

II.

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE REGALIA OF SCOTLAND.

By ALEXANDER J. S. BROOK, F.S.A. Scot (PLATES III-V.)

In the inventories of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewel-house between the years 1539¹ and 1579 the Crown, the Sceptre, and the Sword of State are included, but they are described in terms so general as to be almost valueless except for the purpose for which they were prepared.

The description in 1621, when Sir Patrick Murray of Elibank delivered

¹ Inventure of the clething abilyamentis and uthir graith of the richt excellent and mychti prince king James the fyft king of Scotland maid the xxv day of the moneth of Marche the yeir of God MDXXXIX than being in his hienes ward-robbis.

JOWELLIS.

ITEM ane crowne of gold sett with perle and precious stanis.

Item in primis of diamentis twenty.

Item of fyne orient perle thre scoir and aucht wantand ane floure delice of gold.

Item ane septour with ane grete bereall and ane perle in the heid of it.

Item twa swerdis of honour with twa beltis the auld belt wantand foure stuthis.

Item the hatt that come fra the paip of gray velvett with the haly gaist sett all with orient perle.

Item the ordoure of the Empriour with the goldin fleis.

Item the ordoure of Ingland with sanct George with ane habit the gown of crammesye velvett with ane kirtill of purpoure velvett with ane hude of crammesye velvett.

Item the ordoure of France of the cokill and sanct Michael with ane habit of ane claith of silvir bordourit with the cokkill of gold with the hude of the samyne sort.

Item ane pair of tabillis of silvir ourgilt with gold indentit with jasp and cristallyne with table men and chess men of jasp and cristallyne.

—*Thomson's Inventories*, pp. 48-9.

Inventair of the jowellis plenissingis artaillierie and munitioun being within the castell of Edinburgh pertening to our soverane lord and his hienes derrest moder xxix day of Marche M.D.LXXVIII.

The sceptor contening thre peces with a stane of cristall.

The sword of estate.

The crowne compleit and furnisshed with stanys and perll without ony appearance of inlaik or diminisching.—*Thomson's Inventories*, p. 262

There is also a similar entry to the last under the date 19th March 1579 (*ibid.*, p. 238).

up the Honours to the Earl of Mar,¹ the newly appointed Lord High Treasurer, and also that drawn up when the Regalia were deposited in the Castle of Edinburgh after the Union in 1707, are the most complete of any of the old accounts which are now in existence, and they are specially valuable in this respect that they note the exact condition of each article of the Regalia at these dates, mentioning in detail the portions that are amissing and that are otherwise defective. Nevertheless they are far from accurate, even in mere description; and the Act of Deposition is rather misleading in some of the inferences which are added. In both these accounts much is left unsaid that is interesting to know, and which can be readily ascertained upon examination.

*Instrument upon lodging the Regalia in the Castle of Edinburgh,
26th March 1707.*

AT THE CASTLE of Edinburgh, and within the Crown roume there betwixt the hours of one and two afternoon of the twenty sixth day of March in the one thousand sevin hundreth and seventh year of our Lord and sixth year of the reign of her Majesty Anne by the grace of God Queen of Scotland England France and Ireland Defender of the Faith.

THE WHICH DAY in presence of us notarys publick and witnesses under subscribing COMPEARED personally William Wilson one of the under clerks of

¹ Act in favouris of Sr Patrick Murray of Elibank, anent his Majesties Honouris and Silver Plaitt (*Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland*, p. lvii), in which it is stated that the Lords of Secret Council "sighted the saidis honnouris, and remarkit the same verie narrowlie, and fand that the Crowne had in the neder circle thairof nyne garnittes, foure jasintis, three counterfeite emeraulds, four amatystis, and twentietwa pearlis. Abone the neder Circle sax small thine triangle diamontis, ten small triangle challoms, filled with blew amalyne in steade of stones, tua small emptie challoms, haveing no thing in thame bot the blak tent, and tua challoms with tua flatt quhyte stones with the boddum upmost, nixt abone the small challoms nyntene grite and small rag pearle, and within the roise, betuix the flour de Luce, threttiefve pearle sum less sum more, with ten quhyte stonis in the middis thairof. In the foure quartaris of the bonnett of the Crowne foure pearle sett in foure peccis of garniseene of gold enamaled, and in the croce abone the Crowne, ane amatist and aught perlis. And that the sceptour wes in three peccis, haveing ane perle in the top, and ane cristell globe benethe, the heade quhairof hes bene brokin, and mendit with wyre. And that the sword had the plumbett birsit and brokine, with ane voyde place in everie syde thairof, and the scabart thairof riven, birsit, and brokine, wanting some peccis out of it."

Session Depute Marischal for himself as procurator for and in name and behalf of WILLIAM EARL MARISCHAL lord Keith and Altrie &c. great Marischall of the Kingdom of SCOTLAND heritable keeper of the Regalia thereof viz. Crown Sceptre and Sword And there in presence of David Earl of Glasgow lord Boyle &c. Lord Thesaurer depute Who for himself and in name of the remanent Lords Commissioners of the Thesaury was present to receive the above regalia. The said William Wilson after producing and reading a procuratory granted by the said Noble Earl to him of the contents therein and after-mentioned dated and registred in the books of Council and Session on the twenty fifth day of March instant DID also produce to the said Lord Thesaurer depute A Schedule signed by him and us notarys publick under subscribing containing an Inventory and particular description of the said REGALIA as follows THE IMPERIAL CROWN OF SCOTLAND Is of pure gold enriched with many precious stones diamonds pearls and curious enamblings Its parts and specifick forms are these PRIMO Its composed of a large broad circle or fillet which goes round the head adorned with twenty two large precious stones viz. topazes amethysts garnets emeralds rubbies and hyacinths in collets of gold of various forms and with curious enamblings and betwixt each of these collets and stones are interposed great oriental pearls one of which is wanting SECUNDO Above the great circle there is another small one formed with twenty points adorned with the like number of diamonds and saphyrs alternatively and the points are topped with as many great pearls after which form are the coronets of our Lords Barons TERTIO The upper circle is relevat or hightened with ten crosses floree each being adorned in the center with a great diamond betwixt four great pearls placed in cross X 1 and 1 but some of the pearls are wanting and the number extant upon the upper part of the Crown besides what are in the under circle and in the cross patee ar fifty one and these crosses floree are interchanged with other ten high flours de lis all alternative with the foresaid great pearls below which top the points of the second small circle. NOTA This is said to be the ancient form of the Crown of Scotland since the league made betwixt Achaius King of Scots and Charles the great of France the specifick form of our Crown differing from other Imperial Crowns in that it is hightened or raised with crosses floree alternatively with flours de lis The crown of France is hightened only with flours de lis and that of England with crosses patee alternatively with flours de lis Our Crown of Scotland since King James the sixth went to England has been ignorantly represented by herauld painters engravers and other tradesmen after the form of the crown of England with crosses patee whereas there is not one but that which tops the mond but all crosses floree such as we see on our old coins and these which top our old churches These crowns were not anciently arched or closs Charles the eight of France is said to be the first in France who took a closs crown as appears by his medals coined in the year one thousand four hundred and ninety-five being designed IMPERATOR ORIENTIS Edward the fifth in England in the year one thousand four hundred and eighty three carried a closs Crown as is observed by Selden And our Crown is arched thus QUARTO From the upper circle proceed four arches adorned with enambled figures which meet and close at the top surmounted with a mond of gold or celestial glob enambled blew semee or powdered with stars crossed and enambled with a large cross patee adorned in the extremities with a great pearl such a cross

tops the Church of Holyrudehouse and cantoned with other four in the angles In the center of the cross patee there is a square amethyst which points the fore part of the crown and behind or on the other side is a great pearl And below it on the foot of the paler part of the cross are these characters J R 5 by which it appears King James the fifth was the first that closed the crown with arches and topped it with a mond and cross patee But it is evident primo That the money and medals coined in the reigns of King James the third and fourth have a coss crown and it's no less clear that the arches of the Crown were not put there from the beginning or at the making of the Crown because primo they are tacked by tacks of gold to the ancient crown Secundo the workmanship of the arch is not so good, and there is a small distinction in the fineness betwixt the first and the last the latter being superfine Gold and the other not so exactly to that standard, whereof tryal has been made QUINTO The tire or bonnet of the Crown was of purple velvet but in the year J^mVI^c and eighty five it got a cap of crimson velvet adorned as before with four plates of gold richly wrought and inambled And on each of them a great pearl half inch in diameter which appear between the four arches and the bonnet is turned up with ermine Upon the lowest circle of the crown immediately above the ermine there are eight small holes disposed two and two together on the four quarters of the crown in the middle space betwixt the arches to which they have laced or tyed Diamonds or precious stones The crown is nine inches broad in diameter being twenty-sevin inches about and in height from the under circle to the top of the cross patee six inches and an half It always stands on a square cushion of crimson velvet adorned with fringes and four tassels of gold threid hanging down at each corner THE SCEPTER The stalk or stem of the scepter being silver double overgilt is two foot in length of hexagon form with three buttons or knops answering thereto Betwixt the first button and the second is the handle of hexagon form furling in the middle and plain Betwixt the second button and the third there are three sides engraven that under the Virgin Mary one of the statues that are on the top of the stalk is the letter J Upon the second side under Saint James the letter R and on the third under Saint Andrew the figure 5 The side betwixt J & R is engraven with fourteen flours de lis and on the side betwixt the figure 5 and the letter J are ten thistles continued from one stem from the third button to the capital the three sides under the statues are plain and on the other three are antique engravings viz. sacramental cups antique Medusa's heads and rullion foliages Upon the top of the stalk is an antique capital of leaves embossed upon the abacus whereof arises round the prolonged stem surrounded with three statues First that of the blessed Virgin crowned with an open crown holding in her right arm OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR and in her left hand a mond ensigned with a cross Next to hir on her right hand stands the Statue of Saint Andrew in an apostolical garment and on his head a bonnet like a Scots bonnet holding in his right hand a cross or Saltire, a part whereof is broke off and in his left elevat a book open On the blessed Virgin's left hand Saint Andrew's right hand stands another statue seeming to represent Saint James with the like apostolical garment and a hanging neck superadded thereto And upon his head a little hat like to the Roman pilium In his right hand half elevat a book open and in his left a pastoral staff the head is broke off And above each statue being two inches and a half excepting the Virgin which is a little

less the finishing of a Gothic niche. Betwixt each statue arises a rullion in forme of a dolphine very distinct in length four inches foliage along the body their heads upward and effronted inward and the turning of their tails ending in a rose or cinquefoil outward. Above these rullions and statues stands another hexagon button or knot with oak leaves under every corner and above it a crystall globe of two inches and a quarter diameter within three bars jointed above where it is surmounted with six rullions and here again with an oval glob topped with an oriental pearl an half inch diameter. The whole scepter in length is thirty four inches. **THE SWORD** The sword is in length five foot. The handle and pommel are of silver overgilt in length fifteen inches. The pommel is round and somewhat flat on the two sides. On the middle of each there is of embossed work a garland and in the center there have been two enambled plates which are broke off. The traverse or cross of the sword being of silver overgilt is in length seventene inches and an half its form is like two Dolphins the heads joining and their tails end into accorns. The shell is hinging down towards the point of the sword formed like an escalop flourished or rather like a great oak leaf. On the blade of the sword are indented with gold these letters JULIUS II : P. The Scabbard is of crimson velvet covered with silver gilded and wrought in philagram work into branches of the oak tree leaves and accorns. On the scabbard are placed four round plates of silver overgilt two of them near to the crampit are enambled blue and thereon in golden characters Julius II. Pon : Max : N. At the mouth of the scabbard opposite to the heck is a large square plate of silver enambled purple in a cartouch azur an oak tree eradicated and fructuated or and above the cartouch the papal ensigne viz. Two keys in saltire adossee their bowets formed like roses or cinquefoils tyed with trappings and tessells hanging down at each side of the cartouche. Above the keys is the papal tiar environed with three crowns with two labells turned up adorned with crosses. Pope Julius the second who gifted this sword to King James the fourth had for his armorial figures an oak tree fructuated which is the reason the sword is adorned with such figures. A hill and a star. Which figures I find not on any part of the sword. If they (have) been on the two enambled plates which are lost off from the pommel I know not. But its certain this pope had such figures as appears by those verses made by Voltoline a famous Italiane poet as the same are mentioned by Hermanus Hermes a German writer who gives us these lines found in the monastery. *Quercus mons stella formant tua stemmata princeps, hisque tribus trinum stat diadema tuum, Tuta navis petri medijs non flectitur undis, mons tegit a ventis stellaque monstrat iter* AND thereafter UPON DELIVERY of the above Regalia to the said Lord Thesaurer depute and upon lodging thereof with the foresaid description of the same in an orderly manner in a chist within the said crown roome the said William Wilson as procurator for and in name and behalf of the said Earl Marischall and in the terms of his said procuratory PROTESTED that the delivering up of the regalia foresaid shall not invalidat or be prejudicial to the said Earl Marischall his heritable right of keeping thereof both in tyme of Parliament and intervals either in the said Earl his castle of Dumnotter as hitherto his ancestors have done or any where else within the Kingdom of Scotland that his Lordship and his Successors shall think secure and convenient. As also in the terms of the act ratifying the Union betwixt this Kingdom of Scotland and the Kingdom of England

whereby it is stipulated and agreed by both parliaments that the Crown Scepter and Sword of state shall be continued to be kept as they are at present within this Kingdom of Scotland and that they shall so remain in all time coming notwithstanding of the union PROTESTED That they shall remain within the said crown rume of the castle of Edinburgh And in case the government shall find the transportation thereof from Edinburgh castle to any other secure place within this Kingdom at any time hereafter necessary PROTESTED also That the same may not be done untill intimation be made to the said Earl Marischall and his successors to the effect his Lordship or they may attend and see them safely transported and securely lodged And made due and lawful intimation of the premisses to colonel James Stewart deputy Governor of the said castle then present that he might not pretend ignorance AND ALSO as procurator foresaid and likeways for himself as continued keeper of the said Regalia by deputation from the said Earl Marischal and the deceast George Earl Marischal his father since the third of August 1^mVI^o and eighty-one in the reigns of King Charles the Second King James the seventh King William and Queen Mary and of her present Majesty Queen Anne DECLARED that the same were now delivered to the said David Earl of Glasgow Lord Thesaurer depute for himself and in name foresaid, in the same state case and condition He then received the same and offered to give his oath That he the said William Wilson nor none to his knowledge has ever directly or indirectly embazelled or taken away from the said Regalia any of the jewels pearls or others appertaining thereto And therefore seeing he had with exact care and continued fidelity and honesty discharged the said trust reposed in him DID PROTEST to be liberated and exonered for his administration in the said office during the said hail bygone space but prejudice to the said Earl Marischal of keeping the same in all time coming as formerly by himself and the said William Wilson as his depute or any other whom his Lordship shall appoint AND UPON all and sundry the premisses the said William Wilson and as procurator for and in name and behalf of the said William Earl Marischal asked and took instruments ane or mae in the hands of us notarys publick under subscribing. Thir things were done place and time above mentioned BEFORE and in presence of Mr David Leslie son to the Earl of Leven Governour of the castle of Edinburgh Sir James Mackenzie Knight and Baronet Clerk of the Thesaury George Allardice of that ilk Captain John Cockburn son to the deceast Mr John Cockburn advocate Francis Dunlop of that ilk William Morrison of Prestongrange James Malcolm of Grange and Captain Patrick Auchmoutie two of the Earl Marischal's battoneers John Barclay of Cullairnie Patrick Durham of Omachie Mr George Erskin son to Sir John Erskin of Balgounie deceast William Murray writer to the signet Thomas Gibson writer in Edinburgh son to the deceast Sir Alexander Gibson of Paintland one of the clerks of Session Mungo Smith John Reid Walter Murray and Robert Bull merchants in Edinburgh Mr John Corsar Alexander Keith George Forbes Alexander Farquharson and Alexander Johnston writers there John Hog and David Grahame macers of privy council Charles Maitland John Adam Andrew Graham of Jordanstoun and Patrick Grant of Bonhard four macers of session John Letham her Majesty's smith David Graham eldest lawful son to the said David Grahame Macer of privy Council William Robertson son to William Robertson one of the under clerks of session Robert

Douglas eldest lawful son of captain Robert Douglas of Millrig merchant in Edinburgh With diverse others witnesses specially called and required to the premisses.

Et ego vero Alexander Baillie clericus Edinburgensis diocesis notarius publicus &c. [in the usual form].

Et ego vero Joannes Corse clericus Edinburgensis diocesis notarius publicus &c.

Et ego vero Gulielmus Brown clericus S^{ti} Andree diocesis notarius publicus &c.

Et ego vero Georgius Cockburne clericus Edinburgensis diocesis notarius publicus &c.

Et ego vero Alex^r Alisone clericus Dunkeldensis diocesis notarius publicus &c.

Et ego vero Robertus Bannatyne clericus Edinburgensis diocesis notarius publicus &c.

Et ego vero Vilielmus Robertson clericus Aberdonensis diocesis notarius publicus &c.

James Malcolm witness	George Erskine witness
Robert Douglas witness	Walter Murray witness
P. Auchmout witness	Tho. Gibson witness
J. Corsar witness	Alex. Keith witness
An. Græme witness	Pat. Durham witness
A Cockburne witness	Pat. Grant witness
John Reid witness	John Barclay witness
F. Dunlop of that Ilk witness	J. Adam witness
Al. Farquharson witness	John Hog witness
Jo. Cockburn witness	Mungo Smith witness
William Murray witness	John Letham witness

The committee who in 1818 rescued the Regalia from the oblivion that had enshrouded them for more than a century prepared a minute inventory, which is mentioned, although not published, in the *Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, MDCCCXXIX (p. 12). This does not appear to have differed much from the older descriptions, for Sir Walter Scott, in dealing with the subject, follows very much on the lines of the account in the Act of Deposition in 1707.

The illustrations, moreover, which accompanied the report of the committee were prepared in considerable haste¹—they appear to have

¹The Crown was drawn by W. H. Lizars; the Sceptre by Andrew Geddes; the Sword by W. Allan, and its Scabbard by W. H. Lizars; and the Mace of the Lord High Treasurer by the Rev. John Thomson.

been done in one day by different artists, and under conditions that did not tend towards accuracy.

There was thus undoubtedly room for an accurate and detailed account of these relics of our national independence, interesting not only to the archæologist, but to every Scotsman, accompanied by illustrations prepared with that care which the importance of the subject warranted.

It was with considerable satisfaction therefore that I learned that the Council of our Society had authorised the undertaking of this enquiry, and that the Marquis of Lothian, the Secretary for Scotland, had granted the necessary facilities for access,¹ and had permitted the Regalia to be removed from their case in the Crown Room for examination.

The Regalia, which have so fondly been called by our historians "the Honours of Scotland," consist of three articles,—the Crown, the Sceptre, and the Sword of State.

Their value is not so much intrinsic, although that is considerable, as antiquarian. The precise antiquity of the sceptre and the sword can be easily ascertained, and it can be determined also with regard to the greater part of the crown.

In dealing with the subject I purpose, firstly, to describe the different articles, and then to discuss such questions as an examination coupled with the records and accounts suggests, and which are germane to the enquiry.

THE CROWN.

The crown consists of a circle (fig. 1) or fillet of gold, $1\frac{9}{16}$ inch broad and $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. On the lower exterior edge there is mounted a moulding of drawn flat wire $\frac{5}{16}$ inch in breadth, which increases the diameter at the exterior of the moulding to $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches. On the upper edge there is mounted a similar moulding $\frac{1}{4}$ inch broad. On the band between these mouldings are disposed at equal distances 22 large stones, consisting of 9 carbuncles, 4 jacinths, 4 amethysts, 2 white

¹ During a period of eight days I had the privilege of handling the Regalia, and every facility was given, so that the examination might be as minute and exhaustive as was possible, and I have to acknowledge the courtesy of Mr William G. Shiells and Mr P. P. Sealy, the officials of Exchequer in charge during that period, and also of the Warden of the Regalia, Mr Robert Brownlee.

topazes and 2 rock crystals foiled to represent emeralds, and 1 white topaz with yellow foil behind. These stones have all been cut and



Fig. 1. The Crown without the Bonnet (scale, one-half).

polished by a lapidary, some of them *en cabochon*, others table cut and rose cut, and others in styles so irregular that they cannot be described

by any special term. The tradition which describes them as being "uncut by a lapidary" is altogether erroneous. They are set in gold collets, closed behind, rubbed over on the setting edge, and with ornaments in imitation of claws overlaid (fig. 2). The settings project from

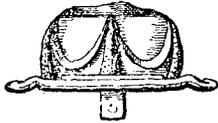


Fig. 2. Setting of the Stones on the Fillet of the Crown (actual size).

the surface of the fillet to the table of the stones on an average about half an inch. Behind each of them is an ornamental gold plate, made separately and detachable, which displays above and below the stones semicircular bands of gold, enamelled black and white, apparently in imitation of ermine, and which are connected at each side of the setting by a chased floriated ornament.

Between each of these settings there are interposed pearls—13 Oriental and 7 Scottish—mounted in a setting formed of triangular or knife-edged wire—the edge pointing inwards—semicircular in form,

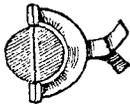


Fig. 3. Setting of the Pearls on the Fillet and Crosses of the Crown (actual size).

bearing at each extremity a joint wire through which passes the pin (fig. 3) which fixes the pearl. Originally there have been 22 pearls, but two of them, both pearl and setting, are amissing.

On the lower mouldings of the fillet are four pairs of holes, placed equally at the four quarters, about half an inch apart, apparently intended for lacing the cap to the fillet.

The fillet or band is heightened with ten crosses fleury alternating with ten fleurs de lis, having between each fleur de lis and cross fleury a ray, on the point of each of which has originally been impaled an Oriental pearl. On one of the points the pin which fixed the pearl is still standing, but the pearl is amissing (No. 66, Plate III.); and from another of them the original Oriental pearl appears to have been lost, for a small Scottish pearl has evidently been added afterwards (No. 81, Plate III.).

All the crosses fleury have at one time been enriched with four pearls one at each arm of the cross, and a white topaz of rectangular form, table cut, in the centre. From one of the crosses the latter seems to have been lost, for a pearl appears in the centre (Cross I., Plate III.), and five of them have one or more pearls amissing.

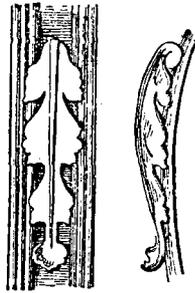
The fleurs de lis are entirely of gold, and are unadorned with any gems.

In the triangular spaces formed by the elevation of the crosses fleury and the fleurs de lis on rays, there have originally been fixed twenty settings (of which one is amissing, No. 53, Plate III.), of various forms—circular, square, triangular and lozenge-shaped. These settings, which are placed directly below each cross fleury and each fleur de lis, have been filled alternately with diamonds and blue enamel; but two of the settings are now empty (Nos. 46 and 60, Plate III.), and one setting filled with enamel has disappeared (No. 53, Plate III.). There are now only eight diamonds, six of them triangular in form and table cut, with ground bevelled edges, one of them circular, and cut in a style slightly resembling a rose diamond, and another lozenge-shaped (the two latter are set with the flat side up), and nine settings filled with blue enamel.

From the fleurs de lis and crosses fleury proceed four radial arches, formed of flat gold wire $\frac{7}{16}$ inch wide, with a moulding on each edge, ornamented with gold and red enamelled oak leaves, with the points curled up (figs. 4 and 5)—apparently of French workmanship—fixed with a split plate spread out behind. Originally there have been three leaves on each arch, but on the one nearest the mound is amissing.

The front and back arches join the upper circle behind the crosses, and are fixed to it by the bearers attached to the pearl and the white topaz, in the centre of the crosses in front and behind.

The fastenings of the pearls immediately above and below the centre settings have also passed through the arches. The side arches join the upper circle at the fleurs de lis, and are fixed thus:—a bridge or arch of wire (fig. 6) has been soldered to the inside of the two fleurs de lis:



Figs. 4 and 5. Enamelled Oak Leaves on the Arches of the Crown (actual size).



Fig. 6. Bridge on the Fleurs de Lis for attaching the Arches.

these bridges pass through corresponding holes in the two arches, and are fixed by the insertion of flat split gold plates like latchet pins, which prevent them separating. The arches are not soldered in any way to the body of the crown.

At the point where the four arches meet, there is placed an ornament of four chased gold leaves—the centre of the leaf and the line of the arch corresponding—with a berry enamelled green between each. Upon this there rests a mound¹ or *celestial globe* of gold, $1\frac{5}{32}$ inch in diameter, *enamelled blue semée or powdered with stars and crossed*. The bands enclosing the upper portion of the globe consist of a horizontal and four radial bands,² and at the points where the latter join the former there are soldered four rings from which at one time jewels have probably been suspended; but they are now empty. A large cross pattée, $1\frac{5}{32}$ inch high—not including a pearl on the top—and $\frac{3}{16}$ inch thick surmounts the mound (figs. 7 and 8). It also is made separately, and is attached to the crown by a left-handed screw, which passes into a tube soldered to the arches, in the inside of which is coiled a wire to fit the thread of the screw. On this tube the leaf ornament and the mound are impaled, and they are made fixtures by the screwing of the cross into position. The body of the cross, both back and front, is decorated with black enamel—the ornament being left in gold. In the centre of the front (fig. 7) is an amethyst of rectangular form and table cut, set in a gold collet projecting $\frac{3}{8}$ inch from the surface of the cross, overlaid with a claw ornament exactly similar to those of the twenty-two stones on the fillet. The setting of this amethyst differs entirely in character and workmanship from that of the mound and cross, which is French, and it is unquestionably an addition—probably to supply the place of a lost pearl—by the hands of the same goldsmith who made the settings on the fillet. The upper and two side extremities of the cross are adorned with pearls: it is cantoned at the other four angles with pearls, and in

¹ The mound was the sign of sovereign authority and majesty.

² The mound is usually crossed with one band, upon the top of which rests the cross, but in the Crown of Scotland it is crossed with two complete or four radial bands. These bands were jewelled in the Crown of England, but they are plain in this crown.

the centre of the back of the cross—immediately as it were behind the amethyst—there is also a pearl. All these are very fine Oriental pearls, and they are fixed in an artistic manner by being covered where the riveting pins are usually visible with small gold rosettes. Two of these rosettes are amissing.

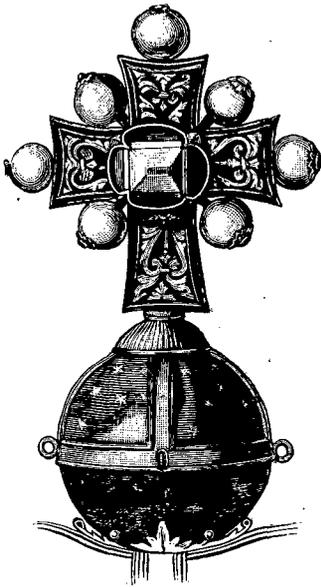


Fig. 7. The Mound and Cross Pattée, front view (actual size).

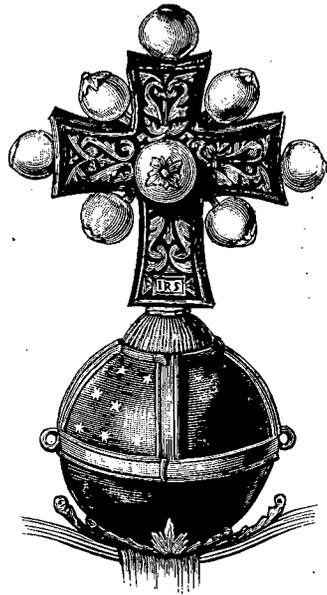


Fig. 8. The Mound and Cross Pattée, back view (actual size).

In the palmar foot of the cross there is enamelled in black within a small rectangular panel, I R 5 (fig. 8).

The crown at present weighs 56 oz. 5 dwt. troy. In 1540, when it was remade, its weight is recorded as 3 lbs. 10 oz. Scots, which is equivalent in English troy weight to 56 oz. 17 dwt. The slight discrepancy can easily be accounted for by the loss of the settings which

are amissing. It can, therefore, have undergone no alteration either in an increase or a diminution of its weight since that date.¹

¹A description, with the weights of the different articles, of the English Regalia, which were converted into coin during the Commonwealth in 1649, may not be uninteresting when compared with the Scottish Regalia :—

The Imperial Crown, weighing 7 l. 6 ounces, enriched with 19 Saphirs (3 of which were exceeding large), 232 Pearls, 58 Rubies, 28 Diamonds, and 2 Emeralds.

The Queen's Crown, weighing 3 l. 10 ounces 1 half, enriched with 20 Saphirs, 22 Rubies, and 83 Pearls.

An ancient Crown, weighing 2 l. 1 ounce, enriched with one fair Diamond (valued by the Trustees, who rated such things far beneath their worth, at 200*l.*), 13 other Diamonds, 10 Rubies, 1 Emerald, 1 Saphir (valued by them at 60*l.*), and 70 Pearls: which Stones and Pearls weighed 3 ounces.

The Globe or Orb, weighing 1 l. 5 ounces 1 quarter.

Two Coronation Bracelets (adorned with 3 Rubies Ballas, and 12 Pearls weighing an ounce), in all 7 ounces 1 quarter.

Two Scepters, weighing 18 ounces 1 quarter.

A long Rod, silver gilt, weighing 1 l. 5 ounces.

One Gold Porringer and Cover, weighing 15 ounces 1 half.

One Chalice, adorned with 2 Saphirs and 2 Ballas Rubies, weighing 15 ounces 1 half.

Two Patenas, enamelled, weighing 25 ounces 1 half.

Two Spoons, with flat heads, weighing 5 ounces 1 quarter.

One Taster, enamelled with a Phenix, weighing 5 ounces 1 half.

Two Offering Pieces and a Sey of Gold, weighing 10 ounces 1 quarter.

Queen Edith's Crown (formerly thought to be of massy Gold, but upon tryal found Silver gilt) enricht with Garnets, Pearls, Saphirs, and other stones, weighing 50 ounces.

King Elfrid's Crown, of Gold Wirework, set with Stones, and two little Bells weighing 79 ounces 1 half.

A Patena, enamelled, set with Stones, weighing 23 ounces 1 half.

The Ampulla, set with Stones and Pearls, weighing 8 ounces 1 half.

A large Staff, with a Dove on the top, the upper part Gold, the lower part Silver gilt, weighing 27 ounces.

A small Staff, with a Flower de Lis on the top, being Iron within and Silver gilt without.

Two Scepters, one set with Pearls and Stones, the upper end Gold, weighing 23 ounces, the lower end Silver gilt. The other Sceptre Silver gilt, having a Dove, weighing 7 ounces 3 quarters.

The Gold of the Tassels of a Liver-coloured Robe (adorned with Pearl), weighing 4 ounces, also the Gold of the Neck Button of the coat, weighing 1 ounce.

A pair of Silver gilt Spurs, set with 12 stones (having straps of Crimson Silk), weighing 6 ounces 3 quarters.

(*Inventory Book of the late King's Goods*, fo. 36a, quoted in Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, pp. 220, 221).

The bonnet of the crown is of crimson silk velvet. Originally it was of purple velvet, but the colour was altered in 1685,¹ to crimson. The present bonnet is not the ancient one which was in the crown when it was found in 1818. It has been renewed several times since that date.

The bonnet is adorned on each of the four quarters with a large Oriental pearl about half an inch in diameter, set on an oblong pierced gold ornament (fig. 9), delicately enamelled in red, blue, green, and white. These ornaments are of similar manufacture to the mound and cross pattée, and would appear to have been made at the same time and by the same hands as the latter. Sewn to the bonnet, and projecting below the moulding of the fillet, there is a band of ermine.



Fig. 9. Ornament on the Quarters of the Bonnet (actual size).

The crown rests on a crimson silk velvet cushion of recent manufacture, 19 inches square, with gold lace fringe and tassels at the corners. There is also an inner band of gold lace on the cushion, and at each corner there is embroidered in gold a thistle blow with leaves.

The diagram (Plate III.) shows in full size the specific parts of the lower portion of the crown. Particular care has been taken to reproduce the exact size and form of each stone, and the cutting of their upper portions (*i.e.*, above the girdle), is in all cases outlined. The facets below the girdle of the stones cut both above and below could not be shown on the same diagram, but they are described. The exact size and form of the pearls, and also all the features of the different settings, have been carefully drawn.

For convenience of reference, the stones and the crosses fleury have been numbered, and the numbers in the descriptions here given correspond with those on the diagram.

STONES ON THE CIRCLE OR FILLET.

1. CARBUNCLE,² cut *en cabochon*, irregularly notched on the surface.

¹ This is recorded in the Act of Deposition in 1707, under head V. (see *ante*, p. 52).

² A garnet, when cut *en cabochon* or tallow-topped, is now known as a carbuncle. This stone is found distributed more or less all over the world. Old writers of the

2. JACINTH,¹ rectangular in form, cut with table and four side facets, and pyramid-shaped below.

3. CARBUNCLE, cut *en cabochon*, irregular oval.

4. ROCK CRYSTAL,² cut with a table (slightly domed), and four side facets, with traces of green foil, much spotted behind.

5. AMETHYST,³ cut somewhat resembling a rose diamond.

6. CARBUNCLE, irregular in form, cut *en cabochon*.

7. WHITE TOPAZ,⁴ irregular polished surface. The remains of a pale green

Middle Ages ascribe great value to it. The superstitious and magical properties attributed to it were similar to those ascribed to the ruby. It was an amulet against poison, plague, sadness, evil thoughts, wicked spirits, &c. Garnets are mentioned in the description of Queen Edith's Crown in the Regalia of England. This stone was of considerable value in mediæval and even in more modern times, but the fashion for it, at least in this country, has now passed away, and an abundant supply has reduced its value.

¹ The jacinth or hyacinth was well known to the ancients. It is found principally in Ceylon. Some mineralogists maintain that it is only a species of garnet, while lapidaries regard it as a distinct stone. The magical properties attributed to it in the Middle Ages were that it procured sleep, riches, honour, and wisdom, and that it drove away the plague and evil spirits.

² See footnote on pp. 82 and 103.

³ This is not the stone known as the Oriental amethyst, which is a ruby or sapphire of a deep violet colour: but only the common amethyst, which is a variety of vitreous quartz found in India, Ceylon, the Brazils, Persia, Siberia, Hungary, Saxony, Spain, and also in Scotland. In the Inventories of Queen Mary's Jewels (*Inventaires de la Roynne Descosse*, p. 200) "une amatiste orientale" is mentioned, but whether it was a genuine Oriental amethyst, or only an Indian amethyst, as distinguished from a Scottish one, cannot now be determined. The name amethyst is from the Greek ἀμέθυστος, derived from ἀμεθύω, not to inebriate—in allusion to the superstition that this stone had the power of dissipating drunkenness. Pliny says that the gem was so called from the fact of its approaching near to, although not reaching, the colour of wine. In the Middle Ages it was believed to dispel sleep, sharpen the intellect, and to be an antidote against poison. Many years ago amethysts were of considerable value. In 1652, Emmanuel (*Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 159) states, an amethyst was worth as much as a diamond of equal weight, and later it was ranked as next to the sapphire in value. Now, on account of the large quantity obtainable, they are far less highly valued.

⁴ The topaz is another gem known from very early times, which in recent years has declined in popular estimation. It is found of several colours, but those in the crown appear to be colourless. The topaz is mentioned as one of the gems which adorned the breast-plate of the High Priest of Israel. Tavernier, who travelled through Hindostan in 1665, describes a topaz weighing 157 carats, which he saw in the treasury of Aurengzebe, and which that monarch had purchased for a sum equivalent to £18,000 of our money. The following properties were ascribed to the topaz by the ancients:—It discovered poison by becoming obscured when in contact

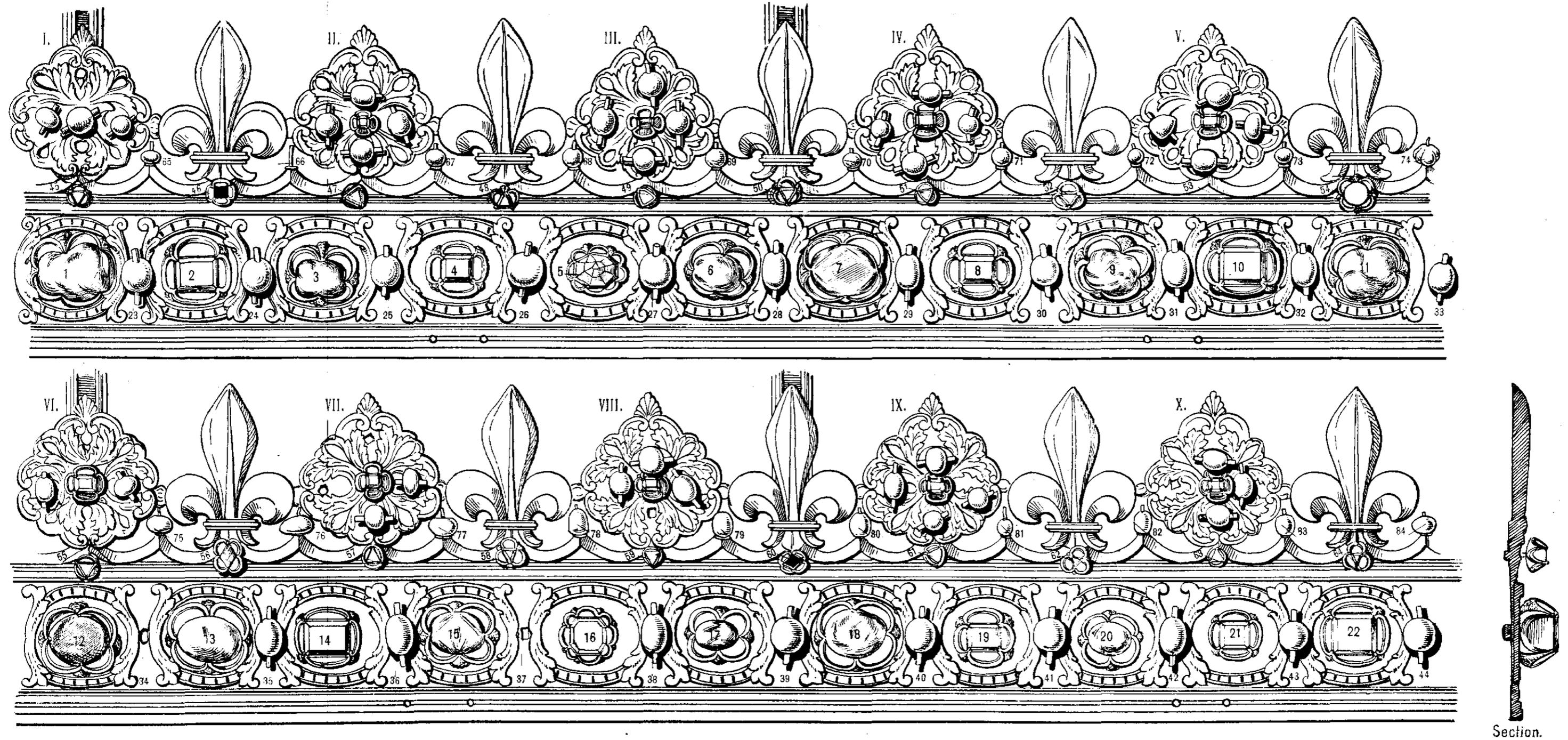


Diagram showing the Stones and Pearls on the Fillet, Rays, and Crosses Fleury of the Crown of Scotland (actual size)

foil are visible behind, and it may originally have been intended to represent an emerald.¹

8. JACINTH, rectangular in form, cut with a table and four side facets and pyramid-shaped below.

9. CARBUNCLE, cut *en cabochon*, irregularly notched on the surface.

10. JACINTH, rectangular in form, cut with a table and four side facets, and of pyramid form behind.

11. CARBUNCLE, cut *en cabochon*, irregularly notched on the surface.

12. WHITE TOPAZ, irregularly notched on the surface, and polished smooth, with traces of a dark green foil behind.

13. CARBUNCLE, irregular in form, with an unequal polished smooth surface.

14. AMETHYST, rectangular in form, cut with a table and four side facets, and of pyramid form behind.

15. CARBUNCLE, cut *en cabochon*, irregularly notched on the surface.

16. AMETHYST, cushion-shaped, cut with a bevelled edge, and of pyramid form behind.

17. CARBUNCLE, oval in form, cut *en cabochon*, irregularly notched on the surface.

18. WHITE TOPAZ, irregularly notched on the surface, and polished smooth, with traces of yellow foil behind.

19. AMETHYST, rectangular, cut with a table and four bevelled edges.

20. CARBUNCLE, oval in form, cut *en cabochon*.

21. ROCK CRYSTAL, cut with a table—slightly domed—and four side facets, with green foil behind.

22. JACINTH, rectangular in form, cut with a table—slightly domed—and of pyramid form behind.

In one of the accounts of the Regalia by Sir Walter Scott, edited by John Sinclair, it is stated that some of the stones are doublets,² but the most minute examination does not reveal the slightest trace of one.

PEARLS ON THE CIRCLE OR FILLET.

Both Oriental³ and Scottish pearls are to be found in the crown.

with it: it quenched the heat of boiling water; its powers increased and decreased with the increase and decrease of the moon; and it calmed anacreontic temperaments.

¹ Counterfeit emeralds are often mentioned in the Royal Inventories. "A chayn of counterfute emarauldis—A belt of counterfute amerauldis—A belt of cristall and counterfut emarauldis."—(*Thomson's Inventories*, pp. 263, 266, 290.)

² The "doublet," or "semi-stone," is very difficult to detect when set. The top is usually a stone and the under part glass, and the joining is hid by the setting. In the Inventory of 29th March 1578, doublets are mentioned:—"A pair of braicelettis of aggattis and doublettis sett with gold contening everie ane of thame viii aggattis and sevin doublettis" (*Thomson's Inventories*, p. 263).

³ The earlier inventories of the royal wardrobe and jewel-house of the Scottish

There are 61 of the former and 11 of the latter, and in addition there are sewn on the bonnet four enamelled settings each bearing a large Oriental pearl. All the pearls are more or less damaged by the effects of time, and by the external agencies to which they have been exposed during the many vicissitudes through which the Regalia have passed, and they have in a great measure lost the beautiful reflections which constitute their value. Many of them have assumed a yellowish hue; others have become quite dead in their lustre, and considerable difficulty has been found in the case of some of them, on account of this deterioration, in determining whether they are Scottish or Oriental.

The pearls between the stones on the fillet are as follows (see diagram, Plate III.) :—23, Oriental; 24, Oriental; 25, Scottish; 26, Oriental; 27, Scottish; 28, Oriental; 29, Scottish;¹ 30, Oriental;

kings do not distinguish between Oriental and Scottish pearls, but pearls both set in ornaments and loose are more frequently mentioned in them than any other gem. Queen Mary's pearls are said to have been the finest of any court in Europe. The use of pearls for ornaments is of great antiquity. The Book of Job and the Proverbs of Solomon mention them. They are often spoken of in Indian mythology, and they were held in high estimation by the Babylonians, the Persians, and the Egyptians. The Romans carried the passion for them to an extravagant height, and Pliny estimates their value as next to the diamond. In China they are used as medicine, and even yet a large quantity are absorbed, generally in a dissolved state by the inhabitants of the Celestial Empire. The pearl fisheries of the ancients were in the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean, the Red Sea, and the Coromandel Coast. Tavernier (vol. ii. pp. 107, 108,) states that in 1676 Oriental pearls were found principally (1) at Bahren Island, in the Persian Gulf, (2) on the coast of Arabia-Felix, close to the town of El Katif, and (3) near a large town called Manar, off the coast of Ceylon. Since the beginning of the seventeenth century pearls have been discovered in America, and also in more recent years in Australia.

¹ Scottish pearls are often mentioned in inventories of jewels in the Middle Ages. About the year 1120, it is recorded in *Wharton's Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 236, that an English Churchman begs the Bishop of St Andrews to get him as many pearls as possible, especially large ones, even if the Bishop should have to ask them from the King of the Scots, who has more than any man living. Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II., who visited Scotland in 1435, speaks of Scottish pearls as one of the four commodities which the country exported: "ex Scotia in Flandriam corium, lanam pisces salsos, margaritasque ferri" (*Pii Secundi Pontificis Commentarii Rerum Memorabilium quæ temporibus suis contigerunt*, p. 5). Scottish pearls appear among the crown jewels of England in the years 1324, 1333, 1379, and 1605 (*Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, vol. ii. p. 308; vol. iii. pp.

31, Oriental; 32, Oriental; 33, Scottish; 34, both pearl and setting amissing; 35, Scottish; 36, Scottish; 37, both pearl and setting amissing; 38, Oriental; 39, Oriental; 40, Scottish; 41, Oriental; 42, Oriental; 43, Oriental; 44, Oriental.

137, 139, 141, 183, 185, 286). In 1498, we find a Scottish merchant at Middleburg remitting a small sum "to by perllis in Scotland" (*Ledger of Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of the Privileges of the Scottish Nation in the Low Countries*, p. 189).

In the Inventories of Queen Mary's Jewels, 1561-2 (*Inventaires de la Roynie Descosse*, p. 89) there are mentioned some pearls purchased from an Edinburgh goldsmith, which may have been Scottish. "Treize vingtz quatre grosses perles achaptees de Jean Guilbert orfevure d Edinbourg comprins quatre que lorfevure de la Roynie a rendu qui estoient dessus vne paire dheures dor (Il a este oste xxvij perles pour enuoyer a Paris pour faire boutons Et le reste a este prins pour faire vne cottouere qui est de de diamens et de rubiz en chattons)."

Scottish topazes and pearls appear among Queen Mary's jewels at Chartley in 1586 (*Prince Labanoff, Lettres de Marie Stuart*, tom. vii. p. 246).

In 1621 it is noted that a pearl was found in the burn of Kellie, a tributary of the Ythan, Aberdeenshire, so large and beautiful that it was esteemed the best that had at any time been found in Scotland. Sir Thomas Menzies, provost of Aberdeen, obtaining this precious jewel, went to London to present it to the king, who in requital, "gave him twelve or fourteen chaldre of victual about Dunfermline and the custom of merchant goods in Aberdeen during his life." (*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 517). It has been reported that this pearl was inserted in the apex of the crown of Scotland. This supposition is quite erroneous, as there is no Scottish pearl on the apex of the crown, and indeed none that is remarkable for its excellence. Apparently the same pearl is also referred to in a *Survey of Aberdeenshire* by George Skene Keith, D.D., minister of Keithhall and Kinkell, 1811:—"One of the Jewels of the ancient Crown of Scotland, a valuable pearl was said to have been found by a Fisher of the name of Jamieson, and was called by his name: and about 60 years ago one Mr Tower, a merchant in Aberdeen, got at one time an hundred pounds for a quantity of pearls, which were taken out of the mussels that were found in the Ythan."

In 1621, King Charles I. appointed Sir Robert Gordon of Gordoustoun, his Majesty's commissioner for preserving the pearl fisheries in the earldom of Sutherland. The commission sets forth that "the Kingis Maiestie hes als vndoubtit right to all pearlis breiding in watteris as to the mettalis and pretious stones found in the land within his dominionis:" and that, therefore, His Majesty wishes to provide "that in tyme comeing no pearles be soght or tane in ony watteris of this Kingdome bot at suche tymes and seasonis of the yeir quhen thay ar at thair cheif perfection bothe of cullour and quantitie quhilk wilbe in the monethis of July and August yeirlie" (*Registrum Secreti Concilii: Acta 1621-1625*, fol. 36, 7 Aug. 1621, *MS., Register House*). The commissioner, writing a year or two after his appointment, says that "in the laikes and rivers of Southerland, and cheiflie in Shin, ther are excellent

STONES, &c., BELOW THE CROSSES AND FLEURS DE LIS.

(Plate III.)—45, triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 46, square setting, empty; 47, triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 48, triangular setting, containing a diamond table cut, with three straight bevelled edges; 49, triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 50, triangular setting, containing a diamond, table cut, with three straight bevelled edges; 51, triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 52, triangular setting, containing a diamond, table cut, with three straight bevelled edges; 53, setting amissing; 54, round setting, containing a diamond set with the flat side up, and cut with six facets and a small culet behind; 55, triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 56, lozenge-shaped setting, containing a diamond set with the flat side up, and cut with four facets and a small culet behind; 57, triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 58, triangular setting, containing a diamond, table cut, with three straight bevelled edges; 59, triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 60, lozenge-shaped setting, empty; 61,

good pearls, some whereof have been sent unto the Kingis Majestie into England, and were accepted of great value" (*Sir R. Gordon's Genealogical History of the Earldom of Sutherland*, p. 6).

There is a Scottish pearl on the top of the sceptre in the Regalia.

John Spreull (Bass John), a jeweller of Edinburgh, writing in 1705, says:—"I have dealt in pearls these forty years and more, and yet to this day I could never sell a necklace of fine Scots pearls in Scotland, nor yet fine pendants, the generality seeking for Oriental pearls, because farther fetcht." As to the value of them, the same authority states—"If a Scotch pearl be of fine transparent colour, and perfectly round, and of any great bigness, it may be worth from fifteen to fifty rix-dollars: yea, I have given a hundred rix-dollars (£16, 19s. 2d.) for one, but it is rare to get such." As to the best shells from which to obtain pearls Spreull adds, that the best sign of a "birthy shell is that it should be wrinkled as a cow's-horn, with nicks in it—the more nicks and wrinkles in the shell the better the pearl is" (*Miscellaneous Writings of John Spreull*, pp. 65, 66). Pennant (*Tour in Scotland*, 1769) says—"There has been in these parts (Tay) a very great fishery of pearl got out of the fresh-water muscle. From the year 1761 to 1764, £10,000 worth were sent to London, and sold for 10s. to £1, 16s. per ounce. I was told that a pearl had been taken there that weighed 33 grains: but this fishery is at present exhausted from the avarice of the undertakers: it once extended as far as Loch Tay." This fishery has been renewed from time to time since that date; and especially from 1860 to 1865 the industry was eagerly prosecuted. In 1865 as much as £12,000 were realised from Scottish pearls.

triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 62, triangular setting, containing a diamond, table cut, with three straight bevelled edges; 63, triangular setting, filled with blue enamel; 64, triangular setting, containing a diamond table cut, with three straight bevelled edges.

PEARLS AND STONES ON THE CROSSES FLEURY.

(Plate III.)—I. 3 Oriental pearls; II. 4 Oriental pearls, 1 white topaz in the centre; III. 4 Oriental pearls, 1 white topaz in the centre; IV. 4 Oriental pearls, 1 white topaz in the centre; V. 4 Oriental pearls, 1 white topaz in the centre; VI. 2 Oriental pearls, 1 white topaz in the centre; VII. 2 Oriental pearls, 1 white topaz in the centre; VIII. 3 pearls—that on the dexter arm of the cross is Oriental, the other two are Scottish, 1 white topaz in the centre; IX. 4 Oriental pearls, 1 white topaz in the centre; X. 3 pearls—that on the lower portion of the cross below the white topaz is Scottish, the other two are Oriental, 1 white topaz in the centre.

PEARLS ON THE POINTS OF THE RAYS.

(Plate III.)—65, Oriental; 66, amissing, wire standing; 67, Oriental; 68, Oriental; 69, Oriental; 70, Oriental; 71, Oriental; 72, Oriental; 73, Oriental; 74, Oriental; 75, Oriental; 76, Oriental; 77, Oriental; 78, Oriental; 79, Oriental; 80, Oriental; 81, Scottish; 82, Oriental; 83, Oriental; 84, Oriental.

THE GOLDSMITHS WHO MADE THE CROWN.

The goldsmiths who plied their calling in the different burghs of Scotland¹ cannot be said at any time to have excelled in their trade.

¹ Very little information can be given about the goldsmiths who made and repaired the different articles of the Regalia. The minute-books of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh do not date earlier than 1525; and the names of John Currou, who made the Queen's Crown in 1503, and Matthew Auchinlek, who repaired the King's Crown in 1503 and the Sword of State in 1516, are not found in them. The name of Thomas Wod or Wood, who repaired the King's Crown in 1532, occurs in a list on the first page of the oldest minute-book. Adam Leis or Leys, who remaed

Many of them, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, attained positions of eminence, but not so much because of their skill as craftsmen as on account of their shrewdness as bankers and speculators. None of

the Sceptre in 1536, was deacon in 1525, and George Hereott (probably the grandfather of the famous goldsmith of that name), who repaired one of the King's "silver stolpis" in 1533, was deacon in 1534. Of John Mosman, who made the Queen's Crown in 1539, and remade the King's Crown in 1540, nothing more than the name is recorded. Mungo Bradie or Brydie, who made the temporary Regalia in 1571, obtained the freedom of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths on the 15th May 1561.

One Edinburgh goldsmith came to an untimely end on the downfall of the queen's party and the surrender of Edinburgh Castle in 1573. We learn from the diary of Robert Birrel, that on the 3rd August 1573, "William Kirkaldy of Grange, knight, sometime Captain of the Castle of Edinburgh, and James Mosman, goldsmith, were harlit in twa carts backward, frae the Abbey to the Cross of Edinburgh, where they, with Mr James (Kirkaldy) and James Cockie, were hangit, "for keeping of the said castle against the king and his regent" (*Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 85). It appears that James Mosman (who was admitted to the Incorporation in 1557 and was deacon in 1568) had made an advance of money to Kirkaldy of Grange on the security of certain jewels (a list of which will be found in the *Inventaires de la Roynne Descosse*, pp. cl and cli). On the day the castle was surrendered, as is stated in Kirkaldy's declaration, he returned them (*Ibid.*, p. clii), "it is of truthe the said James gave me certen geere in an evell favored clowte": but this did not save him from execution.

The Edinburgh goldsmiths comprehended in their number two or three persons of such considerable wealth as to verge upon a historic importance.

Thomas Foulis (admitted 28th June 1581) may be cited. In 1593, when the king had to march an army against the Papist lords in the north, this goldsmith supplied the greater part of the necessary funds. In 1594 the king owed him no less than £14,598 and as security for that sum he consigned to him "twa drinking pieces of gold, weighing in the haill fifteen pund and five unce", which the consignee was at liberty to coin into "five-pund pieces," if the debt should not be otherwise paid before the 1st of November next, "the superplus gif ony beis," to be forthcoming for his Majesty's use. It further appears that Thomas Foulis, very soon after this, lent the king £12,000 more "for outredding of sundry his hieness' affairs." In consideration of these loans, the king granted to him, on 21st January 1593-4, a lease of the gold, silver, and lead mines of Crawford Muir and Glengoner for twenty-one years. It may be observed, that these mines in time passed through his grand-daughter into the possession of (her husband) James Hope of Hopetoun, sixth son of the great lawyer Sir Thomas, and the founder of the noble house of Hopetoun.

It is not necessary here to do more than mention the name of George Heriot (admitted 28th May 1588, deacon 1598), who was appointed jeweller to King James VI. in 1597, and who accumulated the fortune which enabled his executors to erect the hospital and schools bearing his name.

their work ever approached the high excellence of that of contemporary continental goldsmiths.

Nearly all of it down to the present century is characterised by considerable rudeness in execution, and a greater consideration and regard for the weight and quality of the metal than for the excellence of the workmanship. Nevertheless, and perhaps as a consequence of this, a greater measure of individuality will be found in it, and it is comparatively easy to define the separate work of each goldsmith on any article which has been altered and added to, such as the crown, while it is still easier to point out the handiwork of the French goldsmiths.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CROWN.

One of the most patent facts regarding the crown is, that it is the work of different goldsmiths of different periods and of different nationalities, and it will now be my endeavour to point out these differences, and the deductions they suggest, as far as possible. It is difficult to do this in a regular chronological order, by at once defining what is the oldest part, and thereafter tracing the subsequent alterations. The better course will be to narrow the ground a little by a reference to some of the accounts and payments. In the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland there is recorded a payment¹ on the 15th January 1540 to John Mosman, a goldsmith in Edinburgh, for the making and fashion of the king's crown and for twenty-three stones supplied for it; to John Paterson, for a case to the crown; and to Thomas Arthur, for velvet and satin and for making a bonnet to the crown.

¹ Item, the xv day of Januar (1539-40) deliverit to (Johne Mosman) for making and fassoun of the Kingis crowne, weyand iij pund wecht x unces and therof of gold of the mynde xlj unce quarter unce xxx li.

Item, gevin to him for xxij stanis therto, of the quhilkis there wes iij gret gernottis and ane grete ammerot, price of the iijj, vj li, and price of the pece of the uthir xix stanis xiiij s̄ xix li. vj s̄.

Item, gevin to Johne Patersone for ane case to the King's crowne xxxiiij s̄.

Item, deliverit to Thomas Arthure, to be ane bonat to the Kingis crowne, half an elne purpur velvet, price xxxij s̄. vj d̄.

Item, deliverit to him to lyne the samyn, half ane elne purpur sating xxxv s̄.

Item, gevin to him for making of the samin bonat v s̄.

This crown was delivered to James V. at Holyrood on the 13th February following.

The reading of these accounts together suggests an entire remaking of the ancient crown and an increase in its size and weight.

The phraseology of the account itself denotes remaking; the term "fashion" is one still used in the trade to denote the cost of fabrication.

In corroboration of this view, there is found in the manuscript diary of Lord Fountainhall, preserved in the Advocate's Library, a memorandum stating "that the crown of Scotland is not the ancient one, but was casten of new by James V."

It is necessary to enter into this with some detail, for Sir Walter Scott apprehends the alteration of 1540 as being merely the addition of the arches, and not an actual remodelling of the substance of the crown, which he ascribes to the reign of Robert the Bruce.

For several reasons, I think that the evidence of both the crown itself and of the accounts and descriptions will not bear this construction.

The twenty-three stones referred to may yet be identified. Twenty-two of them (including the three great garnets specially mentioned) adorn the fillet or band of the crown, while the remaining one—the great amethyst—will be found on the front of the cross pattée which tops the mound above the arches.

The fillet appears to have been made distinctly to suit the exact size of these twenty-two stones, and the construction of the crown precludes the possibility of the fillet being merely an addition—that is, soldered below the fleurs de lis and crosses of an older crown.

The lower portion of the crown has unquestionably been entirely reconstructed at the time these stones were added. In order to make this point clear, its construction may be described. The fillet has been turned up from a sheet of gold (about the thickness of a sixpence) two inches in width. The upper edge of this can easily be observed on fig. 1. After being filed smooth—and the file marks are still apparent—the upper and lower wire mouldings, which are made separately, have been soldered on at the positions they now occupy. Thereafter the fleurs de lis, crosses fleury, and the rays which support them, have been soldered

on the upper portion of the same band, and the spaces formed by the elevation of the rays pierced out.

One point here arises, and it is worthy of careful discussion, whether the fleurs de lis of the older crown have not merely been removed and soldered on the band of the present crown when it was reconstructed. If they were of the pattern and size desired, there would be no need to remake them, for the work of the old Scottish goldsmiths was of a character so substantial—ornaments of this description being invariably cast solid—that they were very little affected by the vicissitudes of time or wear.

We get a little assistance on this point from the cursory mention in the inventory of 25th March 1539,¹ that one of the fleurs de lis of gold was amissing. In the inventory of 1488 (James III.) there is mentioned, among a number of miscellaneous articles, “a flour the lys of gold,” and this may have been the one amissing from the crown; but the greater probability, to judge from the nature of the articles that immediately precede and succeed it in the inventory, is that it was an ornament complete in itself. Moreover, it is improbable that the crown would have been left so long in this dilapidated condition as from 1488 to 1539. In fact, this is most unlikely, for it was repaired in 1503.

If the crown wanted this fleur de lis when it was ordered to be remade in 1540, it would therefore have been necessary, if the goldsmith intended to use the fleurs de lis of the old crown, to make a new one to supply the place of that amissing. Accordingly, a very close scrutiny of each fleur de lis has been made to ascertain if one of them is in any way distinguishable from the others in form, size, colour, or workmanship. Not the slightest indication has been found of any such difference, and the conclusion seems obvious that they have all been made at the same time. A further proof that they could not have formed part of the old crown will be found in a comparison of the weights of the old

¹ The crown in this inventory is described (see footnote on p. 49) as “in primis of diamentis twenty.” In this connection it may be stated that this does not correspond with the appearance of the crown in one of the panels of the altar-piece of Trinity College, now preserved in Holyrood Palace, of which a detailed description is given hereafter.

and new crowns, which sheds in itself an almost conclusive light in corroboration of this view. In the payment for the reconstruction of the crown in 1540, it is mentioned that $41\frac{1}{4}$ ounces of gold of the mint were then added, and the total weight of the crown when complete is stated to have been 3 lb. 10 oz. The weight of the old crown must thus have been 16 oz. 15 dwt. Scots weight, equivalent to 16 oz. 8 dwt. English troy weight. It is certain that a crown of this weight could not have included fleurs de lis of anything like the size and weight of those in the crown at present.

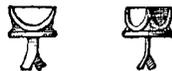
If further proof were required, it might be found in the colour of the gold. The gold of the fillet and of the crosses and fleurs de lis is of one quality and one alloy—a point in which there is every probability of there being some slight difference had they been made at different times.

Sir Walter Scott's theory, however, is more easily disproved by attempting to prove it than by arguing against it. In the accounts of 1540, as we have already noted, $41\frac{1}{4}$ oz. Scots (equivalent to 40 oz. 10 dwt. English) were added to the crown. It is not possible that that could have referred alone to the arches, for along with the enamelled oak leaf ornaments, they only weigh 6 oz. 6 dwt. and along with the mound and cross pattée in addition, 9 oz., and these are the only detachable portions of the crown, with the exception of the four ornaments on the quarters of the bonnet, which do not weigh more than from one to two ounces altogether, and are certainly not of Scottish manufacture.

The precise extent of the reconstruction may be ascertained from an examination of the settings of the gems with which the crown is garnished. In the accounts of 1540, mention is made of twenty-three stones which were then purchased and added, and we learn from the inventory, which describes the crown before its reconstruction, that it was previously adorned with 20 diamonds and 68 Oriental pearls. It is quite reasonable to suppose that if the twenty-three stones, as is evident from the accounts, were alone added, the goldsmith might not have thought it necessary to remount the older gems, but might merely have copied their pattern for the new settings. If this occurred, then unquestionably some slight difference would be apparent. A very minute and careful comparison of the settings reveals

the fact, that though the settings of the diamonds and of the white topazes in the centres of the crosses are of the same pattern, they are not made in the same manner as those on the fillet, and appear to be the work of another and less skilful goldsmith. The settings of the twenty-two gems on the fillet consist of collets made of plate, upon which have been soldered a scalloped ornament with claw points. These are put together in pieces, and show some little finish on the smooth portions of the collets. The settings of the diamonds and white topazes are made differently: they have all been cast in a piece, and the scalloped ornament and claws have been afterwards carved out with a graving tool. In one particular they are the same, and it illustrates the primitiveness of the goldsmith's art at that time: the claws on both are friezed, not by matting punches, as would be expected, but by being pricked all over with the point of a graver.¹

The settings containing the enamel differ still more, for while they are made in precisely the same manner as those of the diamonds, they vary in this respect, that they lack the claws between the scalloped ornaments (figs. 10 and 11). They are also fixed by plates spread out behind like those attached to the settings of the pearls, while the others are fixed by the latchet arrangement already described.



Figs. 10 and 11.
Settings contain-
ing Blue Enamel
(actual size).

There can be no doubt that the diamonds belonged to the more ancient crown, for they are mentioned in the inventory of 1539, and the presumption is very strong that their settings and also those containing the blue enamel are the original ones, and were not remade in 1540. The Oriental pearls are also the identical ones which adorned the Crown previous to its reconstruction, and it is worthy of note, that the number at present in the crown almost corresponds with that mentioned in the inventory of 1539. There are 61 Oriental pearls now in the lower portion of the crown, while in 1539 there were 68. The

¹ This is worthy of note, for the art of chasing was well known and practised in Scotland in 1540, when the crown was remade, as is evidenced by the fact that the floriated ornaments on the plates behind the collets on the fillets are matted by chaser's punches.

discrepancy may in great part be accounted for by the fact, that several of them have evidently been lost. The rudeness and insecurity of the style of setting and mode of attachment renders this extremely probable, and the vacant spaces are evidence of it. Some of them, moreover, may have been lost, and replaced with Scottish pearls. This is very evidently the case on one of the rays: the Scottish pearl which tops it is far too small for the spike on which it is impaled (as will be seen in No. 81, Plate III.), and suggests at once its addition afterwards.

Besides Oriental pearls there are 11 Scottish pearls. They are not mentioned in the inventory of 1539, (although it is quite possible that some of the pearls there described as Oriental may have been Scottish, for in some cases it is difficult to tell the difference) and there is no mention of their having been added on the reconstruction of the crown.

The settings of all the pearls are uniform in design, with the exception of those which are impaled on the tops of the rays, and it is possible that these settings were not remade on the reconstruction of the crown, but are the original ones. If John Mosman thought it unnecessary to remount the diamonds and white topazes, he may not have remounted the pearls. It may be observed, however, that the pearls on the crown in the altar-piece of Trinity College are mounted differently, while the settings of the other stones correspond in their pattern to those at present in the crown.

The consideration of these various points leads to the conclusion that the lower portion of the crown, with the exception of the settings of the diamonds, the white topazes in the centres of the crosses fleury, the blue enamels, and possibly of the pearls also, was entirely reconstructed in 1540, and that Lord Fountainhall's statement is correct. There is, moreover, a peculiar appropriateness in his phraseology "casten of new," for many parts of the crown, such as the fleurs de lis and the crosses fleury, have been cast.

But an examination of the diamonds opens up the vista of a greater antiquity.¹ There are only eight diamonds in the crown, but their

¹ The three styles in which these diamonds are cut represent some of the earliest known forms of cut diamonds. The triangular diamonds might be described more correctly as *lasques* rather than table cut diamonds. A table cut diamond has

form and cutting are various. Six of them are triangular in form, cut with a table and three ground bevelled edges. Of the other two, one is

usually two tables, one above and one below, with bevelled sides or planes leading up and down to these tables from the girdle. (It is often simply an octahedron, with the upper and lower points ground down to tables.) Diamonds cut in this style will be found in the George, the badge of the Order of the Garter in the Regalia.

The triangular diamonds in the crown appear to be perfectly flat at the back, and have bevelled edges on their upper sides only, and they are so thin as to be mere scales. Diamonds of this description are often used in Indian jewellery. Dr Birdwood states that Indian jewellers frequently employ "mere chips and scales of diamonds, so thin that they will float on water."

The circular and the lozenge-shaped diamonds show very probably the natural facets, afterwards polished, of the stones from which they were cut, and are merely parts respectively of a split octahedron with a six-sided pyramid on each of its faces—a very common form—and of a regular octahedron. That these diamonds are Indian cannot be doubted, for it was not till 1727 that the Brazilian diamond fields were discovered, and that they are Indian cut is as unquestionable. But to attempt to determine their antiquity merely from their form or cutting is an utter impossibility.

The goldsmith's art in India is of great antiquity, and some of the patterns they employ are said to have come down in an unbroken tradition from the Ramayana and Mahabharata. The same adherence to type is evident in the manner they cut their gems, and the diamond from very ancient down to present times has been cut into the same forms. Both table and rose diamonds are still cut in Lucknow (*The Industrial Arts of India*, by Dr Birdwood, p. 193). Tavernier (in his *Travels in India in the Seventeenth Century*, vol. ii. chap. xv. p. 56) states that the Indians understood and were much more proficient in cleaving the diamond than Europeans. He also describes their method of cutting it:—"There are at this mine (Ramulkota) numerous diamond cutters, and each has only a steel wheel of about the size of our plates. They place but one stone on each wheel, and pour water incessantly on the wheel until they have found the "grain" (in the original *chemin* or "way") of the stone. The "grain" being found, they pour on oil, and do not spare diamond dust, although it is expensive, in order to make the stone run faster, and they weight it much more heavily than we do." References to the diamond have even passed into the Indian proverbs:—"The heart of the great is harder than the Vajra"—"The Vajra is cut by no other stone"—"Vajra cut Vajra." (Vajra is the Sanscrit for diamond.)

But diamond cutting in India and in China, where it was also practised from very early times, never attained anything like the perfection of modern European cutting. The Orientals always preferred weight to brilliancy and size to effectiveness, and generally contented themselves with rubbing down the angles of the stone, polishing the surfaces, and retaining the fanciful shapes each stone possessed when discovered.

The art of diamond cutting does not seem to have been understood or practised to

lozenge-shaped (fig. 12), cut with four triangular facets, terminating in a small culet; the other is circular (fig. 13), cut with six triangular



Fig. 12. Lozenge-shaped Diamond on the Crown (actual size).



Fig. 13. Circular Diamond on the Crown (actual size).

facets, terminating in a small culet. Both of these diamonds are flat on their other sides, and are set with the flat sides up. There can be

any extent by the ancients. What is regarded as the earliest indubitable reference to the true diamond occurs in the fourth book of the Poem entitled *Astronomicum*, by Manilius, who flourished in the first century of the new era—"Sic Adamas punctum lapidis pretiosior auro." Some writers have doubted whether this Adamas of the Romans was anything more than a sapphire, but the accurate description of Pliny—a contemporary of Manilius—sets the matter at rest. He describes the diamond as colourless, transparent, with polished facets and six angles ending sometimes as a pyramid, with a sharp point or with two points.

The ancients evidently understood the art, although they did not practise it to any extent, of engraving the diamond. The Duke of Bedford has a diamond with the head of the philosopher Posidonius engraved on it, and there are several other examples of the same and a later period still extant. But the diamond is very rarely engraved even in modern times.

Diamond cutting, as a European industry, has not been definitely traced to an earlier period than the thirteenth century. In 1290 there was formed a guild of gem polishers and cutters in Paris, and in 1373 the art of diamond polishing was practised at Nürnberg, but the method employed is still a secret. Subsequently the famed "table-cutters" of Nürnberg formed themselves in conjunction with the stone engravers into a regular guild. In 1434 Guttenberg learned gem cutting and polishing of Andreas Drytzchen of Strasbourg. In 1456 Louis de Berquen, a resident in Bruges, discovered a mode of cutting the diamond. His discovery, however, only amounted to the construction of a polishing wheel to be used with diamond dust and a systematic arrangement of the facets.

In the inventory of the jewels of Louis, Duke of Anjou, exhibited in the years 1360-1368, the following cut diamonds are mentioned:—(1) a diamond, of a shield shape, from a reliquary; (2) two small diamonds, from the same reliquary, with three flat-cut, four-cornered facets on both sides; (3) a small diamond, in the form of a round mirror, set in a salt-cellar; (4) a thick diamond, with four facets; (5) a diamond, in the form of a lozenge; (6) an eight-sided, and (7) a six-sided plain diamond (Streeter's *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 30).

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries diamonds were cut into forms so varied as each to require a special description. The following may serve as examples:—In the inventory of James III., 1488, there is "an ege of gold with four grete diamantis

little doubt that all these diamonds are both of Indian origin and Indian cutting. To determine their antiquity from the *technique* of their cutting alone is impossible, but the styles in which they are cut are among the earliest that are known, and diamonds corresponding to them in form can be traced to a period as early, if not earlier, than the fourteenth century.

It may be said, that if Robert the Bruce garnished his crown with diamonds, Indian cut stones would alone be obtainable in his time, and it is possible—as far as the mere antiquity of the cutting of these stones is concerned, although we have no evidence of the fact—that these diamonds may have adorned his crown.

In the inventory of 1539 twenty diamonds are mentioned as in the pointit." In the inventory of 1516 there is mentioned "the greit diamant send be the King of France (on a red hat of silk) estimat to viii crownis of wecht." In 1539 the diamonds in the crown are merely described "inprimis of diamantis twenty." In 1542 (James V.) there occur the following descriptions of finger rings :—" Item in primis twa greit tablit dyamonttis set in round ringis blak ennamelit : Item twa les tablit dyamonttis that ane cuttet under and the uther blak ennamelit : Item thrie fair pointit dyamonttis : Item uther thrie pointit dyamonttis les : Item ane greit tablit dyamont fassonit lyke ane hart reid enamelit : Item ane dyamont fassonit lyke ane kirk riggin : Item ane uther thik dyamont raisit heich without ane point : Item ane thrie nuikit dyamont, that is lang on the ane syd quhyt ennamelit : Item ane thrie nuikit dyamont greyn ennamelit : Item ane uther gryt dyamont small at the ane end and gryt at the uther blak ennamelit : Item ane uther dyamont set heich with the thrie nuikis of gold laid upon the samyne : Item ane dyamont with ane small taill and gryt at the schulder greyn ennamelit : Item ane uther dyamont thre nuikit blew ennamelit : Item ane uther dyamont ground oure with losanis ennamelit with the freir knott : Item ane gryt dyamont set on day licht at the tane end ground in losanis blak ennamelit : Item uther twa dyamontis les set in day licht blak ennamelit quairof the tane pointit the uther trianglit : Item ane greit dyamont tabill that wes coft fra Howesone." In the inventory of the gems received by the Queen of Scotland from her cousin the Duke of Chatelherault in 1556 occur the following descriptions of diamonds :—" Une grande table de dyamant : Ung gros diemant a jour en fir de lance : Ung diemant taille en sircueil : Ung diemant a jour taille en triangle pointetu : Ung autre dyemant a jour taillant en triangle sans fueill : Ung plus petit dyemant taille en fir de lance : Une petite table de diemant : Ung diemant taille a face : Une autre table de diemant moyene : Une autre table de diemant moyene : Ung diemant taille en triangle a fueille : Une pointete de dyament sans fueille : Une autre bien petite pointete.

In the seventeenth century diamond-cutting was an important industry in England,

crown. There are only eight at present, and if the two empty settings were filled there would only be ten: but in the centre of each of the crosses fleury there is a square white topaz¹ (of which one is amissing), cut in precisely the same style with ground bevelled edges, and also set in collets of the same pattern as those containing the triangular diamonds. In appearance they resemble the diamonds closely, and might be mistaken for them, on an examination unaccompanied by testing. In the Act of Deposition 1707, they are described as diamonds, and the blue enamels as sapphires; while in the description of 1621 two of the diamonds are described as "quhyte stones." It is, therefore, evident that even in 1707 those who described the Regalia had little technical skill in the determination of gems, and there is no difficulty in coming to the conclusion that these nine white topazes and the one amissing were mistaken by the chronicler of 1539 for diamonds.

THE ARCHES OF THE CROWN.

The next point which invites our consideration is the question and provided occupation for a large number of hands. The workmen were almost all Jews or of Jewish origin. They were driven from this country through the religious intolerance of the times, when the bulk of them took refuge in Holland and Belgium, and established their trade in Amsterdam and Antwerp. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries diamond cutting developed very much, and diamonds were cut into many forms. The two principal styles then discovered, both of which prevail to the present day, were the rose and the brilliant. The former has been in use since 1520, and derives its name from its resemblance to an opening rosebud. A Dutch or Holland rose has 24 facets; a semi-Holland 18; (examples of these will be seen in the St Andrew, the Badge of the Order of the Thistle); the rose *recoupée* 36 and Brabant rose 12, or even fewer, only less raised than the Dutch (examples of roses of different cuts will be seen in the George, the Badge of the Order of the Garter). The diamonds described in the inventory of 1542 as "ground in losanis" and "trianglit" may possibly have been early specimens of roses. The brilliant, which is the most effective mode of cutting the diamond, was the crowning invention in the art, and was introduced by Vincenzio Peruzzio of Venice about the end of the seventeenth century.

In recent years the art of diamond cutting has again been introduced into England.

¹ White topazes were frequently employed to counterfeit diamonds. In the inventory of 1578 an imitation diamond is mentioned:—"A baggier contening xiii ringis, viz. ane with a tablet sapheir a counterfute diament a poyntit small diament, and uther ten of small valew."

relative to the arches. Were these arches made and added at the reconstruction of the crown in 1540, or did they form part of the more ancient crown, and were merely affixed to the new crown at that date? This point is one which was thought not unworthy of careful discussion in the Act of Deposition in 1707, where it is stated as a matter apparently beyond dispute (although it was principally based on a mere examination of the workmanship and a reference to the coinage) that the crown was closed by James V. A very careful examination of the premises which lead to this conclusion may not be out of place, and may lead to the formation of rather a different opinion.

In the end of the fifteenth century the sovereigns of the independent states of Europe began to alter the shape of their crowns, and to close them with arches at the top, in imitation of those which are called imperial. This distinction was formerly proper to emperors. "The crown of the emperor," we translate from Honorius of Augsburg, "represents the circle of the globe. Augustus, therefore, bears it in evidence that he possesses the sovereignty of the world. An arch is bended over the diadem, in order to represent the ocean, by which the world is divided."¹ But although this mystical explanation seems to render the arched crown peculiar to the imperial dignity, the closed crown was soon afterwards assumed by the kings of Europe, in order to establish a suitable distinction between independent monarchs and the petty sovereigns of every description, all of whom assumed the diadem or open crown. Charles VIII. of France took an arched crown in the year 1495. There is some doubt with regard to the time when the close crown was assumed in England; but the best authorities refer it to the reign of Henry VII. and the year 1485.² The practice at length became so general that the French phrase "fermer la couronne" signifies the effort of a prince to shake himself clear of vassalage to a superior. The Scottish monarchs had more reason than most others to maintain in every way their title

¹ *Gemma Animæ*, lib. i., cap. 224.

² *Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland*, Bannatyne Club, p. 21.

Sandford states, in his *Genealogical History*, that the crown of William the Conqueror had on the circle points and leaves, and that the former were much higher than the latter; that each of them was topped with three pearls, and that the cap or tiara closed at the top with a cross pattée, as appears on the seal of that monarch.

to that independence which they had been so often obliged to assert against the encroaching pretensions of their neighbours. Accordingly, on the coinage of James III. or IV., we find the crown represented closed.

The form of the crown in the coinage may not be of much value as a guide to its exact pattern; still a certain value even in this respect must be attached to it, for in some of the coins of a date when we know precisely its form, its leading features are found very fairly reproduced.

The crown is first represented arched or closed on the groats and half-groats (figs. 14 and 15), variously ascribed to James III. and IV. Snelling refers them to the reign of the former, on the ground that they

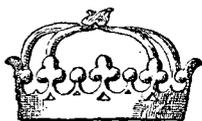


Fig. 14. Crown represented on the Groat figured in *The Coinage of Scotland*, by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, plate iv. No. 18.



Fig. 15. Crown represented on the Half-Groat, figured in *The Coinage of Scotland*, by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, plate iv. No. 19.

agree in weight with the coinage ordered by the act of 1483. Cochran-Patrick and other numismatists ascribe them to the latter, and the year 1488.

On the groat of 1525 (James V.) the crown is also arched (fig. 16),

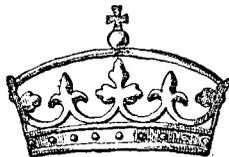


Fig. 16. Crown represented on the Groat of 1525, figured in *The Coinage of Scotland*, by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, plate v. No. 10.

and its appearance, moreover, corresponds with the description in the inventory of 1539, the fillet being garnished with twenty gems.

There is nothing impossible in the supposition that the crown of the monarch was closed simultaneously with the assumption of the arches

on the coinage, and it may even have been originally surmounted by a mound and cross pattée, although the present mound and cross were undoubtedly added by James V.

At whatever period the crown was first closed, one point is clear, that the ancient crown, which was reconstructed in 1540, was an arched one, and that it had already been surmounted by the identical mound and cross pattée which now adorn it.

On the foot of the cross there is enamelled I R 5 (see fig. 8), undoubtedly proving that James V. added this portion to the crown. It has even been conjectured that he had the mound and cross manufactured in Paris, on his visit to that city in 1536. The specific parts then added may be easily identified from the superiority of their workmanship. They consist of the cross pattée, the mound and leaf ornament on which it rests, the enamelled oak leaves which ornament the arches, and the four enamelled and pearl ornaments on the four quarters of the bonnet. But we are hardly justified in also concluding that the arches themselves emanated from the same source. They are as undoubtedly Scottish in their manufacture as the cross, mound, and leaf ornaments are French.

That these ornaments and additions were in existence when the crown was remade in 1540 is shown from the addition to the front of the cross, of the amethyst (see fig. 7), which is specially noted in the accounts, and which is further set in a collet of precisely the same design and manufacture as those of the twenty-two stones on the fillet of the crown. If the cross had not been in existence in 1540, that amethyst could not then have been added.

That the arches were not made at the same time as the crown was reconstructed may be further shown, and with almost conclusive certainty, from a comparison of the quality of gold of which they are made with that of the fillet. The gold of the arches assays,¹ 20 carats $3\frac{7}{8}$ grains

¹ The following is a copy of the certificate of assay from Messrs Johnson, Matthey, and Co. (Assayers and Melters to the Bank of England and Her Majesty's Mint), Hatton Garden, London, 21st November 1889:—

Assay of Fillet—

Pure gold,	. . . . .	21 cts. $0\frac{1}{2}$ gr. fine	= 881 parts in 1000
Pure silver,	. . . . .	1 oz. 4 dwts. in lb troy	= 100 „ 1000
Copper, &c.,	. . . . .	. . . . .	= 19 „ 1000

fine, while that of the fillet is 21 carats $\frac{1}{2}$ grain fine. It must be kept in recollection that the method by which the crown was remade was by melting the gold of the old crown with additional gold of the mint, and it will at once be apparent that the arches could not have been re-fashioned at the same time, or the quality would have been the same. That they were not remade after this date may be inferred from the absence of any payment in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer, and also from the similarity of the weight of the crown at present with what it is stated to have been in 1540.

The nature of the arrangement by which the cross pattée surmounting the arches is fixed is worthy of some consideration. It is very primitive, and is very similar to what will be found in the work of Indian goldsmiths who have a limited set of appliances. The tube into which the screw attached to the cross works, has been constructed in the following manner:—a soft gold wire has been coiled into the thread of the screw, it has been carefully unscrewed so as not to disturb its set, and has then been soldered into a gold tube partially open all up one side. The workmanship of this is undoubtedly Scottish, while the mound through which it passes and the cross which surmounts it are of French workmanship. This raises the question:—have the arches been surmounted by a mound and cross of Scottish manufacture, of which this arrangement has formed part? That the crown was closed before it was reconstructed has already been proved, but it is not so easy to show that it had a mound and cross, although this arrangement points to that conclusion. The different representations of the crown on the coinage are all mutually irreconcilable in their details. The groat of 1488 (fig. 14) shows the crown closed by two complete or four radial arches, and topped by an ornament which is too much obliterated on the coin to be defined: the half groat of 1488 has four arches, surmounted by a mound and cross

Assay of Arches—

Pure gold,	20 cts. 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ grs.	= 873·8 parts in 1000
Pure silver,	1 oz. 4 dwts. in lb troy	= 100 „ 1000
Copper, &c.,		= 26·2 „ 1000

The residue of the alloy is principally if not entirely copper, but sufficient gold was not removed, so that this could be accurately determined.

pattée (fig. 15); and the groat of 1525 shows one complete arch, surmounted by the mound and cross pattée. It is therefore probable that there were a mound and cross above the arches before the present ones were supplied in the reign of James V.

The manner in which the arches are attached to the crown has given rise to the supposition that they were an after attachment. This is specially referred to in the Act of Deposition in 1707, and it is the theory adopted by Sir Walter Scott. But it is evident, that if they are the original arches of the crown that was remade in 1540, they must have been an after attachment to that more ancient crown. And an examination of their workmanship does not lead to the conclusion that the method of fixing them to the present crown in any way differs from that by which they were attached to the older crown. Had they been remade along with the crown in 1540, it might have been expected that a different mode of attachment would have been adopted, and the fact of them being fixed as they are is an additional proof that the crown which was reconstructed in 1540, was a closed one and that the arches, in their form at any rate, are older than the lower portion of the crown.

THE OLDER CROWN.

It has been necessary to make repeated references to the older crown, of which the present one is a reconstruction. Very little is known of that crown except what can be gathered from the inventory of 1539, which describes it as having 20 diamonds and 68 Oriental pearls (see footnote p. 49), and its weight, which can be calculated from the accounts of 1540 to have been 16 oz. 15 dwt. Scots.

But in one of the panels of the altar-piece of Trinity College, now preserved in Holyrood Palace,¹ a crown is represented which it has been thought may depict with more or less accuracy the diadem worn by James III., and subsequently by James IV.

This crown (see fig. 7), I will now proceed to describe, as far as that can be done from an examination of the picture.

¹ Figured and described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1872-3, Vol. X. p. 310.

The circle or fillet and the fleurs de lis are made apparently in one piece, and from one sheet of gold, upon the edge of which is mounted a twisted wire border—resembling a rope—which runs round the outline of the fleurs de lis, the rays on which the crosses are supported, and the lower edge of the crown. The crosses have evidently been made

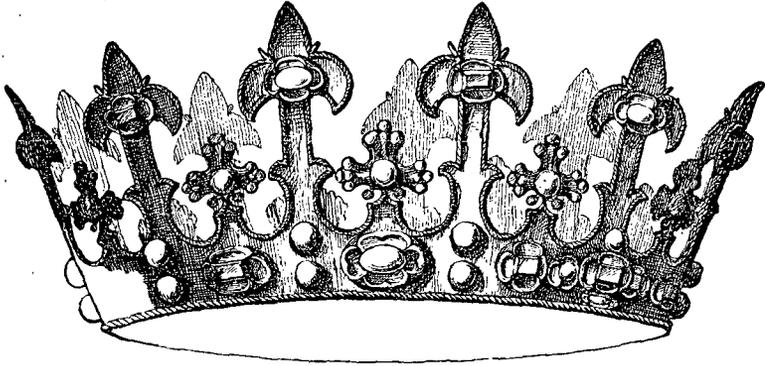


Fig. 17. Crown depicted on one of the Panels of the Altar-Piece of Trinity College, now preserved in Holyrood Palace.

separately and soldered on. The fillet is garnished with gems, alternately sapphires¹ (table-cut) and rubies² (*en cabochon*), with two pearls interposed between each setting. These sapphires and rubies are placed directly beneath each cross, and between them, directly below each fleur de lis, the two pearls are placed vertically the one above the other. The front of the crown, which is shown on the sinister side of the illustration, is marked by an ornament consisting of a setting in the centre, con-

¹ The sapphires in Queen Mary's jewels are almost invariably described as table cut.

² These stones are painted of a distinct ruby colour, but they are of so suspiciously large a size as to lead to the supposition that they must have been carbuncles, as in the present crown. Among the jewels of Queen Mary (*Inventaires de la Reine Descosse*) rubies are mentioned, both table cut and *en cabochon*, but more frequently the latter, and they are described apparently with great accuracy, for there is mention of the well-known Balas rubies "vng rubiz balay," p. 82, and "ung gros ruby ballay," p. 197; and also of the spinel ruby, "une spinelle," p. 200.

taining a sapphire (table-cut) flanked at the dexter side by a setting containing a ruby, oval (*en cabochon*), and on the sinister side by a ruby, square (cutting uncertain), below by a setting containing an emerald,¹ oval (*en cabochon*), and above by a pearl. The centre of the fleur de lis immediately above this ornament is enriched with a ruby (*en cabochon*), and in the centres of the other fleurs de lis, counting from this one towards the dexter side, are the following stones:—an emerald, of pale colour (table-cut), a ruby, (*en cabochon*), a sapphire (table-cut), a ruby (*en cabochon*). The other stones, being represented as in shadow, cannot be determined. The centre of each cross is garnished with a pearl, and the remainder of the cross is apparently gold, either embossed, carved, or cast into a bead or fluted pattern. On the fillet starting from the centre ornament, and going towards the dexter side, the gems are as follows:—a sapphire (table-cut), two pearls, a ruby (*en cabochon*), two pearls, a sapphire (table-cut), two pearls. The other stones are covered by the thumb of the hand which holds the crown. There are in all ten fleurs de lis and ten crosses. The settings of the stones are all practically of the same pattern adapted with slight variations to the different sizes and shapes of the stones. They consist of gold collets with a scalloped ornament overlaid, and resemble in their main features the settings of the stones in the present crown.

The pearls are apparently fixed in some kind of setting, and not merely impaled, but it is impossible to determine exactly what its design is. But it is evident that it is not the same class of setting as that of the pearls in the present crown.

In examining this crown, and attempting to discover in it any confirmation of the romantic theories which have been so fondly cherished regarding it, or to identify any portion of it with the present crown, disappointment meets us at almost every turn.

If the circlet of gold,² which, tradition states, Robert the Bruce

¹ Emeralds cut in various styles are mentioned among Queen Mary's jewels (*Inventaires de la Roynie Descosse*, pp. 196, 197)—“cabochon a triangle,” “en cabochon,” “en façon de triangle,” “façon de table,” “en table et languette,” “pointue par ung bout;” and there is specific mention of an emerald from Peru, “estant du Perou.”

² Seldon mentions, that in England the kings of the Saxon race had a crown after

wore at Bannockburn, consisted of nothing more than a mere fillet, then it could not, in form at least, have been part of the crown of the painting, for the formation of this one shows clearly that the fillet and fleurs de lis are made of one sheet of gold, and that the latter could never have been an addition to a circlet of older date. The crown might, however, have been melted and remade as in 1540. But if Bruce's crown consisted of a circlet elevated with fleurs de lis, then it may possibly have formed the actual foundation of the crown here shown, as it is quite easy to conceive how the wire edging could have been mounted on afterwards to strengthen it, and the crosses and gems added to enrich it.

There is a strong presumption—indeed, a certainty—that the gems and pearls of the more ancient crown were incorporated in the present crown in 1540. That they were all included appears doubtful, for in 1542 there is an entry in the inventories¹ of “ane sapher and ane amerant,” that had been in the king's crown or some other work; but that the greater number of them were included seems certain. In that case it might be expected that some of the older settings of the present crown, which are easily distinguishable, could be identified with those in the painting. But it is impossible to identify one single setting.

Again, it might be expected that some resemblance would be found between the crown mentioned in the inventory of 1539 and that in the painting. But the description “in primis of diamantis tuenty” at once demolishes the possibility of their being the same, for there does not appear to be a single diamond in the crown of the painting. In one minor respect the description in this inventory is at first sight consistent with its appearance, for it describes the crown as “wantand ane floure delice of gold,” and it is far more conceivable that one of the fleurs de lis of this crown should have got broken off than of the present crown; but even in

the fashion of other nations, at that time, being only a plain fillet of gold; and that King Egbert was the first who fixed on the circle, or fillet points or rays, after the fashion of the Eastern emperors; and King Edward, surnamed Ironside, topped the points with pearls. Henry I. had a crown adorned with fleurs de lis, only raised but little above the rim. Edward III. seems to have been the first sovereign of England who enriched the crown with fleurs de lis and crosses pattée.

¹ Item ane sapher and ane amerant quhilck haid bein set of befor in the kingis graces crown or in sum uther wark (*Thomson's Inventories*, p. 66).

this respect it is hardly possible that it refers to the old crown, for it describes the fleurs de lis as of gold alone, whereas in the altar-piece they are represented as enriched with gems.

But in one general feature—the settings of the stones,—there is a marked resemblance between the crown in the painting and the present crown. It might be too much to expect every detail of the settings to appear in a painting, and it is not surprising therefore that the small claws between the scalloped ornaments cannot be seen. In other respects, the pattern of the settings is almost identical. On one, however—that in the centre (of the drawing) on the fillet—a small point is introduced on the scollop, an embellishment which does not appear on any of the collets in the present crown.

In yet another respect it may be said to correspond with what we know of it, for its appearance is consistent with the record of its weight.

SCOTTISH STONES AND GOLD IN THE CROWN.

One of the many traditions which have been current regarding the crown is, that it was set with Scottish stones and made of Scottish gold.

With regard to the stones, if some of the pearls be excepted, it may be said that only the rock crystals (Nos. 4 and 21, on Plate III.) could be of Scottish origin; but as the colourless variety of vitreous quartz, known as rock crystal, is found in various localities in almost every part of the globe,¹ it is therefore very doubtful, although they were purchased in Edinburgh, that they are of Scottish origin. Amethysts also are found in Scotland, but those in the crown are not Scottish.

As to the gold there is a possibility, amounting to a strong probability, that it was obtained partly, if not entirely from Scottish mines. In the accounts of 1540 (see p. 71) it is stated that 41½ ounces of gold of the mint were embodied in the crown then reconstructed. The

¹ Rock crystal is found on the Cairngorm Mountains in Scotland, in the Isle of Wight, at Bristol, on Snowdon, in Derbyshire, Cornwall, and Cumberland; in the mountains in Wicklow and Donegal, Ireland; in Savoy and Dauphiné; in the Carrara Mountains in Hungary, on the Alps, &c. It is also met with in the East Indies, Ceylon, Brazil, Quito, Canada, and Australia (Emmanuel's *Diamonds and Precious Stones*, p. 153).

supply of bullion for the Scottish mint was derived, among other sources from the native mines.¹ And it is evident that about the period when the crown was remade, a considerable amount of gold was being

¹ The earliest authentic notice regarding gold in Scotland is a grant made by King David I., A.D. 1125, to the Church of the Holy Trinity of Dunfermline, of his tenth of all the gold found in Fife and Fothrik (*Registrum de Dunfermelyn*, p. 16, No. 28, Bannatyne Club, 1842). There is also an Act of James I., A.D. 1424, which states, "Gif ony myne of golde or siluer be fyndyn in ony lordes landes of the realme, and it be prwyt th' thre half-pēnyis of siluer may be fynit owt of the punde of leid, the lordes of parlimēt consentes th' sik myne be the kinges as is vsuale in vthir realmys" (Thomson's *Acts of the Scottish Parliaments*, vol. ii. p. 5). It is stated that James IV., who was a great dabbler in alchemy, appears to have wrought some (gold) mines in Crawford Moor. In the *Treasurer's Accounts* of 1511, '12, and '13, there are a number of payments to Sir James Pettigrew, and the men who were employed under him in working the mines of "Crawford Moor" (Chalmers's *Caledonia*, iii. p. 732). In 1515 the Queen Regent recommenced operations in these mines, which had been interrupted by the death of the King at Flodden, and sent the "Lord postulate of the Yles for to pas to Craufurd muir and thare to set workmen and mak ordinances for the gold myne" (*Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, by R. W. Cochran-Patrick, vol. i. p. xlvj). The Regent Albany coined the famous Albany medal out of gold found in this mine (*State Papers*, Henry VIII. vol. v. part iv. No. DXXIII. p. 575). In 1526 all mines of gold and silver were conceded to Joachim Hochstetter and some other Germans, apparently for the space of forty-three years; but the contract for the coinage only specifies ten years (*Act Parl. Scot.*, vol. ii. p. 310). In 1539 miners were brought from Lorraine to work for the mint, and their better skill produced much larger returns. In 1540 one hundred and thirty ounces of gold "lucrat in mora de Craufurd et terris de Coreheid" were coined into ducats (*Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, R. W. Cochran-Patrick, vol. i. p. 60, xxiv). In 1564, a privilege of working gold and other mines between Tay and the sheriffdom of Orkney was granted to John Stewart of Tarlair and his son (*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. xlviij). In 1567 the Regent Murray granted a licence for nineteen years to Cornelius De Vois, a Dutchman, who came with recommendations from Queen Elizabeth, to search for gold and silver in any part of Scotland. De Vois made over his privilege to Arnold Bronkhurst, who failed to make anything out of it; and we are told by Atkinson that it was subsequently taken up by Abraham Grey, a Dutchman (*Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mines in Scotland*, 1619, Bannatyne Club, 1825, pp. 20, 21). In 1583 a contract for twenty-one years was entered into between James VI. and one Eustachius Roche, described as a Fleming and a mediciner, whereby he was allowed to break ground anywhere and search for the precious metals. This contract was put an end to by the Scottish Parliament in 1592, and a special officer, called the master of the metals, was appointed to take charge of all metals and minerals pertaining to the crown (*Act Parl. Scot.*, vol. iii. p. 556). In 1593 James VI. granted to Thomas Foulis, a goldsmith of considerable eminence in Edinburgh, a lease of the gold,

obtained from the mines of Crawford Moor. In 1540 one hundred and thirty ounces of gold from these mines were coined into ducats, better known as bonnet pieces. And there is further the payment in 1542 to the Captain of Craufurd for the gold added to the crown (see footnote p. 92). It is therefore almost certain that the gold added to the crown in 1540 was Scottish. The analysis (see pp. 83, 84) which has been made of it—although it is hazardous to found on this alone, as it has probably been refined and alloyed—also points to this conclusion, for it shows a large percentage of silver,¹ which is a feature of all Scottish gold. As to the gold of the older crown, it is possible that it also may have been Scottish, for gold mines were worked in Scotland previous to the date at

silver, and lead mines of Crawford Moor and Glengoner for twenty-one years, in consideration of the loans (which amounted in 1594 to no less than £14,598) he had had from him. An *Act of the Privy Council* of 11th June 1616, granted to Stevin Aitkinsoun, an Englishman, power “during his lyfetyme to searche, seik, work, dig, try, discouer, and find oute . . . seames and mynes of gold and silver . . . in Crawford Mure.” And it provided that all the gold and silver should be brought to his “Majesties Conezie-house” at Edinburgh, to be coined, one-tenth to be His Majesty’s due, and nine-tenths of the coined money to be delivered to “the said Stevin.” In 1619 an Englishman, named George Bowes, procured a commission to work the gold mines in Scotland. At Wanlockhead he discovered “a small vaine of gold which had much small gold upon it.” He swore his workmen to secrecy, and after working the vein for some time he carried off to England a considerable quantity of gold. Before leaving he closed up and concealed the shaft, and although it has been looked for, it has never been refound (*Discoverie and Historie of the Gold Mynes in Scotland*, 1619, Bannatyne Club, 1825). In 1621 Dr Hendlie got a licence for twenty-one years to search for gold in Crawford Moor, but it does not appear that he made anything of it (*Records of the Coinage of Scotland*, R. W. Cochran-Patrick, vol. i. p. xlviij). Gold is still to be found by washing at Wanlockhead, in Dumfriesshire, but the expense of procuring it far exceeds the value of the gold so obtained. In 1872 a nugget of considerable size was found by a miner named Andrew Gemmell. In 1867 gold was discovered in Kildonan, Sutherlandshire, in a sufficient quantity to be remunerative, and it has since been found in many other parts of Scotland (see *Scottish National Memorials*, 1890 pp. 293, 294).

¹ Professor Church has made the following analysis of the gold from Wanlockhead :—

Gold,	. . . . .	86·60 per cent.
Silver,	. . . . .	12·39 „
Iron,	. . . . .	·35 „
Other substances and loss,	. . . . .	·66 „
		100 „

which it must have been made. That it was repaired with Scottish gold seems evident from some of the payments in 1503, 1532, and 1533 in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer.¹

THE QUEEN'S CROWNS AND THE KING'S CROWN OF 1571.

Before we leave this section of the subject, mention should be made of other three crowns of which we have a record, although what subsequently became of them is unknown.

In the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for 1539,² there is a payment to an Edinburgh goldsmith for making the queen's crown and furnishing stones thereto. This would appear to have been an entirely new crown, and not as in the case of the king's crown, an old crown melted down and reconstructed. This can be gathered from a payment in 1542,³ for the gold used in its manufacture, where it will be seen that 35 ounces were "disponed upon it," and in the payment to John Mosman it is stated that it weighed 35 ounces.

But we can gather from two sources that there was a queen's crown before this. In one of the panels of the altar-piece of Trinity College,⁴

¹ Item (1503) to Matho Auchlek, goldsmith, that wantit of the Kingis croun v rideris, twa Scottis crownis, half ane angell weyand ane unce and j ð wecht summa, vij li. xiiij s. iiij d.

May (1532)—Item, for vij unce, ane quarter of unce, and half ane unicornne wecht gold, to mend the Kingis crowne; price of the unce coft at Thomas Wod, goldsmith, viij li. v s., lx li. vij s. vj d.

Item for ane unce gold coft at James Achesoun, cunyeour to the samyn effect, price viij li.

Item (1533) to Sir James Hamiltoun, for thre unce gold furnessit be him to the mending of the Kingis croun, xxiv li.

² Item, the v day of October (1539) gevin to Johne Mosman, for making of the Quenis crowne, and furnesing of stanis therto, quhilk weyit xxxv unce of gold of mynde, xlv li.

³ 1542. Item gevin to the Capitane of Crawford for five score xij unce quarter unce unmolting gold of mynd, price of the unce vj li. viij s. quhilk wes deliverit to Johne Mosman, and disponit upone the King and Quenis graces crownis: weyand, the Kingis crowne xlj unce quarter unce, the Quenis crowne xxxv unce, and to eyk ane grete chenze to his grace, xvij unce; and ane belt to the Quene, weyand xix unce half unce: as the said Johnes compt at mare lenth proportis vijcxviiij li. viij s.

⁴ Figured and described in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Scot.*, 1872-3, vol. x. p. 310.

Queen Margaret of Denmark is represented with an open crown, enriched with pearls and precious stones. Queen Margaret died in 1486, and we find James IV., immediately after his marriage in 1503, to the Princess Margaret of England, daughter of Henry VII., and his coronation at Scone, commissioning an Edinburgh goldsmith¹ to make a crown for his queen. The fate of both of these crowns has not as yet been discovered.

There is also the record of a king's crown of silver gilt which formed part of a complete set of Regalia.

In 1571, when the crown with the sceptre and sword were in the custody of Kirkaldy of Grange, who held Edinburgh Castle for the queen's party, the Lord Regent and the nobility were desirous of holding a Parliament at Stirling, for the forfeiture of Chatelherault, Huntly, and others, and to enable them to do this they caused to be made a complete set of temporary Regalia, the accounts for which are here quoted.²

¹ Item, the xvij day of Julij (1503), deliverit to Johne Currou, goldsmith, to mak ane crown for the quene, xxxvij Leois and half rose nobles, xvj Scottis crownis, j quarter rose noble, xxvij Scottis rideris, ane third part Leo, and ane angell, quhilk cost xxiiij š. weyand xj unce and ane angell wecht, lxxvj li. v d.

Item, for making and werkmanship, and inlayk of the samyn, xx li.

² Item, the said day (xvij August 1571) be my Lord Regentis grace speciale command to Mungo Bradie, goldsmith, ane pund ane unce wecht and ane half of silver to be ane crown of honour and sceptour; price of the unce xxvj š. viii d.,

xxiiij li. vj š. viij d.

Item, to gilt the foirsaid werk, vj rois nobillis; price of the pece iiij li. xiiij š.

xxviij li. iiij š.

Item, xij unce of quik silver to gilt the said werk, xxx š.

Item, to ane cutlar for gilding of the plumet and hiltis, xx š.

Item, to the said Mungo for the fassone and gilding of the said werk, xvij li.

Item, be my Lord Regentis grace speciale command for the fraucht of ane bote of Leithe with the honouris to Bruntiland, xx š.

Item, for the hire of twa careage horsis, ane to the honouris, and the uther to the goldsmyth, to Striviling, xxiiij š.

Item, to the said Mungo and his servand for thair expensis remanand in Striviling, be the space of xv dayis, ilk day xiiij š. iiij d., x li.

Item, for the hire of ane horse to turse him hame, xij š.

Item, the xxvj day of August, be my Lord Regentis grace speciale command to be the Kingis robroyale agane the Parliament, and gevin to James Inglis, tailyeour, twa elnis of quhite armosing taffeteis, ij li. x š.

THE SCEPTRE.

The design of the sceptre (fig. 1, p. 27) may be divided into three distinct parts—first, the rod, including the handle; second, the head or capital; and third, a globe of rock crystal with finial, surmounted by a Scottish pearl.

The rod, from the end of the button at the handle to the top of the small capital at the upper end of the rod, measures in length $23\frac{3}{4}$ inches. It is of hexagon form, and is divided into three divisions by two knops, and by another knop or end piece—all of similar form—at the end of the rod. The two upper divisions are of equal length— $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches—while the end division which forms the handle is smaller, and measures only $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches from knop to knop. Both the knops between which it is fixed are decorated on their upper sides with a leaf ornament, displayed, and the lower surface of the end piece is also ornamented with traced leaf ornamentation, all of which has been executed by casting, not afterwards chased. The sides of the handle are plain, and swell from the ends to the centre to a diameter of $\frac{1}{6}$ inch.

The second division of the rod is ornamented on three of its six sides with engraved fleurs de lis and thistles. That directly in line under the figure of the Virgin has fifteen fleurs de lis (No. 1, fig. 18); that under the figure of St Andrew has thistle blows with leaves (No. 2, fig. 18); and that under the figure of St James has fourteen fleurs de lis (No. 3, fig. 18). Between numbers 2 and 1, immediately below the knop

Item, twa unce of purpouir silk to be ane string to the said robroyale, &c.,	xxxij s̄.
Item, ane quarter of blew taffeteis to lyne the bonet within the crowne	x s̄.
Item, for silk to the same,	vj s̄.
Item, for caddes,	ij s̄.
Item, for making of the same bonat,	xxiiij s̄.
Item, ane elne ane quarter of black velvot to be ane skabert to the swerd of honour,	vj li. iij s̄. ix d̄.
Item, for ane swerd to be the swerd of honour,	v li.
Item, the swerd slipper for making and grathing of the skabert thairto,	xxx s̄.
Item, for weving and making of thre dosane of buttonis of gold and silver to the Kingis Majesteis cottis,	xxxvj s̄.
Item, to the pure folk at the Kingis Majesteis furthecoming of the Castell of Striveling.	vj li.

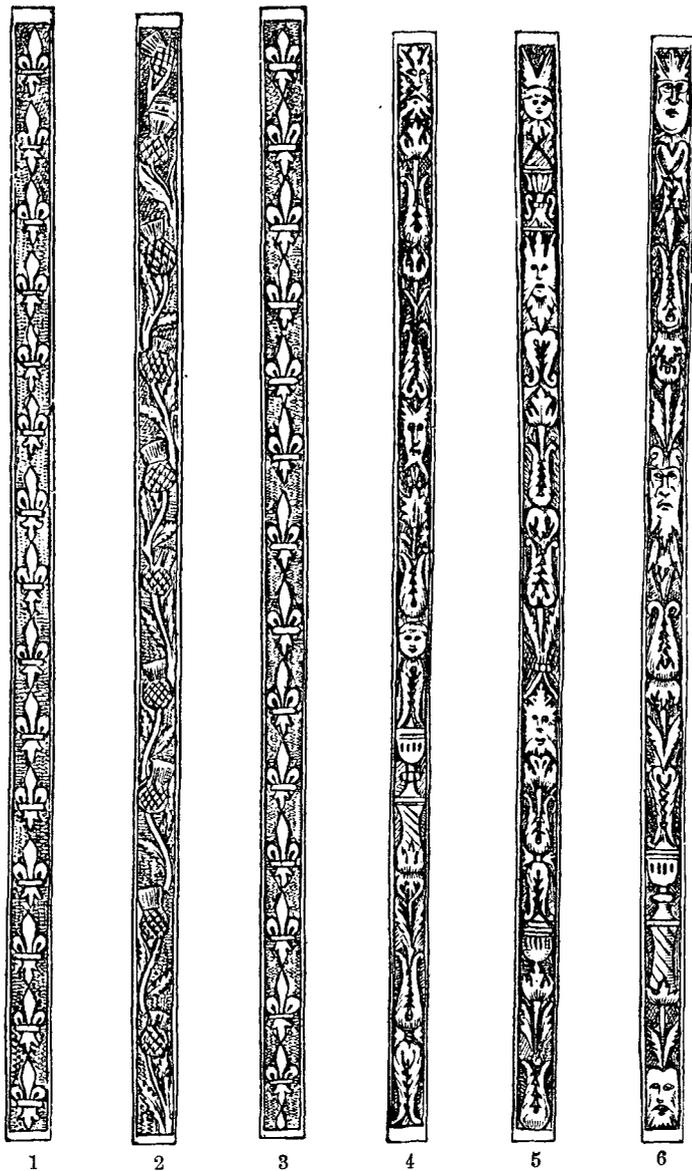


Fig. 18. Engraved Ornamentation on the Rod of the Sceptre (scale, $\frac{3}{8}$).

in the centre, on one of the plain sides of the rod, is engraved the letter

I; between 1 and 3 is the letter **R**, and between 3 and 2 is the numeral **5**, for Jacobus Rex V.

The upper division of the rod (measuring between knop and capital $7\frac{7}{8}$ inches) is also ornamented on three of its six sides. Above the letter I, and in line with one of the plain sides of the lower part of the rod, is engraved an ornament composed of grotesques, cups, and foliage (No. 4, fig. 18). Above the letter R and the numeral 5 are engraved similar ornaments, varying slightly in detail (Nos. 5 and 6, fig. 18).

The rod of the sceptre is surmounted by a capital with a moulded abacus and neck-mould (lower part, fig. 19). The bell of the capital displays open leafwork of a Gothic character, cast but not chased.

From the capital rises the head of the sceptre (fig. 19). It is divided into three by dolphins in the form of scrolls, with the customary leafage on the back and belly. Their heads point upwards, and are effronted inward. Their tails are curled up immediately above the capital of the rod, and are filled with cinquefoils, which bear traces of having been enamelled green. One or two specks of green enamel are still visible, and the surface of each leaf is cut, as for enamelling. In the centre of each leaf is a setting, which appears to have been filled at one time with a stone. Three of these cinquefoils are amissing, one on each of the dolphins to the dexter side of each of the statuettes.

Between the dolphins are three figures on corbels. In the first there is the Virgin Mary (fig. 19), crowned with an open crown, holding on her right arm Our Saviour, and in her left hand a mound, ensigned with a cross. On her left hand is St James (fig. 20), clad in a loose flowing robe and cape, with the collar fastened at the neck. His right hand is elevated, and holds an open book. In his left hand is a staff, the head of which is broken off. On his head is a flat-shaped pilgrim's hat. To his left is St Andrew (fig. 21) in an apostolical robe with cape, on his head a nimbus, in his right hand a St Andrew's cross or saltire—the



Fig. 19. Head of the Sceptre (actual size).

upper portion of which is broken off—and in his left hand elevated, an open book.

These figures are surmounted by Gothic canopies in two tiers or stages.

Immediately above the dolphins is another knob of hexagon form, ornamented on the under side with leaves, displayed. Above this is a



Fig. 20. Statuette of St James on the Head of the Sceptre (actual size).



Fig. 21. Statuette of St Andrew on the Head of the Sceptre (actual size).

globe of rock crystal (fig. 22), cut and polished smooth all over, measuring $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches high by $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches in diameter, and weighing 7 oz. 1 dwt. A natural fissure or mark runs through it diagonally. The crystal is enclosed by three bands of a twisted wire or rope pattern, which terminate above and below in a chased and pierced leaf ornament. Each of the bands has a joint at the top to admit the globe, and to allow it to be fixed over it when in position. Above the crystal is an open ornament formed of six flat-shaped wires, corresponding in form to the line of the



Fig. 22. Head of the Sceptre, with the Globe of Rock Crystal and Finial (scale, $\frac{2}{3}$).

dolphins. From the top of this spring three leaves supporting a plain egg-shaped finial of silver gilt, fixed on the top of which is a Scottish pearl.

The sceptre unscrews into three separate pieces—immediately below the capital of the rod with a right-hand screw, and at the knob between the ornamented portions of the rod with a left-hand screw.

It is made throughout of silver, gilded over. Originally it was gilded, and in comparatively recent years the gilding has been renewed.

It bears no hall mark.

Its weight, excluding the globe of rock crystal, is 25 oz. 12 dwt., and it measures over all $33\frac{7}{8}$ inches in length.

The zeal of James V. for altering, and doubtless in his estimation, improving the national Regalia was not confined to the crown, but extended also to the sceptre. In point of fact, he had the sceptre remade several years before the crown was remodelled.

There is little need for discussing the theory of Sir Walter Scott as to the French origin of the sceptre, for its history is known. Originally it was a gift from Rome, and was presented along with a gold rose by Pope Alexander VI.¹ to James IV., by the hands of a prothonotary named Forman,² in 1494.

Its appearance, if we are to judge from the character of contemporary Italian work—as, for instance, the sword of Pope Julius II.—must have

¹ A.D. 1494.—“The Paip Alexander the Sixt send ane protonotar callit Forman in Scotland, with ane roise and septour of gold to the King” (Bishop Lesley’s *History of Scotland*, p. 63). The fact of the sceptre being described as of gold need arouse no doubts as to its identity, as the same historian falls into a similar error in describing the sword presented by Pope Julius II.

² The prothonotary Andrew Forman was a man of considerable note. On the 30th September 1497, when articles of a truce between England and Scotland, to endure for seven years, were signed in the church of Ayton, the name of Andrew Forman, prothonotary and prior of May, appears, among others, as representing the King of Scots. Forman was fortunate in the high estimate which was formed of the importance of his services. “For the gude service done,” at this time, “in lauboring of tender lufe and frendschip, peax, and amite” between King James and the King of England, there was granted to him, 24th May 1498, a letter of license to take and receive, “be himself or utheris his kinsmen or frendis,” any benefice or pension bestowed upon him or them within the realm of England, and to pass and repass with letters close and patent, and to sojourn in England at their pleasure. On the 19th September 1498, he received a letter of power to grant to all Englishmen

been elegant : it would be fashioned of delicate *repoussé* work, and that it was small and light may be inferred from its weight, which it is recorded was 15 ounces.

This very lightness must have been a detriment and an eyesore in the estimation of King James V. ; or possibly its delicacy may have led to its receiving serious damage, such as has befallen the scabbard of the sword of state. In any case, we find from a payment in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer,¹ to Adam Leys, an Edinburgh goldsmith, that in 1536, 11½ ounces were added to it, and that it was remade into a new sceptre.

That this is the identical sceptre there referred to, can be proved from a comparison of the weights. In the account of 1536 it is stated that 11½ ounces were added to the old sceptre, which weighed 15 ounces. The remodelled sceptre therefore weighed 26½ ounces (Scots), equivalent to 26 ounces English troy weight. At present it weighs 25 ounces 12 dwt. The very slight discrepancy can be easily explained through the loss of several portions, such as the upper parts of the staff of St James and the cross of St Andrew.

The sceptre itself bears abundant evidence of the remaking, and the portions that have been added, as well as those that have been remade, can with comparative ease be detected and defined.

It has not been entirely remade : many parts unquestionably belong to

coming to Pittenweem, Anstruther, Earlsferry, and Crail, safe conducts and protections for their ships and servants “ to be observit like as thai war gevin be the King undir his seles.” On the 13th of October 1498, he had a letter of pension of 1000 merks, “ till he be promovit to ane bishoprik or abbasy ;” and on the 1st February following a letter, charging the Chancellor, Privy Seal, and Secretary to give all letters free under their seals to him, his kin, and friends (*Regist. Secreti Sig.*, lib. i. ff. 30, 47, 52, 127). In 1501 he was Bishop of Moray, and ultimately Archbishop of St Andrews, legatus natus et a latere, Archbishop of Bourges, Commendator of Dunfermline, Dryburgh, and Pittenweem, and of Cottingham in England, and great custumar in the north parts beyond Spey (*Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland*, edited by Thomas Dickson, vol. i. p. clviii.)

¹ 1536.—Item, deliverit to Adam Leys, goldsmyth, xj unce and ane half of silver attour the auld sceptour of silver, weyand xv unce, to mak ane new sceptour of ix li. iiij š.
 Item, for making of the said sceptour, vij li.
 Item, for gold to gilt the samin, ix li.

its ancient predecessor; but almost all that was remade in 1536 is remarkable from the fact, that it has been cast from patterns which previously existed, and that there has been no attempt afterwards to retouch the castings with chasers' punches.

The floriated ornament on the dolphins has been cast and soldered in all probability to the framework of the original. The canopies above the figures have originally been chased from a strip of silver, and afterwards turned up. They appear to have been straightened, cast, and again turned up. The three figures have each been cast in two halves, and soldered together; and the rudeness of the casting, as well as the clumsy manner in which they are soldered together, points undoubtedly to them having been remade by the Scottish goldsmith. The only attempt at finish which they show appears to have consisted in their being scraped smooth with a steel scraper.

To devise or carry out an original pattern such as this was so far beyond the skill of the Edinburgh goldsmiths of that period, that there is no difficulty in concluding that in every particular, except an addition which will be afterwards noticed, the pattern of the original sceptre has been reproduced.

But that it was a matter of practice at that time for Edinburgh goldsmiths to reproduce *repoussé* work by casting may be illustrated from one alteration or repair upon the traverse guard of the sword of state, which resembles exactly what has been done on the dolphins of the sceptre. The two dolphins which decorate the guard of the sword have undoubtedly originally been fashioned in *repoussé* like the other portions of the sword; but they seem to have got broken, and are now replaced with reproductions, cast solid. The character of the castings, and the lack of finish which characterises them, coincide exactly with the work of the sceptre.

The work of another goldsmith nearly a century later may also be adduced for further illustration. The cup which is traditionally known as George Heriot's drinking cup¹ (made 1608-10), and which is now in possession of George Heriot's Trust, is in greater part a casting of a German pattern, and the work, as in the case of the sceptre, is left untouched by the chaser.

¹ Figured and described in *Scottish National Memorials*, p. 298.

The portions which appear to have escaped the process of renovation are the three roses or cinquefoils (of which there have originally been six), which ornament the tails of the dolphins on the head of the sceptre. Several traces of green enamel may yet be seen on them, and in their centres are the empty settings, undoubtedly once filled with gems.

The settings of the globe of rock crystal with the leaf ornamentation above and below, and also the whole of the sceptre above this (excepting some slight repairs), are of superior workmanship, and must be referred to the ancient sceptre. To describe the difference in words,¹ or even to illustrate it by a drawing, is difficult, but a comparison of the work can leave no doubt on the point. It cannot by any means be regarded as a fine specimen of Italian work, although better than what Scottish goldsmiths could produce at that time, but the technical skill displayed is quite on a level with what will be found on the sword of Pope Julius II., with which it is contemporary.

This disposes of the theory, romantically indulged in by Sir Walter Scott, that the rock crystal or "great bereal"² was an amulet which had formed part of some ancient sceptre of the Scottish kings.

Several other small portions may be referred to the old sceptre, but it is not necessary to detail them.

The reasons which probably led to these parts being preserved and incorporated in the new sceptre are obvious at a glance. It would have been impossible to make them heavier, for they were already solid, and it was beyond the power of the Edinburgh goldsmith to make them better.

A peculiar interest attaches to the hexagon rod of the sceptre, from the fact that the upper division can be identified as having formed part

¹ It may be interesting to note that Sir Walter Scott observed this difference when he examined the Regalia, but to such an extent was weight and massiveness, even in his time, preferred to delicacy of work, that he describes these settings as being of inferior rather than of superior workmanship (*Papers Relative to the Regalia*, Bannatyne Club, MDCCCXXIX. p. 22)

² Charm-stones frequently consisted of rock crystals mounted in different kinds of settings. The Glenorchy charm-stone of Breadalbane, described in the *Black Book of Taymouth*, p. iii., and the Ardvorlich "Clach Dearg," figured in Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals*, vol. i. p. 198; in Simpson's *Archæological Essays*, vol. i. p. 212; and in plate xlvi. of Drummond's *Ancient Scottish Weapons*, may be mentioned.

of the original sceptre, while the lower division is as unquestionably entirely an addition.

The three ornamented sides (Nos. 4, 5, and 6, fig. 18) of the upper division are Italian in design, and belong to the style known as grotesque. Ornaments of a similar character will be found frequently on work during the transition between the Gothic and the Renaissance periods. But it is not so much from the design, as by the method in which the ornament is cut, that their Italian origin can be distinguished. The manner in which the ground is cut with the graver on all these three strips is uniform. It might be described as being hatched with cuts or lines by a graver. On the other hand, on the three sides of the lower division of the rod (Nos. 1, 2 and 3, fig. 18), the ground is treated by being wriggled over with a flat graving tool. In general, there is a technical potentiality about the handling of the former, which is lacking in the latter. It may be observed, although the full significance attaching to it cannot be gathered from the illustrations.

There is, moreover, a peculiar appropriateness in the introduction of the fleurs de lis on the lower division of the rod, particularly as at this time James V. cemented his alliance with France through his marriage with Magdalen, the daughter of Francis I.

In confirmation of this and in complete harmony with it, is the fact that James V. has his initials engraved on the upper portion of the lower division of the rod.

The original sceptre presented by Pope Alexander VI. cannot therefore have measured more than 25 inches in length.

THE QUEEN'S SCEPTRE.

When the crown was remade in January 1540, there was also made the following month a sceptre for the queen. It is referred to in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for that year,¹ and is described

¹ 1539-40. —Item, the vj day of Februar, gevin to Johne Mosman to gilt the Quenis septur, iiij rois nobillis, x li. xijs.

Item, deliverit to him to be the samyn septur xxxj unces half unce of silver, xxiiij li. xvij s. ix d.

Item, for the fassoun of the samyn septur, ilk unce v s. vij li. xv s.

Item, gevin to Johne Patersoune for ane caise to the Quenis septur, xiiij s.

in the inventory given up by John Tennand, 28th November 1542, as "ane sceptour with ane quhyte hand." That sceptre is now amissing. It has been surmised that the silver gilt rod, described as the Mace of the Lord High Treasurer, and which was found in the chest along with the Regalia, is a queen's sceptre. If so, it cannot at any rate be the one referred to in the Accounts of 1540, for the weights do not correspond. The queen's sceptre weighed $31\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver, while the mace, with the wooden rod inside it and the ball of rock crystal on the top, only weighs 20 ounces 12 dwt.

THE SWORD OF STATE (PLATE II.)

The blade of the sword is 3 feet 3 inches long and $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide at its broadest part.

On the heel or uppermost part, immediately below the leaves projecting from the handle, are etched the figures, apparently of the apostles Paul and Peter (figs. 23 and 24). The etching is bitten very lightly, and is partly filled in with gold. In the centre of the blade immediately below this on each side there is also etched and filled in with gold JVLIVS II PONT MAX N. On one side it is very faint, and the last six letters are obliterated (fig. 25). This may be accounted for from the fact that when the blade was broken it was welded and reground. It was broken 14 inches from the hilt, and the mark of the weld is yet to be seen.

From the top of the blade to the end of the pommel on the handle measures $15\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The pommel and handle or grip are of silver plate hammered into form, decorated with *repoussé* work, and mercurially gilded (fig. 26).

The pommel measures $4\frac{5}{8}$ inches by $3\frac{1}{6}$ inches, and is rounded at the corners and flattened at each side; its thickness is $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches. In the centre, on each side, is a circular garland, 2 inches in diameter, chased from a separate piece of silver plate and soldered on. These appear at one time to have been filled with enamelled plates, but only the bearers and some traces of the solder by which they have been fixed now remain. Round the garlands is an ornament consisting of oak leaves, displayed. The edge of the pommel is formed of a drawn silver wire, half an inch in width.

The length of the barrel or grip, commonly called the handle, is



Fig. 23. Etching of the Apostle Paul on the Blade of the Sword of State (actual size).



Fig. 24. Etching of the Apostle Peter on the Blade of the Sword of State (actual size).

$11\frac{1}{4}$ inches. In the centre of it is a flattened knop, 2 inches in diameter, encircled at the middle with a moulded silver wire. The upper and



Fig. 25. Etching of the Name of Pope Julius II. on the Blade of the Sword of State (actual size).

lower portion of the ornament on the knop is formed of leaves, displayed. Immediately above and below the central knop the handle

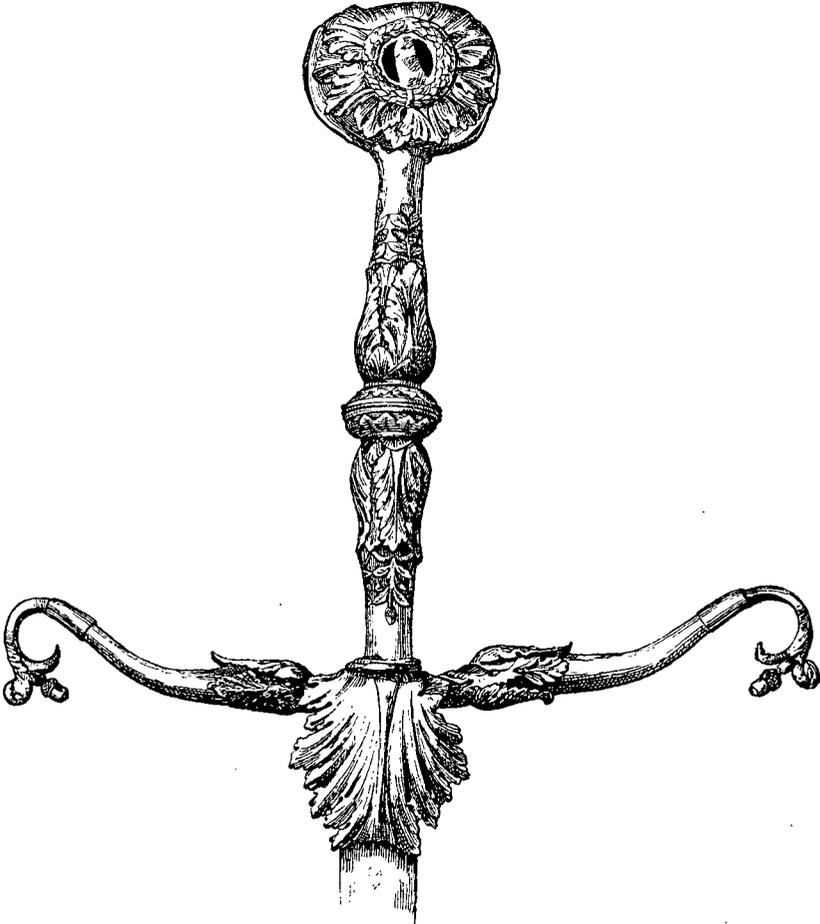


Fig. 26. Handle and Guard of the Sword of State (scale, one-half).

swells into a graceful form, and is ornamented both above and below with oak leaves and acorns.

The thinness of the metal of which the handle is made has admitted of its being very much bruised and knocked out of shape. It is much broken at the point where the pommel joins the handle.

The traverse guard of the sword is $17\frac{1}{4}$ inches from extremity to extremity. In design it consists of two dolphins looking towards the handle, with their tails terminating in an acorn and oak leaves, which form the ends of the cross.

Between the dolphins' heads, and pointing towards the point of the sword, are two leaves about 4 inches long (broken at the points), which overlap the scabbard at its mouth. These have both been broken away entirely from the handle, and are now attached roughly by wire and soft solder.

The guard of the sword has at one time been broken at both ends; it has been repaired by soldering a tube over each of the broken parts, which may be easily observed (fig. 26).

The work on the handle of the sword, with the exception of the drawn wires, has originally been entirely *repoussé*. Two portions alone have been renewed since it was made, and these are the two dolphins on the traverse guard, which have been cast apparently from the originals, and hard soldered on the same places they occupied. These cast dolphins show a lack of finish nowhere else apparent on the sword, and have never been chased after they were cast.

THE SCABBARD OF THE SWORD OF STATE.

The scabbard measures in length 3 feet $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches, in width at the mouth $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches, and in thickness at the mouth $1\frac{1}{8}$ inch. It is made of wood, covered with crimson silk velvet, and mounted in silver gilt *repoussé* work.

THE FRONT OF THE SCABBARD.

At the mouth is an oblong panel measuring $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches by $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches, bearing the arms of Pope Julius II. (fig. 27):—on a cartouch azure, an oak tree eradicated and fructuated or, and above the cartouch the papal ensign, viz., two keys in saltire adossée, their bows formed like cinque-

foils, united with a cord passing through the bows and behind the cartouch, on each side of which it is reflexed over itself, the two ends terminating in a knot and tassel; surmounting the keys, is the papal



Fig. 27. Arms of Pope Julius II. enamelled on the Scabbard of the Sword of State (actual size).

tiara, environed with three ducal coronets; from the bottom of the tiara issue two pendants reflexed below the keys, and carried up on each side



Fig. 28. Ornamentation of the Central Division on the Front of the Scabbard of the Sword of State (scale, one-half).

of the tiara, *semée* of crosses, and terminating in a fringe.¹ The ground on the upper half of the panel is enamelled red.

Between this and the tip the scabbard is divided into three divisions by two circular plates ($1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter outside, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches inside).

The one nearest the mouth has at one time had a central plate—probably enamelled like the others—but it is now amissing. The one nearest the tip is filled with a blue enamelled plate, the enamel of which is much broken. On its surface there has probably been scratched *IVL II PONT MAX N*, but only the letters *IVL I N* are now to be seen. There seems also to have been an enamelled plate about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long at the tip, but it is amissing.

¹ This blazon has been executed more with a view to decorative effect than heraldic exactness. Only two colours of enamel have been employed—a ruby colour for the ground of the panel, and a dark blue for the field of the cartouch, the barbs of the cinquefoils, the line-markings of the cords, tassels, fringes and pendants, and for the cap of the papal tiara.

The entire surface of the metal of the panel has been gilded, and consequently all the parts not enamelled are represented gold. One distinction, at any rate, has thus been overlooked—the two keys of the papal ensign should properly be, one of gold and the other of silver. There should also be a cross on the mound at the top of the tiara, which is entirely omitted. The enamel is very much chipped both on the field of the panel and also on the papal tiara, and in those places the graver marks on the surface of the metal are laid bare, and show the original colour of the silver.

The division nearest the mouth of the scabbard contains an ornament executed in *repoussé*, and thereafter pierced, designed of oak leaves, acorns, and a grotesque mask. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches of the ornament in this division is amissing.

The central division between the two circular plates is complete (fig. 28). In its centre is a mask: the ornament above and below consists of acorns, oak leaves, and dolphins.

The division at the tip is very much damaged, and a large portion is broken off. At one end is one of a pair of grotesque faces in profile—the other is amissing. The remainder of the ornament is similar to the upper portions. At the extreme tip is a melon-shaped bead.

THE BACK OF THE SCABBARD.

At the end nearest the mouth are two raised bands $\frac{3}{8}$ inch wide and $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches long, through which the belt passed.

Between this and the tip the scabbard is divided into three divisions, similar to the other side, by two circular plates. The one nearest the mouth is gilt, and bears no trace of having had an enamelled plate on it. This can easily be explained from the fact that this portion, with the ornament immediately above it, is an after addition by the hands of a Scottish goldsmith, evidently riveted on to replace a portion that had got lost (upper part fig. 29).



Fig. 29. Ornamentation on the Upper Division of the Back of the Scabbard of the Sword of State (scale, one-half).

The circular plate nearest the tip is filled with blue enamel and although it is much chipped the letters I PO MAX N may yet be seen scratched on the surface.

The division nearest the mouth (fig. 29) is incomplete. Nearly 2 inches of the ornament is amissing.

The central division (fig. 30) is complete. Very little of the division nearest the tip (fig. 31) is left, only a grotesque mask in the centre and some acorns in the end. The tip of the scabbard has evidently been ornamented on this side, as on the other, with an enamelled plate, but nothing save the soft solder with which it was fixed now remains.

Although there were several swōrds of honour¹ in the Scottish Regalia, we are left in no manner of doubt as to which of them has survived the vicissitudes of so many centuries, for both the name and the arms of Pope Julius II. are engraved and enamelled upon the one now in the Crown Room.

This sword was presented to King James IV. in 1507.² It was accompanied by a consecrated hat, and both were delivered with great solemnity in the Church of Holyrood by the Papal Legate and the Abbot of Dunfermline. It is frequently mentioned in the Inventories of the Royal Wardrobe.³

In dignity and style the design of the sword of state excels both the crown and the sceptre, and although its workmanship falls far short of the best Italian work, even of that period, yet in the simplicity of many of its lines, in the balance of its proportions, and in the spacing of its ornamentation it is very fine.

¹ There were at least four state swords belonging to James IV. and James V.

² "Julius the Secound, Paip for the tyme, send ane ambassadour to the King, declaring him to be Protectour and Defendour of Christen faythe, and in signe thair of, send unto him ane purpoure diadame wrocht with flouris of gold, with ane sword, having the hiltis and skabert of gold, sett with precious stains" (Bishop Lesley's *History of Scotland*, p. 75). In saying that the title of Defender of the Faith was given to King James IV., Bishop Lesley has apparently confused the Papal Embassy of 1507 with the Papal Embassy of 1536. The letter of thanks sent by King James IV. to Pope Julius II. acknowledges the cap and sword—"ensem et pileum, sacratissima Nativitatis Domini nocte, tua felici manu benedictum," but is silent as to any gift of style or title (*Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 82).

³ Thomson's *Inventories of the Royal Wardrobe and Jewel House*, pp. 49, 262, 288.

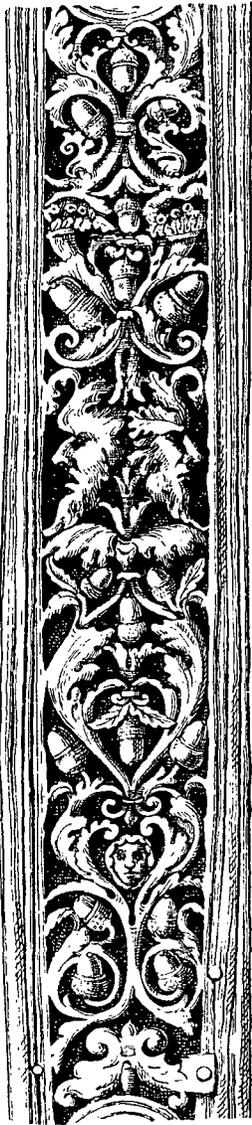


Fig. 30. Ornamentation on the Central Division of the Back of the Scabbard of the Sword of State (scale one-half).

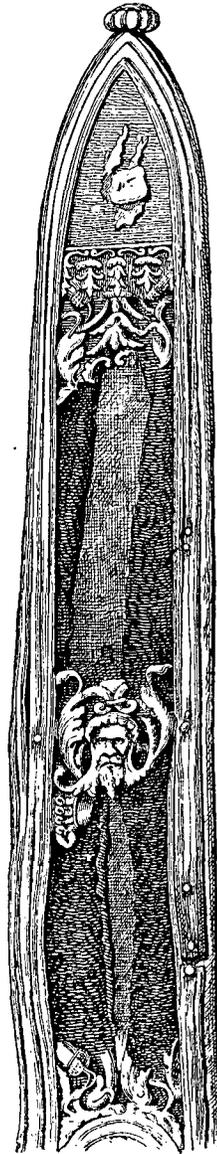


Fig. 31. Ornamentation on the Tip of the Back of the Scabbard of the Sword of State.

In one respect, there is room for congratulation. It appears to have been preserved—with the exception of the breaking and the grinding of the blade—in exactly the same condition as when it was deposited in the Crown Room in 1707. Even the velvet with which the scabbard is covered has not been renewed since the Regalia were discovered in 1818. So exactly does its present condition correspond with the payments in the Lord High Treasurer's Accounts that some of the repairs may be identified.

The cast dolphins on the traverse guard appear to have been added by Matthew Auchinleck, in 1516,¹ and the addition in *repoussé* to the scabbard (upper part of fig. 29), by Adam Leys, in 1536.²

Although the sword is greatly damaged, yet in one respect it can hardly be regretted, for it led to the discovery of the two curious etchings of the apostles on the heel of the blade, which could not possibly have been observed had the leaves covering them been unbroken.

THE BELT OF THE SWORD OF STATE.

There was originally along with the sword a belt by which it was suspended. An excellent etching of it will be found in the *Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland* (Bannatyne Club), page 45, which is reproduced on Plate IV.

In design it corresponds exactly to the sword, and it bears the arms of Pope Julius II.—an oak tree fructuated and eradicated—on a shield of Italian form similar to that on the scabbard (fig. 27).

This belt was not removed along with the other articles of the Regalia when they were rescued from Dunnottar Castle, but appears to have been retained by Governor Ogilvie, probably as a piece of real evidence of his

¹ 1516.—Item, the xvij day of August deliverit to Mathew Auchinlek, goldsmyth, to mend the hiltis of the Kingis swerd of honour, twa uncis of silver, price of ilk unce fourtene shillingis, ane ducat of wecht of the giltung of the samyn hiltis, and ane lycht Franche crowne for his laubouris, iij li. xij s.

² 1536.—Item, to Adam Leis, goldsmyth, to mend the sword of honour, thre ance of Inglis grotis, xlvj s.
Item, to gilt the samyn, ane angell nobill, xxx s.
Item, for making of the samyn, xiiij s.



BELT OF THE SWORD OF STATE OF SCOTLAND.

having had the Honours in his custody. It was long afterwards discovered carefully concealed in the wall of the house of Barras. An inquiry through *Notes and Queries* this year brought to light the fact that it was still in existence, and is now in the possession of Dr G. Livingstone Ogilvie, a descendant of Ogilvie of Barras, resident in the south of England.

SOME OTHER STATE SWORDS.

It may not be uninteresting to note that there are records of several other swords besides that one still preserved.

In 1502 there is a payment in the Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer for the great sword of honour,¹ and another in the same year for a gilt sword² delivered in October 1502 to James IV., at Falkland.³ There was also the sword sent by Pope Paul III. to King James V., which he was vainly exhorted to draw against his near kinsman and neighbour King Henry VIII. of England.

The ultimate fate of the two former swords is unknown, but it is possible that the latter one was that delivered up on the surrender of Stirling Castle,⁴ in August 1651, to the Parliamentary Forces, and which was removed to the Tower of London, and probably afterwards met a fate similar to what befell the English regalia.

THE LORD HIGH TREASURER'S MACE.

When the Crown Room was searched in 1818, there was discovered in the oak chest along with the Regalia, a silver-gilt rod or mace which

¹ 1502-3.—Item, the xv day of Januar payit to Robert Selkyrk, cutlar, in the first, for the gret sword of honour vij li.

Item, for ane scheith to the same, ij s.

² Item, for ane sword delivered to the King in Faukland, in October bipast, quhen the King passit to the Month, xl s.

1503.—Item, the x day of July, for ane quarter and ane nail of purpur vellus, to bind the hand of the sword of honour, and to the scheith of the same, xxviiij s. j d. oti.

³ A sword, supposed to be that of James IV. which he used at Flodden, is now at the College of Arms, Queen Victoria Street, London. This of course was a fighting, not a state sword. It is figured and described in *Archæologia*, vol. xxxiii. p. 335.

⁴ *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, vol. xx. pp. 30, 31.

was not mentioned in the Act of Delivery and Deposition of 1707, found along with them in the chest, and in which the Regalia are described.

In the *Papers Relative to the Regalia*, Sir Walter Scott states that this proved to be the mace of office peculiar to the Treasurer of Scotland, and that it had probably been deposited in the chest by the Earl of Glasgow.¹

The mace is of silver, gilt and burnished (fig. 2, p. 28). The rod proper measures about 3 feet long, and is surmounted by an oval globe of rock crystal ($1\frac{3}{8}$ inches long by $1\frac{5}{16}$ inches in diameter), cut with square facets all over, and enclosed by four bands. Above the globe is a cross pattée, with balls at each extremity of the cross, and with a similar ball in the centre both on the front and the back, all of silver-gilt (fig. 32).

The rod is divided into three divisions, of about $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches each, by two bands, about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch wide, formed of a belcher and two wires, and is terminated at the end by another band and a large button $1\frac{7}{8}$ inches in diameter with a small ball below.

The mace can be separated into three pieces. The globe of rock crystal with its mountings unscrews at the top of the rod, and the rod itself is made to pull separate at the upper band or knob, the one bezil fitting tightly into the other.

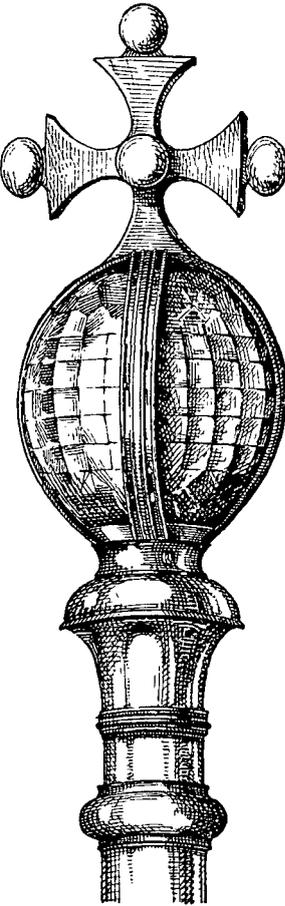


Fig. 32. Head of the Lord High Treasurer's Mace (actual size).

On two of the divisions there is impressed the maker's mark 

¹ *Papers Relative to the Regalia*, Bannatyne Club, MDCCCXXIX, p. 51.

The rod is strengthened by a core of wood, fixed in the button at the end and extending throughout its entire length.

The mace measures over all $38\frac{3}{4}$ inches long, and including the core of wood and globe of rock-crystal, it weighs 20 oz. 12 dwt.

If this is the mace of the Lord High Treasurer, then probably it is the same one referred to in 1616 as being delivered up by Sir Gideon Murray of Elibank.¹

The quhilk day in the presence of the Lords of Secret Counsall compeireit personallie Sir Gedeone Murray of Elibank, knight, Deputie Thesaurair, and produceit and exhibite befor the saidis Lordis the maise callit the Thesaurairis maise, with the caise of the same, quhilk wes delyverit to him be umquhile Sir Johnne Arnote, Deputie Thesaurair for the tyme, and hes bene kept be him sensyne. Quhilk maise, with the caise thairof, the saidis Lordis ressavit from the said Sir Gideone Murray, and delyverit the same to Johnne, Erll of Mar, Lord Heich Thesaurair of this kindome, to the effect he may caus the said maise be borne befor him in all tymes comeing during the tyme of his office, and upoun productioun of the said maise and the delyverie of the same to the said Erll of Mar the said Sir Gideone Murray askit instrumentis."¹

But the probability is that it is older than the date indicated in this extract. The fact that it is marked with the maker's mark, and with that mark alone, points to its having been made previous to a certain date. In the absence of corroborative evidence which is lacking, it would be hazardous to attempt to determine either who made it or when it was made; but certain data exist which may be stated, and which may throw some light on its probable age.

The Act of 1457 (James II.) appointed both a maker's mark and also a deacon's, so that if reliance were placed on this alone, we would be forced to the conclusion that the mace was older than that date. But silver plate was often irregularly marked in Scotland, and this cannot be regarded as conclusive. Some negative evidence may be obtained from the minute-books of the Incorporation of Goldsmiths in Edinburgh, which date from 1525. The names, with very few exceptions, of all the freemen of that craft are found in them, but not one of them between 1525 and 1616 bears the initials F. G., so that

¹ *Reg. Priv. Conc.*, x. p. 674.

this would point to its being earlier than 1525. The character of the mark also confirms this view.

Besides Edinburgh, silver plate was manufactured in other places in Scotland. The only goldsmith who bore the initials F. G. whom I have succeeded in discovering was a Perth craftsman named Findlay Goldsmyth, who is mentioned in the minute-books of the Hammermen Society in 1519 as receiving payment for making some ornament for the relic in the Church at Perth.¹ That this goldsmith made the mace is possible, but the evidence is too scanty to prove it. It is possible of course that it may not be of Scottish workmanship at all, but there is nothing in its appearance or in the character of the maker's mark which would lead to the supposition that it was made elsewhere.

It has been surmised that this mace may be a queen's sceptre. There is the record of the Queen's sceptre made by John Mosman in 1540; but this mace is certainly not that sceptre, for its weight is recorded at 31½ ounces, while the mace only weighs 20 oz. 12 dwt.

THE OAK CHEST.

The oak chest (fig. 33), which contained the Regalia during their long seclusion from 1707 till 1818, is worthy of description. The body of the chest is oblong in form, and measures 6 feet, 3 inches long, 2 feet 5 inches high, and 2 feet 6½ inches wide. It rests on a massive base with classic mouldings, made separately, and out of which it can be lifted. This measures 4¼ inches high, and projects 3¼ inches from the chest, and is raised from the floor by four square blocks 2½ inches high. The lid of the chest is plain, and is surrounded on the two sides and the front with a moulding, consisting of an ogee, a fillet and a quarter round—in all 2 inches thick—which overlaps the upper edge of the chest.

The chest is made of Dantzic oak, and appears to be of Scottish workmanship.² The joints of the chest are mitred, and are strengthened at each corner by oak corner-blocks, extending the whole height of the chest (the tops of which may be observed in the illustration fig. 33).

¹ *The Perth Hammermen Book*, edited by Colin A. Hunt, p. 3.

² Councillor J. C. Dunlop, a well-known authority on old furniture, examined the chest, and this is his opinion.

These blocks are fixed, the long way, with the large-headed iron bolts which pass through the iron plates, on the outside of each corner of the chest, and the cross way at the bottom by one of the iron bolts fixed inside by a thumb screw, and above this by wooden pins.

The chest has probably been constructed on this principle to permit of its being taken into the Crown Room in pieces, and afterwards put

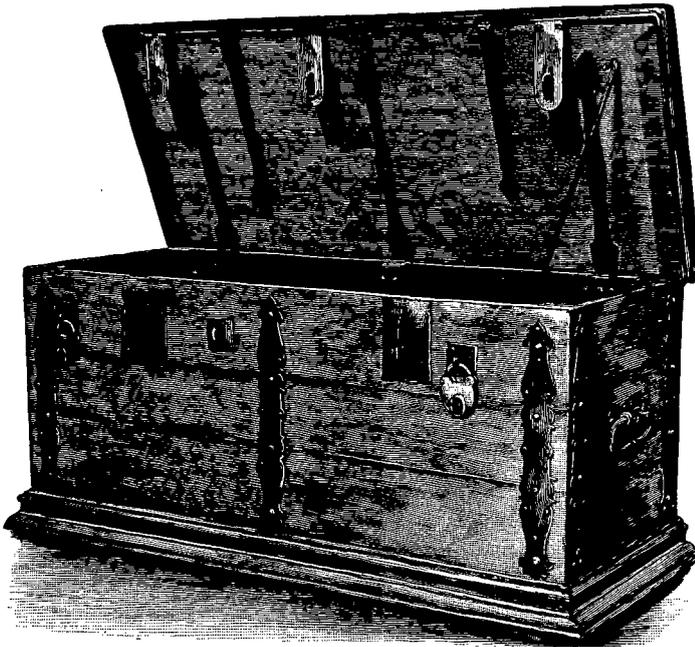


Fig. 33. The Oak Chest which contained the Regalia from 1707 till 1818.

together, as the size of the door would not admit of its being carried in bodily.

The iron mountings of the chest consist of three long-shaped plates in front, two at each end and two behind, all of similar size and pattern. They are fixed to the chest by small round-headed iron bolts, as well as the large ones already referred to. Between each of the plates on front

are the two original locks, with the cut-off hasps still locked to them. Curiously, both these locks and hasps are of a different shape and pattern.

Between the plates at the ends are two large and massive iron handles $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches long. The original iron mountings on the inside of the lid consist of three long hinge bands; alike in pattern and size, for the hinges of the chest (these hinge bands are continued down the outside of the chest at the back) and two similar mounts for carrying the hasps for the locks, which differ in size and pattern, as well as the locks to which they are fitted.

When the search for the Regalia was instituted in 1818, the keys of the chest could not be found, and the locks were not picked, but the chest was opened by driving out the joint pin of the hasp on the dexter side, and cutting through that on the sinister side. Three new iron plate keepers were then fitted to the lid, with corresponding hasps on the body of the chest, for the insertion of the padlocks.

This chest is a fine characteristic specimen of those commonly used in Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the form and ornamentation of its iron mountings it resembles those that were imported from Holland during that period.

In the great oak chest the Regalia were frequently deposited, as appears from entries in the records. It was probably this identical chest which is referred to in the Act of 10th July 1621, in favour of Sir Patrick Murray of Elibank "anent his Majesties Honours and Silver Plaitt," when the Earl of Mar "being personallie present grantit the ressett of the saidis Honouris and of ane grite aik-kist quharin they are keepit."¹ It is also especially noted in the Act of Delivery and Deposition in 1707, when the Honours were lodged "in an orderly manner in a chest within the said crown roome."

THE ENSIGNS OF THE ORDERS OF THE GARTER AND THE THISTLE.

The other articles, consisting of the Collar and George of the Order of the Garter, the St Andrew of the Order of the Thistle, and a Ruby and Diamond Ring, all of which are now shown along with the Regalia, were bequeathed by Cardinal York, the last male descendant of the Stewarts,

¹ *Papers Relative to the Regalia*, Bannatyne Club, MDCCCXXIX. Appendix, p. lviii.

to George III. They were deposited in the Crown Room in the presence of certain officers of State on the 18th December 1830, shortly after the accession of William IV.

THE COLLAR OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

The collar (fig. 34) consists of 21 garters, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter. The ground of each garter is enamelled blue, and the edges white, having the motto "HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE" in gold. In the centre of each garter is placed a double rose, barbed red and seeded green. The



Fig. 34. Section of the Collar of the Order of the Garter (actual size).

garters are alternated with double knots formed of chased gold wire in the fashion of a cord with four tassel ends. The garters and the knots are joined above and below with loops and rings. The collar measures 5 feet $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length; it weighs 33 oz. 10 dwt., and is made throughout of gold, which for quality seems almost pure.

THE GEORGE OF THE ORDER OF THE GARTER.

The George is that worn pendent at the collar, and known as the Great George, to distinguish it from the Lesser George. It is made of gold and enamelled in colours, and represents St George armed, sitting

on horseback, encountering the dragon with a spear. The obverse (fig. 35) is studded with rose and table cut diamonds, set in plain gold collets rubbed over on the setting edge. The number and cut of the diamonds are as follows:—*St George*—helmet, 4 rose diamonds; plumes, 3 rose diamonds; right arm, 2 rose diamonds; body, 4 rose diamonds; right leg, 3 rose diamonds:—*Horse*—body, head, and legs, 19 rose diamonds; tail, 3 rose diamonds; hoof of fore leg, 3 table diamonds;



Fig. 35. Obverse of the Great George of the Order of the Garter (actual size).

hoof of hind leg, 3 table diamonds; reins, 17 table diamonds; bit, 1 rose diamond; inside mouth on bit, 1 table diamond; stirrup, 1 table diamond:—*Dragon*—body, 18 rose diamonds; tail, 1 rose and 14 table diamonds; neck, 1 rose and 9 table diamonds:—*Ground*—2 rose and 9 table diamonds. There are amissing on the tail of the dragon 2 table diamonds, and on the reins 1 table diamond. These are easily observed, for the settings are empty; but on the body of the horse, in front of St George's right leg, is a small hole, in which has been fixed a collet

containing a rose diamond, which is also amissing (both collet and stone).

The reverse (fig. 36) is enamelled in the following colours :—*Horse*—body, white ; trappings, orange, with reddish brown stripe and tassels ; saddle-cloth, green, with one fleur de lis, near the edge, in white : edge of saddle, pale blue :—*St George*—armour, blue ; spear, plain gold not enamelled :—*Dragon*—body, green, with yellow scales and yellow belly ;



Fig. 36. Reverse of the Great George of the Order of the Garter (actual size).

wings, dark green, with orange feather markings :—*Ground*, green, blue, and orange :—*Bottom*, enamelled with green, blue, and yellow leaves and flowers. Small portions of the enamel are chipped or broken away on three of the horse's legs, the left leg of St George, the neck and body of the dragon, and also on the ground.

Besides the deficiencies in the stones and the breakage of the enamel already mentioned, both the Collar and the George are incomplete.

It was hardly to be expected that such articles would pass through so

many hands, and such strange vicissitudes, without suffering loss and damage. The marvel is not that they are damaged, but that they have suffered so little.

The collar has only 21 garters, whereas 26 was the number ordained. Nevertheless, even in its present state, it exceeds the outside limit of the weight—30 ounces—prescribed in the statutes of the Garter renewed by Henry VIII. This limit, however, appears occasionally to have been exceeded, for it is recorded that the collar sent to Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, weighed $34\frac{1}{4}$ ounces,¹ while that belonging to King Charles I. of England weighed $35\frac{1}{2}$ ounces. But this collar when complete must have weighed about $41\frac{1}{2}$ ounces—a greater weight than any of which there is a record.

The garter, to which the George was attached, still forms part of the present collar. It differs from the others in this respect that at the termination of the garter below there is a hole and no floriated terminal ornament, as on the other garters.

In another particular it differs from those prescribed in the statutes referred to. The double rose in the centre of each garter is enamelled throughout in red and seeded green, whereas in the statutes of Henry VIII. it was appointed that the innermost rose should be enamelled red and the outermost white, and contrarily in the next garter, and so alternately continued. But it would appear that before the Restoration of Charles II. the custom prevailed of having them wholly red.

The George bears a most striking resemblance to that worn by King Charles II. (fig. 37)² after the Restoration. On a cursory glance, it might almost be taken for the same jewel; but a careful comparison reveals differences which, if the delineation in Ashmole's *Order of the Garter* be correct, render this impossible. Nevertheless, the one would seem to have been made in imitation of the other, or perhaps both from a common model.

From a comparison it would appear that the shield of St George and the diamond fleur de lis for attaching the George to the collar are lost.

It would be interesting if it could be ascertained where the Collar and

¹ Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 220.

² *Ibid.*, p. 202.

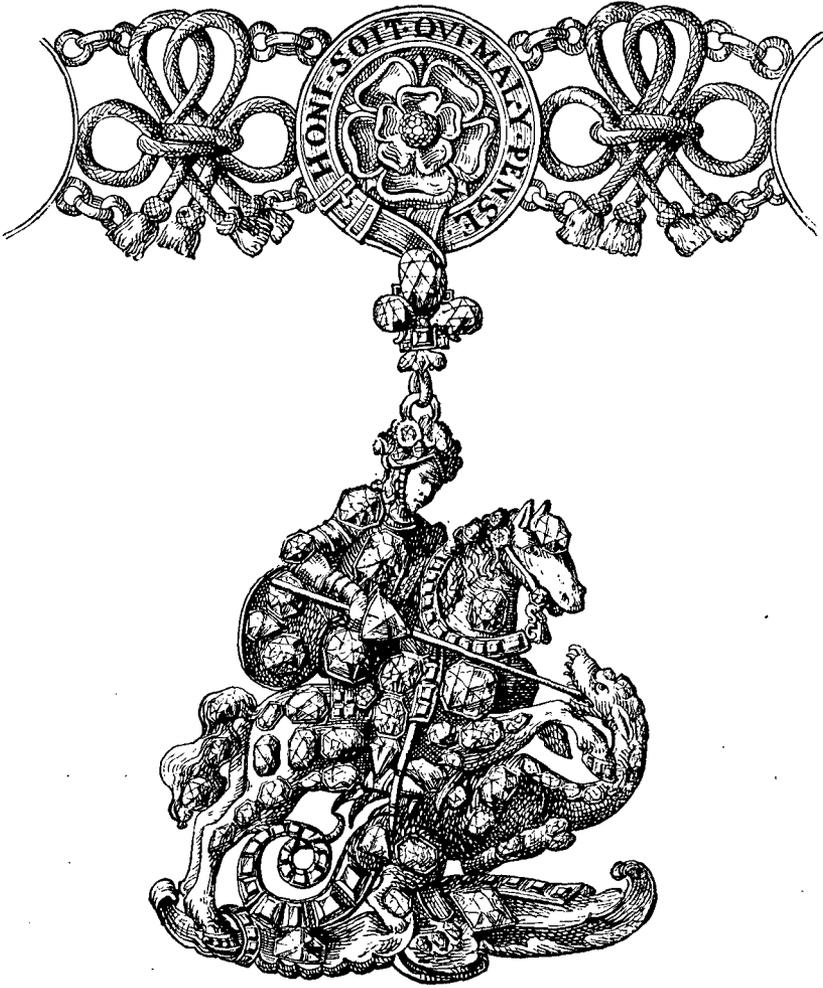


Fig. 37. Collar and Great George worn by Charles II.

the George were made. As far as the work on the collar is concerned, it may have come from the hands of an English goldsmith, but the superlative excellence, both of the modelling and the enamelling of the George, renders it exceedingly unlikely that it emanated from the hands of an English craftsman.

Without going beyond the records of the Order of the Garter, it can be shown that foreign goldsmiths were frequently employed by the English sovereigns to execute work beyond the capabilities of native workmen. King Henry V., in the first year of his reign, commissioned John Cause, "a skilful Dutch goldsmith,"¹ to make some additions to the image of the Virgin in the Chapel of St George at Windsor; and Henry VIII. ordered from Christian Van Vianan of Utrecht, "a man excellently skill'd in chasing of Plate,"² some candlesticks, chalices, and basins for adorning the altar of the same chapel.

It was not, therefore, against the traditions of the Order to employ foreign workmen, and the workmanship of this George points to it having been made most probably in France.

It is not necessary to enter into the history of the Order of the Garter, except in so far as it helps us to discover to whom this collar and George may have belonged, and through whose hands they may have passed.

The first King of Scotland elected Companion of the Order of the Garter was James V., and a very complete account can be compiled of the circumstances attending his investiture. He was elected on the 20th January 1535, and Lord William Howard was forthwith despatched to inform him of his election.

The instructions to the ambassador sent with the Habit and Ensigns of the Order, are interesting, and may be quoted *in extenso*.

The said Lord William shall within five or six days next after he hath been with the said King of Scots, for his first Ambassade, and resort to Court there, and in most reverend fashion deliver unto the King of Scots the Letter missive of Certification of his Election into the Noble Order of the Garter, from the King our Sovereign Lord his Highness, with due commendations from his Highness. The Letter read, and he consenting to the reception of the said

¹ *The Order of the Garter*, by Elias Ashmole, p. 499.

² *Ibid.*, p. 492.

Order, then incontinent the Book of Statutes ¹ to be delivered unto him, and a day appointed as well for to have his consentment on the Articles of the said Statutes, and in the meantime his Oath to be prepared by his consent and advice. On which day being at the least Sunday, and he agreeing to receive the same honorable Order, he must be in a place convenient.

First, they shall present their Commission unto the said King, and cause the said audibly and distinctly to be read, and so followingly shall in good and reverent manner require him to make his corporal Oath, for the inviolable observing of the same, like as by the tenure of the Statutes every Knight of that Order is bound to do in form following :—

THE OATH.

We James by the grace of God King of Scots, promise and swear by our Faith, and Honor, and holy Evangelists by us presently touched, that we shall accomplish and keep truly unto our power, all the Statutes, Points, and Ordinances of the right Noble Order of Saint George named the Garter, from point to point, and from Article to Article, as is contained and declared in the Book thereof to us delivered, the which we have accepted and do accept, as if that we read them now presently (*Note, if he will make any exceptions, they must be here rehearsed*), the which articles we promise now again to keep, hold and entertain, without breaking : So God help us, and the Saints. Yeoven, etc.

Which Oath given, the Lord William shall put the Garter, in due and reverent manner about his left Leg, and in this doing, Garter shall say,

“Sir, the Sovereign and honorable Company of the Order of the Garter have received you as their Brother and Companion, and in knowledge and token thereof, they give and present you this Garter, the which God give you grace to wear to his laud and praise, to the honor of the blessed Virgin Mary, and the glorious Martyr Saint George, Patron of that Noble Order; and to the augmentation of your honor.”

Which thing so done, the said Lord William shall deliver unto him the Gown of Crimson, and cause him to apparel himself with the same, the said Garter saying these words following, at the doing of the same,

“Ye take this Garment, wherein God give you grace strongly to stand in the true Faith of Christ, and depressing the Enemies of Saints, in token of the said Order, and to the augmenting of this Order, and your honor.”

And then lovingly the said Lord William shall cause the said King to put on the Mantle of Blue Velvet, garnished with the Arms of St George, invironed with a Garter, the said Garter saying as followeth (*Note the Hood to be put on the right shoulder*),

¹ A detailed account of the Bill of Charges for the Book of Statutes sent to King James V. will be found in Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 396.

“Take ye this Mantle of heavenly colour, with the shield of the Cross of Christ garnished, by whose strength and virtue ye always be defended, and by virtue of it you may overcome all your Enemies, and so through your most noble desert, may worthily come to the joys everlasting, in token of the said Order, and increase of your honor.”

And when the said King shall be so apparelled with the adornments aforesaid, the said Lord William shall put the Coller of the Order, with the Image of Saint George about his neck, the said Garter saying,

“Take ye and bear this Coller, with the Image of the most glorious Martyr Saint George, Patron of this Order, about your neck, by the help whereof you may the better pass through both the prosperity and adversity of this world, so that your Enemies both of body and soul may be overcome, ye then may receive not only glory of temporal Chivalry, but also the rejoycing of everlasting victory, in sign and token of this Order, and increase of your honor.”

Which things thus fully ended, the King to go to some solemn church, and there to hear a solemn mass, and so to return, and so to his lodging, where if he dine abroad, to wear the said whole Habit, during the dinner time, and after to do his pleasure.

Then Garter to remember to purchase and sollicite a certification of the reception of the said Order by him, and also his Oath, both under the said King's seal. Also to advertise him the manner of the coming of his Procurator for his Installation within seven months; he to bring with him a Procuration under the Kings Seal for his Installation, with all other things necessary, as the said Garter knoweth by his old Presidents in such case accustomed.

All these things thus duly and in reverent order done, with other the Kings Affairs there, the said Lord William and the said Garter to return to the Kings Highness. ¹

The embassy of Lord William Howard is mentioned in the *Diurnal of Occurrents*,² 1534-5 :—

“Vpoun the aucht day of Februare thair come ane ambassatour out of England callit William, sone to the erle of Surreye, with certane greit horsis to the kingis grace, with xxx horsis in tryne, with the ordour of the knyght of the gartare.

“Vpoun the xxj day of Februare, the kingis grace ressaute the ordour of the gaiter in the abbay of Halyrudhous, with greit solempnitie.”

Ashmole also mentions that Lord John Erskine was appointed

¹ Ex Autogr. in Bibl. Hatton, printed in Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, Appendix No. cii.

² *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 1513-1575, Bannatyne Club, MDCCCXXXIII, p. 19.

Proctor¹ at the Installation, and that James V. bestowed on Garter² “a gown of black velvet furred with black budge, with sixteen pair of aglets of gold, an 100 crowns of the sun, and another gown.”

The Ensigns of the Order will be found mentioned in the inventory of 1539.³—“Item the ordoure of Ingland with sanct George with ane habit the gown of crammesy velvett with ane kirtill of purpoure velvett with ane hude of crammesy velvett.”

They also form one of the four panels of the four orders of knighthood bestowed on James V., which he had carved on the archway at the entrance to the Palace of Linlithgow ; but in that representation of them it is remarkable that the motto is omitted from the garters surrounding the roses of the collar. In fact, it might be said that the garters are also omitted, for what surrounds each rose should properly be described as a border.

One of the statutes of the Order ordained that when the sovereign bestowed the ensigns upon the knight they should be returned on his death. There is a memorable instance of this in the return of the Habit and Ensigns of Gustavus Adolphus,⁴ king of Sweden, when they were sent back in a solemn embassy from Christina, queen of Sweden, his daughter and successor to that crown.

After the death of King James V. the Ensigns of the Order were likewise returned.⁵ Lindesay of Pitscottie states—“There was also a Herald directed to England for Redelivery of the Garter and Order of St George, in the which James, the late King of Scots, had been invested by his Uncle King Hary, who rewarded the Herald richly.”

James VI. was elected Companion of the Order of the Garter in April 1590, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and became the Sovereign of the Order on the 24th March 1603, on his accession to the English throne. With regard to the Collar and George which he wore, it may be interesting to note that on the frontispiece of the volume which contains his writings,⁶

¹ Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 438.

² *Ibid.*, p. 465.

³ Thomson's *Inventories*, p. 49.

⁴ Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 637.

⁵ *Lindesay of Pitscottie*, Edinburgh, 1728, p. 180.

⁶ *The Workis of the Most High and Mighty Prince James*, by the Grace of God Kinge of Great Brittain France and Ireland. London, 1616.

he is depicted wearing the Collar and George of the Garter. The value of that representation of these ensigns may be little, but it will be observed that the collar differs slightly in some details from that now in the Crown Room. The George is altogether different in design. It represents the figure of the horse and St George encircled with a garter bearing the motto "HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE," and the George is attached to one of the knots of the collar, and not to one of the garters as in that of Charles II., and in that now in the Crown Room.

King Charles I. was elected Companion of the Order of the Garter on 23rd April 1611, and became the Sovereign of the Order on the 27th March 1525, on his accession to the throne.

There is a tradition, the origin of which it is difficult to trace, that the George now in the Crown Room is the identical one which Charles I. wore at his execution in 1649. It is unquestionable that on that occasion he wore his George, but it was the Lesser George, and not the Great George. Ashmole describes it minutely,¹ and also figures it on page 202 of his work.

The fate of the garter worn by Charles I. when he was beheaded is well known. It came into the hands of Captain Preston, from whom the trustees for the sale of the king's goods received it and sold it for £205 to John Ireton, sometime Lord Mayor of London. After the Restoration application was made for its return, and as this was refused the king's attorney-general raised an action in the court of the King's Bench, and obtained a verdict for the king.²

The collar worn by Charles I. has already been referred to on account of its exceptional weight. What befel it after the king's execution can also be ascertained. It then came into the hands of Major-General Harison, and was delivered by him to the trustees for the sale of the

¹ "The George which his said late Majesty wore at the time of his Martyrdom, was curiously cut in an Onix, set about with 21 large Table Diamonds, in the fashion of a Garter: On the back side of the George was the Picture of his Queen, rarely well limn'd, set in a Case of Gold, the lid neatly enamell'd with Goldsmith's work, and surrounded with another Garter, adorned with a like number of equal sized diamonds as was the foreside" (Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 228).

² Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 202.

king's goods, who in 1649 sent it along with the English Regalia to the mint to be melted down and coined.¹

Charles II. was elected Companion of the Order of the Garter on 20th May 1638.

From some incidental references, the fate of the Garter and of a collar of SS. belonging to him can be traced. On 6th September 1651, Major Cobbet, who was sent by Cromwell from Worcester² to give the House of Parliament an account of the battle, produced "a collar of SS. and a Garter which had been the King of Scots," and that officer was afterwards awarded £100 for his services in conveying these articles to London. Ashmole relates how the Lesser George was preserved after the same battle.³ In his work on the *Order of the Garter* he also figures the whole of the ensigns and habits of the Order worn by Charles II. (p. 202) after the Restoration.

James, Duke of York, second son of Charles II., was elected Companion of the Order of the Garter, and invested at York on the 20th April 1642. His installation was dispensed with on the 2nd March 1645. He ascended the throne on the 6th February 1685, as James VII.

There is no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the Collar and George now in the Crown Room were those worn by James VII. The evidence of the St Andrew of the Order of the Thistle, which accompanied them through all their wanderings, points unquestionably to this, for, as will be afterwards shown, that jewel contains a miniature of the

¹ Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 220.

² *The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England*, London, 1763, vol. xx. pp. 45, 50.

³ "Among the rest of his Attendants then disperst, Colonel Blague was one who, taking shelter at Blore-pipe House (within two miles of Eccleshall in Staffordshire), where one Mr George Barlow then dwelt, delivered his Wife this George to secure. Within a week after Mr Barlow himself carried it to Robert Milward, Esquire, he being then a Prisoner to the Parliament, in the Garrison of Stafford; and by his means was it happily preserved and restored: for not long after he delivered it to Mr Isaac Walton to be given to Colonel Blague then Prisoner in the Tower; who considering it had already past so many dangers, was perswaded it could yet secure one hazardous attempt of his own, and thereupon leaving the Tower without leave taking, hasted the presentation of it to the present Sovereign's hand" (Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, p. 228).

Princess Clementina Maria Sobieski, to whom Prince James Francis Edward Stewart, son of James VII., was married in 1719. That they may be older than the time of James VII. is possible, for these ensigns, in accordance with the statutes of the Order, were frequently returned, and they may have been again used; but that they were the ensigns worn by Charles II. cannot be proved.

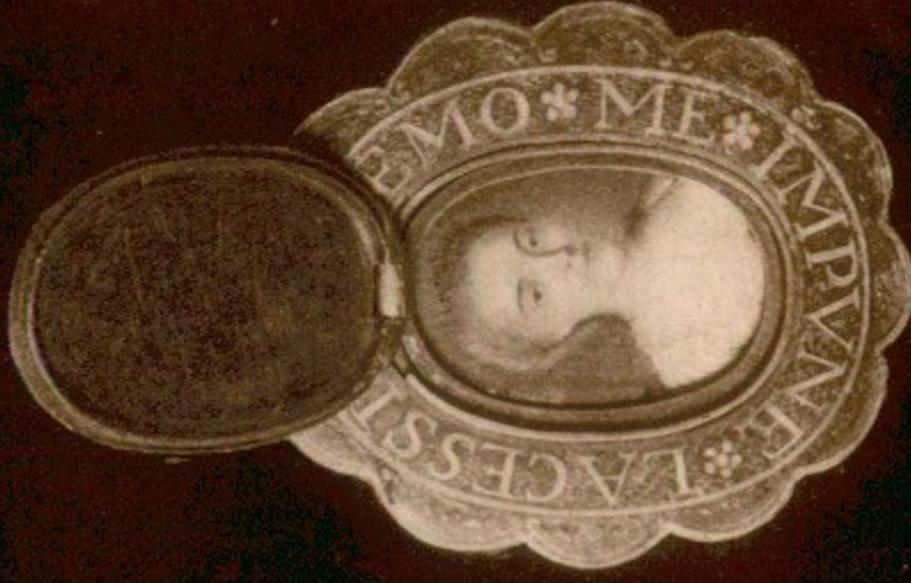
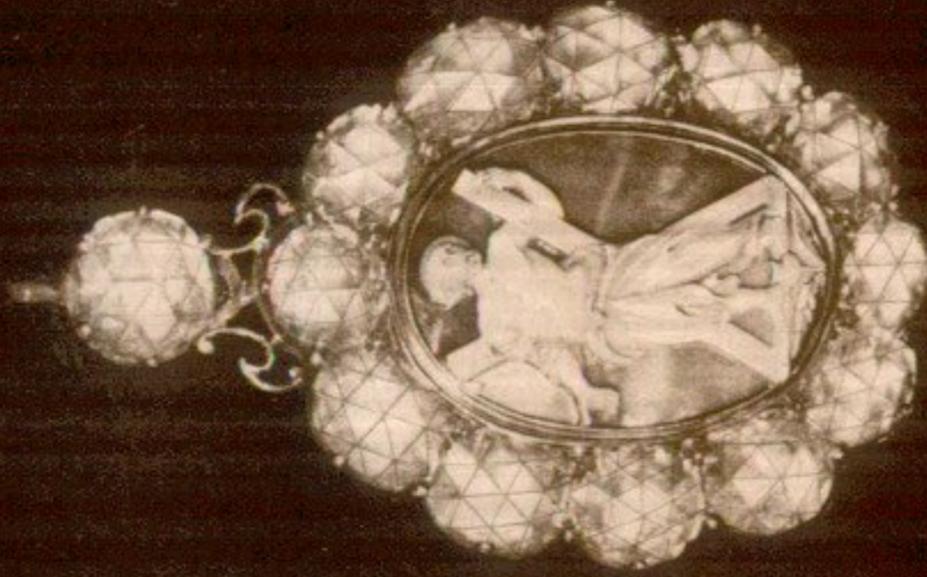
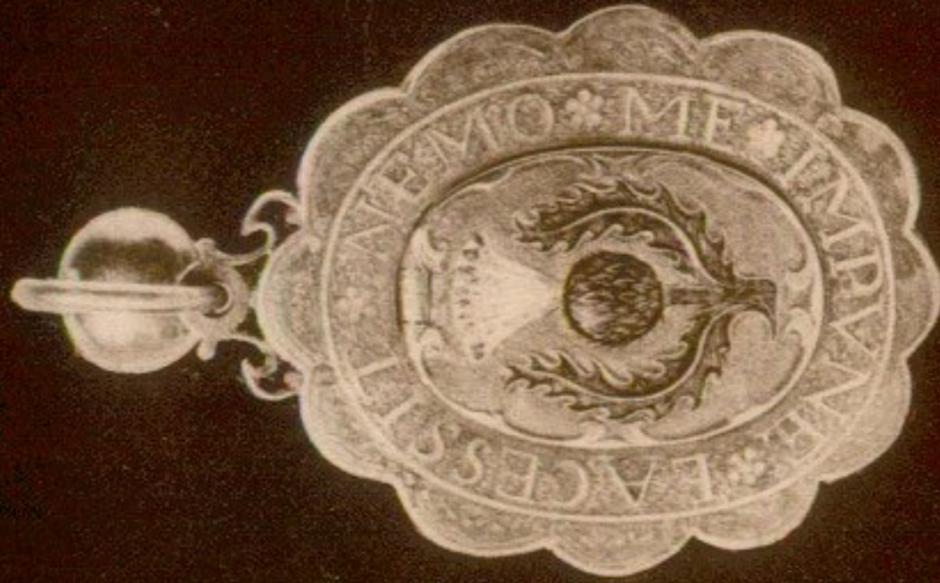
The pattern and size of the garters and knots of the collar are almost exactly the same; but the George differs both in size and in some of its details to an extent which, although slight, is sufficient to indicate that it is not the George of Charles II.

The circumstances attending the abdication and the flight of James VII. in 1688 rendered it exceedingly unlikely that he would think of returning the ensigns of the Order, and so in natural succession from father to son and from son to grandson the Collar and George passed, until from his brother Prince Charles Edward Stewart, Cardinal York¹ received them, and by him they were bequeathed to George III., and were ultimately in 1830, shortly after the accession of William IV., deposited in the Crown Room in Edinburgh Castle beside the other articles of the Regalia.

THE ST ANDREW OF THE ORDER OF THE THISTLE.

The St Andrew (Plate V.) is oval in form, engrailed on the outer edge, and measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches broad. In the centre of the

¹ Henry Benedict Stewart (better known in history under the name of Cardinal York) —the younger son of James Francis Edward Stewart, was born on the 6th of March 1725. He took no prominent part in his brother's expedition to Britain in 1745, and in 1747, when only twenty-two years of age, he decided to take orders, and received a cardinal's hat from Benedict XIV., by whom he was also created Bishop of Frascati. On the death of his brother, in 1788, he succeeded to the representation of the House of Stewart, but took no further steps to assert his claim to the British throne than by having a medal struck with the following inscription:—HENRICUS IX ANGLIE REX DEI GRATIA SED NON VOLUNTATE HOMINUM. His later years were darkened by calamity. The French Revolution and Napoleon's invasion of Italy deprived him of his income, and he was living in great poverty when George III. settled a pension of £4000 per annum for life upon him. In gratitude, it is said, for this he bequeathed the Collar and George, the St Andrew, and the Ruby Ring to George III.



THE ST ANDREW OF THE ORDER OF THE THISTLE.

obverse (Pl. V. No. 1) is an oval chalcedony— $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches long by $\frac{1}{2}\frac{3}{8}$ inch broad—cut with a cameo of St Andrew with his cross, showing the figure in white and the ground in bluish grey. Immediately below the figure is a Scottish thistle. A narrow gold edge surrounds the cameo, and around this there are twelve large rose diamonds,¹ principally oval in form, and of considerable thickness in proportion to their area. A rose diamond, rather larger than those in the border, is set in the loop by which the jewel is suspended. All the diamonds are set in silver grain settings.

A garter, inlaid with blue enamel, bearing the motto in gold "NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT," encircles the outer rim of the reverse. Within this garter is a small oval compartment covered by a lid, jointed and hinged at the top, which contains a miniature (Pl. V. No. 3), painted in water colours on ivory, of the Princess Clementina Maria Sobieski, who was married to Prince James Francis Edward Stewart, son of James VII., in 1719. The outside of the lid is enamelled with a Scots thistle (Pl. V. No. 2) and leaves. The blow of the thistle is in pink, the leaves in green, and the ground of a bluish coloured enamel, which is slightly chipped at several places.

For grace and beauty the St Andrew is not inferior to any article of the Regalia. In its workmanship it differs in many respects from the George. The diamonds are cut in the best styles in which roses were ever cut, and have all the appearance of being old English cut stones. Their settings are of silver, while those in the George are of gold. The cameo is exquisitely cut, and the choice and balance of the colours of the enamel are chaste and effective, although, technically speaking, the enamelling falls short of that on the George.

It is certain that the George and the St Andrew are not the work of goldsmiths of the same nationality. While the workmanship of the George points to a foreign origin, that of the St Andrew points to England, and with the exception of the cutting of the cameo it very probably emanated from the hands of a London goldsmith.

It is not necessary to enter into the disputed origin of the Order of

¹ The cutting of these diamonds is not uniform. Most of them are Holland and semi-Holland roses.

the Thistle. If it existed at all before the sixteenth century, its origin is certainly shrouded in mystery.¹ But it was revived—or as some say instituted—by James V. in 1540. Already he had received in 1534 the Order of the Golden Fleece from the Emperor Charles V.; in 1535, that of St Michael from Francis I., King of France, and that of the Garter from Henry VIII., King of England. To commemorate these James V. kept open court and solemnised the several feasts of St Andrew, the Golden Fleece, St Michael, and St George, and in addition he caused to be carved above the gateway of the palace at Linlithgow the arms of these princes encircled by their respective orders, together with the Order of the Thistle. The St Andrew there shown pendent to the collar differs materially from that now preserved. In the principle of its design it resembles the Great George of the Order of the Garter; for it shows the figure of St Andrew (unsurrounded by any garter or border) tied to the four arms of his cross at the wrists and ankles by cords.

The sudden death of James V. in 1541, the rebellion against Queen Mary, and the troubles which ensued in Scotland, nearly extinguished the Order, which appears to have been almost entirely neglected until the reign of James VII. Ashmole, who published his work on the *Order of the Garter* in 1672, wherein he also describes the Order of the Thistle, is altogether silent on many points, which he certainly would have referred to had the Order been in active existence at the period when he wrote, and he even qualifies much of the information which he does give.

The St Andrew which he figures in that work differs both from that carved at Linlithgow Palace and that now preserved in the Crown Room. The figure of St Andrew is represented standing behind the cross, and encircled by a border bearing the motto "NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT." He also figures and describes the ordinary or common ensign which corresponded to the Lesser George, as the St Andrew corresponded to the Great George of the Garter.

On the 29th May 1687, James VII. issued his warrant for letters patent to be made out and passed under the great seal of Scotland for

¹ Fabulous accounts of its early institution will be found in Bishop Lesley's *De Rebus Gestis Scotor.*, l. v. p. 177, Edit. Romæ., 1588; Ashmole's *Order of the Garter*, pp. 98, 99; and Favyn's *Theat. d'Honneur*, l. v. c. 3.

reviving and renewing the Order of the Thistle, and at the same time be promulgated a body of statutes and ordinances for its regulation. In consequence of this revival, eight new knights were elected, and the Order continued to flourish.

All that we know of the history of the St Andrew in the Crown Room, with both the evidence of which itself bears witness, and which we can gather from other sources, points to it having been made for and worn by James VII.

The description of the St Andrew in the statutes promulgated in 1687 corroborates this. While they describe it as being wrought in gold and enamel, with the gown of the apostle in green, the surcoat purple, and the cross enamelled white, they add that if of diamonds they shall consist just of the number thirteen, symbolical of Christ and the Twelve Apostles, which gives more than a mere decorative significance to the thirteen diamonds (twelve in the border and one in the loop) which enrich the existing St Andrew. Moreover, although the badge of the ordinary knights might be of gold and enamel, the statutes prescribed that the Sovereign should have such other distinctions for differences as he should think fit to appoint, and hence may have arisen the circumstances of his St Andrew being garnished with diamonds.

The reverse of the St Andrew also corresponds to the description given in the same statutes of the jewel which it was ordained should have "on the back thereof, in enamel, on a blue ground, a thistle of gold and green, the flower reddish; with a motto written round it *NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT.*"

Additional and weighty evidence in support of the theory that it belonged to James VII. is obtained from the miniature which it contains. Hitherto it has been described as representing Anne of Denmark, queen of James VI., but Mr J. M. Gray, of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, pronounces it unhesitatingly to be the Princess Clementina Maria Sobieski, who was married in 1719 to Prince James Francis Edward Stewart, son of James VII.¹

¹ Mr J. M. Gray, Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, made a careful examination of the miniature, and reports upon it as follows:—"The miniature is painted in watercolours on a thin tablet of ivory, backed by cardboard

Originally it may have contained the miniature of Mary of Modena, queen of James VII., when he revived the Order.

James VII. abdicated in 1688, and in his flight he appears to have taken with him the St Andrew, as well as the Collar and George of the Garter.

The statutes of the Order of the Thistle did not prescribe the return of the ensigns on the death of the knight, as in the case of the Order of the Garter. This provision was not added till the reign of Queen Anne. And so it was natural that this jewel should on the death of James VII.

of about twice its own thickness—the two together measuring along with the glass $\frac{1}{16}$ inch in thickness. It is secured round the edge with a thin film of skin or parchment. The hair of the lady is of a brown colour, made dim or greyish with a dash of powder. Her eyebrows are brown, and are clearly defined: the lips bright red: the eyes, of a clear, dark definite brown, are delicately and expressively painted. The hair is the least excellent part of the miniature, being distinctly formal in touch. No earrings are worn. The mantle is crimson, with a corner of ermine visible at her left shoulder. The dress is white, low-breasted, and square-cut, with lace at its lower edge, where, in the centre, is fixed a brooch set with a ruby-coloured stone in the centre, surrounded with clear stones like diamonds. The background is of a dark brown, and is expressed by a stippled touch.

“The miniature represents the Princess Clementina Maria Sobieski, granddaughter of John III., king of Poland (who married in 1719 Prince James Francis Edward Stewart, the Chevalier de St George), and not Anne of Denmark, as has hitherto been affirmed. Probably the original of this general type of portraits of the Princess is the picture painted by Davids at Rome, and engraved by P. Drevet. Here the figure is seen to below the waist, and her left hand is raised touching a curl, the right being laid on a table, upon which lies a crown. The face is turned to our left (the reverse of the miniature), and a short plume of feathers, fastened by a string of pearls, is set in the hair, which is arranged in freer curls than appear in the miniature.

“The print published by Duchange, inscribed ‘Trivisani (*sic*) Romæ, *pinxt* C. Dupuis, *sculpt*,’ is similar to the print after Davids, but shows the figure only to the waist.

“The engraving published by Coghlan in 1773, marked ‘Carolus Marsigli, *delt.*, Alexius Giardout, *sculpt*,’ is similar to the print after Davids, except that books are substituted for the crown on the table, a rose is placed in her raised left hand, and the face is turned to our right, as in the miniature. This bears the closest resemblance to the miniature of any print I know: the hair is arranged in a similarly formal manner, but the plume and string of pearls are retained. A markedly different type of portraits of the Princess, representing her at a more advanced age, appears in such works as the print marked ‘Jac. Freij ad vivum *del. et sculp.* Romæ’ and that marked ‘F. Trivisani Romæ, *pinxt.*, J. Faber Londini, *fecit*,’ the latter being the same portrait that was mezzotinted by Miller (And. Miller, Londini, *fecit* 1737.)”

pass to his son¹ who substituted the miniature it now contains for the one it originally had, and then to his grandson Prince Charles Edward Stewart (commonly known as the young Pretender), from whom Henry Benedict Stewart, Cardinal York, his brother, received it. Although we know nothing of the history of the jewel while in the possession of the latter, the circumstances of his life would point to its having made several narrow escapes from destruction while in his hands. When the French Revolution deprived him of his Abbeys, and Napoleon's invasion of Italy in 1796 stripped him of his episcopal revenues, he sold his family jewels to aid Pope Pius VI. in paying the indemnity demanded by the French after the capture of Rome. There he resided till 1798, in which year the revolutionary troops plundered his palace, scattering his fine library and collection of antiquities. He had to fly for his life, first to Padua; and he was living in great poverty in Venice when his condition became known to George III., who at once instructed Lord Minto, the British ambassador at Vienna, to offer him in as delicate a manner as possible a pension of £4000 per annum. The prince accepted the offer in the spirit in which it was made, and on his death in 1807 it was found that in gratitude for this he had bequeathed this St Andrew, with the Collar and George of the Garter and a Ruby and Diamond Ring, to George III.

It may be interesting to note that another relic connected with the revival of the Order of the Thistle by James VII. is still in existence. The Mantle of the Order which belonged to James, fourth Earl of Perth, who was one of the original knights created at that time, is still preserved (fig. 38).² The Earl of Perth held the high office of Chancellor of Scotland from 1684 till the Revolution of 1688, after which event he was imprisoned in Stirling Castle. On his liberation in 1693 he went to Rome, but subsequently joined his exiled master at St Germain's, and was created by the latter Duke of Perth. He died at St Germain's on 11th May 1716, and was buried in the Scots College at Paris.

¹ Neither Prince James Francis Edward Stewart nor Prince Charles Edward Stewart were Knights of either the Order of the Garter or the Order of the Thistle.

² The Mantle is figured in *Scottish National Memorials*, p. 284, and by the kindness of Messrs T. & A. Constable, that illustration is here reproduced.



Fig. 38. Mantle of the Order of the Thistle, 1687.

THE RUBY RING.

Along with the ensigns of the Orders of the Garter and the Thistle, Cardinal York bequeathed to George III. a Ruby and Diamond Finger Ring (fig. 39). In its centre there is a large ruby ($\frac{5}{8}$ inch long by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch wide) of an oblong oval form. The ruby is very thin, and the table is accordingly large or spread. The upper portion of the stone between the edge or girdle and the table is faceted. Its colour is very pale; it is foiled behind, and it is probable that it would look even paler if removed from the setting.

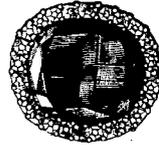


Fig. 39. Front of the Ruby and Diamond Finger Ring (actual size).

On the table there is engraved a cross humetté or coupé, the ground of which within the outline is slightly sunk and polished.

Around the ruby, and close to the girdle, there are set in silver 26 small diamonds, cut for the most part in the style known as table cutting. Many of them are, however, so irregularly cut as to baffle classification or description by any recognised term. These diamonds are all set close and foiled behind.

The head of the ring is made of polished gold, of a quality apparently about 18 carat. The band has had a lining added to it, and has been afterwards repaired with a commoner quality of gold.

The back of the cup in which the ruby and diamonds are set is ornamented on the edge nearest the diamonds with engraved scroll-work (fig. 40). The shoulders of the ring are also engraved.

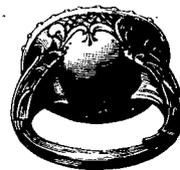


Fig. 40. Back of the Ruby and Diamond Finger Ring (actual size).

The ring is made with a peculiar arrangement, so that it might suit fingers of all sizes. It is jointed like a bracelet, and has an exceptionally long spring to the snap, with a number of notches in it, so that it might be fixed at the size desired, and so enlarged or contracted at pleasure.

Tradition has described this ring particularly as the Coronation Ring of Charles I., and generally as that of the Stewarts. Minute and detailed descriptions of both the coronation of Charles I.

at Holyrood¹ and of Charles II. at Scone are preserved, but in neither of them is any mention made of a coronation ring.

Neither is there any trace of it to be found in any of the published inventories of the royal jewels.

It is unsatisfactory, on the one hand, in a measure to dispel the tradition which has been attached to it for so long, and, on the other hand, to be unable to supply a more circumstantial account. But all that can be said with definite certainty about it, at present, is that its construction shows that it was made for the purposes of a ceremonial, and that along with the ensigns of the Orders of the Garter and the Thistle it formed part of the bequest of Cardinal York. It is possible that it may have descended to him from his grandfather James VII. I cling, however, to the belief that something definite may yet be ascertained about it.

Thus far I have dealt more particularly with the existing articles of the Regalia. But records are still preserved of orders and jewels which once filled the treasure chests of the Stewarts. Their history and their fate can in many cases be traced, and an account of them might have formed an interesting and an appropriate supplement to the present paper. If done at all, it would have required to have been done accurately, and if possible exhaustively; but the limits of a leisure, already much curtailed, have proved insufficient for its accomplishment.

In concluding, I desire to return my best thanks to the Council of the Society for the privilege of writing this paper. Although onerous it has been a congenial task, and is an investigation that has proved fruitful in discovery beyond my anticipations. My only regret is that the prescribed limits of my leisure have prevented me making it better.

To many individuals, too numerous to mention, my thanks are due for many suggestions and much assistance. Mention should be made at

¹ A detailed account of the Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood will be found in the *Annals* of Sir James Balfour, Lyon King of Arms at the time; and a contemporary account of the Coronation of Charles II. at Scone will be found in a pamphlet, entitled "*The Forme and Order of the Coronation of Charles the Second, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland*," Aberdene, Imprinted by James Brown, 1651." Both these Coronations are also described in *The Scottish Review*, vol. x. Nos. xix. and xx.

least of three. To Mr J. M. Gray, Curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, I am indebted for the information regarding the miniature in the St Andrew; from the Lyon King of Arms, Mr J. Balfour Paul, I have received the description of the blazon of Pope Julius II. on the scabbard of the Sword of State; and from Dr Joseph Anderson, who has manifested the greatest interest throughout the enquiry, I have received such great assistance that any acknowledgment I can make seems utterly inadequate to express my indebtedness to him.
