i. 382) record a payment, "Cophyno aurifabro pro factura parue sceptre, xx s." Cophyn, the gold-

¹ *Liber Regalis*, App., p. 57.

² Rymer, *Fœd.*, i. 1012, Lond., 1816.

smith, is again incidentally mentioned in the next printed volume of the Rolls, and the learned editor thinks he was a foreigner. The coronation of David II. was marked by the rite of unction, and it took place at Scone. The English king, with vain hopes of crushing the Scottish nationality under his iron heel, had been at the pains to remove the famed coronation stone from its ancient resting place; and though there are not wanting proofs that even Englishmen themselves subsequently felt the meanness of the act, and were ready to restore it, yet it remains at Westminster to this day.¹ Bereft of this peculiarly national feature, the guardian of the kingdom may have felt the necessity for giving due solemnity to the occasion, and may have sought from the Pope the authorisation of this ceremonial used for the first time at a Scottish coronation.²

From the time of David II. until that of James IV. there is nothing whatever to record concerning the "Honours," as the three principal articles which composed the Regalia are invariably styled in Scottish history. We may indeed mention Fordun's allusion to the "royal diadem" of David's second queen, though of course it throws no light on the main subject. There must have been regalia in existence, and used at each successive coronation, but that is all we can safely affirm. All these coronations took place at Scone, excepting those of James II. at Holyrood, and James III. at Kelso, when the pressure of circumstances rendered expedient a departure from the time-honoured custom.

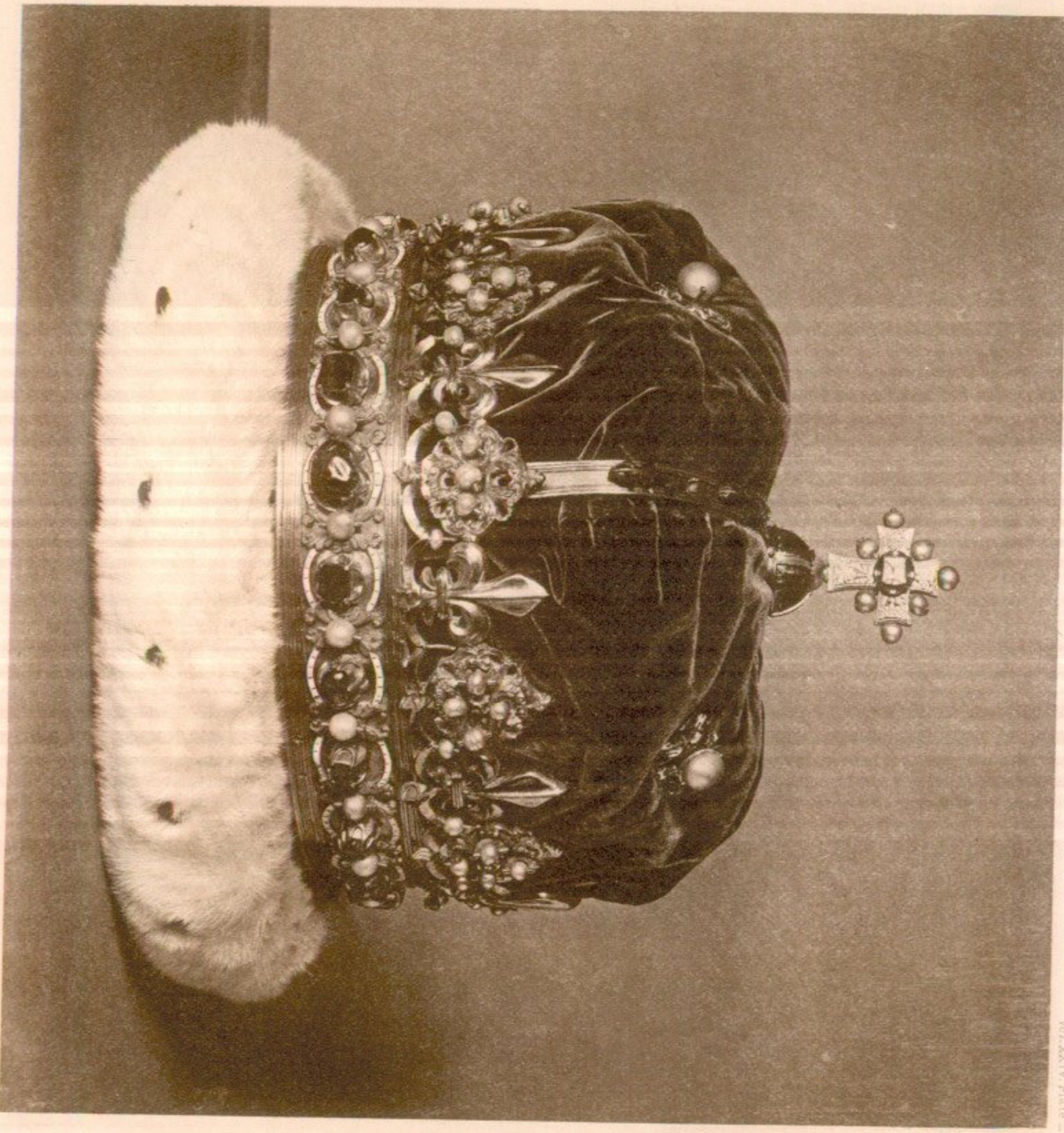
When we come to the time of James IV. he is described by no less an authority than an Act of Parliament as sitting, in 1503, "regalibus trabeatus et vestitus coronam capite sceptrum regium manu gestans;"³ whilst the year before [15th Jan. 1502] the Lord Treasurer's accounts show payments "to Robert Selkyrk, cutlar, in the first, for the gret sword of honour," and "for ane scheith to the same."

Up to this point, beyond tracing the existence of Regalia in Scotland and observing the ceremonies which prevailed on the great occasions of their use, it is not possible to connect "the Honours" directly with those

¹ Ayloffe's *Calendars of Ancient Charters*, Introduction, p. lviii.

² The Bull authorising the Bishop of St Andrews or the Bishop of Glasgow to perform the anointing and coronation is printed in Theiner's *Vetera Monumenta*, p. 244.

³ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. 273, a.



THE CROWN OF SCOTLAND.

now in the Crown Room at Edinburgh Castle. With the end of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth century, however, we arrive at a period when certainly both the sceptre and the sword were made. As regards the crown, a question has been raised whether it may not, at least in part, possess a greater antiquity, and that question we shall presently consider. Our narrative from this point must deal with the fortunes of the existing Regalia, so it may be convenient to give at this stage some account of the manner in which historically they make their appearance as The Honours of the Scottish kingdom.

The crown (Plate I.), the central object of interest, has formed the subject of more discussion than either the sceptre or the sword, owing to the views propounded by Sir Walter Scott, whose conclusions, stated shortly, amount to this, that it was merely altered from an open to an arched crown by James V., who added the arches and *cross-pattée*, which indeed bears his initials. This assumption is based on these grounds—(1) that the arches are not part of the original diadem, but are attached to it by tacks of gold; (2) that the quality of the gold also differs. (3) Other arguments are derived from the alleged continued existence of alternate fleurs-de-lis and crosses on the crown, when compared with the representations preserved on the coinages of the early Stewart kings, and from the rude style and setting of the gems.

We do not propose to combat these views by entering into detailed descriptions of the crown as it actually now is, because this can be done far more efficiently and appropriately in the paper which Mr Brook is about to read to the Society. Suffice it then to say—firstly, that it appears certain the crown was closed before 1540, and that consequently the arches must have been an after-attachment to the older crown; secondly, that the gold of the arches differs slightly in quality from that of the fillet, and is an additional proof of this; thirdly, a critical examination of the Scottish coinage, made kindly by Mr Cochran-Patrick on this very point, renders it certain that, prior to the time of Robert Bruce, and for long after, the crown as depicted on the coins and medals has only fleurs-de-lis, but no crosses—indeed, these are not found before the reign of James VI. The arches on the crown first appear on a coinage which is assigned sometimes to the end of the reign of James III., and

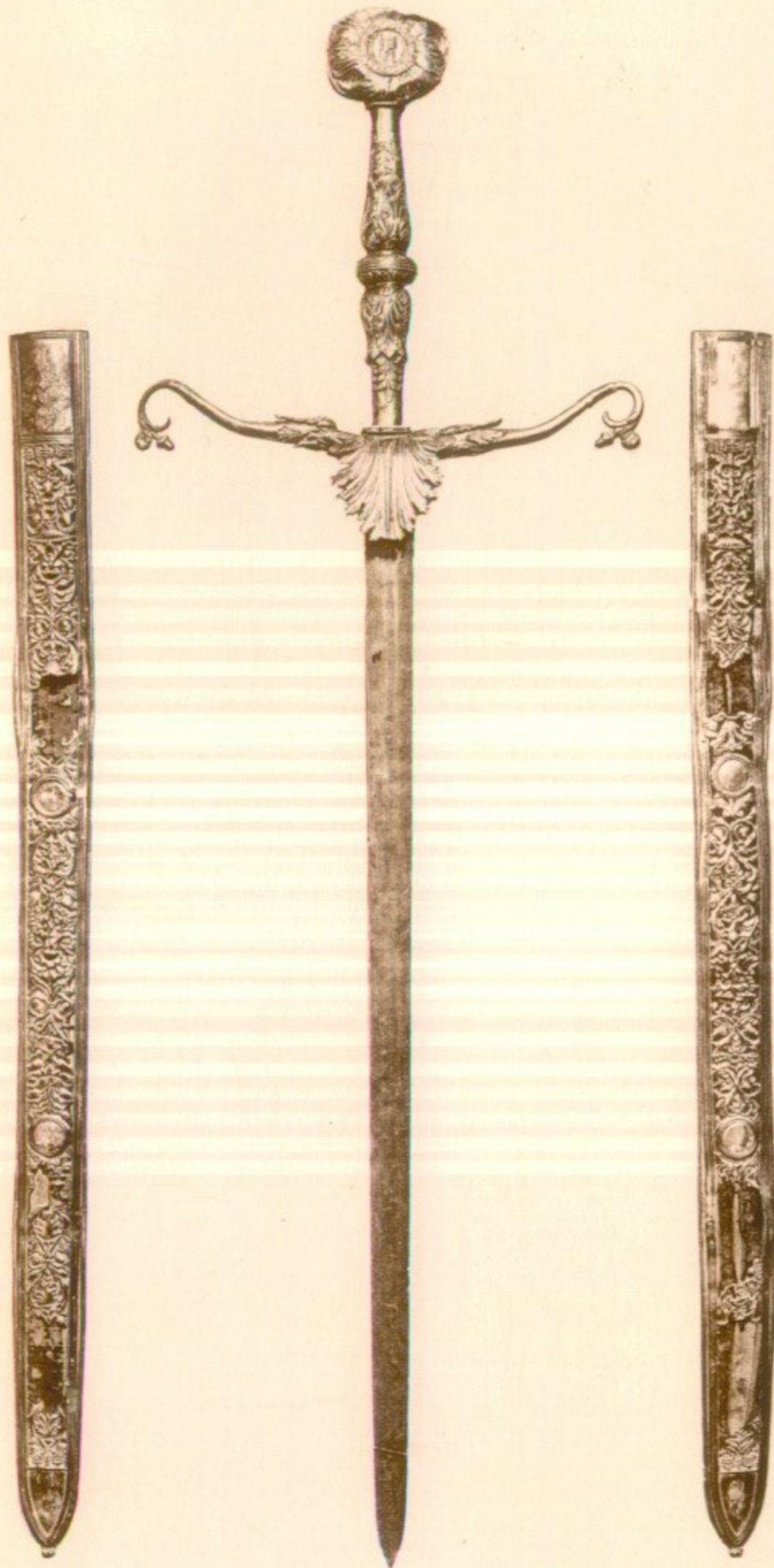
sometimes to that of James IV. ; lastly, the cutting and setting of the stones, which were certainly purchased in 1540, are quite what might be expected from the goldsmiths of James V., with the exception of the few diamonds forming the upper row. These are cut in a fashion which was practised as early as the fourteenth century.

Lord Fountainhall, in his MSS. in the Advocates' Library, says "the crown of Scotland is not the ancient one, but was casten of new by King James V. ;" and the Lord Treasurer's accounts, under date 15th January 1540, record a payment "for making and fassoun of the Kingis crowne," with further entries relating to the purchase of jewels. Finally, the references close with these words—"This crowne deliverit to the Kingis [grace] in the palice of Halyrudehous the vij day of Februar following." Can anything be more distinct than these two records when placed together? We cannot, in the face of them, conclude otherwise than that the crown now in Edinburgh Castle was almost wholly remade by order of James V. This, however, does not by any means exclude the possibility; nay even the probability, that in it are embodied, not merely the diamonds, but even the gold of the crown Bruce had made for himself after Bannockburn. James V. had no scruples about melting down and remodelling the sceptre, adding to its weight and value; and there is no reason to think he would do otherwise with the crown, indeed all through his reign he was for ever altering, adding to, or tinkering at the royal insignia.

We may still then, if so minded, cherish those romantic thoughts which filled the soul of Sir Walter Scott, remembering only that if the ancient crown has really come down to us in its substance, in its outward form, it was "casten of new by King James V."

The sceptre (fig. 1) was presented by Pope Alexander VI. to James IV. in 1494. It was however altered and almost entirely remade in 1536 by order of James V. (whose initials it bears), as is shown by the payments in the Lord Treasurer's Accounts to Adam Leys, an Edinburgh goldsmith.

When on 4th February 1818, the old oak chest in the Crown Room was reopened, and the crown, sceptre, and sword were, so to speak, awakened from their long slumber, a second sceptre, or rod of silver



THE SWORD OF STATE OF SCOTLAND.

(fig. 2) surmounted by a globe of rock-crystal, was found along with them, though it is not mentioned in the instrument of deposition. It has always been stated that this was the official rod of the Lord Treasurer, though we have not found any authority for the assertion, and it is certainly strange that the Lord Treasurer should have thus disposed of his rod of office, not when the Regalia were being given up by him, but when they were being surrendered by the Earl Marischall, under protest, into his custody. In matters relating to the Regalia conjectures have proved very hazardous things, but there is, after all, nothing that we know to contradict a surmise that possibly a "Quenis Scepter" may still be preserved in the so-called Lord Treasurer's rod. The Queen's crown mentioned by Tennand in 1542, as "set hail with the perle and precious stanis," is gone, but the sceptre may yet be with us.

It is right to add that there is evidence that a Treasurer's mace existed in 1616, for it was on the 17th December in that year produced by Sir Gideon Murray, treasurer-depute, before the Lords of Privy Council, and by them delivered to the newly-appointed treasurer, the Earl of Mar.¹

The sword of state (Plate II.) now in the Crown Room was presented along with a consecrated hat to James IV. in 1507, by an Ambassador from Pope Julius II. Lesly² describes it as "ane sword having the hiltis and skabert of gold sett with precious stones, quhilkis war deliverit be the same ambassadour and Abbot of Domfermeling in the Abbey Kirk of Halyrudhous;" and the Lord Treasurer's

¹ *Reg. Priv. Conc.*, x. 674.

² *Hist. of Scotland*, ed. 1830, p. 75.



Fig. 1. The Sceptre.



Fig. 2. The Lord High Treasurer's Mace.

accounts for 1507 record payments made to the "Papis embassat quhilk brocht the sword and hat," and also to a singer he brought with him apparently from Italy, as well as an attendant. The sword bears, among various devices, the personal one of the donor, and as it possesses high artistic beauty, this may have led to its being preserved, when other swords, which undoubtedly existed at one time, have disappeared. There were still two swords in 1539, for they are included in the inventory of that year, and again in Tennand's list of 1542. The second of these may have been either that made in 1502, as already mentioned, or perhaps more probably the sword sent with a letter, dated 19th January 1537,¹ by Pope Paul III. to James V., when he added a ferocious hint that the weapon might be used with advantage against the heretic Henry of England. Unfortunately all these swords, save that of Pope Julius, have vanished.

Resuming again the historical narrative in its stricter sense, there is *nothing to record of the Regalia at the coronation, or during the early days of Queen Mary*; indeed, Sadler observes that the ceremonies at this period used in Scotland on such occasions "were not very great" presumably, when compared with the magnificent displays in Westminster Hall. The infant queen had been conveyed to Stirling, and she was accordingly crowned there when but nine months old. At the close of her unfortunate reign, however, once more we are brought into touch with the Honours. When Mary, in 1568, crossed the Border never to return, she left behind a body of friends and adherents in

¹ *Stat. Eccl. Scot.* (Bann. Club), p. cxxxviii.

Scotland, who, though dispirited, were still numerous and powerful, and retained possession of some of the strongholds of the kingdom, notably of Edinburgh Castle, now held for the queen by Kirkaldy of Grange, who had changed sides in the struggle. In this fortress the Honours were kept for greater security, so that these insignia were beyond the control of the king's party. Accordingly when, in 1571, they wished to hold a Parliament at Stirling for the forfeiture of Chatelherault, Huntly, and other adherents of the queen, some substitute had to be found. The "Diurnal of Occurrents"¹ tells how the difficulty was met, and how on 28th August 1571, "James, be the grace of God, King of Scottis, being of the aige of fyve yeiris accompanyit with Matho Erle of Lennox" [and sundry other noblemen], "being cled maist magnificentlie with rob royall, raid fra the Castell of Stirling to the tolbuyth thairof In his passing to the tolbuyth and returning thairfra Alexander Erle of Glencarne bure the sword, the Erle of Crawford the sceptour, and the Erle of Angus the croun. It is here to be notit that the croun, sceptour, and sword wer all new maid, becaus the auld croun, sceptour, and sword wes in the Castell of Edinburgh, quhairwith the Queen's Lieutenentis in Edinburgh held the Parliament," for the like purpose of pronouncing forfeiture against the leaders of the king's party.

This dummy croun, "doubill ourgilt with gold," is clearly that referred to in the Lord Treasurer's accounts for 1571:—"Item the said day (xvij August) be my Lord Regentis grace speciall command to Mungo Bradie, goldsmyth, ane pund ane unce wecht and ane half of silver to be ane croun of honour and ane crampett to the sword of honour, and sceptour item to gilt the foirsaid werk." All this is confirmed by other entries of payments made for the expenses of Mungo's visit to Stirling, *via* Leith and Burntisland, with the "honouris," and his stay there, no doubt when fitting the crown for the boy king. The sham crown had again to be called into requisition at a Parliament held in Edinburgh on 17th January 1572-3, when the Diurnal says—"The nobilitie with my Lord Regent past throw Sanctgeillis Kirk at ane entres maid throw the tolbuyth wall to the laigh counsall hous of the toun on the west syid of the tolbuyth and thair cheis the Lordis of the

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents* (Bann. Club), p. 242.

Articles, and returnit the same way ; the Erle of Angus bure the croun, the Erle of Ergyle the sceptour, and the Erle of Mortoun the sword of honour ; thir jewallis wer maid of brace and doubill ourgilt with gold, becaus the principall jewellis wer in the Castell of Edinburgh, and mycht not be haid." It is manifest that the writer was in error when he describes the insignia as made of "brace," for the entries already quoted prove that the crown and sceptre at any rate were silver-gilt.

On 25th April 1573, an attempt was made to induce the Governor of the Castle to give up the Regalia. Sir William Drury, who commanded the English besieging force, "and Mr James Halyburton of Pitcur, knycht, crownar to the hail Scottis companys, past to the Castell of Edinburgh, and desyrit in the kingis name the sword, sceptour, and croune, to quhome the capitane ansuerit and said Thai jewellis he wald nocht delyver to ane certane of the nobilitie, be ressoun he ressavit the samyne with thair hail consentis, and unto the tyme the hail desyrit the same he wald not delyver."¹

This bold answer of the Governor was in itself no bad reply to the demand of the besiegers, but his resistance could not be prolonged, and in the following month starvation forced Kirkaldy to surrender, and the man who has been justly called the bravest soldier of Scotland, to the shame of the Regent Morton was publicly executed. Thus the Regalia fell into the hands of the king's adherents, and the civil war was ended.

By an Act of Parliament passed in 1585 (c. 37, iii. 403), the custody of the Honours was included in the commission of the Captain of Edinburgh Castle.

We have spoken hitherto of the Regalia only in the restricted meaning of the word, but no small degree of interest must of necessity attach to those numerous other jewels and valuables which at one time formed the contents of the jewel house of Scotland. The miserly leanings of James III. led to his collecting not only great quantities of gold coin, but many other interesting and curious articles. After Sauchieburn no doubt much of the treasure disappeared, and every effort failed to recover more than a small portion of it. Still some things there were, like the four mazers of Robert the Bruce and his sword, recovered from the battlefield

¹ *Diurnal of Occurrents* (Bann. Club), p. 330.

of Sauchie, mentioned as still in existence under James IV. The four mazers and sword are never heard of again. The fatal disaster which closed his reign led to further dispersion and loss in the Crown Treasury.

James V., by careful management, left a well-stocked jewel house, and its treasures were augmented by various gifts from foreign princes. But after his death, the pressing need of funds for the war with England led the Regent Arran to sell the greater part.¹ Among the objects of historical interest which were lost at this time, we may mention a silver gilt cup "quhilk was King Robert Bruce's," the last of all the relics of the hero king. It is sad to think that this still existed in 1542. Again, there were the little golden cups, the basin of agate, the ewer of jasper, and the flagon of rock-crystal, made for the Queen Magdalen when yet a girl.

When the young widowed Queen Mary returned to Scotland, she brought with her many costly jewels, which she had acquired by gift, purchase, or inheritance, during her stay in France. With these were such valuables and plate, as by custom fell to queens of France as widows, and also various articles sent over in 1556 by the Regent Arran, among which was included a richly jewelled dagger, the gift of Francis I. to his son-in-law James V. This valuable weapon is last heard of in 1566, in the hands of Lord Ruthven, who took it to England when he fled there after the murder of Riccio. An inventory of all these treasures is extant, and they include the Great Harry, a large diamond set in gold, with a gold chain and large ruby attached, which was a gift to Mary from Henry II. of France, her father-in-law. This valuable gem became one of the chief among the crown jewels of Scotland.

The next inventory we possess was made probably in 1562, and it includes various new items redeemed or purchased by the queen. In 1566, Mary made her will, and her bequests serve to show us of what her jewels consisted, for although the will itself is lost, a happy accident discovered, among some law papers in the Register House thirty-five years ago, the testamentary inventory of the jewels once appended to it. The Great Harry again appears bequeathed for ever to the Crown of Scotland, with other choice diamonds, pearls, and rubies. But the dispersion was soon to begin. In 1566, the gold font, sent by Queen

¹ *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 608.

Elizabeth for the baptism of Mary's infant son, was melted down and coined to raise troops against the revolt she well knew her marriage with Bothwell was sure to excite. Mary was, a few weeks later, a prisoner in Lochleven, and her jewels were in the hands of the Confederate Lords, who at once coined more than 1300 ounces of the plate. The Regent Murray, by the queen's urgent request, reluctantly took the jewels into his own keeping, a trust which he did not faithfully fulfil. Ere many months had passed, the finest pearls had been sold to Elizabeth; and Murray soon attempted to sell the diamonds, but by the earnest entreaty of Mary, the English queen was induced to interpose, and they were saved. Fine jewels also were disposed of by Kirkaldy of Grange in defence of the Castle, but a good many of these were recovered afterwards. Meanwhile it had been discovered that the Great Harry had been given by the Regent Murray to his wife, and, supported by the Earl of Argyle, her second husband, she could not be induced to give it up. Again and again Elizabeth vainly interposed, but at last it was surrendered to the Regent Morton. The Great Harry went to England with James VI., and its large diamond was taken to form part of a yet more splendid jewel, the Mirror of Great Britain, which shared the fate of the English Regalia under Cromwell. The union of the crowns, in fact, forms the close of the history of the minor articles of the Scottish Regalia.

Beyond an Act of James VI. anent the coronation oath, which should perhaps be mentioned, there is nothing of any moment to tell concerning the Regalia until we come to the coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood, on 18th June 1633. "There is," says Sir Walter Scott, "a constant tradition, for which we are not able to produce a distinct or written authority, that Charles I. desired to have the crown of Scotland sent up to London to be used in his coronation there, but this having been declined by the Scottish Privy Council, as contrary to the law of the kingdom, he was induced to undertake a journey to Scotland in order to be there crowned king."

On this occasion there was most lavish expenditure by the nobility, and the ceremonial was elaborate and solemn. The selection of Holyrood was probably due to the fact that Scone church was in ruins, at least the old historic one, but it may also have been influenced by sinister recollections of the Gowrie Conspiracy. The Regalia took their part in

the proceedings as of yore. Much there was in the ceremonial of that day which seemed rather to recall the customs of France than those of England, though Laud, an Englishman, undoubtedly controlled and superintended, if he did not actually regulate everything. It may be, however, as a writer in the *Scottish Review* has suggested, that this peculiarity arose from following the example of Queen Mary's coronation, when many French ideas might be expected to prevail.

A detailed account of the whole ceremony has been preserved in the MSS. of Sir James Balfour, the Lyon King of Arms, and we are thus able to follow precisely the part taken by the Regalia. The king stayed during the night preceding in Edinburgh Castle, whence the procession to Holyrood was to start.

In the morning Charles, clad in a Prince's robe, and, to judge by the coronation pieces, wearing the Order of the Thistle, entered the Presence Chamber, from which he was accompanied by the Great Chamberlain (Duke of Lennox), the Lord High Constable (Earl of Erroll), and the Earl Marischall, into the Great Hall of Edinburgh Castle, where the Peers, Bishops, and Deputies of the Commons who were to take part in the procession were already assembled. At this time also there must have appeared the Peers bearing the various insignia of royalty.

The procession was on horseback, an idea perhaps suggested by the usual ridings of Parliament. First came the Barons, Bishops, Viscounts, and Earls, two and two in the order named, and preceded by six trumpeters in scarlet and gold. Next followed the Archbishop of Glasgow (Lindsay), the Earl of Haddington, Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Morton, Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Chancellor, various heraldic dignitaries, the Bishop of Moray, Lord High Almoner, and Sir James Balfour, Lord Lyon King of Arms. Then the Regalia in this order,—the spurs borne by the Earl of Eglinton, the sword borne by the Earl of Buchan, the sceptre borne by the Earl of Rothes, the crown borne by the Marquis of Douglas, supported on his right by the Great Constable, and on his left by the Great Chamberlain and the Earl Marischall.

Immediately after the crown came the king himself. Arrived at Holyrood, and dismounting under a crimson velvet canopy, Charles

advanced to the west door of the Chapel Royal, and was there met by the Archbishop of St Andrews and the other prelates who were to take part in the religious ritual. They were robed in violet silk cassocks, white rochets, and copes of cloth of gold. After a short sermon by the preacher of the chapel, the king proceeded into the chapel, and ascended the platform prepared for the occasion; but he took his seat on the throne, which, as has been pointed out in the article already referred to, was "a direct violation of one of the clearest and most fundamental rules upon which the old coronation rituals are constructed, viz., that the sovereign must not occupy the throne until he is solemnly inducted into it." Be that as it may, however, the king was seated, and the noblemen who bore the Regalia handed them to the chief gentleman usher, by whom they were deposited on a little table covered with green velvet laced and fringed with gold, which had been placed in readiness close to the south end of the communion table. In England and in the Roman form the Regalia were placed upon the altar, but this may be an instance of an attempt to follow some earlier Scottish custom derived originally from France, where a separate table was always used.

During a long sermon which followed, the king occupied a chair of state; descending from the platform, to which however he returned, standing up, while he was formally presented to the people by Archbishop Spotswood. After this all rested, as well they might, while the choir sang an anthem, and then chanted the 89th Psalm. The singing being over, Charles made an oblation at the communion table, which was received by the Archbishop in a golden cup. After a prayer, the king went to the chair of state, and the coronation oath was administered.

The second part of the proceedings was entirely taken up with the anointing, first introduced into Scotland in 1329, as has been already shown. As soon as this was completed the coronation proper began by the investiture of the king with the "Rob Royall," once worn by James IV. This was done at the communion table by the Great Chamberlain. The Gentleman Usher now handed the sword to the Lyon King, and he delivered it to the Archbishop, who having laid it on the altar and prayed, gave it to the king, on whom it was girded by the Great Constable. At this juncture also the spurs were put on by the Earl

Marischall. Taking the crown in his hands, and holding it, the Archbishop pronounced a short prayer, and then placed it upon Charles's head. All the Peers down to and inclusive of Viscounts were then summoned by a herald to the platform, where they took the oath of fealty. The sword of state was then ungirt by the Great Chamberlain, and placed upon the communion table by the Archbishop, who then placed the sceptre in the king's right hand, and enthroned him. The proclamation of the royal pardon having been made by the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishops, the Bishops, and then the Barons who had not done homage before, now were called forward in order for that purpose.

The king now left the throne, and went to the chair of state, when holy communion was celebrated. The whole of the long day's proceedings terminated with a return procession on foot to Holyrood Palace, Charles wearing the royal robe and crown and carrying the sceptre, whilst coronation pieces were scattered by the Lord High Almoner, and salvos of artillery rang out from the castle.

At the beginning of the Scottish Civil Wars in 1637, the Regalia appear to have been removed from Edinburgh Castle, from some feeling of mistrust, and taken to Dalkeith. Shortly afterwards, according to Spalding,¹ in April 1639, "the Kingis hous of Dalkeith wes also taken in by the Covenanteris ; out of the whiche thay took the royall ornamentis of the Croun, sic as croun, suord, and scepter, and had thame to the Castell of Edinburgh, quhilk castell wes also taken in be thame. Thir royall ornamentis wes convoyit befor and hiddin in Dalkeith." Baillie also refers to the same matter, but does not seem to have known about the removal.

The Honours, thus in the hands of the Covenanters, were used at the assembling of Parliament in August following, when they were borne before the Earl of Traquair, the Commissioner. "The Parliament is fensit, and all sittis down in order," adds the narrator of these events;² but he was evidently shocked beyond measure at what followed when it reassembled after adjournment on June 11, 1640 ; for he says, "whilk

¹ *Memorialls of the Troubles*, Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 158.

² *Ibid.*, p. 228.

day being cum the parliament sat doune wanting ane King or Commissioner, quhair of the like wes never seen in the Christean worlde. . . . Suppose no mentioun of that Parliament is amongis the imprinted actis, aluayes thair is about 39 actis maid up be this president (Robert Lord Burghlie) and thrie estatis forsaidis without King, commissoner, croun, suord or scepter—uncouth to sie.”¹

It looks as though the Regalia had once more changed hands, for after the defeat of Charles at Newburn, General Ruthven, despairing of succour, surrendered Edinburgh Castle, “quhairin the royall ornamentis of the croun, viz. croun, suord and scepter, wes surelie keepit.”² This was on 15th September 1640, and “the Honours” remained in the possession of the Presbyterian party during those eventful years, which embraced the brief but brilliant campaign of Montrose, the surrender of the king to the Scots, and his execution on 30th January 1649.

During this time the Lord Treasurer, in accordance with the regular practice, had the custody of the Honours deposited in Edinburgh Castle. It may be here explained that this high officer was the official custodian of these royal insignia, except during the sittings of Parliament, when the Earls Marischall were the responsible guardians. After each sitting they were formally restored to the charge of the Lord Treasurer. Evidence of this custom is found in the Acts of Parliament. Thus references to it occur in the proceedings of the sittings at Edinburgh on May 15, and again on July 5, 1650, and at Perth, November 26 and December 30, 1650, and on 13th March 1651. We quote the last:—“The L[ord] M[arquise] of Argyll, for himself and in name of the remanent Commissioneris of the Thesuarie, did exhibeitt in face of Parliament the Honouris, viz. the croun, scepter, and sword, and thairupon askit instrumentis, whiche wer delyvered to the L. of Scottiseraig in name of the E. Marchell, to be keepit by him during this Sessione of Parliament.” Again on 31st March 1651, at Perth, and in a Parliament held at Stirling 23rd May 1651, when Charles II. was present, similar formalities were observed.

When therefore at the Union the Regalia were returned from a Scottish Parliament for the last time to the Crown Room, it was the

¹ *Memorialls of the Trubles*, vol. i. p. 286.

² *Ibid.*, p. 340.

Treasurer-Depute who granted the receipt, and since then it has come to pass with quite correct historic sequence, as will be explained later on, that they have been entrusted by the officers of state, now the Commissioners for keeping the Regalia, to the custody of the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, the only existing representative of the ancient Scottish "Commissioneris of the Thesaurarie." Similarly to this day in England the Regalia kept in the Tower are placed on the day before a coronation in the custody of the Dean of Westminster, as representing the Abbot, in whom that honourable privilege was formerly vested.

Hitherto crown, sceptre, and sword had regularly gone back to the Castle of Edinburgh on the termination of the sittings of Parliament; but events were travelling too fast against the supporters of Charles II. for that "strength" to be regarded much longer as secure. The anxiety of those responsible was brought to a climax by the Battle of Dunbar, on 3rd September 1650, and seven weeks later Edinburgh Castle was taken by the English, but not "the Honours," which must have been promptly removed. Where they were preserved in this interval has not been recorded, but as they appear at the coronation at Scone on 1st January 1651, and at the various sittings of Parliament until June 6 in that year, they were no doubt in charge of the Earl Marischall during the whole of that time, at Perth and Stirling certainly; and perhaps, as Charles II. visited Dunnottar Castle on 24th February 1651, it is not an improbable surmise that this castle may have been the resting-place of the Honours between the Sessions of Parliament.

This coronation of Charles II., even beyond the interest which centres around it otherwise, was the last at Scone, and the last in Scotland. The ancient Abbey Church, however, had been burned in 1559, and the first Lord Stormont, after removing the ruins, built a small new church in 1624, upon the top of the Mote Hill. In this kirk the ceremony took place.¹ A procession was formed from the Palace, when "the noblemen and commissioneris of barons and burrowis accompanied his majestie to the kirk of Scone, in ordour and rank according to their qualitie, two and two; the spurres being carried by the Erle of Eglintoun,

¹ Described in Nicoll's *Diary* (Bann. Club.), pp. 42-47.

nixt the sword by the Erle of Rothes, the schepter by the Erle of Crawford Lindsay, and the croun by the Marques of Argyll immediatlle befoir the king." The church, we are told, had been duly prepared for the occasion, though the space was but limited. A platform, with another platform upon it, whereon was the throne, had been placed, probably in the middle of the church, and tapestry hung round the walls. There was also a table "quhairon the honores wer laid, and ane chyre set in a fitting place for heiring of a sermound." Charles accordingly heard the sermon, and then signed the covenant, and took the coronation oath. At this juncture the rite of unction would have fallen to be administered, but it had been resolved to dispense with that portion of the usual ceremony, possibly from some recollection of its Popish origin in Scotland. Accordingly, the Lord Chamberlain simply divested Charles of his princely robe, and replaced it by the royal one. "Thaireftir the king being brocht to the chyre on the north syde of the kirk, the sword was brocht be Sir William Cockburne of Langtoun, gentelman usher, from the table, and delyverit to the Lyoun King at Airmes, quho giveth it to the Lord Great Constable, quho putteth the same in the handis of the king saying, 'Sir, resave this kinglie sword for defence of the faith,' &c. . . ." Charles handed back the sword to the Great Constable, who girded it upon him, and the king then sitting down in the chair, the Earl Marischall put on the spurs. The Marquess of Argyll now took the crown in his hands, and remained holding it while a suitable exhortation was delivered by one of the ministers who officiated, after which he placed it upon the king's head, whereon the Lyon King of Arms "causit ane herald to call the haill noblemen, ane by ane, according to their rankis, quho cuming befoir the king, kneeling and twitching the croun on the kingis heid, sweir these wordis—'By the eternal and mychtie God, who leaveth and regneth for ever, I sall support ye to my utermest.'" When all had done homage, the Earl Marischall and the Lyon King of Arms proclaimed from the four corners of the stage the oath obligatory on the people, who took it holding up their hands. At this time the nobility and the Lyon King all put on their coronets. The Lord Chancellor next ungirt the sword from the king's side, and having drawn it, handed it back to Charles, who gave it to the Great Constable

to be carried naked before him. The Earl of Crawford then placed the sceptre in the royal hand, and the king ascending the stage was enthroned by the Marquess of Argyll. Another clerical exhortation followed, and a proclamation of free pardons, and the king exhibited himself to the people at the door of the church.

One most curious feature of the day's ceremonies now occurred in the proclamation of the royal genealogy back to Fergus the First. This was done by the Lyon King of Arms, and recalls to memory the Celtic days of Scottish history, rather than the last coronation the kingdom has witnessed.

Further swearing of fealty by the Lords followed, and then a sermon, which, to judge by the words of the chronicler, must have been of no ordinary length—"the exhortatioun wes sumthing lairge." The singing of the 20th Psalm and a blessing terminated the ceremony, and the king returned again in solemn procession to the Palace of Scone.

With the 6th of June 1651, there opens a romantic episode in the history of the Scottish Regalia, highly honourable to the devotion and fortitude of two brave men, and two equally courageous women. On that day, the last of the Parliament, were "instrumentis takin be the E. Marchell upon the production of the Honouris with his desyre represented to the Parliament that the same might be putt in sum part of securitie. His Majestie and Parliament ordanes the said Erle of Marchell to caus transport the saidis Honouris to the hous of Dunnottor, thair to be keepit by him till farther ordouris."

The Earl was lying a prisoner in the Tower, but the order was immediately carried out by his representatives, and the Regalia conveyed to Dunnottar.

This ancient stronghold of the Keith family is perched upon a lofty rock projecting into the German Ocean, from the precipitous coast of Kincardineshire. It is said, on the authority of certain Keith papers, that prior to the end of the thirteenth century the parish church and graveyard occupied the space on the summit of the rock, and that Sir William Keith then built a tower, and rebuilt the church on a more suitable site, obtaining a Papal bull to sanction the change. The natural position is one of great strength, and before the days of artillery it must

have been nearly impregnable, because on three sides the rock descends sheer into the sea, whilst a tremendous chasm on the land side permits access to the gate only by a narrow and steep path.

To George Ogilvy of Barras, an officer who had seen service abroad, the command was entrusted by the Earl Marischall, with the title of Lieutenant-Governor, but only a meagre garrison of 40 men, a lieutenant, and two sergeants. To provision even such a small force for a siege strained Ogilvie's powers to the utmost. Aid from without he vainly sought from the Committee of Estates, and practically he had to fall back upon what he could draw from the Keith estates in the neighbourhood.

The English Parliamentary forces advanced so rapidly that the Committee of Estates, now at Aberdeen, became apprehensive for the safety of the Honours in Dunnottar, and on 31st August 1651, wrote, suggesting their removal, and offering to send a representative to receive them, but the governor would not give them up. Again, on 10th September, the Committee, dating their letter "Frome Westend Lochtay," desired Lord Balcarras to take steps for the preservation of the Regalia, but the letter did not specifically authorise him to receive them and give a full discharge, so Ogilvie declined to recognise it as a sufficient warrant for delivery. He required a warrant from the Committee of Estates, with an exoneration to the Earl Marischall and to himself. At the same time he pointed out the inadequacy of the resources available for the defence of Dunnottar, and urged the necessity for further supplies and an increase of the garrison to 100 men. Lord Balcarras, on 11th October, sent Sir Arthur Forbes with a letter authorising him to give a receipt for the Honours; but Governor Ogilvie still held to his ground, and wrote to Lord Chancellor Loudoun to the same effect as before. The Earl of Loudoun in his reply practically summed up the position. "I conceive," he says, "that the trust committed to you, and the safe custody of the things under your charge, did require that victual, a competent number of stout and honest soldiers, and all other necessaries, should have been provided, and put in the castle before you had been in any hazards; and if you be in good condition, or that you can timely supply yourself with all necessaries, and the place be tenable against all attempts of the enemy, I doubt not but you will hold out. But if you want provisions, soters,

and ammunition, and cannot hold out at the assaults of the enemy, which is feared and thought you cannot do; if you be hardlye persewed, I know no better expedient than that the Honours of the Crowne be speedilye and saiffie transported to some remote and strong castle or hold in the Highlands, and I wish you had delivered them to the Lord Ballcarras, as was desired by the Committee of Estates: nor do I know any better way for preservatione of the thingis, and your exoneration; and it will be an inexpressible lose and shame if these thingis shall be taken by the enemy, and very dishonourable for yourself. So having granted you the best advice I can at present, I trust you will with all care and faithfulness be answerable, according to the trust committed to you."

By November the English were at hand. On the 8th, and again on the 22nd, Ogilvy was summoned by the Parliamentary commanders to surrender *Dunnottar*, which, they said, he held for the Earl Marisshall, the proprietor, who had himself submitted. His refusal was emphatic, and accompanied by a declaration that he held the Castle for the king, and by commission from his Majesty. His position, however, became more and more critical, and the Governor wrote to Charles II. on 20th December, to point out the straits he was in, and suggest the removal of the Honours by sea, but nothing really could be done, and, beyond the encouragement of a letter written by the king on a scrap of paper and smuggled into the castle, Ogilvie remained unaided.

The responsibility laid upon him as custodian of the Honours pressed heavily on the Governor, who could see no way out of the difficulty. At this crisis, a scheme for the removal of these royal emblems was devised by his wife, in concert with Christian Fletcher, wife of the Rev. James Granger, minister of Kinneff, a neighbouring parish. The Dowager Countess Marisshall was either privy to the plot, or as seems perhaps more likely, was made aware of it very shortly afterwards. Mrs Granger obtained leave from the English commander to visit the Governor's wife, and without Ogilvie's knowledge, the Regalia were entrusted to her, and boldly taken out of the castle, the crown concealed in her lap, and the sword and sceptre in bundles of flax carried by a serving-woman. Mrs Granger had to walk from the gate and along the narrow steep path to

her house, passing through the English camp without suspicion, though the politeness of the General, who himself assisted her to mount, increased the risk of discovery. She, however, rode quietly away with her treasure. The very boldness and simplicity of the plot had ensured its success, and the Honours of Scotland were saved!

They were lodged first, it is said, in the bottom of a bed at the manse until Mr Granger had an opportunity for burying them securely in Kinneff Church. The account of their concealment is given by him in an acknowledgment granted to the Countess Marischall on 31st March 1652:—"I, Mr James Granger, minister at Kinneff, grant me to have in my custody the Honours of the Kingdom, viz., the croun, sceptre, and sword. For the croun and sceptre I raised the pavement-stone just before the pulpit, in the night tyme, and digged under it ane hole, and put them in there, and filled up the hole, and layed down the stone just as it was before, and removed the mould that remained, that none would have discerned the stone to have been raised at all. The sword again, at the west end of the church, amongst some common saits that stand there, I digged down in the ground betwixt the twa foremost of these saits, and laid it down within the case of it, and covered it up, as that removing the superfluous mould it could not be discerned by anybody; and if it shall please God to call me by death before they be called for, your ladyship will find them in that place."

With the removal of the Regalia a load must have been taken off the minds of the Governor and his wife, but like a brave soldier he still continued to hold out, and that notwithstanding a warrant from the Earl Marischall, who had submitted to the Commonwealth. At length, however, on being granted highly honourable and advantageous terms, on 4th June 1652, Ogilvie surrendered.

One of the articles of capitulation provided—"That the Croun and Scepter of Scotland, together with all other ensigns of Regallitie, be delivered to mee, or a good account thereof, for the use of the Parliament, &c."

Bitter was the disappointment and great the wrath of the besiegers on finding the Regalia gone, no one could say whither. The ex-Governor was mulcted in heavy fines, on the ground of his having violated the

terms of the capitulation, and both he and his wife were rigorously imprisoned, in the hope of extorting some information, but though Mrs Ogilvie gradually sank and died from the effects of her treatment, in her last words she adjured her husband never to reveal the secret entrusted to him. Nor did Mr and Mrs Granger escape without their share of suspicion, and even it is said of ill-usage, but all availed nothing. The Parliamentarians could obtain no clue, and after a time Cromwell gave up the search in despair, and allowed Ogilvie to be set at liberty. It seems probable that he was ultimately deceived by a rumour spread by the Countess Marischall, to the effect that her younger son Sir John Keith had carried the Regalia safely with him to France; and as he had gone abroad at the time they disappeared, the story had an air of probability, which was strengthened by letters from Keith himself expressing his satisfaction at having preserved these royal emblems. He was imprisoned on his return, and then by a pretended confession of having delivered the *Honours to Charles II. at Paris*, still further confirmed the story.

At the Restoration the Countess Marischall at once hastened to court to impart the secret to King Charles II., and to claim for herself and her younger son the whole credit of having preserved the Honours from destruction, whilst Ogilvie similarly put forward his own claims to recompense and reward. As often happens in such cases, the royal favour was shown to those whose rank and influence commanded most attention, rather than to the brave Governor himself. Ogilvie had the empty honours of a baronetcy, an augmented blazon of arms, and a change in the feudal tenure of his estate of Barras from wardholding to blench; whereas the Honourable Sir John Keith was created Earl of Kintore and Knight Marischall, with a yearly salary of £400. The Scottish Parliament, by an Act passed on 11th January 1661, awarded to Mrs Granger two thousand merks, "as a testimony of their sense of her service" in preserving the Honours of the kingdom.

Between the Marischall family and Sir George Ogilvy a bitter quarrel ensued, each claiming the whole merit of the transaction. Upon this we need only remark, that Sir John Keith took no part himself in the actual rescue, and that it is doubtful whether the Countess, his mother,

knew of it until it had been safely effected; while, on the other hand, both Sir George and his wife were active agents in the matter, and suffered severely for what they had done, even to the sacrifice of the poor lady's life.

The belt belonging to the sword of state, though not now in the Crown Room, has been preserved. It was found carefully concealed in the wall of the house of Barras long after these events. It is adorned with emblems wrought in silver-gilt, and similar to those appearing on the scabbard of the sword. A relic of this kind, undoubtedly the property of the Crown, should surely be claimed from the present holders, and restored to the Crown Room, to take its place beside the Honours of which it forms a part.

This history of the Honours after the Restoration is resumed by an entry in *Nicoll's Diary* for December 1660 :—"These thrie auncient Honores of the Kingdom of Scotland, viz. the croun, the schepter, and the sword, being miracolouslie preserved by the Erle of Marschell and his brethir, wer brocht in be thame to Edinburgh to be maid use of at the doun sitting of the aprocheing Parliament" (p. 312). They had, it appears from the records of Parliament, been given up to the Countess Marischall on her producing a warrant from the King ordering her to deliver them to the Earl, her son.

When the Scottish Parliament met on 8th May 1662, the Regalia were brought to that high court, and "at thair doun cuming fra the Castell the cannonnes were lowsit and dischargit" (p. 366). So again, at the adjournment on 15th September of the same year, the *Diary* quaintly tells how they "wer convoyit up to the Castell of Edinburgh in the Commissioneris koach led with sex horses, . . . trumpettis sounding, and at the entrie of the Castell and resait of these Honores the cannonnes roring." Again, on 17th June 1663 :—"The Honores wer with all reverence brocht doun fra the Castell to the Parliament Hous with a gaird on horseback to attend them" (p. 392); and afterwards they were taken back to the Castle in a "kotche" with like honourable convoy.

Similar ceremony was observed whenever the Regalia were brought from the Castle or restored to it during each of the succeeding Scottish

Parliaments until the year 1707, when the Act of Union put an end to these time-honoured customs.

During the whole of the seventeenth century, indeed down to the Union, the curious procession, styled "the Ryding of the Parliament," was regulated by orders of the Privy Council, showing that the Regalia took their place in due order. One example, that of the order in the year 1600, will suffice to illustrate what this "ryding" was. The Commissioners of "Burrowis" came first, next those of "Barronis," then untitled officers of state, followed by ecclesiastics, and peers in due order of precedence. The various heraldic officials were placed immediately in front of "the sword, the sceptour, and the croun immediatlie befor his hienes persoun," and all are described as wearing "futmantillis," or long mantles reaching to the ground.

To the discussions which preceded the Union not a little acrimony was added by a report that the Honours were to be taken to England, and in order to guard against any such attempt, the following article was introduced into the Treaty:—"That the croun, sceptre, and sword of state, records of Parliament, &c., continue to be kept as they are within that part of the United Kingdom now called Scotland; and that they shall so remain in all times coming, notwithstanding the Union." It is but just to add that no opposition was raised to this amendment.

At last on 16th January 1707, the Treaty of Union was solemnly ratified and touched with the sceptre by the Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor, who, when handing it back to the clerk, so entirely forgot the gravity and significance of the occasion as to say, "There is an end of an auld sang." Base and slighting words, uttered perhaps at random, but sinking deep in the hearts of a proud and brave people. These Honours were indeed the outward and visible sign of that independence for which Scotland so long and so courageously fought, and in the somewhat one-sided bargain that was being made, no words should have been heard in a Scottish Parliament to derogate from the respect due to such memories.

The Regalia were on the last adjournment of a Scottish Parliament under formal instruments handed over by William Wilson, an under-clerk of Session Depute, as procurator for the Earl Marischall, to the

Lord Treasurer-Depute. The Earl at the same time reserved his hereditary right to the care of the Regalia at all times, whether Parliament was sitting or not, a claim which history does not appear to justify. He protested that they should not be removed from the Crown Room without due notice to him or his successors; and Mr Wilson, in the course of the protest, gave a long description of the Regalia, with a most preposterous estimate of their value.

Thus the Honours of Scotland, on 26th March 1707, were locked up in the oak chest in the Crown Room, secured under bolt and bar, and left to silence and seeming oblivion for more than a century. It is not surprising that after a while, when nothing was heard of them, and they had vanished from public sight, suspicions arose that the provisions of the Treaty of Union had been quietly ignored, and the Regalia surreptitiously removed to England. Sir Walter Scott mentions, as a circumstance likely to enhance this feeling, that a crown was shown in the jewel office of the Tower as that of Scotland. At present no such crown is shown, and no trace of it can be obtained; but, whatever it was, certainly it was not the crown of Scotland. It would seem almost incredible that any Government could perpetrate such an act of senseless folly in the teeth of a solemn and friendly treaty, but after Mons Meg had been carried off to the Tower, for no earthly purpose but to show official power, Scotsmen believed them capable of doing anything.

As years rolled by these feelings ceased at least to find audible expression, and the Crown Room remained so absolutely uncared for that it was well its treasures were not liable to rust, or moth, or decay.

A question, however, arose in 1794, regarding some missing records, and on the chance of their having been deposited in the well-nigh forgotten chamber, the doors were opened under a royal warrant. The search was fruitless, but there stood the great oak chest known to have been the receptacle of the Regalia in 1707. As the warrant gave the Commissioners no power to open this, it remained undisturbed, and with additional precautions once more the Crown Room was locked and secured.

At length in 1817, by the urgent efforts of Sir Walter Scott and others who felt a deep interest in the inquiry, King George IV. was

induced to issue his warrant to the Scottish Officers of State, and certain public officials, including Sir Walter himself, to open the Crown Room and search for the Regalia. We cannot do better than quote the words of the Wizard of the North himself, when fired by a generous and romantic enthusiasm he describes the scene:—"The chest seemed to return a hollow and empty sound to the strokes of the hammer, and even those whose expectations had been most sanguine felt at the moment the probability of disappointment, and could not but be sensible that, should the result of the search confirm these forebodings, it would only serve to show that a national affront and injury had been sustained, for which it might be difficult, or rather impossible, to obtain any redress. The joy was therefore extreme when, the ponderous lid of the chest being forced open, at the expense of some time and labour, the Regalia were discovered lying at the bottom covered with linen cloths, exactly as they had been left in the year 1707. . . . The rejoicing was so general and sincere as plainly to show that, however altered in other respects, the people of Scotland had lost nothing of that national enthusiasm which formerly had displayed itself in grief for the loss of these emblematic Honours, and now was expressed in joy for their recovery." Following on the report of the Commissioners, another royal warrant was issued on 8th July 1818, appointing the Officers of State Commissioners for the keeping of the Regalia. By virtue of its powers, Sir Adam Ferguson was appointed keeper, and the Honours of Scotland have been open to public inspection since that date, and have been visited by vast numbers of persons. In 1838, the separate office of keeper was abolished, and the custody of the Crown Room entrusted to the Queen's and Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer.

Our historical narrative might seem incomplete were no reference made to the other minor articles which have more recently been placed beside the Honours. These are three in number. First, the Great George and Collar of the Order of the Garter; next, the St Andrew of the Order of the Thistle, and, lastly, a Ring said to have been used at the coronation of Charles I. They were all kept in England, and when James VII. fled in 1688, he took them with him to France. Long years afterwards his grandson Henry, Cardinal of York, restored them

gracefully to George the Third, who had considerably granted him a pension when ruined by the French Revolution.

Scotland has not been slow to take full advantage of the benefits derived from the Act of Union, though the lion's share fell to her wealthy neighbour, but in so doing she has also preserved intact the greatness of that national spirit, which through long centuries served to maintain her independence, in the presence of the powerful sister kingdom. That spirit is with us now. Here in Scotland, among Scotsmen, we know full well no man will gainsay us when we affirm, that these venerable relics, curious as they may be to the antiquarian, interesting as they are to the historian, have a yet higher value, a yet deeper power. It is not the Crown, or the Sceptre, or the Sword that we regard, it is rather the emblems of that spirit of national independence, so marked in the annals of the past, yet breathing in our country and its institutions to-day. We may cherish a true affection for our "auld ennemie" of England, and yet with pride recall the patriotism and love of freedom which has raised us from what we were then to what we are now.